

A STUDY OF CRIME IN URBAN SLUMS IN KENYA:

THE CASE OF KIBRA, BONDENI, MANYATTA AND MISHOMORONI SLUMS



**NATIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE
ON PEACE BUILDING & CONFLICT MANAGEMENT**
Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government



REPUBLIC OF KENYA



Kyalo Musoi, Thomson Muthama, Johnstone Kibor
Col (Rtd.) Jaws Kitiku



A STUDY OF CRIME IN URBAN SLUMS IN KENYA:

The Case of Kibra, Bondeni, Manyatta and
Mishomoroni Slums

Security Research and Information Centre

This publication is a product of Security Research and Information Centre (SRIC) of New Waumini House, 5th Floor, Waiyaki Way, Westlands, Nairobi - Kenya.

© 2014 by Security Research and Information Centre. All rights reserved.

No part or section of this book may be reproduced in any written, electronic, recording or photocopying form without written permission of Security Research and Information Centre (SRIC). The exception would be in the case of brief quotations embodied in the critical articles or reviews and pages where permission is specifically granted by the Authors.

Although every precaution has been taken to verify the accuracy of the information contained herein, the publisher assumes no responsibility for any errors or omissions. No liability is assumed for damages that may result from the use of the information contained within.

Books may be obtained free of charge by contacting SRIC at:
New Waumini House, 5th Flr. Westlands.
P.O Box 66019-00800, Nairobi – Kenya

Activities that led to this publication were funded by UNDP-Kenya through National Steering Committee on Peace-building and Conflict Management (NSC).
Published: 2014

ISBN: 9966-7148-3-9

Acknowledgment

We would like to acknowledge a number of individuals for their contribution and support throughout this project. We wish to commend the Government of Kenya and in particular the National Steering Committee on Peace-building and Conflict Management (NSC) and Kenya National Focal Point on Small Arms (KNFP) for providing the much-needed administrative and organizational support during the entire exercise. Special appreciation goes to United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, Kenya) for providing the technical and financial support that made this study a success.

Our sincere gratitude also goes to members of the Reference Group (RG) under the chairmanship of Eng. Patrick Ochieng, (Former director of the Kenya National Focal Point – KNFP and current director of the Police Air wing), Dickson Magotsi and Thomas Odera (NSC), Karaba Gatwanjeru and Ibrahim Jillo (NPS), Amos Katana (KNFP), Ruto Pkalya (NDMA) and Abdi Umar (UNDP) for providing valuable comments and observations that greatly enriched the content and substance of this report.

This work would not have been possible without the invaluable contribution by all SRIC staff, to whom we extend our sincere gratitude. In particular, we wish to acknowledge the able stewardship provided by the Director of SRIC, Col. (Rtd.) Jerry Kitiku during the entire process. We are sincerely grateful to Sarah Wangui and Leonard Omogo for their commitment in data collection, entry and also their role in monitoring and updating the crime database from which this report is premised. We also appreciate the administrative support team comprising of Jane Wairegi, Anne Warui, Caroline Samoei and Philip Munyasia for their office work relating to this publication.

We are also grateful to the field assistants, study respondents and key informants for their dedication and cooperation throughout the study period. We sincerely say thank you.

Last but not least, we would like to appreciate Ruto Pkalya, Manasseh Wepundi and Jeniffer Katusya for reviewing and editing the study report.

Executive Summary



Crime continues to be a major scar on the peace and security landscape in Kenya. Whereas crime cuts across the country geographically, it is more prevalent, severe and acute in peri-urban informal settlement areas that are popularly known as slums. Security Research and Information Centre (SRIC), with support from the Government of Kenya (through the National Steering Committee on Peace Building and Conflict Management and the Kenya

National Focal Point on Small Arms and Light Weapons) and UNDP Kenya has been conducting crime surveys – in its strategic role as a crime observatory – since 2011 in the greater Nairobi region and other select parts of the country. These crime surveys have consistently established that crime is a major peace and security concern in the major urban areas in the country particularly in the slums.

It is against this backdrop that SRIC undertook a study on crime in four select slums in the four major cities in the country namely, Kibra (Nairobi), Mishomoroni (Mombasa), Manyatta (Kisumu) and Bondeni (Nakuru). For the purpose of this study, crime is understood to mean acts or prohibitions which are against the law (both written and unwritten for the case of societal norms).

The main objective of the study was to contribute to better understanding of the nature, trends and dynamics of crimes in the four select major urban slums in Kenya and to formulate actionable policy recommendations. The study also sought to identify and analyse crime hot spots, criminal organized groups and impact of crime in the select slum areas. The findings of the study can thus be extrapolated to present a general crime status in the slum areas in the country as a whole.

Various methods of data collection and analysis were used. Secondary data was mainly derived from previous studies and reports on crime and crime observatories including print media. Primary data was collected through questionnaires, interviews and observations. A total of 654 questionnaires were administered to members of the public in the study areas taking into consideration age and gender sensitivities. In addition, 48 key informant interviews were conducted. The researchers also spend considerable time during the study period in the study areas observing crime trends and patterns.

The study used both quantitative and qualitative methods of data analysis.

The quantitative data was organized, cleaned, coded and analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) to help generate summaries in terms of tables and graphs for easy analysis and interpretation. Qualitative data was analyzed qualitatively through interpretation of the responses by respondents and also analysis of secondary data on the subject matter.

The study found that theft (35.37%), was the main type of crime across the four sampled slum areas. In addition, robbery (15.55%), burglary/break-ins (10.67%) and mugging (23.17%) were the other main typologies of crime in slum areas, accounting for combined 84.76% of crimes committed in slum areas in Kenya. The study also established that an overwhelming majority, 98.8% of the respondents, had witnessed crime being committed in the last three months of the study period. This can be inferred to mean that almost everyone in the four slums had either been affected (may be within the family) or personally experienced some form of crime.

Asked to state causes of crime in slum areas in urban centres, 61.2% of the respondents cited youth unemployment as the main cause of crime. Poverty (11.3%) and illicit brews/drug abuse (9.5%) were cited as the other causes of crime in slum areas. Based on these statistics, it can be inferred that rampant poverty and depressed income levels seem to be the primary drivers of localized crimes in major urban slums in Kenya.

Contrary to assertions by many researchers and reports that Kibra is the most unsafe area to live in, public

perceptions on safety in this study demonstrate that comparatively, Bondeni slum in Nakuru town was the most unsafe place to live in (60.98%) followed by Mishomoroni in Mombasa (44.44%). Kibra was third with 40% and lastly Manyatta slum in Kisumu where only 36.9% of respondents felt the slum was unsafe to live in. Moreover, it was only in Manyatta slums that respondents felt very safe (7.14%), making it to be, in relative terms, the safest of the four slums.

In terms of reporting crime to the authorities the study established that 53.21% of the respondents had reported crime to the police while 46.79% of the respondents did not report crime to the police at all. 42.2% of the respondents indicated that they had no confidence in administration of justice by the Police Service and that's why they would rather let the matter (crime) "die" than seek intervention from the police. 14.7% of the respondents indicated that they were afraid of the perpetrators, 18.7% indicated that sometimes they would not report any crime incident perpetrated or involving any member of the family/friends, 9.2% indicated that some criminal cases were not serious enough to warrant the attention of the police, 7.3% posited that the police were not friendly and were thus afraid of approaching them while others indicated reporting was inconsequential since the police were incapable of recovering lost properties in cases of property related crimes.

In addition and despite the efforts expended by the government, NGOs and the communities themselves to prevent and reduce crime in urban slum areas in

the country, a majority of respondents (81%) felt that crime incidences remained high. Only 17% of the total respondents indicated that crime levels had reduced.

The study also identified 21 organized criminal groups and or gangs operating in the slum areas. Kibra had 6, Mishomoroni in Mombasa 8, Bondeni of Nakuru 8 whereas Manyatta respondents in Kisumu identified 4 such groups.

Extortions, levying of protection fees, muggings, heckling/disrupting political rallies and events, trafficking drugs and kidnappings are some of the common crimes committed by these identified criminal groups/gangs. It is also important to note that in Mishomoroni, Mombasa Republican Council (MRC) was not identified as a criminal organization or group. Maybe the respondents feared mentioning it or perceived it as a legitimate organization pursuing interests of the coastal people.

In addition, the study identified 44 crime hotspots and times of the day the crime is likely to take place or committed. Kibra, had the highest number of hotspots at 17. This was followed by Mishomoroni (11), Manyatta (9) and Bondeni (7) in that order. It is interesting to note that based on public perceptions, Bondeni – with only 7 identified crime hotspots – was found to be the most unsafe slum amongst the four sampled slum areas.

To ameliorate the dire crime situation in slum areas in the country, the study makes key policy recommendations to the National Police Service, National Government, County Governments and the members of the public.



To the Police Service, the police reforms should be hastened so that corruption is reduced and accountability enhanced. In addition, the police should intensify patrols within the settlements, strengthen witness/informers protection services/unit and equip the police officers with the necessary tools to enable them perform their work effectively.

The National Government should address youth unemployment by increasing the uptake of grants such as Uwezo Fund and also ensure proper mechanisms are put in place, including subsidizing the prices of basic commodities, in order to lower the cost of living. On the other hand, the County Governments should improve infrastructure in slum areas such as erecting lighting masts and improving access roads.

The public has a role to play in making slum areas safer places to live in. They should step up collaboration with police officers in detecting and reporting crime as well as avoid buying or trading in stolen properties. Buying stolen goods encourages the criminals to continue stealing.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgement	v
Executive Summary	vi
List of Acronyms	xi
Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Introduction to the Study	1
1.2 Conceptual Issues and Justification for the Study	3
Chapter 2: METHODOLOGY	6
2.1 Objectives of the Study	6
2.2 Methods of Data Collection	6
2.3 Data Analysis	8
Chapter 3: FINDINGS OF THE STUDY	9
3.1 Methodological Findings	9
3.2 Crime Types and Trends	15
3.3 Main Causes of Crime in Slums	17
3.4 Crime Perpetrators' Age Groups	18
3.5 Frequency of Crime	19
3.6 Fear of Crime	20
3.7 Level of Safety	21
3.8 Crime Reporting	23
3.9 Effectiveness of Crime Prevention Initiatives	26
3.10 Criminal Gangs in Major Urban Slum areas	27
3.11 Crime Hotspots	31
Chapter 4: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	51
4.1 Conclusions	51
4.2 Recommendations	52
List of Selected References	56

List of Acronyms

APHRC	-	African Population and Health Research Centre
CPCs	-	Community Policing Committees
CSOs	-	Civil Society Organizations
DPCs	-	District Peace Committees
INGOs	-	International Non-Governmental Organizations
KII	-	Key Informant Interview
KNFP	-	Kenya National Focal Point on Small Arms and Light Weapons
KNICE	-	Kenya National Integrated Civic Education
LEAs	-	Law Enforcement Agencies
NGOs	-	Non-Governmental Organizations
NPS	-	National Police Service
NSC	-	National Steering Committee on Peace building and Conflict Management
SGBV	-	Sexual and Gender Based Violence
SRIC	-	Security Research and Information Centre
UN	-	United Nations
UNDP	-	United Nations Development Programme

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION



1.1 Introduction to the Study

In the recent past, crime, particularly in major urban areas in Kenya, continues to defy the state and non-state efforts expended towards its prevention and management. The increasing crime rates pose a major challenge to peace and security in the country in the process frustrating both domestic and foreign investments. This study was informed by the need to objectively interrogate the apparent escalation of crime incidences in the country, especially in the urban slum

areas in major cities; namely Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu and Nakuru.

The sampling of these four slum areas was informed by the findings from SRIC's crime database and previous quarterly crime observatory reports undertaken between 2011 and 2014 that have consistently shown disproportionately higher crime rates in slum areas than in formal settlements. Comparatively, previous studies on crime prevalence in Kenya indicate that most of crime incidents occurred in urban areas as opposed to the rural areas (UN Habitat,

2003)¹. These findings represent worrying trends considering that countries are increasingly becoming urbanized and, in the case of Kenya, the devolved system of governance is poised to lead to rapid transformation of hitherto 'sleepy' townships into bustling urban centres, with attendant social and economic challenges, including urban crime.

A number of scholars have defined crime in various ways. Mushanga (1985), defined crime as an act committed or omitted that is harmful to the state, an individual or both. He adds that the act so committed or omitted must be specifically prohibited by an existing criminal law.² On his part, Siegel (1995) provides an integrated definition of crime by stating that crime is a violation of the societal rules of behaviour as interpreted and expressed by a criminal legal code created by people holding social and political powers.³

For the purposes of this study, crime is understood as acts or prohibitions which are against the law (both written and unwritten for the case of societal norms).

