

SAIC Final Technical Report: Summary and Tables

Social Cohesion: the missing link in overcoming violence and inequality? (107365)

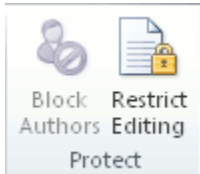
Report Author(s): Vanessa Barolsky

Provide a narrative summary and complete the tables below. **Please submit all final outputs (reports, briefs, etc.) directly to Jennifer** Salahub at jsalahub@idrc.ca, or by post as necessary.

About the form: The places where you are able to edit this form have been restricted. Within the places you are able to edit, there are no restrictions on formatting or length. You may use bullets, draw tables, insert images, format text, etc., as you wish.

To open the task pane and have Word show you regions where you have permission to edit, do the following:

1. On the **Review** tab, in the **Protect** group, click **Restrict Editing**.



2. Click **Find Next Region I Can Edit** or **Show All Regions I Can Edit**.

1. Summary

- Discuss your project's progress, including what you set out to do and what you found out. **Revisit your original objectives (as set out in your Memorandum of Grant Conditions) and comment on your achievements against those objectives.**
- **Discuss any measurable outcomes, impact, or influence (on research, policy, or practice) that your project has had.**
- This is your opportunity to update IDRC on the progress of your research. The expectation is that you provide a longer narrative here than you will in answering the questions found in Survey Monkey.
- Approximately **five pages** would be appropriate.

General objective

To deepen our knowledge of violence, and consequently our ability to respond to it in cities in the Global South by focusing on social cohesion as a way of understanding the links between poverty, inequality and violence.

The project has generated a significant new body of qualitative and quantitative data relating to social cohesion and violence in conditions of inequality and poverty. This has made a valuable contribution to knowledge generation around violence, social cohesion, inequality and poverty in the global south. The analysis of two major interventions has yielded important new understandings about the way in which even when interventions significantly improve violence, they can at the same time have a negative effect on social cohesion. This in turn affects their long term sustainability and ownership by communities.

Data includes:

- Two qualitative studies in South Africa and Brazil on how violence prevention interventions changed or were influenced by social cohesion in local communities
- Two quantitative studies in South Africa and Brazil on the association between violence, poverty and inequality
- Two quantitative studies in South Africa and Brazil on the relationship between fear of crime and social cohesion

New data and analysis produced included:

- Analysis of the relationship between violent crime and *exposure* to socio-economic inequality in South Africa. This brought together a range of datasets including local level statistics on violent crime, recent census data and victimisation survey data, which had not been analysed together before through the lens of exposure to socio-economic inequality.
- Analysis of the relationship between inequality, poverty and homicide down to municipal level in Brazil, using the most recent homicide data, collected through geo-referencing as part of the project.
- The first national level analysis of the relationship between fear of crime and social cohesion in South Africa using South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS) data.
- The first national level analysis of the relationship between fear of crime and social cohesion in Brazil using selected regional victimisation surveys.
- The first ethnographic study analysing the effects of the VPUU intervention on social cohesion and violence in Khayelitsha.
- The first ethnographic study analysing the effects of the UPP intervention on social cohesion and violence in Rio de Janeiro

The study therefore created new sets of data and analysis in each country. The research also made it possible to compare this new data between these two countries for the first time. This is important because until now both the bulk of academic literature and international policy on social cohesion and discussions of its relation to violence has been premised on a number of assumptions about the nature of social life and the use of violence based on the experience of countries in Western Europe and the United States, for example the notion of the individualised subject and the state's monopoly of the use of force. The analysis has therefore provided new insights into the complex effects of violence prevention interventions on social cohesion, which it was found may reduce violence at the same time as having a negative impact on social cohesion. This has made it possible to make recommendations to improve violence prevention interventions, for example, the importance of taking into account informal mechanisms of social regulation and the need to design interventions in ways that are participatory and are shaped by the values and norms of the societies in which they are implemented. These recommendations are outlined in detail in the Research Brief that has been produced as part of this study.

The research contributed to innovation by integrating a range of methodologies and utilising both qualitative and quantitative data to complement the investigation.

The research also makes an important contribution to our knowledge around violence, because thus far both theoretical and empirical work on the relationship between violence and social cohesion/collective efficacy has largely been concentrated in the global north. However, forms of governance, social relations and histories of urbanisation may be significantly different in cities in the global south.

