SRIC Security Research & Information Centre

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NAIROBI METROPOLITAN AREA
ANNUAL CRIME OBSERVATORY REPORT 2012/2013

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

REPUBLIC OF KENYA

UNDP

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SECURITY RESEARCH AND INFORMATION CENTRE (SRIC)

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List of Acronyms

ADR	-	Alternative Dispute Resolution
CCTV	-	Closed Circuit Television
CP	-	Community Policing
CRECO	-	Constitution and Reform Education Consortium
CSOs	-	Civic Society Organizations
KDF	-	Kenya Defence Forces
KNFP	-	Kenya National Focal Point on Small Arms
KNICE	-	Kenya National Integrated Civic Education
LEA	-	Law Enforcement Agencies
NDMA	-	National Drought Management Authority
NGAO	-	National Government Administrative Officers
NPS	-	National Police Service
NSC	-	National Steering Committee on peace building and conflict management
OCS	-	Officer Commanding police Station
RG	-	Reference Group
SALW	-	Small Arms and Light Weapons
SPSS	-	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
SRIC	-	Security Research and Information Centre
UNDP	-	United Nations Development Programme

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Executive Summary

Kenya is currently grappling with security challenges occasioned by emerging and mutating crime typologies. Quite apart from the traditional conflicts over land, cattle rustling and banditry in pastoralist areas, terrorist attacks are increasingly becoming a national menace. Hardly a day passes without the print and broadcast media carrying reports of various types of crime in the country more specifically in the greater Nairobi metropolitan sub-urban areas. Due to their proximity to Nairobi County, these suburbs and satellite towns are increasingly serving as safe havens for criminals who retreat there after committing crime in order to avoid being apprehended by the law enforcement agents. This observatory[1] project acknowledges that the National Police Service does and on a regular basis collect and provide crime data to the public. However, there is a critical need to triangulate this data with other data sources particularly from leading newspapers, private security firms, hospitals, peace committees, civil society and resident associations amongst others in order to provide a comprehensive picture of crime in the country and particularly the greater Nairobi metropolis.

It is against this background that the government through the National Steering Committee on peace building and conflict management (NSC) and the Kenya National Focal Point on Small Arms (KNFP) with technical and financial support from UNDP, commissioned Security Research and Information Centre (SRIC) to implement the crime observatory project. The initial phase of the project covered Nairobi City County and has subsequently been expanded to include major urban centres in the adjacent counties namely Machakos, Kiambu and Kajiado.

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[1] *Crime observatory refers to the collection, analysis and reporting of crime and violence in a country or locality, and for this case Nairobi metropolis.*

Under this arrangement, SRIC published the first Nairobi Annual Crime observatory report for the period 2011/12 in March 2013. This is the second such annual crime observatory report covering the period 2012/13. The findings of the project are intended to stimulate debate and help shape design of crime prevention and management especially in urban and sub-urban settings.

The main objective of the study was to contribute to better understanding of the nature, trends and magnitude of crimes in Nairobi metropolitan area. Specifically, the observatory sought to establish the status, trends, nature of crime and other security dynamics in the Nairobi metropolitan area including profiling crime hotspots, interventions towards combating crime as well as stimulate knowledge-based policy debate on how to effectively manage the menace. The report puts forward a set of practical and targeted recommendation that need to be undertaken in order to improve security in the study area.

The study sampled a total of 17 areas within the Nairobi metropolitan area. These are Mathare, Mukuru kwa Njenga, Buruburu, South B, Karen, Lavington (all in Nairobi city), Thika, Limuru, Kikuyu, Ruiru (Kiambu), Mavoko, Athi-river, Mlolongo, Ruai (Machakos), Kitengela, Ongata

Rongai and Kiserian (Kajiado). The areas sampled have, over the years established a strong organic relationship with Nairobi city hence regarded as part of the greater Nairobi.