¹ UN-Habitat, (2003). *Facing the challenge of slum, Globalreport on human settlement, Nairobi*

² Mushanga, T. (1974). *Criminal Homicide in Uganda: asociological study of violent deaths in Akole, Kigezi and Toro districts of Western Uganda. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau.*

³ Siegel, L. (1995). *Criminology, Theories, Patterns and Typology. New York: West Publishing Company.*

The Nairobi Annual Crime Observatory report 2011/2012 established the existence of a strong causal relationship between crime occurrence and the general environment in which it occurs. It was found that in general, there seemed to exist more crime hotspots in urban slums than in planned affluent residential estates, which can be safely attributed to the fact that residents of the latter population segment can afford to invest in better security around their premises, which at any rate are mostly owner occupied. Based on this finding as well as previous studies, the study sought to among other things identify, collect, analyse and publish data on crime in the selected slum areas in the four main urban centres in Kenya with a view of suggesting actionable recommendations to address the problem.

While doing so, the study triangulated crime data emanating from a wide spectrum of society such as the public, civil society organizations (CSOs), District Peace Committees (DPCs), community policing committees (CPCs), private companies, police and other government officers in order to generate – from as many perspectives as was practically possible – useful reference and empirical information on the nature, patterns, dynamics, and trends, causal and exacerbating factors that would help inform policy formulation on crime mitigation in the country. It is important

to note that safety and security are social phenomena that are much a function of perception as they are of reality.

The study was commissioned by the Government of Kenya (GoK) through the National Steering Committee on Peace building and Conflict Management (NSC) and the Kenya National Focal Point on Small Arms and Light Weapons (KNFP), with financial support from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Kenya country office.

1.2 Conceptual issues and Justification for the Study

Approximately 3.9 million people live in slum and informal urban settlements in Kenya, constituting 55% of the urban population.⁴ Kibra in Nairobi is arguably the second biggest African slum after Soweto in South Africa with a population of 170,070⁵ albeit many other unofficial sources have put the population of this slum at over 500,000 earning it the tag “the biggest slum in Africa.” Other notable slums that dot Kenya’s urban centres include Bondeni in Nakuru, Mishomoroni in Mombasa and Manyatta in Kisumu. Previous surveys and studies conducted by SRIC and other

sources available online indicate that unemployment rates in these areas are generally high and that crime is rife with high levels of robbery (with violence), theft, burglary, assault and rape reported almost on a daily basis. It was also reported that there were high numbers of outlawed militia groups operating in these areas. Most members of the outlawed sects such as *Mungiki*, (Nairobi and to some extent Nakuru), *Baghdad Boys* and *Sungu Sungu* (Kisumu), *Siafu*, *Mombasa Republican Council* (Mombasa) as well as other anonymous and shadowy organized criminal groups not mentioned here are thought to be living in urban areas and reportedly carrying out violent crimes with impunity.⁶ Some of the gangs were found to have political connections and operate as gangs for hire or as some respondents called them, “guns for hire”.

Findings from preceding series of studies indicate that most types of crimes, ranging from theft, mugging, house and business premise break-ins, rape and other variants of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) and murders were notably more common and pronounced in slum areas/informal settlements than was the case in affluent up-market residential areas.

⁴ See more in : <http://www.homeless-international.org/our-work/where-we-work/kenya>

⁵ Karanja, Muchiri (3 September 2010). “Myth shattered: Kibera numbers fail to add up”. *Daily Nation*. Retrieved 4 September 2010.

⁶ Musoi, K., Muthama, T., Waiya, N. & Kitiku, J. (2012). *Nairobi region annual crime observatory report 2011/2012*. Online: http://srickenya.org/images/reports/Nairobi_Region_Annual_Crime_Observatory_Report_2011_2012.pdf Accessed on 24th September 2014

Based on this finding, the study sought to interrogate factors, which predispose these areas to a disproportionately higher degree of susceptibility to crime. This was done through sampling major informal settlements in the four main urban centres in Kenya, namely Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu and Nakuru.

Informal settlements – sometimes referred to as slum or inner city neighbourhoods - are defined as areas typically characterized by absence or deprivation of basic urban amenities, services or needs such as adequate shelter, infrastructure investment, economic deprivation, uncontrolled human movement, squalor and poor sanitation as well as lack of security of tenure for residential land and dwellings (and this is consistent across different informal settlements).⁷ Based on these similar characteristics, it is expected that the level of crime and crime trends would be generally similar across the different informal settlements. However, reports have tended to suggest that there are urban environments that indeed have low crime incidents even though these environments are typically slum areas. Although there is some literature on this, there is a lack of proper explanation and justification of these crime differentials between informal settlements with homogenous characteristics, such

⁷ *Ibid*

as uncontrolled settlements, lack of sanitation, and lack of adequate clean water, poor living standards and poverty.

According to findings from previous crime observatory surveys undertaken in informal settlements in Nairobi, the phenomenon of differential crime patterns between different informal settlements was observable. These findings were derived from two divisional police heads, namely in Starehe (Mathare) and Langata (Kibra). However, some findings on crime rates in slum areas have indicated that there are some areas which do not experience as much crime prevalence as others.⁸ This study therefore also sought to test the validity or otherwise of this assertion and put forward plausible explanations and implications for such marked variations in crime prevalence in the different slum areas in the major urban centres.

According to a report by Ndikaru (2011)⁹, informal settlements in urban areas were particularly vulnerable to crime and violence. The report further intimates that due to informal settlements' unplanned physical nature, inhabitants have scant protection from official state security agencies and, because of high poverty levels, have little resilience

⁸ UN-Habitat, (2003). *Facing the challenge of slum, Global report on human settlement, Nairobi*

⁹ Ndikaru, T. (2011). *Crime causes and victimization in Nairobi city Informal settlements. International journal of current research. Available online at: <<http://www.journalcra.com>>.*

to loss or injury and finally the lack of institutions and service delivery, leaves the residents with little option of dealing with issues through due process. According to Broken Windows Theory¹⁰, which is based on social cohesion, law and order; these conditions mean that a certain community lacks a sense of social cohesion and mutual interest and is likely to witness a proportionately higher risk of criminality. According to the proponents of this theory, crime is not always necessarily caused by “broken down” neighbourhoods but rather that they become magnets for crime because of their disorganization.

In the urban gridlock of the major towns in Kenya, living conditions are extremely harsh to an extent that overcrowding and overpopulation are common sights. According to a report by UN-Habitat (2009),¹¹ impoverished villages and communities in the urban centres, lead to gang violence, low education levels, and incredibly high crime rates. Informal settlements in all the major town centres in Kenya, especially in Nairobi, are located within “eyeshot of the luxurious mansions of business executives, well-paid members of the diplomatic service

and Kenya’s Members of Parliament” creating a starkly dichotomous society which tends to breed rabid resentment and negativity from the mainstreet.¹²

This study therefore sought to firstly interrogate factors, which make slum areas more susceptible to crime, and secondly identify crime patterns unique to these areas and compare crime trends among various slum areas spread in the major town centres in the country, that is, Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu and Nakuru. On the whole, previous studies have established the existence of a fairly strong correlation between increase in crime and urban centres’ population size. Indeed, the four urban centres have experienced a high population growth in the past ten years, majority of who live in the slums areas.¹³

¹⁰ Wilson, J.Q. & Kelling, G.K.L (2004). *Broken Windows: The police and neighborhood safety*”

¹¹ UN-Habitat, (2009). *Urban safety and slum upgrading*. Available at: http://www.unhabitat.org/downloads/docs/6813_70325_K0951951%20HSP-EC-ACP-1-4%20Urbanization%20challenges.pdf

¹² Ibid

¹³ UN-Habitat, (2003). *Facing the challenge of slum, Global report on human settlement, Nairobi*

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY



2.1 Objectives of the Study

The main objective of the study was to contribute to better understanding of the nature, trends and dynamics of crimes in the four select major urban slums in Kenya (Mishomoroni in Mombasa; Bondeni in Nakuru; Manyatta in Kisumu and Kibra in Nairobi) and to formulate actionable policy recommendations.

Specific Objectives

The following were the specific objectives of the study;

- i. To establish the status, nature and dynamics of crime in the slum areas.
- ii. To identify and analyse crime hot spots within the slum areas.
- iii. To find out factors that exacerbate crime in selected slum areas in the major town centres in Kenya.
- iv. To identify and profile organized groups' activities and their contribution to crime

dynamics in the four slum areas.

- v. To assess the impact of armed violence intervention strategies in the selected informal settlements and make recommendations for improvement.

2.2 Methods of Data Collection

The study purposively sampled four (4) slum areas in Kisumu, Nakuru, Nairobi and Mombasa essentially based on review of crime reports from previous studies and media. Various methodological approaches of data collection were employed. This included the secondary and primary data collection methods. Primary data was sourced from key informants and members of public while secondary data collection involved sourcing information from previous crime reports conducted by SRIC and other security research organisations. Literature from other stakeholders like government agencies, National Police Service, the UN, (I) NGOs, the media (specifically *The Standard* and *Nation* newspapers), and individual researches were also reviewed to enrich the scope of the study. The following data collection methods were used to generate primary data:

2.2.1 Questionnaires

A total of 654 questionnaires were administered to members of the public in the selected four slum areas within Nairobi, Mombasa, Nakuru and Kisumu. Respondents were randomly selected from a sample population of those aged 18 years and above. Gender balance and sensitivity was taken into account during the administration of the questionnaires. The questionnaire aimed at deriving information on four thematic areas, namely: means of subsistence of the respondents, the type and trends of crimes committed in the slums, crime characteristics and possible ways of improving security situation in the sampled areas.

2.2.2 Key Informant Interviews

During the study, 12 key informant interviews in each slum area were conducted. The interviews targeted chiefs or their assistants, OCSs, DPC members and village elders. These interviews were aimed at gathering information to corroborate some of the findings from the previous observatory reports.

2.2.3 Observation of Crime Hotspots

Following the previous study, a number of locations in each of the four slums had been identified as crime hotspots. This



survey sought to investigate their physical characteristics, the most dangerous times (day and night), type of crime mostly committed, type of goods targeted and the mechanisms the locals have put in place in protecting themselves.

The study therefore sought to profile at least 5 key crime hotspot locations in each slum area. Observations were recorded through taking notes and photography.

2.3 Data Analysis

The study generated both qualitative and quantitative data. The data was first grouped according to the sampled slum areas in order to allow identification

of unique crime trends experienced in each of them (slum area) and finally combined for more general analysis and interpretation. The quantitative data was organized, cleaned, coded and analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) to help generate tables and graphs for easy analysis and interpretation. Qualitative data was analyzed through interpretation of the responses. Every effort was made to triangulate both the qualitative and quantitative data so as to arrive at the most plausible conclusions possible and to enhance the reliability, credibility and quality of the analysis made by the study.

CHAPTER 3

FINDINGS OF THE STUDY



This chapter presents the findings of the study on crime in the four sampled areas. The findings commence with the methodological findings, which are key in establishing the veracity of the overall findings of the study. Crime typologies, causes of crime, fear of crime, level of safety, frequency of crime, criminal gangs operating in the sampled study areas, crime hotspots, most common ways of executing crime, crime reporting, and alternative methods of dealing with crime – other than through police efforts

– are also presented as the main findings of the study.

3.1 Methodological Findings

3.1.1 Respondents' Profile

The survey targeted persons aged 18 years and above. Majority of those interviewed were aged between 26-35 years (38.4%), followed by those falling between the 36-45 years bracket constituting 23.8% of the sampled

respondents. Respondents aged between 18-25 years constituted 18.9% while those aged between 36-45 years formed 13.9% of the sampled respondents. The least number of respondents comprised of those aged 56 years and above who made a total of 5.2%. This can be interpreted to mean that the youth between the age of 18 and 35 constituted almost 60% of the slum population. In addition, the rural-urban migration, where males from rural areas move to the urban areas in search of employment and end up in slum environments because of the perceived cheaper standards of living, could also explain this finding. The findings are also consistent with a study done by APHRC (2002)¹⁴ which established a similar age distribution in Nairobi slums.

In terms of gender, a majority of respondents were males, comprising of 55.5% while females accounted for 44.5%. This finding was consistent with that of African Population and Health Research Centre (APHRC, 2002) which indicated that the males in Nairobi's slum environments were approximately 56%. The survey also found that more males than females were keener to participate in the study and therefore the difference in their numbers.

¹⁴ African Population and Health Research Centre (APHRC, 2002) Nairobi, Kenya

3.1.2 Level of Education

Generally, the slum population could be described as semi-literate. About 60% of the respondents (slum population) had primary and secondary school level of education.

" About 60% of slum dwellers are either primary or secondary school leavers."

Another 26.2% indicated that they had or were pursuing college education. The findings also indicated that Manyatta dwellers were significantly more educated than their counterparts in the other three (3) slum areas. This is evident from the graph below where, out of 2.74% of all the respondents who had indicated to have university education, 77.78% came from Manyatta in Kisumu. Bondeni had the highest level of primary education holders with more than 35% of all the respondents who had indicated to have primary education while Mishomoroni had the highest number of individuals who had no formal education with more than 45%.