This project therefore sought to investigate the applicability of key concepts such as social cohesion and collective efficacy to the global south and in particular the role they play in relation to violence. The research showed that the very meaning of these concepts may have to be revisited in countries in the global south such as Brazil and South Africa.

General Results

- *In South Africa and Brazil, it was shown that social cohesion can be both a driver of violence and a protective factor.*
- Neighbourhood cohesion that helps citizens cope with violence and poverty is often expressed in narrowly local or territorial terms, it may be anti-democratic or authoritarian and violent.
- As a result, localised cohesion can undermine national cohesion based on democratic values and the state's monopoly of the use of force.
- It was also shown that the form of social relations and social organisation differ between Brazil and South Africa and countries in the global north such as the US and Western Europe. Therefore, theories and interventions around social cohesion and collective efficacy need to be revisited to take this into account.
- Theory and interventions must also allow for the specificity of conditions *within* the global south, for example, while there are commonalities between South Africa and Brazil as middle income, developing world countries, there are also differences in social relation and social organisation.
- Both the *favelas* in Rio de Janeiro and the township of Khayelitsha in the Western Cape are characterised by a significant degree of informality and self-regulation. State presence may be weak or contested. The police may not be trusted as in Rio or may be seen as explicitly corrupt, as in Khayelitsha.
- *Therefore, citizens manage high levels of violence through their own violent collective action.*
- On the other hand, while international concerns with social cohesion have been precipitated by anxieties about a 'decline' in social cohesion in the wake of globalisation and new processes of urbanisation, both the research in South Africa and Brazil showed that poorer communities in these countries are characterised by high levels of social cohesion and collective efficacy in the sense that there are many informal networks between residents and a willingness to help neighbours to the point of risking one's own life. In South Africa this ethos of mutual help is underpinned by the ethical philosophy of *Ubuntu* (we are human through others)

Interventions

The ethnographic approach to investigating the two violence prevention interventions in South Africa (VPUU) and UPP in Brazil, yielded significant new insights, which assist us to respond to violence more effectively.

- In both countries it was found that unless violence prevention interventions are designed in a consultative, democratic and context-sensitive fashion and in a manner that systematically takes into account community norms and practices, they may reduce violence but will not be owned by communities. Therefore, their sustainability and ultimately their effectiveness will be reduced.
- The effects of violence prevention interventions on social cohesion are complex and potentially unpredictable. This will need to be taken into account in future interventions through meaningful community engagement at the inception stage of interventions and on an ongoing basis throughout the intervention.

Brazil:

In Brazil the UPP intervention interacted with existing social cohesion in different ways in two favelas. In one, *Tabajaras*, its success in reducing violence led to gentrification, which paradoxically undermined the strong networks of cohesion that had previously existed between residents. In another favela, *Cidade de Deus*, the UPP, while reducing violence to a certain extent, did not displace the informal power of the drug gangs to regulate daily life. As a result, there are two competing sources of authority in the *favela*-the gangs and the police. Citizens are caught between the two. The UPP intervention has also led to a redirection of funds for civil society to the state (UPP), which has undermined the community's resources for collective action.

South Africa:

In South Africa VPUU also had an ambiguous effect on social cohesion. Like the UPP in *Cidade de Deus* VPUU created alternative structures to govern its implementation rather than utilising existing state or non-governmental networks. It hoped that this would simplify implementation. However, this approach at times led to fragmentation and duplication, for example the setting up of community patrols parallel to existing structures was seen to undermine current community resources for self-regulation. VPUU's focus on the formalisation of entrepreneurial activities, public spaces and its own relationship with the community through contractual relationships, was seen to be at odds with local norms of reciprocity and failing to acknowledge the skills and resources, which currently reside in the community. As a result, new upgraded spaces were not utilised as effectively as was initially envisaged.

Violence, poverty and inequality

The research investigated the spatial distribution of violence, poverty and inequality in both South Africa and Brazil in order to better understand the structural context of social cohesion.

Results

- The analysis in both countries revealed that persistent patterns of spatial and social segregation mean that the majority of violence remains concentrated in historically disadvantaged areas in cities.
- In Rio de Janeiro, while overall homicide rates have declined, the *pattern* of violence has remained similar and largely concentrated in the city's *favela's*.