In terms of crime rate, the study found that Nairobi City County recorded the highest while Machakos County recorded the lowest. Kajiado had the second highest crime rates followed by Kiambu. On crime typologies, it was established that "robbery' and 'theft' were the most frequently committed crimes, accounting for 33.6% and 35.7% respectively. Terrorism ranked the lowest (0.25%) despite the recent rise in terrorist related incidences. It was established that the fear of terrorism was not as pronounced. Furthermore 37.3% of respondents expressed concerns that the law enforcement agents were focussing too much on terrorism at the expense of other crime typologies.

It was further established that crime is committed mostly in the evening hours; between 6.00pm and 9.00pm and that crime incidences targeting business premises and residential houses in Nairobi City County were relatively low compared to those in Kiambu and Kajiado Counties. It can be inferred that both residents and the business community have, due to

unrelenting crime attacks, made provision of home and business security an integral part of their design, as opposed to the situation in the outlying counties, which were only beginning to feel the "heat" of the crime wave, and were yet to make elaborate plans to control and manage the menace. To this extent therefore, residents of the suburban areas were still the new "soft targets" of city-based criminals.

Compared to the previous crime observatory period 2011/2012, robbery cases in Nairobi have slightly gone up from 41.1% to 46.9% in 2012/13 period. This also corroborates media reports that have reported a spike in crime rate in the city in the recent past. In addition, the study also established that the number of people reporting crime to the police reduced to 37.9% from 51.6% in 2011/12. The drop in reporting crime invariably translates into loss of confidence by members of the public in the police largely attributed to police inaction, corruption, cost of travelling to police stations, fear of reprisals from the perpetrators and a preference for alternative dispute resolution (ADR) mechanisms.

The study identified crime hotspots; areas said to be highly susceptible to crime. In Nairobi County, the areas were: Oilibya petrol station, Nigeria area, Kosovo, Kiboro primary school (Mathare slums); upper section of Gitanga Road (between James Gichuru road and Kawangware), 'Congo' (Kawangware) in Lavington; City Cotton (between Wilson Airport, South C and Moi educational centre), Mutindwa-Jericho stretch in Buruburu; around Muindi Mweusi supermarket-Mukuru kwa Njenga, footbridge connecting Commercial and Mariguini; Wapewape area, Motomoto area, Kware area and Vietnam in Mukuru kwa Njenga; Jam Street and 12th street in Eastleigh and also some parts of Kiamaiko slum.

In Kajiado County, the following areas were

identified: Noonkopir and Changombe slums in Kitengela; Majengo area, Kisaju road stretch in Isinya; Kware, Gataka Road and Wama Road in Ongata Rongai; areas around Kiserian Primary, the Kiserian- Ngong Road stretch as well as Kiwanja ya Punda (Migoni house) in Kiserian. Crime hotspots areas identified within Kiambu County were as follows: Kiandutu, Fly over (entry to Thika from Nairobi), Ngeta field and Muchatha in Thika; the railway line Junction, Nairobi-Nakuru highway, the stretch to Kikuyu town and the Patel bridge in Kikuyu; Mashimoni Road-Marimaini and Kiambu-Nairobi main road in Kiambu; the stretch between Nakuru highway and Limuru town and Limuru bus stage in Limuru.

In the sampled areas within Machakos County, the following crime hotspot areas were identified: Kanaani, Railways and Kisumu ndogo in Athi River; Matharau Street, Silanga-Dam and Ngwata in Mlolongo; Nairobi-Kangundo highway and sewage in Ruai and also Sovia, Devik, Bondeni and Makadara in Mavoko.

In an effort to prevent and manage crime within Kiambu County, residents had adopted the Nyumba Kumi initiative. Reports from key informants indicated that the law enforcement agents had apprehended many suspects as a result police-public partnership. Similarly, the study established that security agents in Machakos County had recorded a remarkable success in reducing some types of crime such as motorcycle thefts, mugging, murders, robberies, assault and many others through formation of welfare groups among the boda boda operators. It was established that the boda boda operators have been very resourceful to the police by informing them of suspicious individuals in addition to providing early warning information

to help avert crime in the area.