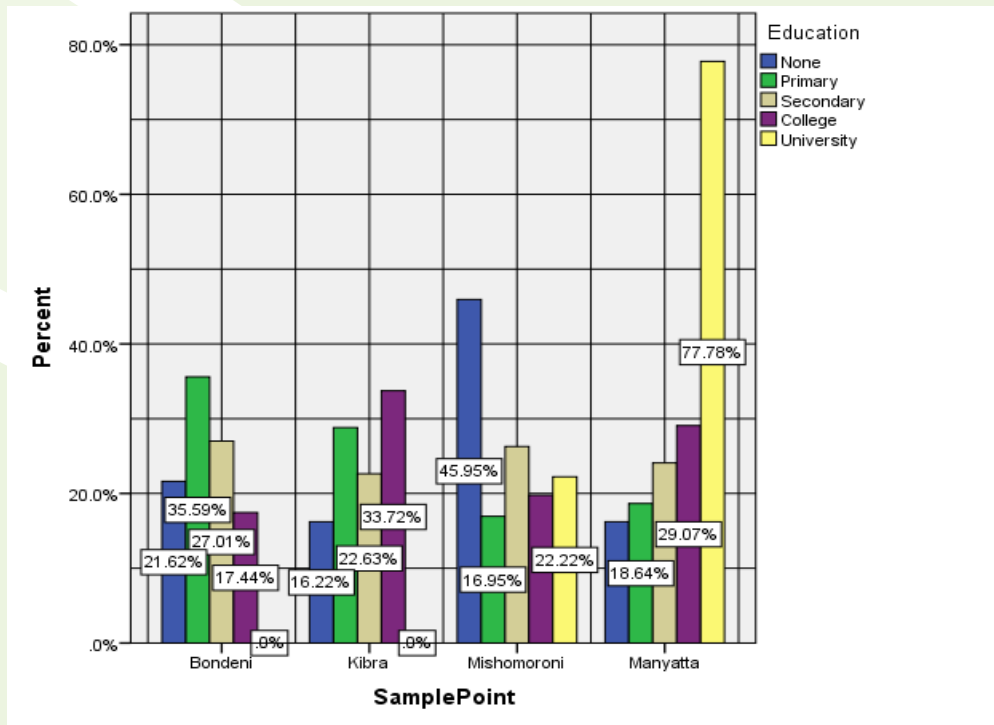


Fig.1: Level of Education

These findings negate the perception that slum or informal settlement areas in Kenya are occupied by people of low level of education. It is important to note that a significant number of the residents of these areas have attained university level of education. Determining the correlation between the level of education and crime in slum areas should be subjected to further studies.

3.1.3 Main Occupation of respondents

Slum areas have always been considered as regions of urban poverty. Mostly, poverty is seen as an inability to secure income earning activities. In order to understand

how the residents spent most of their day, the study sought to know what occupied or kept the residents busy. As the table below shows the main occupation of a majority of the slum residents involved low income earning activities such as casual labour, which constituted 32.6% of the sampled residents. Slightly more than a third (30.2%) indicated that they were business people while 13.7% were jobless/unemployed.

“Over 30% of slum dwellers are casual workers while 13.7% are jobless.”

A comparison between the settlements showed that there was no significant difference as far as work status was concerned. However, the incidences of involvement in casual work were higher in Bondeni, Nakuru than in any other slum area which also had the highest percentage of the unemployed. Out of the 13.7% of the respondents who indicated that they were unemployed, 64.44%

came from Bondeni. Additionally, the incidence of self-employment accounted for about a third (30.2%) of employment. Other forms of occupation indicated included civil service (8.8%), housewives (5.5%), professionals (3.3%), religious/village elders (2.4%) and also students who accounted for 3.4% of the sampled respondents.

Main Occupation	Frequency	Percent
Unemployed	89	13.6
Civil Servant	57	8.7
Student	22	3.4
Casual Laborer	214	32.7
Business Person	198	30.3
Housewife	36	5.5
Religious/ village Leaders	16	2.4
Professionals	22	3.4
Total	654	100.0

Fig. 2: Main occupation

In order to establish if a respondent's level of education had any significant impact on the occupation, the study compared education against occupation of the sampled residents. As shown in figure three (3) below, majority of the unemployed residents did not have any formal education at all, had primary or to a small extent, secondary school level of education. It was also established that all the sampled respondents with post-secondary education were engaged in some form of formal and professional income-generating activities, including sports, businesses, involved in leadership (women and youth) and also in artistic ventures either within their residential

areas or in other parts of the city.

It was evident that most of the residents who had indicated to have university degrees preferred professional jobs such as working as civil servants or running small businesses as opposed to menial jobs. This was well indicated by 40% of graduates across the four (4) slums who mentioned that they worked as civil servants and a further 20% who indicated that they were running some businesses. In contrast 40% of all the graduates were unemployed.

"40% of all graduates living in the slums are unemployed."

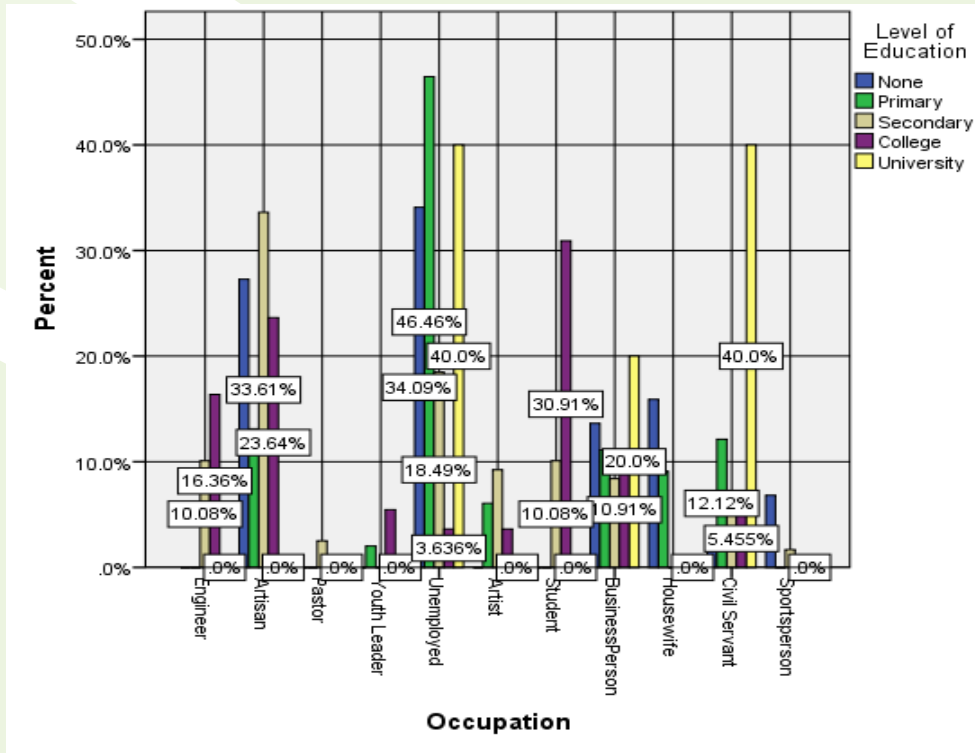


Figure 3: Respondent level of education vis-a-vis main occupation

The findings can be interpreted to mean that different societies still glamorize white-collar professionals at the expense of their blue-collar counterparts. The findings corroborate assertions by Park (2013) who reported that most graduates still preferred to “suit up”, other than “uniform up” and associated office jobs with higher levels of class, income and education as opposed to menial

jobs which are perceived to have lower status.¹⁵

3.1.4 Levels of Income

Previous studies undertaken by SRIC had indicated that the lower the income levels, the higher the propensity to commit petty crimes, mostly for subsistence. Based on this finding, the study sought to profile

¹⁵ Park, P. (2013). *The Guardian Beta. The case of blue collar work: College no longer guarantees success. Retrieved from; <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/feb/19/college-no-longer-guarantees-success> on 3rd June, 2014.*

the slum respondents in terms of their levels of income or levels of earning. The disclosure of personal income was a sensitive issue; most respondents chose to completely abstain from the question. Only 57.9% of the respondents agreed to answer this question. This was highly pronounced in Bondeni where out of 42.1% respondents who chose to abstain from answering the question, 39.86% came from the area.

The results indicated that Manyatta and Mishomoroni residents averagely earned significantly higher incomes than their counterparts in Bondeni and Kibra. This is as shown in the graph below where out of 13.1% of the sampled residents who had indicated that they earned more than

Ksh. 1000 per day, 39.53% and 32.56% were from Manyatta and Mishomoroni respectively compared to 18.6% and 9.3% for Kibra and Bondeni respectively. This could be attributed to the fact that Manyatta slum residents had comparatively higher levels of education (as earlier established) than their counterparts. It was also apparent that higher levels of education translated to better jobs hence more income. In Mishomoroni, residents were comparatively more exposed to self-sustaining means of living such as working as beach boys, tour guides for the visiting tourists, involved in fishing and many other economic activities associated with proximity to water bodies.

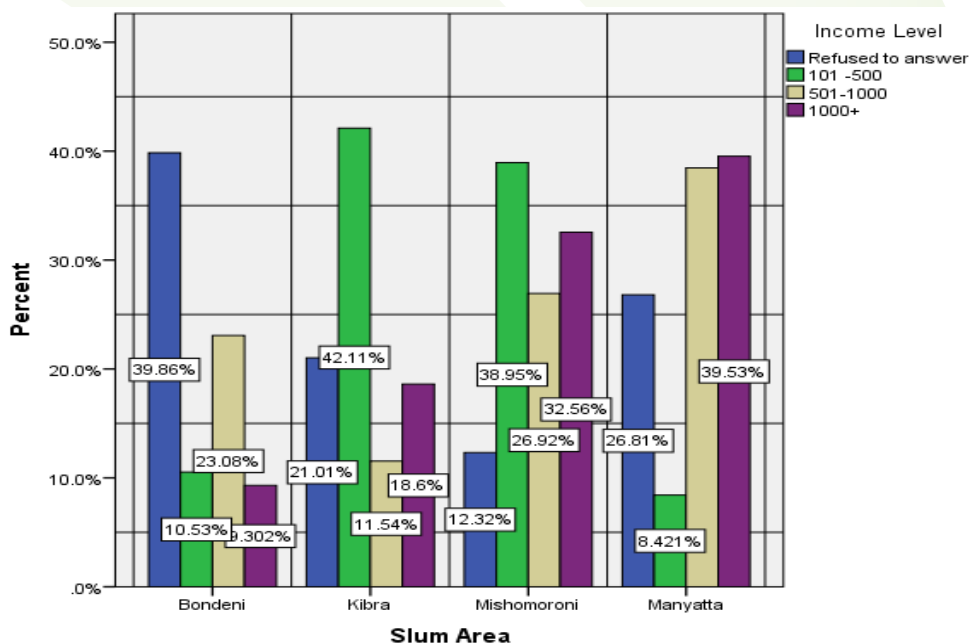


Fig. 4: Levels of income

For the 41.6% of the respondents who had indicated that they were unemployed the study sought to establish how they survived in the area. As shown in Figure five (5) below, it was interesting to note that majority of the respondents

relied on casual jobs to survive as represented by (15%), followed by small businesses (13%). It was also worth noting that there were some residents who relied on their relatives as well as donations from well-wishers to survive, as shown by 8% of the respondents.

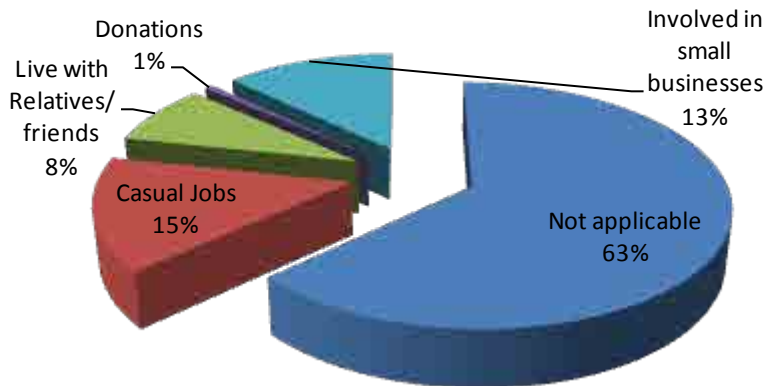


Fig. 5: Means of survival for the unemployed.

It can therefore be concluded that residents of the four slums survived on meager wages which could be the reason as to why petty crimes were ever high in the areas. This can be hypothesized to mean that most of the crimes committed in the slums were situational and that some perpetrators saw it as a means of subsistence.

“Most of crimes committed in slums are situational; a means of subsistence.”

3.2 Crime Type and Trends

In a bid to analyze the crime situation in slum areas, the respondents were asked to generally state the common type of crime experienced in their area. This interviewing technique was used to evaluate which crimes were top-of-mind and those that were not. In this study, top-of-mind crimes were viewed as those which the respondents could remember easily. In this way, it was considered possible to determine types of crime which were either very recent and/or very severe.

The figure below shows that while residents of the four sampled slums reported occurrence of a wide range of crime typologies, four of those, namely theft (35.37%), robbery (15.55%), burglary/break-ins (10.67%) and mugging (23.17%) accounted for a combined 84.76% of all the reported crimes in the four slums. Incidences involving assault, SGBV, conning, pick-pocketing, drug abuse and

murder together accounted for about 15% of crime types committed.

Based on these findings therefore, and considering the dire social and economic realities that bedevil the slums under study, an inference can be drawn that rampant poverty and depressed income levels seem to be the primary drivers of localized crimes in major urban slums in Kenya.