- In South Africa violence is concentrated in townships in the urban areas, that were historically designated for black South Africans.
- Both studies found that population movement related to urbanisation is significantly associated with high rates of violence.
- In Brazil there was a significant time lag in terms of the effects of migration,¹ with high population movement in 1991 associated with homicide rates in 2010.
- In South Africa high levels of in-migration into a neighbourhood over the previous three years was found to be correlated with violent crime and homicide in 2013.
- It could be hypothesised that part of the reason for these negative associations is the fragmenting effect of population mobility on the social fabric.
- Tracking these links should be key site of future research.
- Both analyses also demonstrate the complexities of the relationships between poverty, inequality and violence.

Brazil

In Brazil analysis appeared to indicate that income inequality was not the most significant predictor of homicide. Instead it was found that poverty in 1991 (income indicators associated with the poorest quintile of the population) were correlated with homicide rates in 2010.² The most recent analysis using recently geo-referenced homicide data for Rio de Janeiro indicates that income is quite a blunt instrument for predicting homicide. While it was shown that municipalities above a certain income threshold were likely to have fewer homicides, below a median income level, income didn't predict, for example, which *favela* would be likely to have the most homicides. The impact of income appears to be mediated by the effects of the UPP intervention, which has been shown to have led to reduced homicide rates in the areas where it has been implemented.

Another factor that emerged as significantly associated with homicide rates was education, particularly enrolment at high school level. Finally, public expenditure on cultural activities was shown to be associated with reduced homicide rates, which may speak to questions of social cohesion.

- The results for Brazil indicate the importance of various types of social intervention to prevent violence.
- The lag effect that poverty has over a 20- year period, indicates the critical importance of addressing poverty before it manifests in overt violence.
- Other social factors such as education and expenditure on cultural activities were also shown to be important in reducing homicide levels.
- Finally, the UPP intervention, while having a complex and sometimes detrimental impact on social cohesion, appears to have had a significant effect in reducing violence where it has been implemented.

¹ The two variables that composed the factor called 'population dynamics' were: population growth between 1991 and 2000 and the proportion of local residents in the year 2000 that had been living in a different municipality in 1991.

² Our basic interpretation of this lag effect is that the conditions children live in have an influence on levels of violence that manifests itself when these cohorts reach the age of the highest risk of violence, i.e. between 20 and 24 years of age. That would explain why correlations are stronger when lagged 10 or 20 years, rather than when measured at the same moment in time.

South Africa

- The spatial analysis of violence, poverty and socio-economic inequality at local level across South Africa tested the hypothesis that it is areas that are characterised by high levels of poverty *and* high levels of *exposure* to socio-economic inequality that are most vulnerable to experiencing high levels of violent crime.
- The analyses used a spatial measure of *exposure* to socio-economic inequality, which seeks to reflect people's 'lived experience' of inequality as they go about their daily lives.
- Exposure refers to the likelihood of potential contact and possible interaction between members of two different groups of the population.
- A measure of community *intensity* of exposure to inequality, showed that poverty *combined with* exposure to inequality, is a significant predictor of violent crime.
- The analysis found that it is not the poorest areas of the country, which are the sites of the highest violence but rather urban areas that are characterised by both high levels of poverty and significant levels of exposure to inequality.
- Khayelitsha is an example of where the twin social stressors of high poverty rates and high exposure to inequality combine or interact. It ranks as having the second highest level of community *intensity* of exposure in the Cape Town metropolitan area.

Social cohesion and fear of crime

International literature and numerous empirical studies in the global north, have recognised and investigated fear of crime as having as significant an effect on the social fabric as an actual experience of crime. This effect may not correlate with the statistical probability of violation, i.e. people may be more fearful than actual crime rates would indicate.

- Negative effects of fear of crime include deepening social and spatial segregation between the wealthy and poor as well as withdrawal of citizens from public spaces.
- On the other hand, it has been found that social cohesion can paradoxically increase fear of crime, through 'talk about crime' in social networks.

The research for this study therefore sought to investigate the relationships between fear of crime and social cohesion in the context of two countries in the global south where there has been very little research thus far.