Based on the overall findings, the study proposes a number of targeted recommendations to the relevant stakeholders in an effort to effectively manage crime in Nairobi metropolitan area. Some of the recommendations include the need to step up and promote community policing and *nyumba kumi* initiative. The study established that crime rates had gone down appreciably in areas that had fully fledged community policing and *nyumba kumi* initiatives.

In the case of Nairobi and other major satellite towns, there is need for the relevant authorities to embark on the installation of functional closed circuit television (CCTV) cameras to monitor the movements of criminals along the streets and inside commercial buildings on a round-the-clock basis. The study noted that most of the areas identified as crime hotspots tended to have a common characteristic of being unlit; the study therefore, recommends installation and rehabilitation of street lighting including erection of high mask flood lights.

1.1 Background

Kenya is currently facing increasing levels of crime. Terrorist attacks especially in Nairobi and Mombasa as well as in the counties bordering Somalia have become commonplace. Crime is no longer a problem confined to the poor informal settlements in urban areas but also increasingly being reported in high and middle income neighbourhoods.

Terrorist attacks on churches, shopping malls, public transport and popular entertainment places have all been blamed on Al Shabaab. Cases of robbery with violence, carjacking, mugging, burglary and stock thefts have been on the rise leading to some foreign governments issuing travel advisories warning their nationals against visiting some places in the country. It is against

this backdrop that the need to conduct crime observatory became a necessity.

The project sought to collect, analyze and publish data on crime and to suggest actionable and targeted recommendations to address the problem. It was aimed at generating useful reference data and evidence based information on the nature, dynamics, trends, causal and exacerbating factors as well as intervention strategies. It also sought to identify and profile crime hotspots in select counties and to understand the factors that underpin police-public perception in the process of fighting crime. The study in addition sought to document various crime intervention strategies by the police, their challenges, effectiveness, impact, and alternative strategies put in place by communities.

The project was commissioned by the government of Kenya through the National Steering Committee on Peace-building and Conflict Management (NSC) and the Kenya National Focal Point on Small Arms (KNFP). It is to be appreciated that security is paramount ingredient in the country's growth and development. Indeed, the extent to which vision 2030 will be actualized depends to a large measure on the government's ability to create and sustain a stable and secure country.

1.2 Justification

Despite concerted efforts by the government, civil society and the international community to address run-away crime, police statistics point to a growing spike in crime commission across the country. Nonetheless, police provide raw crime data to the public and therefore need for triangulation with other crime data sources particularly from media, private security firms, hospitals, peace committees, civil society, and resident associations. This particular phase of the study focused on the greater Nairobi region as well as adjacent satellite towns in Machakos, Kiambu and Kajiado Counties. It was envisaged that the outcome of crime analysis would help facilitate sharing of actionable information on specific locations where crime is likely to occur and general crime trends and typologies across the Counties.

The study is premised on the conviction that conducting research on the key elements of security will culminate in facilitating dissemination of evidence based information that will assist policy formulation and ultimately improve human security in the country. The study was a follow up of the previous 2011/2012 Nairobi Region Crime Observatory and raises important issues in regards to crime in the Nairobi metropolitan area including crime hotspots, perpetrator profiles, rural-urban continuum analysis and trends and typologies.

1.3 Objectives

The main objective of the crime observatory was to contribute to better understanding of the nature, trends and magnitude of crimes in Nairobi metropolitan area.

Specific Objectives

1. To establish the status, trends, nature of crime and other security dynamics in the Nairobi metropolitan area.

2. To identify and profile crime hot spots areas in Nairobi metropolitan area.

3. To assess the impact of crime intervention strategies in Nairobi metropolitan area.

4. To stimulate knowledge-based policy debate and formulation towards crime prevention and management in the country.

2.1 Introduction

In order to better understand the problem of crime, the study begun with a theoretical examination of why people commit crime. Many theories have been advanced and continue to be advanced as criminologists seek the best solutions for increasing crime. These theories attempt to explain the causes of crime through seeking answers to the following questions[2]:

1. "What makes a person turn to crime?"