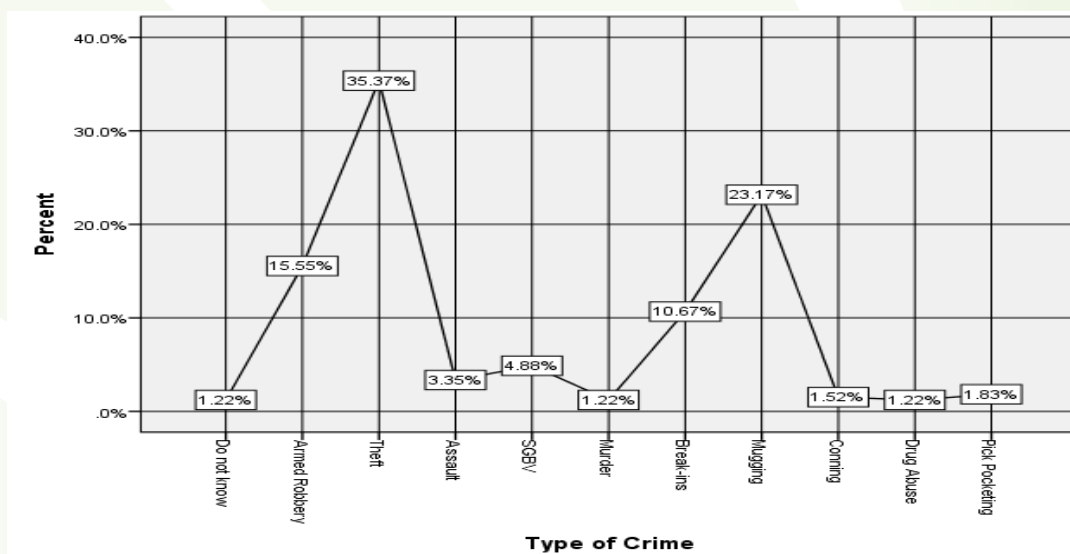


Figure 6: Crime typology in the urban slums

In order to understand whether respondents were able to differentiate the various types of crime, the study sought to establish whether there was use of force by criminals in committing the crimes mentioned. Responses to this question revealed that there were indeed some instances of robbery which were referred to as theft as it was indicated by

77.1% of respondents compared to only 19.52% who stated in the contrary.

The study also established that an overwhelming majority, 98.8% of the respondents had witnessed crime being committed in the last three months. This can be inferred to mean that almost everyone in the four slums had either

been affected (may be within the family) or personally experienced some form of crime.

“98.8% of slums residents have either witnessed or been victims of crime.”

It is imperative to note that the majority of the respondents confessed to have witnessed or have been victims of theft with 37.2% of the sampled respondents, followed by mugging, 23.2%, robbery, 16.2%, assault, 7.9% and break-ins, 4.9%. The least mentioned types of crime were SGBV, murder, conning and pick-pocketing which accounted for 3.4%, 2.7%, 2.1% and 1.2% respectively. A negligible percentage of 1.2% posited that they had not witnessed or been victims of crime in the last three months preceding the study. This could be attributed to different alternative measures of protection the residents had adopted in ensuring their own security or may be some just chose to abstain from answering the question due to the sensitivity attached to security matters not only in the slums but in all the major towns in the country.

3.3 Main Causes of Crime in Slum Areas

The respondents were asked what, in their own opinion, contributed to commission of crime in their areas. From the findings, six key causes were identified both from the quantitative and qualitative

“61.2% of crimes in slum areas is caused by high levels of youth unemployment.”

data. As shown in Figure 7, 61.2% of the respondents indicated that high levels of youth unemployment was the main cause of crime in slum areas. This was followed by poverty and indulgence in consumption of illicit brews/drug abuse which accounted for 11.3% and 9.5% of the respondents respectively.

Other causes of crime mentioned included peer pressure and easy availability of small arms both accounting for 5.5% of the respondents; inadequate crime control by the police and the community, and also divisive politics which accounted for 4.3% and 1.2% respectively.

The findings corroborate a previous survey report by Sana and Okombo (2012) which indicated that unemployment stood out as a major threat to national security and stability in the Nairobi slums. The report further explained that a majority of the rural-urban migrants take years before they get employed. Even those who may be lucky to find some semblance of employment earn so little that they occasionally “moonlight” in crime in order to supplement their meagre incomes¹⁶. The same issue was

¹⁶ Sana, O., Okombo, O. (2012). *Taking stock of socio-economic challenges in the Nairobi slums; an inventory of the pertinent issues between January, 2008 and November, 2012. See more in <http://www.fes-kenya.org/media/publications/2013/Taking%20Stock%20of%20Slums%20Booklet.pdf>*

raised by key informants in all the sampled areas; for instance, in Kibra one of the key informants reported that:

“The youths, not only in Kibra but the rest of Nairobi, find it difficult to avoid crime for survival. Idleness and high levels of unemployment has increased the number of young people willing to take risks even if it means indulging in criminal activities because they have nothing to lose.”¹⁷”

turn is expressed or acted out through the adoption of an aggressive behavior, as propounded by the Frustration-Aggression Theory and other hedonistic predispositions that attempt to explain away the motivation for the commission of crimes.

Cause of Crime	Frequency	Percent
No Reason provided	10	1.5
Unemployment	400	61.2
Poverty	74	11.3
Indulgence in Illicit Brews/Drug Abuse	62	9.5
Easy Availability of Small Arms	28	4.3
Peer Pressure	36	5.5
Divisive Politics	8	1.2
Limited Crime Control by the Police Community	36	5.5
Total	654	100.0

Fig.7: Main causes of crime

These findings find resonance with the various criminal and economic theories of crime, and can be associated with the apparent social dysfunction that is the universal defining characteristic in informal urban settlements. Similarly, it can be surmised that, as a general observation, a consuming feeling of hopelessness tends to engender feelings of deep-seated frustration, which in

3.4 Crime Perpetrators’ Age Groups

Just as in all the previously done surveys in Nairobi and the neighbouring Counties, the crime perpetrators’ age groups are those of 15 to 20 and 21 to 30 years: loosely defined in this report as the “youth.” As shown in figure 8 below, 52%

“90% of crimes in slum areas are committed by youth aged between 18 and 30 years.”

¹⁷ A key informant account in Kibra

of all the respondents sampled felt that the crime perpetrators were in between the age bracket of 21 to 30 years, while 38% stated that they were between the ages of

15 and 20 years. It can thus be concluded that, approximately more than 90% of the respondents blamed the youth for crime perpetration across the four slums.

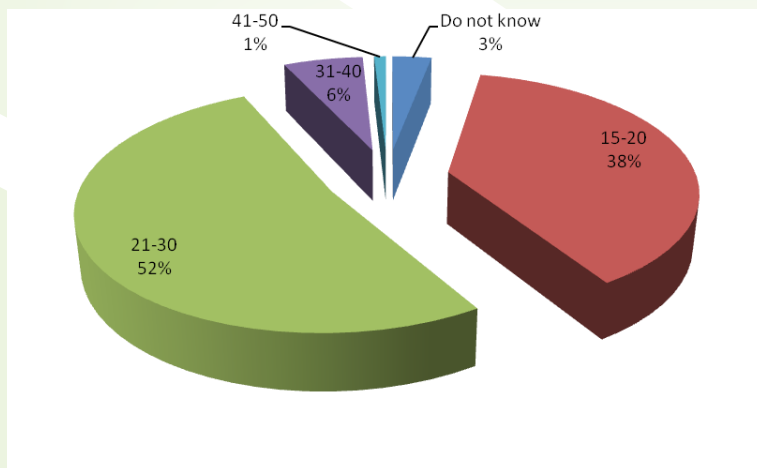


Fig. 8: Crime perpetrator's age group

A key informant in Bondeni, Nakuru stated that;

“These “boys” normally operate in a “base” where they plan their criminal activities. Most of the criminals range between the ages of 15 and 35 years, with those aged between 14 and 19 perpetrating petty crimes such as theft, and also being used as conduits by drug peddlers. Criminals ranging from 20 to 35 years commit much more serious offences such as robbery and kidnapping and are mostly armed”¹⁸.

This finding indicates that youth continue to constitute the majority of crime perpetrators in slum areas in the country.

As alluded to earlier in this study, youth unemployment and lack of meaningful livelihood options could be the main driver of crime in most of the country and not just slum areas. It is yet to be seen if government initiatives such as Uwezo and Youth Funds and the much hyped pledge of 30% of state contracts going to youth will reverse this dire situation.

3.5 Frequency of Crime

The study sought to understand the frequency of crime or how often residents witnessed crime commission in their respective areas. As shown in figure 9 below, the highest frequency of daily crime commission was registered in Bondeni (34.44%), Kibra (24.44%),

¹⁸ Assertions by a key informant in Bondeni, Nakuru.

Mishimoroni (24.39%) and Manyatta (14.44%). This can be inferred to mean that there was a higher likelihood of witnessing or becoming a victim of crime in Bondeni than in any of the three other

slums. The figures indicate Manyatta was the safest although a majority of respondents said they rarely witnessed crime in Kibra.

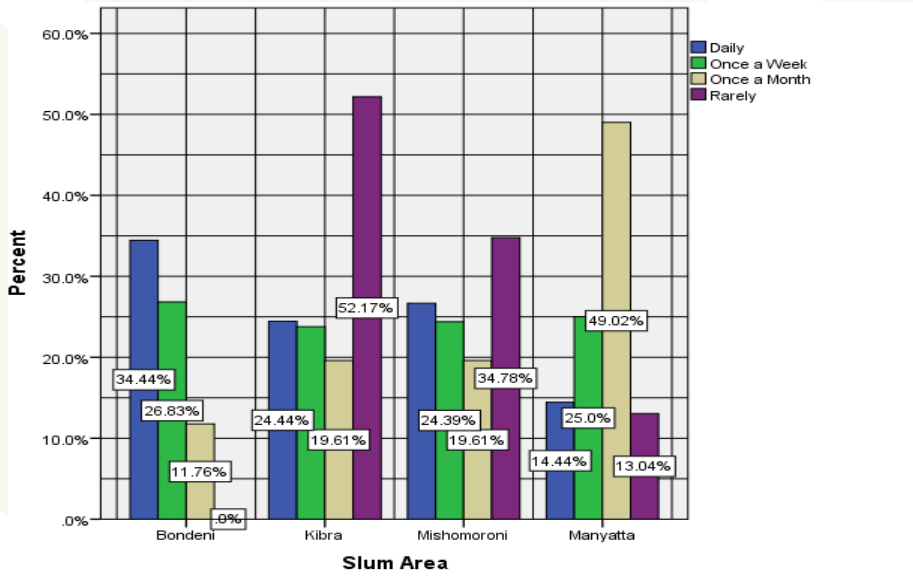


Fig. 9: Frequency of crime in the four slum areas

These statistics further corroborate the earlier finding that Bondeni is the most unsafe area among the four sampled slum areas. So, there may be a critical need to change the narrative that Kibra is the most unsafe slum area in Kenya. Kibra might be the biggest amongst the four slum areas but it has a lower victimization rate than previously found in other studies and as perceived by the public.

3.6 Fear of Crime

The study sought to establish the general perception of the residents of the four sampled slums in terms of fear of crime and as Figure 10 below depicts 46% of respondents felt very unsafe and 16% a bit unsafe compared to 34% who indicated that the areas were fairly safe with 2% feeling very safe.

“The frequency of crime is higher in Bondeni slums in Nakuru than in Kibra, Mishimoroni and Manyatta in Nairobi, Mombasa and Kisumu respectively.”

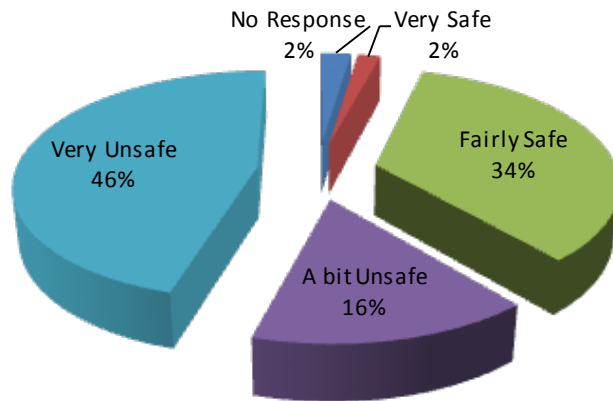


Figure 10: Fear of crime

In addition to fear of crime, the section below further looks at the perceptions of levels of safety in the study areas cumulatively as well as individually (per sampled area). This is also geared towards establishing if there is any difference between fear of crime and level of safety and also to compare levels of safety across the sampled slum areas. This is because in some instances cumulative statistics may not provide a clear picture of each of the slum area.

3.7 Level of Safety

When asked to state how they felt in terms of their physical security, a majority of respondents indicated that they felt unsafe or fairly safe, jointly constituting 87.2% of the respondents. 12% of the respondents indicated that they were either safe or very safe.