- The Brazilian research investigated whether high levels of social cohesion can reduce fear of crime
- South Africa investigated whether fear of crime has an *impact* on social cohesion

The Brazilian research therefore analysed whether social cohesion has a causal effect, i.e. can it 'cause' or be correlated with a reduction in fear of crime. In South Africa the research analysed the inverse relationship, i.e. does fear of crime have a potentially fragmenting impact on the social fabric.

Brazil

- The analysis in Brazil found that social cohesion did not appear to be significantly related to reduced fear of crime

However, results may have been affected by the fact that there is no national victimisation survey in Brazil. Therefore, the research had to be undertaken by analysing relevant questions in four regional victimisation surveys.

- The analysis found, as predicted in most international literature, that women are significantly more fearful of crime.
- The analysis found, unlike some studies in the northern context, that fear of crime is closely related to actual experiences of violation i.e. it does not function independently. This is likely to be the result of the fact that in contexts such as Brazil and South Africa experiences of crime are far more prevalent.
- Ironically participation in community activities appears to be related to an increase in fear. This may be as a result of 'talk of crime' within community networks.
- It may also be that those areas that are facing the most severe violence challenges are investing in community activities. This contradicts the hypothesis that people retreat in response to fear of crime.
- Two dimensions of social cohesion appeared to have the most significant relationship to fear of crime i.e. trusting one's neighbours and willingness to help a neighbour.
- In addition, the ability to distinguish neighbours from strangers in the street also appeared to be associated with some reduction of fear of crime, which speaks to questions of familiarity in local environments.
- However, even these effects appear to be far from universal and robust in the Brazilian context.
- Brazil needs to urgently establish a national victimisation survey to investigate issues such as fear of crime and also as a means to independently verify crime statistics.

South Africa

- The analysis in South Africa showed that the impact of fear of crime on social cohesion is not unambiguously negative as expected.
- The analysis showed that fear of crime in South Africa has the most significant impact on civic cohesion or trust in government institutions rather than horizontal indicators of social cohesion such as social trust between citizens.
- The analysis showed that fear of crime has some impact on generalised social trust, (whether people believe that most people can be trusted), however the association between the two factors is relatively weak.
- The analysis showed that despite South Africa's divided past, fear of crime or an actual experience of victimisation does not appear to have a sizeable impact on interracial trust when using more general measures that asked respondents whether different race groups in the country do/will ever trust or like each other.
- However, fear of crime does appear to have a small impact on cohesion when more specific questions are posed about whether respondents feel that people in other racial groups are deliberately excluding them, disadvantaging them or do not understand their racial group's identity and traditions.

- Fear of crime had a small impact on whether people believed that neighbours treated each other with respect and consideration in public i.e. whether there were shared norms of behaviour.
- In South Africa, contrary to findings in most international research, men and women are equally fearful of crime.

2. High-level results statements:

Please provide your high-level research findings in plain language. These should be short statements explaining what your research found designed for a non-specialist audience. Bullet points are strongly encouraged.

- Social cohesion can be both a driver of violence and a factor that protects people from violence.
- Social cohesion takes different forms in the global south to the global north. This needs to be taken into account in conceptualising social cohesion and formulating interventions.
- Persistent patterns of spatial and social segregation mean that the majority of violence remains concentrated in historically disadvantaged areas in cities – townships and favelas – in South Africa and Brazil.
- Population movement is the most significant factor impacting on rates of violence. This may be associated with impacts on social cohesion.
- The relationships between violence, poverty and inequality are complex and differ between countries. In South Africa high rates of violence are associated high levels of poverty and daily experiences of inequality. In Brazil poverty levels 20 years ago are associated with homicide rates in 2010. Education is also a critical factor.
- Social cohesion did not have the expected relationships with fear of crime in either Brazil or South Africa. In Brazil social cohesion does not appear to help to reduce fear of crime. In South Africa fear of crime has the most negative effect on trust in institutions rather than trust between citizens. In other words, the South African data shows that contrary to expectations, fear of crime does not appear to have a significant impact in terms of reducing trust between citizens. Instead it impacts on citizens' confidence in the institutions of the state, particularly the police.
- Unless violence prevention interventions are designed and implemented in a consultative, context-sensitive manner, they may reduce violence but are likely to be unsustainable in the long-term.
- It is unpredictable how violence prevention interventions impact on social cohesion.³ This needs to be acknowledged and managed when implementing interventions.