Level of Safety	Frequency	Percent
No Response	6	.9
Not Safe	372	56.9
Fairly Safe	198	30.3
Safe	60	9.2
Very Safe	18	2.7
Total	654	100.0

Fig. 11: Levels of safety

The study also sought to understand perceptions on level of security in each of the sampled areas for comparison and

analysis. The figure below illustrates the comparative safety levels of each of the sampled points.

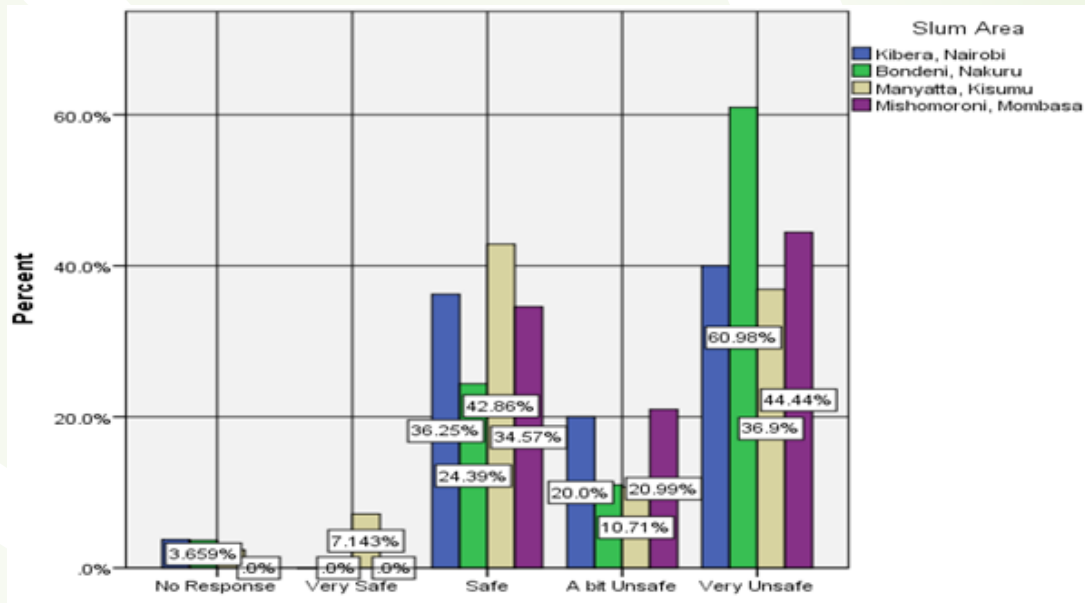


Fig.12: Safety Levels per sampled point

Contrary to assertions by many researchers and reports that Kibera was the most unsafe area to live in¹⁹, this study established that comparatively and at the individual sampled point, Bondeni slum in Nakuru town was perceived as the most unsafe place to live

in as indicated by more than 60% of the sampled respondents in Bondeni. It can be hypothesized that the deviation from the expected trend was due to the hype and focus by the media, local leaders, community members and foreigners who visit Kibera to profile many attributes of the slum including insecurity and poverty forcing security administrators to step up intervention strategies in the area.

¹⁹ Kibera Slum, Kenya: Resettling the problem. Retrieved online from: <http://www.international-alert.org/blog/kibera-slum-kenya-resettling-problem> on 3rd March, 2014

Mishomoroni in Mombasa came second with more than 44% respondents in the slum indicating that the area was very unsafe. The study also found that Kibra though unsafe as previously established respondents were torn between either “safe” or “very unsafe” at 36.25% and 40% respectively. The indecisiveness can reasonably be attributed to the fact that security in Kibra seemed to vary markedly from one side of the sprawling slum to the other, depending on proximity to other well off estates in the locality. By contrast, Manyatta area in Kisumu was found to be, in relative terms, the safest of the four slums as indicated by almost 50% of the respondents who reckoned that the area was either very safe (7.143%) or generally safe (42.86%) to live in.

“Manyatta slums in Kisumu is safer to live in than Kibra, Mishomoroni and Bondeni in Nairobi, Mombasa and Nakuru respectively.”

3.8 Crime Reporting

In order to be able to judge the extent of crime commission in the slums and also on general reporting trends, the study sought to investigate whether the respondents had ever reported any form of crime to the police. Findings indicated that 53.21% of the respondents, representing the majority of the slum dwellers, had

reported some form of crime to the police while 46.79% responded to the contrary.

When asked on whether there were some reasons which hindered them from reporting crimes, all the respondents gave an affirmative verdict. As shown in the Figure 13 below, majority of the respondents represented by 42.2% indicated that they had no confidence in administration of justice by the Police Service. 14.7% of the respondents indicated that they were afraid of the perpetrators. 18.7% indicated that sometimes they would not report any crime incident perpetrated or involving any member of the family/friends. 9.2% indicated that some criminal cases were not serious enough to warrant the attention of the police. 7.3% posited that the police were not friendly and were thus afraid of approaching them. Others indicated reporting was inconsequential since the police were incapable of recovering lost properties in cases of property related crimes representing 4.9% of the respondents.

From the key informant interviews, it was noted that some respondents would rather suffer in silence than report any form of crime involving their spouses like domestic violence or any other form of abuse as they saw it as a way of protecting their family dignity. This can be interpreted to mean that most people living in the slums don't think

domestic violence qualifies for a serious crime worth reporting to the police and preferred alternative dispute resolution.

It was also noted that other residents preferred keeping some cases that they considered too personal such as rape and defilement to themselves in some instances “to protect the family’s reputation” or to avoid stigma associated with SGBV cases and also to avoid perceived/imagined harassment by some Police officers when reporting. Other key informants intimated that some people opted not to report to the Police because “the reports from the Police and or government pathologist always differed

with the ones from the medical doctors indicating manipulation of the cases.” One of the key informants interviewed in Nakuru, posited that:

“Most serious criminal offenses go unreported because the police are unwilling to respond in good time or the chances of recovering any stolen or lost property is almost negligible. Major crimes such as armed robbery are rarely reported since some police officers collude with criminals and often disclose the identity of the informers putting their lives in danger. Only petty cases such as break-ins, assault or fighting among people, lost children, get reported”²⁰

Reasons for Not Reporting some Crimes	Frequency	Percent
Do not know	20	3.1
No Confidence in Administration of Justice	276	42.2
Afraid of Perpetrator	96	14.7
When the Perpetrator is a Household member/ Relative/Friend	122	18.7
Not Serious Enough	60	9.2
Afraid of Approaching the Police	48	7.3
It is Inconsequential	32	4.8
Total	654	100.0

Fig. 13: Reasons for not reporting some crimes to the police

3.8.1 Difficulties Faced when Reporting Crime

When asked whether there were any challenges experienced when reporting crimes to the Police, the respondents highlighted that key among them was that some police officers would be hesitant to

take up some cases unless they are bribed, as indicated by 20.2% of the respondents. Another main challenge reported was that sometimes reporting some forms of crime like property-related incidents was inconsequential as the police were seen

²⁰ A key informant report in Nakuru country

not to take any action and also that some police officers were very unfriendly and sometimes cruel towards members of the public as indicated by 19% and 18.3% of the respondents respectively.

Other difficulties reported included: Lack of confidentiality among the police officers as they would sometimes divulge the names of the informers; lengthy proceedings experienced in reporting

including other subsequent procedures; sometimes the police would insist that one brings the perpetrator especially when dealing with family related incidents. It was encouraging to note that 15.9% of the respondents were not aware of any challenges, a clear indication that they were either comfortable reporting to the police or had never reported any form of crime to the police.

Difficulties in Reporting	Frequency	Percent
Not Aware of Any	104	15.9
Cruelty of Police Officers	120	18.3
Police Officers Insist you bring the perpetrator	10	1.5
Some Police Officers Demand Bribes	132	20.2
Lengthy Procedures	78	11.9
Police inaction/it is inconsequential	124	19.0
Lack of confidentiality among the police	86	13.2
Total	654	100.0

Fig. 14: Difficulties experienced when reporting crimes to the Police

3.8.2 Alternative Measures (other than the Police) used for Crime Protection

The study also sought to establish whether there were any alternative measures residents of the different slum areas had adopted to protect themselves from crime. As shown in the table below a majority of respondents indicated the formation of vigilante groups (18.4%).

Some of the reason given for formation of these groups was that they were fast in resolving cases; the group members were well aware of the criminals and could easily recover stolen goods/ property and that in some areas the groups seemed to be more revered than even the police officers. This was more pronounced in Bondeni in Nakuru and Kibra in Nairobi where

the vigilante groups seemed to be highly trusted and respected by the residents. Other alternative measures included avoiding walking alone at night, taking part in community policing forums, avoiding known crime hotspots, going

home early, keeping dogs, erecting gates, reporting all suspicious individuals, use of mob justice to deter criminals, arming themselves and also hiring security guards in business premises.

Alternative Measure	Frequency	Percent
Do not know	65	10
Forming vigilante groups for protection	120	18.4
Keeping Dogs	34	5.2
Going home early	58	8.8
Avoiding known crime hotspots	56	8.5
Building Gates in the plots	46	7.0
Reporting all suspicious individuals to the police.	20	3.0
Involvement in Community Policing	81	12.4
Walking in numbers/groups at night	102	15.6
Hiring Security Guards to guard business premises	28	4.3
Arming themselves	24	3.7
Mob justice/ Lynching known criminals	8	1.3
Use of security lights	12	1.8
Total	654	100.0

Fig. 15: Alternative means of protection

3.9 Effectiveness of Crime Prevention Initiatives

Owing to increased sensitization, revamping of community policing initiatives and other efforts put in place

by the government, NGOs and the communities themselves, the study further sought to establish whether the efforts had had any impact on the levels of crime in the areas. As shown in the chart

below, a majority of respondents felt that crime incidences remained high with 26% indicating 'very high' and a further 55% indicating 'High'. Relatively only 17% of the total respondents indicated that the crime levels had reduced.

The findings further emphasize that crime in the slums remained a threat to stability and there was need to find ways of engaging the communities in coming up with ways and means of mitigating crime in these areas.

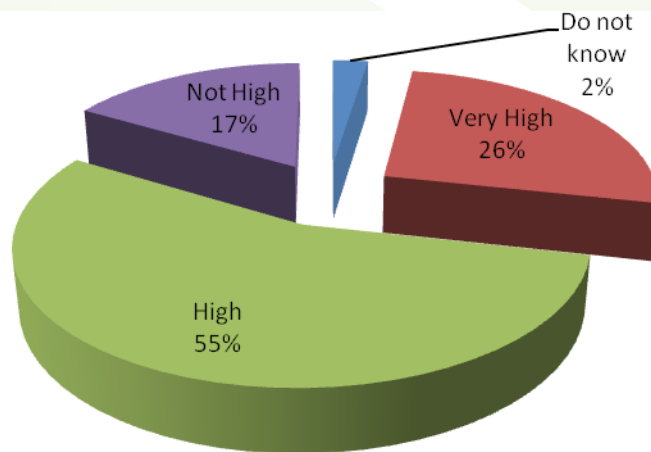


Fig. 16: Impact of many interventions on crime levels.

This finding is a major indictment to the efforts and strategies used by the various law enforcers and peace builders in the slum areas in the country. Either the wrong strategies are being consistently used or the root causes of crime in urban slum settings are not being addressed. In addition, the efforts being expended to address crime in slum areas may be disjointed and uncoordinated.

3.10 Criminal Gangs in Major Urban Slums in Kenya

Based on the previous reports by SRIC and many other organizations, slums were reported to host most of the known criminal groups²¹. In order to substantiate

²¹ National Crime Research Centre (2012). Summary of a study on organized criminal gangs in Kenya. Retrieved online from: http://www.frank-cs.org/cms/pdfs/KE/NCRC/NCRC_Organized_in_zed_Crime_Kenya_30.8.13.pdf on 2nd February, 2014

this assertion, the study sought to establish whether criminal groups actually existed in the four slums and the impact such groups had on security in those areas. It was found that some of the mentioned groups were not necessarily organized but took delight in criminality, resulting from perceived oppression and frustration in the job market. In most hot spots mentioned, these groups of young men and women were said to stalk their victims before attacking with no aim of harming unless there was some form of resistance. In order to establish how these criminal groups operated a further probing question revealed that the groups were notorious in extortion, mugging people in 'strategic' locations within the slums, break-ins (done through raiding certain streets within the slums), stalking, kidnapping and demanding ransoms, collecting "fees" from the residents in mere pretense of offering protection, controlling bus stops and through issuing threats.

In summary, 50% of the respondents indicated that organized criminal groups do operate in their areas while a similar percentage responded to the contrary. This only shows the level of fear among the residents when discussing issues to do with the criminal groups. Furthermore,

a baseline report done by Constitution and Reform Education Consortium (CRECO) and Elections Observation Group (ELOG) on Conflict-Mapping and Profiles of 47 Counties observed that major town centres in Kenya harbored the highest conflict risks. This was blamed to mushrooming of armed criminal gangs in the town centres, high presence and ready market of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW), an alarming influx of refugees, and heightened terror threats²².



²² This is according to CRECO and ELOG Baseline report, see table 2: conflict rating on Counties, page 13 of the CRECO and ELOG baseline report, <http://www.katibasasa.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/CRECO-Peace-bk-May.pdf> (accessed on 2 April 2014)

The table below shows a list of all the mentioned organized criminal groups.

Slum Area	Name of the Group	Manner of Operation
Kibra	42 Brothers	Extortion
	ManMan	Mugging people/ residents
	Kimungu Group	Stalking
	Mungiki	Collecting “fees” from the residents in mere pretense of offering protection
	Kogo Boys	Hired by politicians and business people to commit atrocities such as robbing business rivals and also disrupting rallies.
	Five Brothers	Mugging, hired by politicians and business people to commit atrocities such as robbing business rivals and also disrupting rallies.
Mishomoroni	Kaya Bombo	Terrorize the residents with arms, issuing threats, operate from the forests – terrorize, steal and disappear into the forests.
	Majambazi	Mugging people/ residents
	Washefa	Issuing threats, extortions, mugging in groups
	Magaidi	Issuing threats
	Mateja	Demanding protection fees from small businesses and public transport operators.
	Jihad	Issuing threats, extortions, mugging in groups
	Maunga	Mugging people/residents
	Washahili	Conning, extortions

Slum Area	Name of the Group	Manner of Operation
Bondeni	Makaveli (Most common)	Mugging residents
	Backyard	Mugging residents
	Mtaro base	Drug abuse and trafficking
	Wajanja	Conning
	Wazalendo	Demand protection “fees” from the residents
	Genge Juu	Pick-pocketing, mugging and demanding protection fee.
	Lumumba	Kidnapping and demanding ransoms, mugging
	Westside	Mugging and pick-pocketing-roam around the major bus stops.
Manyatta	Baghdad	Manning bus stops and extorting fees from public transport operators.
	China Squad	Charging protection ‘fees’ to small business owners in the informal settlements and public transport operators. Offering protection services, at a fee, to politicians visiting Kisumu and the environs (affiliated to TNA politicians during the 2013 general elections.
	American Marines	Charging protection ‘fees’ to small business owners in the informal settlements and public transport operators. Offering protection services, at a fee, to politicians visiting Kisumu and the environs (ODM politicians).
	Somali Squad	Mugging, demanding protection fee.

Table 1: Organized criminal gangs in the 4 main urban slums in Kenya



Extortions, levying of protection fees, muggings, heckling/disrupting political rallies and events, trafficking drugs and kidnappings are some of the common crimes committed by these identified criminal groups/gangs. It is also important to note that in Mishomoroni, Mombasa Republican Council (MRC) was not identified by the respondents as a criminal organization or group. Maybe the respondents feared mentioning it or may have perceived it as a legitimate organization pursuing interests of the coastal people.

3.11 Crime Hotspot Areas

The survey sought to find out the areas with the highest frequency of crime in the four sampled slum areas. For the purpose of this study and many others conducted by the organization in the past, a hotspot is defined as an area in a given locality that is prone to crime mainly due to

certain features that characterizes the area. From previous findings in Nairobi (SRIC Quarterly and Annual Crime Observatory Reports), it was apparent that a myriad of crimes occur in the informal settlements including assault, rape, and petty crimes. The physical/spatial underdevelopments of these areas appear to limit access of crime prevention strategies by law enforcement officers thereby enabling crime related activities to fester.

Due to poor settlement planning, like narrow pathways, mono exits and entry points, among others, the police normally have a difficult time in pursuing the criminals.

“Poor or non existent planning of the slum settlements characterized by narrow pathways, mono exits and entry points, among others, make it difficult for law enforcement agents to effectively police the area”

The figure below tabulates the hotspots areas per slum and the crimes that take place.

Slum Area	Crime Hotspot Areas	Type of Crime	Time of Day or Night
Manyatta, Kisumu	Around Magadi	Theft, Robbery, Mugging	Day and Night
	Around the Market (Sije)	Drug trafficking, Mugging, theft, assault, business premises break-ins	Day and Night
	Route to Koyayo	Mugging,	Day and Night
	Road to Metameta	Carjacking, mugging, theft, robbery	All Night
	Kona Mbuta	Mugging, Arms trafficking, Drug trafficking, theft, break-in	Day and Night
	Behind Sunsport Corridor	Theft, mugging, robbery	All Night
	Near Kosono Hall	Mugging, theft, robbery	10pm-6am
	Road to Kondele	Theft, robbery, mugging, carjacking	10pm-6am
	Manyatta Tunnel	Mugging, theft, robbery	Day and Night
Bondeni, Nakuru	Kamkunji	Mugging, theft, robbery,	All night
	Msalaba	Drug use and arms trafficking, mugging, break-ins	Day and night
	Makaburi	Mugging, pick-pocketing, theft, robbery	Day and night
	Barma	Robbery, mugging, theft	Between 10pm and 5am in the morning.
	NYS	Theft, mugging, drug trafficking, pick-pocketing	Late in the night and early hours of the morning
	Shuleni Rd	Mugging, theft, robbery, assault, carjacking	Late in the night
	Around SDA Church-Mburu Gichura Road	Carjacking, motorcycle theft, mugging, assault	10pm and 6am in the morning

Slum Area	Crime Hotspot Areas	Type of Crime	Time of Day or Night
Kibra, Nairobi	Darajani (Along the Railway line)	Mugging, robbery, theft	10.00pm – 5.00am
	Laini Saba Playing ground	Mugging, SGBV, theft, robbery	Midnight – 3.00am
	Bridge next to Corner Club - Bombululu area	Mugging, robbery, theft	9.00pm – 5.00am
	Karanja Road	Mugging, carjacking, pickpocketing	9pm and 7am in the morning.
	Forest between Kibra and Ngong Road	SGBV, mugging, assault	From 6pm and 6am in the morning
	Behind Raila Education Centre	Mugging, theft, robbery	11pm to 4am
	Light behind Bombululu Bar	Mugging, robbery	10.30pm – 5.00am
	Stage 42	Theft, pick-pocketing, mugging, robbery	Rush hours (6:45-7:30) and (7pm-10pm) and all night.
	Bridge between Stage 42 and Kenya Scout	Mugging, theft	Day and Night
	Along the Railway line	Mugging, theft, robbery	8pm – 6am
	Near Security Light at the Boundary of Gatwakera and Soweto (Under the Avocado tree)	Mugging	11pm – 4am

Slum Area	Crime Hotspot Areas	Type of Crime	Time of Day or Night
	Near Subra Plaza (at the boundary of Gatwakera and Soweto)	Mugging and robbery	8pm – 6am
	Around Fort Jesus (Next to little Prince school)	Mugging and theft	Theft; Day and Night Mugging; 10.30pm to 4.30am
	Around Equity Bank- near Stage 42	Robbery and mugging	Day and Night
	Next to KICOSHEP Primary School	Theft, robbery, break-ins	All night
	From Jasega Area to Mama Okinda Road	Carjacking, mugging, theft, robbery	All night
	Around Ayani Primary school	Robbery	10pm to 11pm
Mishomoroni	Kalongo (Mwembeni)	Robbery, theft	All night (when dark)
	Blue Beach	Mugging, Theft, Robbery, drug and arms trafficking, SGBV cases	All day and Night (Anytime)
	Magodoroni	Mugging, theft	Anytime (Day and Night)
	Safau Petrol Station	Theft, pick-pocketing, robbery	All Night
	Makumba	Theft, robbery, drug and arms trafficking	Anytime (Day and Night)
	Mwisho wa Lami	Carjacking, robbery, theft, pick-pocketing, drug trafficking	Anytime (Day and Night)
	Cobra playground (the area is highly deserted at night)	Robbery, SGBV (sodomy and rape cases reported), theft	10pm-6am
	Kagujo	Drug trafficking, theft, mugging	Anytime (Day and Night)

Slum Area	Crime Hotspot Areas	Type of Crime	Time of Day or Night
	Manor Murram Rd	Carjacking, robbery, theft (snatch and run)	Anytime (Day and Night)
	Opposite Mishomoroni Academy	SGBV cases, drug trafficking, robbery, theft, arms trafficking	Anytime (Day and Night)
	Junda	Robbery, break-ins, theft, arms and drug trafficking	Anytime (Day and Night)

Table 2: Crime hotspots in the four urban slums in Kenya

In total, 44 crime hotspots and times of the day the crime is likely to take place or committed were identified during the study. Kibra, due to its expansiveness, had the highest number of hotspots at 17. This was followed by Mishomoroni (11), Manyatta (9) and Bondeni (7) in that order. It is interesting to note that Bondeni, with only 7 identified crime hotspots, was perceived to be the most insecure slum (refer to figure 9 on level of safety).

3.11.1 Crime Hotspot Profiles

Owing to the existence of different set of factors and deplorable living conditions highlighted elsewhere in this report, it can be safely surmised that general insecurity

in the slums is a serious social challenge for which imperative and evidence-based intervention measures need to be instituted. As it will be observed in the detailed analysis of the findings presented below, together with photographic images of the living conditions which depict the slums, the commonest and most frequently reported crimes in the area include theft, mugging, business and domestic break-ins, robbery, drug and substance abuse, sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), vandalism of public infrastructure and arson (especially during heightened political campaigns or charged political rallies/protests).

During this study some crime hotspots were singled out as the most notorious

zones and profiled for their physical characteristics. The following are some of the photographs taken across the four slum areas:

Kibra, Nairobi

In Kibra, Nairobi, a key informant intimated that:

“Generally there is no safe area in Kibra. Crime occurs both in broad day light and at the dead of the night except in Gatwakera. Every other area is susceptible to crime. Gatwakera is however relatively safer both day and night simply because most criminals live in the area”²³.

Information from general questionnaires however indicated that there were areas which were more crime prone than others

a) Darajani

This is a railway line bridge. The bridge connects Kibra slums to the Law Court or what the locals refer to as the “Ka’DC” road. The bridge is unlit and one can always spot idle youths roaming the area. These characteristics have been blamed for an upsurge in crime around this area. The most common type of crime in this area is mugging. Criminals lie in wait for pedestrians and rob them of the valuables especially between 10pm and 5am.



Darajani Bridge, Kibra

b) Raila Educational Center

The centre is along the Railway line from Laini Saba to Olympic. It is also situated on the right hand side before Kamkunji grounds. The corridor behind the centre is deserted and unlit making it a prime area for the criminals to waylay those who pass by at night, especially between 9pm to 5am. The corridor is notorious for mugging and the targeted commodities are money, cell phones and other valuables.

²³ A key informant report in Kibra, Nairobi



A corridor behind Raila Educational Centre

c) Bridge between Stage 42 and Kenya Scout

According to many respondents and key informants, this bridge is the most notorious crime hotspot in Kibra. The mere presence of idlers who hover around the bridge make the area very notorious for mugging irrespective of time of the day or night. The idle youth who roam

around the area even made it practically impossible to take a photo of the area.

d) Bombolulu Area.

In Bombolulu area, two crime hotspots were identified on the same route from Bombolulu bar. The bar is next to the road between Olympic stage and Stage 42. The two spots were:

i. Next to Bombolulu Security Light.

The presence of idle youths and many bars (wines and spirits) around the area make it insecure. The criminals target all revellers (from the many bars around)

and passers-by as they head home or leave for work early in the morning as from 10.30pm to early hours of the morning (5am).



The area around Bombululu security light

ii. Bridge near Corner Bar

The bridge is immediately after Corner bar and next to Soweto Academy. The area is noted to be unlit at night and idle

youths are ever roaming the area making it notorious for many forms of crime including mugging and murder as from 9pm to 5am.



Bridge near Corner Bar, Kibra

e) Ayany: Next to Ayany Primary School

This crime hotspot is unlit and deserted at night making it “ideal” for commission of crime. The criminals target businesses around the area and also pedestrians using the road late in the night, that is,

as from 10pm to 11pm. The criminals use guns and other weapons to threaten business people and rob them of money and other valuables.



Ayany, next to Ayany Primary School

f) Fort Jesus: next to Little Prince Primary School

Area around Little Prince Primary School was also identified as a crime hotspot. Three types of crime are common in this area, namely; break-ins, theft (stealing

of household goods) and mugging (normally at night, 10.30pm to 4.30am). The criminals target passers-by at night since the area is unlit and rob them of their valuables.



Fort Jesus: next to Little Prince Primary School

g) Kibra/Laini Saba Playing Ground

Kibra playing ground is next to the famous Ka'DC along the main road to town. The area is deserted at night. Criminals here monitor the movement of officers patrolling the area and carry out criminal activities immediately the officers leave. The most reported type

of crime here is mugging. Criminals can strike at any time in the night as long as the officers are not around. Crimes mostly happen between midnight and 3am when criminals are sure officers have left for patrols and before they come back at around 3am in the morning.