3. Publications and other outputs:

Please list all the outputs produced by your project, even if you reported them earlier. Report on these types of outputs:

- Information sharing and dissemination (reports, journal articles, policy briefs, practitioner tools, workshops, conferences, seminars, radio programs, films, interviews, websites, CD-ROMs etc.)
- Knowledge creation (new knowledge embodied in forms other than publications or reports: new technologies, new methodologies, new curricula, new policies etc.)

Title and Author(s)	Venue: journal	Link, if available online; Please	Focus on	Peer-	Contribution
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³ The research seems to show that violence prevention interventions may impact on social cohesion in complex ways. What the research demonstrates is that violence prevention interventions do not occur in a social vacuum, they are not merely technical or bureaucratic exercises. They have to contend with complex social dynamics, even more so in communities affected by violence. In the process of intervening to reduce violence, they may impact or alter existing social relationships, in potentially positive or destructive ways or even both at the same time. What is equally interesting is that while it could be assumed that reducing violence should lead to improvements in social cohesion, the research indicates that violence prevention interventions may have paradoxical effects where they reduce violence but negatively impact on social cohesion.

	name, book, series, etc	note if open source	effective strategies?	reviewed?	
<i>Working together for Urban Safety Toolkit</i> , by E. Smith & D. Jones	In-house publication	ourSAICproject.ca/tools ; open source	Yes	No	Filled gap in interdisciplinary & practice literature
Research Brief: Is social cohesion the missing link in preventing violence?	In house publication	To be loaded on the Safer Spaces website (Final draft attached)	Yes	No	Provides an accessible overview of the key research results on the study
Video: Violence and social cohesion: a study in South Africa and Brazil		To be loaded on Safer Spaces website (Draft attached)	Yes	No	
Infographic: Is social cohesion the missing link in overcoming violence, poverty and inequality?	In-house publication	As above (Draft by April)	Yes	No	Provides accessible, interactive coverage of key high-level findings
Barolsky, V, 'Missing link: does social cohesion prevent violence'	Blog: Safer Space website	http://www.saferspaces.org.za/	Yes	No	Short overview of key research questions and findings.
Barolsky, V and Gould, C. 'Making sense of the duality of social cohesion'	South African Crime Quarterly editorial	As above, forthcoming in April 2016	No	Yes	Editorial for a special edition of SACQ, 'Is social cohesion the missing link in overcoming violence?' Contribution to scholarly and policy debate in SA re the role of social cohesion in understanding and preventing violence
Roberts, B and Gordon, S. 'PULLING US APART? The association between fear of crime and social cohesion in South Africa'	SACQ	As above	Yes	Yes	Article for special edition of SACQ as above
Barolsky, V. 'Is social cohesion relevant to a city in the global south: a case study of Khayelitsha'	SACQ	As above	Yes	Yes	As above
Barolsky, V. 'Loving thy neighbor in times of violence: social cohesion and collective efficacy in South Africa'	Psychology in Society (PINS)	Will be available online in July 2016	No	Yes	Article written using data collected during the study. Contribution to scholarly

					discussion about social cohesion and its relationship to violence based on unique empirical data.
Barolsky, V and Cano, I 'Understanding violence in South Africa and Brazil: a problem of social cohesion, inequality and poverty'	Book Proposal for HSRC Press (accepted February 2016)	Expected publication: December 2016. HSRC Press is an open source publisher.	Yes	Yes	Will bring together unprecedented data and analysis from South Africa and Brazil to examine the links between violence, social cohesion, inequality and poverty. Will contribute to both scholarly and policy debate.

Notes:

4. Conference presentations

- List any new presentations during which your SAIC research was shared since you last reported.

Title and Author(s)	Date, location	Venue	Comments
Jones, T. and Smith, V. "Effective strategies to mitigating urban violence in Ottawa."	Sept 5, 2014 Ottawa	Annual conference of CASID	Under consideration for special issue of Cdn Jnl of Development Studies.
Barolsky, V. 'The conditions of urban violence, social cohesion and violence prevention in a city in the global south. A case study of Khayelitsha township, South Africa'	January 2016	Rethinking Cities in the Global South: Urban Violence, Social Inequality and Spatial Justice, Centre for Urban Policy and Governance (CUPG), Tata Institute of Social Sciences, India, Mumbai	
Barolsky, V. 'Social cohesion and collective efficacy: a case study of Khayelitsha'.	March 8-9 2016	Urban frontiers: a conversation about poverty, violence and development in Southern African cities, Safe and Inclusive Cities	

		Programme, IDRC Canada and DFID UK, South Africa, Johannesburg	

Notes:

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5. Other Outputs

- Report on new Training-type outputs since you last reported: short-term training, internships or fellowships, training seminars and workshops, thesis supervision etc.