Kibra playing ground

Bondeni, Nakuru

While mentioning crime hotspots within Bondeni areas, residents also singled out other areas within the larger Nakuru town earmarked as notorious for most types of crime. These included: Pondamali, London, Manyani, Lake View and Msalaba which were mentioned to

be notorious for theft, mugging, robbery, arms trafficking, SGBV and burglaries. Kamukunji grounds, shuleni road -around Makaburini, Msalaba - next to the high mast flood light, NYS, area around the SDA church and the road connecting Msalaba area from the main road were singled out as the most notorious and known crime hotspots in Bondeni slums.

a) Kamukunji Ground, Bondeni

The grounds are unlit and deserted at night making the area ideal for perpetration of crime since criminals are able to spot their targets (prey) from a distance as they cross to the side of the slum. There is a public toilet just at the entrance to the grounds from the main

road where criminals reportedly hide and plan their criminal activities before pouncing on unsuspecting passers-by as they cross to the other side of the slum. The area is notorious for mugging, theft, rape and robbery both during the day and night.



Kamukunji Grounds, Bondeni

b) Shuleni Road, along Makaburi, Mosque

Shuleni road diverts from Kalewa road and leads to Makaburini – the mosque or Bondeni slums from the lower end (on your way to Nakuru game reserve). The road is notorious for mugging, theft, robbery, carjacking, break-ins (in the roadside structures and houses) and other types of crime including assaults, pick-pocketing and so on. The road

is unlit and one can always spot idle youth hovering around the area or even involved in gambling activities (such as card games) along the roads making it very hard to even take photographs of the area. According to reports from the respondents and key informants the area is impassable/ unusable between 10pm and 6am in the morning though sometimes petty crime such as mugging could take place in broad daylight.



Shuleni road, leading to Makaburini

c) Msalaba, next to High Mast Flood Light

This area is next to a high mast flood light which had been erected to mitigate commission of crime around the area but has since been switched off reportedly due to high bills the Nakuru Municipal council was incurring as a result of some residents who had found a way of tapping the electricity and directing it into their houses. The area is synonymous with idle youths who are always involved in gambling activities including poker games and other card games. The area is the known “base” for Makaveli gang which was reported to monitor activities within the slum and demand protection fees from the residents and strangers who would be robbed at the slightest resistance. Msalaba is notorious for mugging, break-ins, robbery, arms and drug trafficking, gambling, rape and many other types of crime



A section of Msalaba, around the corner shop

d) Road Connecting Msalaba Area to the Main Road, Just before Bondeni Police Station

This road is between the Vocational Training Centre and the Bondeni clinic. The road is unlit and always deserted at

night and is highly dreaded and known for mugging, robbery and snatch and run where criminals grab valuables such as mobile phones and disappear into the slum.



Road connecting Msalaba to the main road, just before Bondeni Police station

e) NYS, Along Burugichuru Road

The road is dilapidated and has very many diversions leading to Bondeni slums. According to the respondents, the NYS area, which is along the road, just around the bumps, is a well-known crime hotspot. Criminals target motorists

as they slow down to negotiate through the potholes and rob them sometimes at gunpoint. A key informant reported that the criminals seem to collude with boda-boda riders who upon sensing danger would drop the passenger and drive off leaving him/her (the passenger) at the

mercy of the criminals. The area is known for carjacking, robbery, pickpocketing,

kidnapping and sometimes theft especially at night.



NYS, Along Burugichuru Road

f) SDA Church, Just Around the Corner

The road shown below is behind the SDA church and diverts from the main road to Bondeni slums all the way to

the Makaburini area. The entire stretch from the SDA church to the Makaburini is reportedly notorious for robbery, mugging, theft, rape, drug and arms trafficking and many other types of crime.



Martin Luther King Road (Connects the Main road to the Mosque-Makaburini), Just around the SDA Church Corner

Mishomoroni, Mombasa

In Mishomoroni the following areas were identified as the most notorious for crime commission:

a) Vikwatani, Mishomoroni

The road in Vikwatani area is known for

mugging and other petty crimes. The criminals hide in incomplete structures along the road and target revellers, women and also late home goers.



A road in Vikwatani area, Mishomoroni that is crime prone

b) Cobra playground, Mishomoroni in Mombasa

The playground is highly deserted at night creating a 'conductive' environment for situational types of crime such as

mugging, theft, SGBV cases (normally rampant at night) and robbery. The idle youth who spent most of their time watching video shows in a nearby video shop worsen the situation.



Cobra play ground

c) Abandoned structure in Kadongo, Mwembeni area, Mishomoroni

These structures offer a 'conductive' environment for criminals to hide, plan and execute criminal activities. According

to the respondents, the area is notorious for mugging, robbery, SGBV cases and many others. Crime perpetrators in this area are known to waylay and pounce on unsuspecting individuals and rob them of their valuables.



An abandoned structure in Kadongo Mwembeni area

Manyatta, Kisumu

An interesting dimension established in Manyatta, Kisumu was that the local population harbours deep-seated feelings of resentment for the authorities. There was an acknowledged propensity among the youthful segment of the population to resort to violence at the slightest provocation as a means of "powerfully and dramatically" ventilating their bottled-up frustrations. It was learnt that this collective mind-set could be

traced – at least in part - to enduring feelings of perceived historical political and economic "marginalization" of the community by successive governments, as captured in the following verbatim quote from one local leader in the estate.

"Despite our (Luo) community making immense contribution to the country's (Kenya's) development, including the struggle for independence, this contribution has never been recognized or reciprocated. Instead, we are routinely ridiculed and abused, and our

*prominent leaders have been systematically eliminated, subjected to political humiliation and their victory stolen, which is proof that the authorities have a dislike or even outright contempt for us*²⁴.

According to the key informants, most youths engage in violence and always adopted an anti-government stance as a way of “getting even”, an inclination that tends to corroborate the fundamental philosophy of the frustration-aggression theory (FAT) in crime commission in economically deprived communities / societies. It is perhaps for these reasons that law enforcement agencies in particular and state machinery tend to be viewed as extensions of this “repressive” state machinery. While mentioning crime hotspots in Manyatta, residents singled out other areas within Kisumu town as the most notorious for all types of crimes. These areas included Streets within Migosi estate, Kakamega Road, Nyalenda, and Kondele ground.

Most residents mentioned that the whole slum was unlit and any area within it was susceptible to crime but singled out the following as the most notorious areas. The footpaths behind the houses were unlit, deserted at night and unkempt making them conducive for mugging, theft, robbery and break-ins.

a) The stretch behind ‘Lucky Bar’ in Manyatta

This stretch of pathway is unlit and deserted at night making it conducive for commission of crime. The criminals target night revellers, tenants and other passers-by at night especially between 10pm to 6am. The most common types of crime along the footpath include mugging, theft and rape.



The Lucky bar in Manyatta

²⁴ A key informant account in Manyatta, Kisumu

b) Kona Mbuta, Manyatta

This area is unlit and gets very deserted at night, a situation that criminals and other antisocial elements readily “fill in” by waylaying or ambushing passers-by especially early morning and late night hours as they make their way back to their houses or places of work. Most common types of crime include: mugging, robbery and pick-pocketing (snatch and run sometimes) especially during the rush hours.

3.11.2 Characteristics of Crime Hotspots

When asked why they thought the particular area mentioned was a crime hotspot, respondents across the four slum areas gave similar answers. These



included: Lack of police stations in the nearby vicinity, infrequent police patrols, mono exit and entry routes/ bridges/canals/footpaths, dark/unlit alleys, deserted/ isolated areas, presence of many bars and illicit alcohol brewing dens, near dumping sites, unfinished constructions (unfinished bridges and flyovers), the ever presence of idle youths hovering around, gambling ‘bases’-pool ‘bases’, stalls along the roads (criminal hide-outs) and dilapidated roads that make motorists slow down hence becoming easy prey to criminals.

3.11.3 Most Common Way of Executing Crime in the Hotspot Areas Mentioned

On being asked how crimes were executed in the mentioned crime hotspot areas, a majority of the respondents (49.1%) indicated waylaying where criminals lie in wait and pounce on unsuspecting individuals, followed by use of firearms and crude weapons (21.6%) and stalking which was indicated by 17.1% of the respondents. Other means mentioned included drugging (4.9%), pick-pocketing (2.4%) and conning/deception (1.5%).

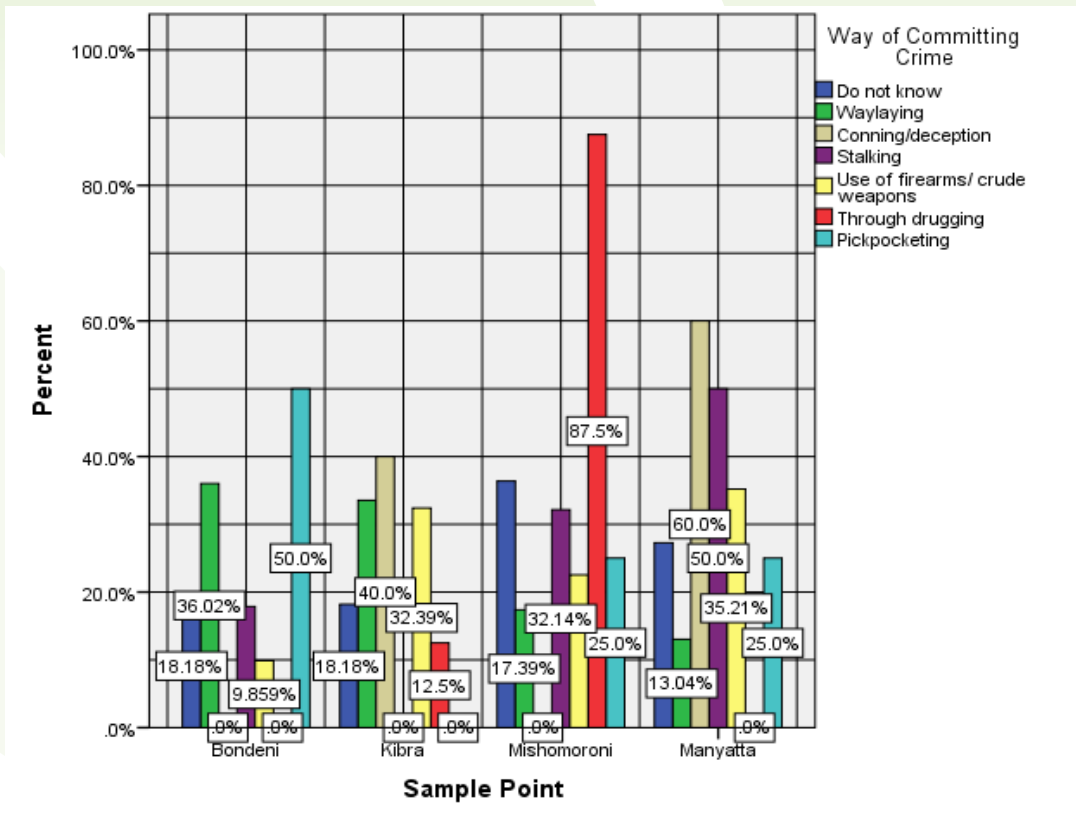


Fig. 17: Common ways of executing crime in mentioned crime hotspot areas

A cross analysis of the means of executing crime across the four slums revealed that pick-pocketing and waylaying were relatively more common in Bondeni slums, conning/deception and use of firearms and crude weapons were the main means of executing crime in Kibra, stalking and deception/conning were more common in Manyatta while drugging was more common in Mishomoroni. It was noted that pickpocketing was more common in crime hotspots along the roads where

criminals seemed to target workers, especially in rush hours, and steal from them as they scrambled to board 'matatus'. Waylaying was common in unlit areas, under the bridges, bushy areas, unfinished or incomplete structures and any other area which seemed to offer criminals cover or exit plans.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS



4.1 Conclusion

Generally slums are synonymous with poor sanitation, poor housing conditions and high population densities. Many reports and research projects have found that slum areas tend to experience disproportionately higher crime incidents than their affluent counterparts, despite the fact that both are often geographically contiguous. Crime has always been associated with slums and has accounted for much of the negative views of slums by non-slum residents and policy makers. This study was by and large informed by these perceptions and sought to establish whether there was any relationship between crime and slum areas.

Findings from the study revealed that, as much as slums were awash with many types of crime, a majority of the residents were just victims who, resultant from a “fallacy of generalization” were perceived to be criminals. As it was established in this study, while some slums were found to be more crime prone often characterized by transient households and counter-culture social patterns, some were generally not socially dysfunctional.

One of the key drivers of crime in the slums was established to be the high levels of unemployment and poverty. These drivers of crime have forced the youth who were viewed to be the most affected

to turn to crime as a source of subsistence. It can thus be concluded that economic empowerment of the urban poor youth may be the only viable strategy for crime prevention in slum areas. As the findings revealed, the highest risk that faced the slum dwellers was the slum locality; most of the slums especially those located in the inner city like the case in Nakuru, tended to be more crime prone and largely affected crime patterns within the town centres.

The study revealed that Bondeni slum in Nakuru was perceived to be the most unsafe area to live in and for that reason; residents of the slum were more exposed to a higher risk of becoming victims of crime than those who lived in the other slums. The study also revealed that Bondeni had the highest youngest population, the highest population with the lowest levels of education and highest levels of unemployment. It can thus be concluded that based on socio-economic profile, Bondeni was the poorest and by extension this explains the relatively high levels of crime in Nakuru town. It can generally be concluded that crime mitigation strategies and programmes in the four slums studied need to be more suited to the unique features of each.

Despite reeling under a plethora of dire and complex social, economic and environmental-related challenges, the study took particular notice of the universal eagerness to embrace community policing philosophy,

which offers a citizen-centric approach to improved community security. In particular, the respondents appeared to be quite receptive of the *nyumba kumi* (ten households) approach²⁵ that the government has committed to adopt in order to roll back run-away insecurity in the country and the region at large.

4.2 Recommendations

Based on the study findings, the following recommendations are made:

To the National Police Service:

- It was apparent from the members of the public that the Police were still demanding/taking bribes. This study recommends reduction of corruption within the service as a matter of priority. The study takes cognizance of the ongoing vetting process as a way of redeeming the Police Service through weeding out corrupt elements and also instituting periodic wealth declaration exercises and recommends support of the vetting exercise and other reform initiatives.

²⁵ The *nyumba kumi* initiative is a community security effort that involves clustering of households into groups of ten in a locality. Members of each cluster of ten households' watches out for any security dynamics in their respective cluster and reports any threats to their cluster chair who in turn reports to the chief.

- Intensifying police patrols within the slums. This study noted that there were areas, which demanded more police attention than the rest and advocates for a targeted police approach in dealing with crime as opposed to the general one commonly employed by law enforcement agents. This includes instituting unpredictable patrol programmes for specific locations within the slums.
- Increasing community participation in policing responsibilities. Residents were convinced that partnership between the police and the public was the best strategy of dealing with crime in their respective areas.
- Strengthening witness protection programmes to safeguard police informers and other individuals willing to offer evidence to ongoing cases and also availing a budget allocation to cater for funds for transport and wellbeing of the witnesses among others.
- Question idlers and eradicate all known gambling zones/bases. The study established that gambling zones/bases were the most notorious environments for planning and executing criminal activities. It is therefore recommended that the police

need to pay closer attention to these zones and alleviate idleness among the youths.

- The study recommends to the NPS to ensure that there are regular police transfers to avoid familiarization which festers corruption within the service.
- Improve police tools of work: The NPS should continue investing more in modern technology and be proactive, not reactive in response to crime. The police need modern equipment that matches the latest technology if they are to stand a chance of reducing crime.
- Improve tracking and monitoring activities of ex-convicts. One of the key findings of the study was that August was increasingly becoming one of the months most crimes are committed. This was found to have a bearing with presidential pardon mostly done during the month of June. In order to help track activities of these individuals, police database systems need to be computerized so that documentation becomes easier and faster.

To the National Government

- Empower the youth with relevant vocational training

skills in order to be more self-sufficient and also to reduce idleness. It is also important to ensure that the youths are more engaged in productive activities such as sports and athletics. The study has shown that the youth were more engaged in criminal activities than any other age group in the society due to lack of employment and therefore idleness

- Conduct peaceful disarmament: Easy availability of arms within the slums was identified as one of the key drivers of armed robbery within the confines of slums and other neighbouring areas. The study recommends institutionalization of elaborate/holistic disarmament programmes to help rid the slums of illegal SALW.
- Subsidize basic commodities in order to lower the cost of living. The study established that the high cost of living contributed to high levels of crime with most slum residents seeing it as a means of subsistence.
- Conduct civic education on security issues. This study recommends sensitization of the slum residents on importance of harmonious coexistence and also on their roles as far as

maintaining law and order is concerned. Programmes such as the KNICE need to be supported and rolled out to these areas.

- Recruit, train and deploy more police officers to meet the demand. It was apparent that the current police service is inadequate in offering sufficient service to all the Kenyans especially in slum areas. There is therefore need to step up the recruitment and training processes within the service with the aim of meeting the security demands of not only the slum areas but also the entire country.
- The study established that crime levels tend to increase in months preceding state pardoning of some prisoners. It is recommended that the National Police Service be mandated and adequately facilitated to monitor activities of those released until good conduct is assured.

To the County Governments

- The study recommends closer and structured collaboration between the national and county governments – for example through the operationalization of the mooted County Policing Authorities on matters of security, including sharing

resources and information and also a synchronized roll out of the *nyumba kumi* community policing initiative.

- Since the vast majority of serious crimes are often committed under the cover of darkness (there are crime spikes at night and along dark roads and alleys), the study urges that the county governments should introduce and implement a policy or law that makes it mandatory for plot owners to install functional and well maintained security lights on their buildings.
- Improve general infrastructure in crime hotspots. It was established that there were many cases of situation-induced crimes in some selected areas within the slums studied largely occasioned by 'conducive situations' which seemed to exacerbate crime such as poorly dilapidated roads, dimly lit or dark sections within the areas, untended and bushy areas and many others. The study recommends general improvement of these environments including erecting high mast flood lights in some of the known and mentioned crime hotspots, clearing garbage and bushes within some of the residential areas or even flushing out illegal brewing dens which act as hiding spots for criminals.

To the members of public

- Stop buying stolen goods/commodities. It is clear that demand drives supply and for such reasons, the public need to cease from buying stolen goods so as to starve criminals of ready market stolen goods and commodities.
- The study also recommends to the residents of the slums that they should prioritize participation in chiefs' "*barazas*" and use such opportunities to discuss crime-related challenges facing the communities.
- Avoid known crime hotspots and walking alone during high risk hours. The study recommends to the members of the public that they should exercise caution while walking or traveling at night, for example, by having specific (known) *boda boda*²⁶ riders (and taxi drivers) who can be contacted when necessary.
- Report all suspicious individuals. The study recommends to the members of the public to be more vigilant and report all suspicious individuals. This may involve embracing the *nyumba kumi* initiative and sparing time to know the immediate neighbours.

²⁶ *Boda boda* is a bicycle or motorcycle taxi, originally in East Africa (from English border-border). The bicycle rider can also be called *boda-boda*

SELECTED REFERENCES

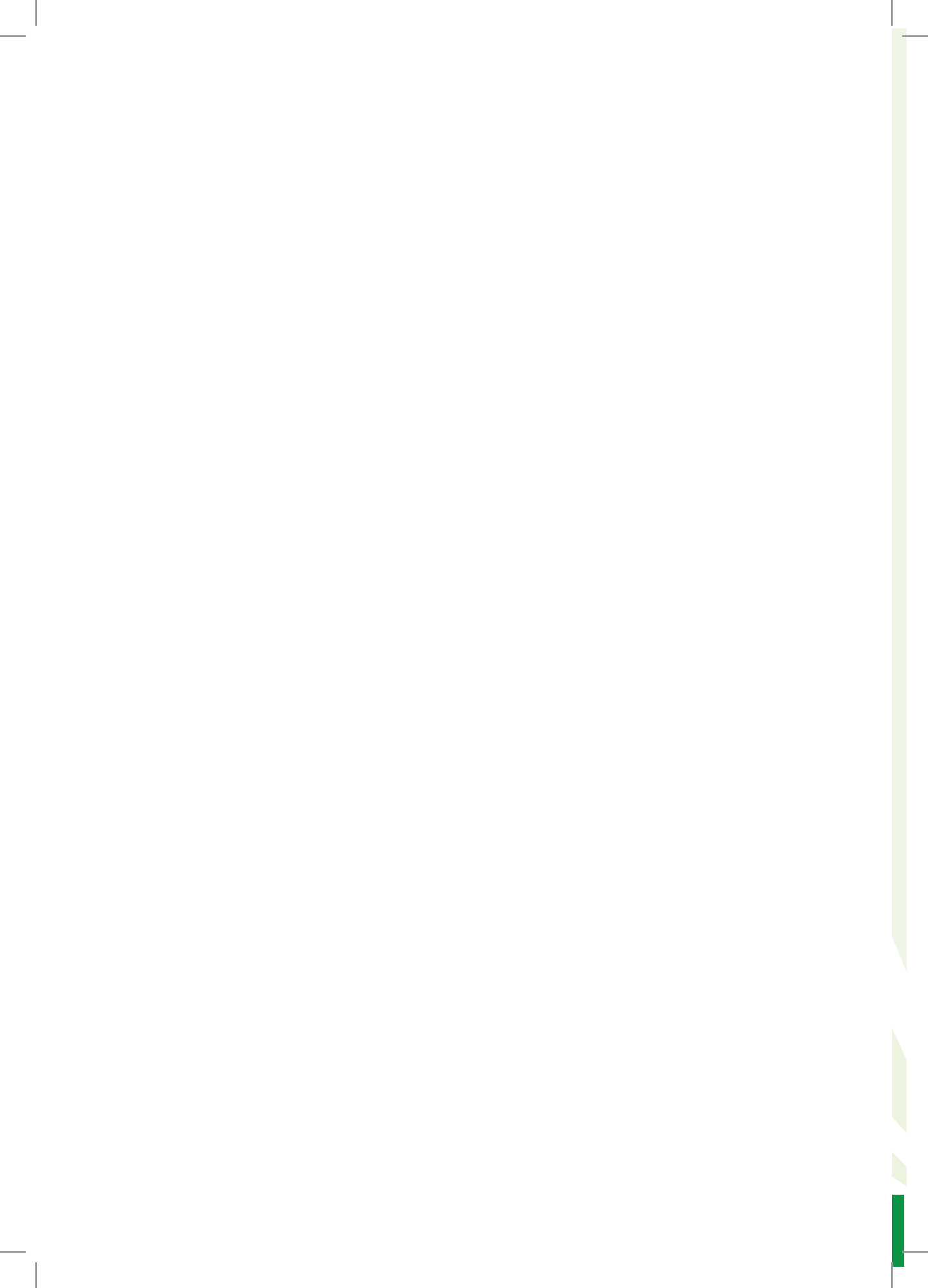
- African Population and Health Research Centre (APHRC, 2002) Nairobi, Kenya
Commission of Inquiry into Post Election Violence (2009), page 317 and 334.
Retrieved from; http://www.communication.go.ke/documents/CIPEV_FINAL_REPORT.pdf on 24 April 2014.
- CRECO and ELOG Baseline report, see table 2: conflict rating on Counties, page 13 of the CRECO and ELOG baseline report, <http://www.katibasasa.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/CRECO-Peace-bk-May.pdf> (accessed on 2 April 2014)
- Karanja, Muchiri (3 September 2010). "Myth shattered: Kibera numbers fail to add up". Daily Nation. Retrieved 4 September 2013.
- Kibera Slum, Kenya: Resettling the problem. Retrieved online from: <http://www.international-alert.org/blog/kibera-slum-kenya-resettling-problem> on 3rd March, 2014
- Mushanga, T. (1974). *Criminal Homicide in Uganda: a sociological study of violent deaths in Akole, Kigezi and Toro districts of Western Uganda*. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau.
- Musoi, K., Muthama, T., Waiya, N. & Kitiku, J. (2012). Nairobi region annual crime observatory report 2011/2012. Available in http://srickenya.org/images/reports/Nairobi_Region_Annual_Crime_Observatory_Report_2011_2012.pdf.
- National Crime Research Centre (2012). Summary of a study on organized criminal gangs in Kenya. Retrieved online from: http://www.frank-cs.org/cms/pdfs/KE/NCRC/NCRC_Organized_in_zed_Crime_Kenya_30.8.13.pdf on 2nd February, 2014

- Ndikaru, T. (2011). Crime causes and victimization in Nairobi city Informal settlements. *International journal of current research*. Retrieved from: <http://www.journalcra.com>
- Sana, O., Okombo, O. (2012). Taking stock of socio-economic challenges in the Nairobi slums; an inventory of the pertinent issues between January, 2008 and November, 2012. See more in <http://www.fes-kenya.org/media/publications/2013/Taking%20Stock%20of%20Slums%20Booklet.pdf>
- Siegel, L. (1995). *Criminology, Theories, Patterns and Typology*. New York: West Publishing Company.
- UN-Habitat, (2003). *Facing the challenge of slum, Global report on human settlement, Nairobi*
- UN-Habitat, (2003a). *Facing the challenge of slum, Global report on human settlement, Nairobi*
- UN-Habitat, (2009). *Urban safety and slum upgrading*. Available at: http://www.unhabitat.org/downloads/docs/6813_70325_K0951951%20HSP-EC-ACP-1-4%20Urbanization%20challenges.pdf
- Wilson, J.Q. & Kelling, G.K.L (2004). *Broken Windows: The police and neighborhood safety*"



NOTES

A series of 20 horizontal lines for writing notes, each preceded by a small circle on the left side, resembling a spiral binding.





Security Research & Information Centre

A Study of Crime in Urban Slums in Kenya: The Case of Kibra, Bondeni, Manyatta and Mishomoroni Slums is a comparative study of crime trends and typologies in the four major urban slums in Kenya. Findings in this report are aimed at informing policy formulation and also providing insights on how to address the ever changing crime dynamics in the country.

Security Research and Information Centre (SRIC) is an independent non-profit making think-tank committed to providing data and information on human security and security sector dynamics in the Horn of Africa and the Great Lakes Region.

Security Research and Information Centre (SRIC),
New Waumini Hse., 5th Flr., Chiromo Rd., Westlands,
P.O. Box 66019-00800, Nairobi, Kenya
Website: www.srickenya.org
Email: src@srickenya.org
Follow our security updates on twitter, @srcKenya and
facebook fan page, Security Research and Information Centre