Type and title	Date, location	Target Audience,	Number of participants	Key stakeholders/groups participating
<i>Training: "Urban Safety Toolkits in Practice"</i>	<i>Sept 5, 2014 Ottawa</i>	<i>Municipal staff, social workers, NGOs, Ottawa Police</i>	24	<i>Mayor's Chief of Staff; Head of Urban Safety department</i>

Notes:

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6. Dissemination activities

- Report on activities through which you shared your research findings and outputs since you last reported.

Type and title	Date, location	Target Audience,	Number of participants	Key stakeholders/groups participating
<i>Training: "Urban Safety Toolkits in Practice"</i>	<i>Sept 5, 2014 Ottawa</i>	<i>Municipal staff, social workers, NGOs, Ottawa Police</i>	24	<i>Mayor's Chief of Staff; Head of Urban Safety department</i>
Stakeholder meeting in Brazil: report-back on research results from the study, Social cohesion: the missing link in overcoming violence?	November 5 2015, Rio de Janeiro	Government, civil society, community leaders, policy-makers, researchers		
Report-back meeting on study on social cohesion and violence in Khayelitsha	Feb 25 201, Khayelitsha	Community members in Khayelitsha, including participants in the	25	

		research and civil society		
Safe and Inclusive Cities: social cohesion and urban upgrading, mobilising resources for violence prevention. HSRC and UCT School of Public Health and Family Medicine	March 14 2016, Cape Town (VCC links to Pretoria and Durban)	Academics, government, researchers, NGOs, policy makers	30	
Seminar to launch special edition of the South African Crime Quarterly (SACQ) on social cohesion and violence	April 21 2016, Pretoria (VCC links to Cape Town and Durban)	Academics, government, researchers, NGOs, policy makers	35	

Notes:

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- Report on key policy and practice stakeholders with whom you shared each publication since you last reported.

Title of Output	Key Stakeholder, title, affiliation	Dissemination tool	Resulting changes/responses
<i>Final report</i>	<i>J. Watson, Mayor of Ottawa</i>	<i>Bilateral meeting, Sept 7, 2015</i>	<i>Requested team share findings with other departments.</i>

Notes:

Please see attached list of participants at the project's final Stakeholder Workshop.

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7. Citations of your work in other sources

- Provide complete bibliographic information for any documents that cite or otherwise reference your work since you last reported, including page references. These may include:
 - policy documents (including policies, strategies, program documents, speeches or statements by policymakers or researchers, [draft] legislation, etc.)
 - research documents (journal articles, reports, policy briefs, etc)
 - social documents (newspaper or magazine articles, op/eds, blog posts, social media posts, etc.)
- For speeches, public statements and the like, please provide the date, a link if available, the name of publication or policy document, or the occasion on which the speech was made.

Work cited (your work): author, title, etc	Cited in (other work): author, title, etc	Link, if available online; Please note if open source
<i>Smith, E. and D. Jones. 2015. Working together for Urban Safety Toolkit</i>	<i>Cooper, B. 2015. Assessing the usefulness of urban safety toolkits. Journal of Urban Violence Prevention 12.2: 15-27.</i>	<i>Jovp.org/cooper-2015.html; open source</i>

Notes:

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8. Media coverage

- Report on any media coverage (radio, television, print media, online blogs, etc.) which your research activities or outputs received since you last reported.
- Attach a copy or provide a link to the source where possible.

Media format	Name of publication, network, etc.	Date	Reach (global, regional, national, local)	Focus of article or broadcast	Link (if available online)
<i>Radio report</i>	<i>CBC-Ottawa ("Ottawa Morning")</i>	<i>June 7, 2014</i>	<i>Local</i>	<i>SAIC research in Brazil/World Cup</i>	<i>www.cbc.ca/saic</i>
Radio interview on whether social cohesion is the missing link in preventing violence	SAFM morning live	23 May 2016	Local-South Africa		

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