2. "Why is crime higher in the inner cities?"

3. "Why is it that crime is more prone in a disordered and squalid environment?"

For purposes of this study, a number of these theories were reviewed and applied in explaining the various causes of crime particularly in urban setting like the Nairobi metropolitan area. Some of the theories examined include; Routine activity theory, Broken windows theory, crime opportunity theory, social disorganization theory, crime pattern theory and situational crime theory.

2.2 Routine Activity Theory

This theory is a subfield of crime opportunity theory and was developed by Marcus Felson and Lawrence E. Cohen[3]. The theory explains

[2] Clarke, R.V. (2000). Situational crime prevention: Its Theoretical Basis and Practical Scope. Crime and justice: An Annual Review and Research, 4,225-256. Worcester Place: Hart Publishing.

[3] Cullen, F. & Henson, B. et al. (2010). "Gender, Adolescent Lifestyles, and Violent Victimization: Implications for Routine Activity Theory," Victims and Offenders. Vol. 5 pg 303-328, 1 October 2010. Singapore: Cengage Learning.

that crime is unaffected by social causes such as poverty, inequality and unemployment. For a given crime to be committed, three aspects are always needed: a motivated offender without inmate handler, a suitable target that lacks capable guardian, a victim in this case and convergence in place and time when an effective place manager is not monitoring.[4]

According to the theory crime is not an aberrant behaviour but a normal occurrence that should be fully expected under the proper conditions. In addition, risky behaviours increase the likelihood of encountering violent situation for example putting oneself in a risky environment, youth activities increase their likelihood of criminal involvement e.g. alcohol, drug abuse, associating with delinquent peers among others increase the likelihood that youths find themselves in situation where they become perpetrators or victims of violence[5]. This theory assumes that crime can be committed by anyone that has the opportunity to do so.

While describing the crime hotspot areas, especially within the informal settlements, majority of the respondents would highlight idle youths who would always be seen either loitering in particular areas or spending most of their time in alcohol brewing dens; this can be described as favourable conditions of festering crime in these particular areas.

2.3. Broken Window Theory

This theory was proposed by two criminologists namely Dr. James Wilson and George Kelling

and suggests that a society that appears to be lawless will itself breed lawlessness[6]. The theory was based on social cohesion, law and order; this means that a community that lacks a sense of social cohesion and mutual interest witnesses a higher risk of criminality. According to the two criminologists, crime is not always necessarily caused by broken down neighbourhood but that they become magnets for crime because of their disorganization. For example, if a building with broken windows is not repaired, there is a higher probability for it to break a few more windows.

According to the proponents of this theory, improper land use can cause disorder and the larger the public land is the more susceptible to criminal deviance. The theory further states that an orderly and clean environment, well maintained sends the signal that the area is monitored and that criminal behaviour not tolerated[7]. In this study, the theory is used to explain the causes of crime in areas with poor urban planning such as informal settlements where poor sanitation and unplanned dumping activities made the areas ideal hiding dens for criminals.

2.4 Situational Crime Prevention theory

This theory is based on the concept of environmental criminology which addresses why crime occur in specific settings and seek situational solutions that reflect the rate of those settings.[8]

The theory focuses on decreasing the amount of opportunities for crime using measures directed at highly specific forms of crime that involve the management, design, or manipulation of the immediate environment in a systematic and immediate way. According to the theory, the intervention to prevent a crime from occurring can be achieved in two ways; by changing the offender's disposition or by reducing his or her opportunities[9].

While describing crime hotspots, respondents in major towns in all the sampled counties like Mathare, Limuru, Kitengela, Kiserian and Mukuru kwa Njenga attributed increase in crime levels to unlit or dimly lit alleys and also poorly or dilapidated roads which according to them provided a conducive environment for commission of crime.

2.5 Crime Opportunity Theory

According to this theory, occurrence of crime depends on two things; that is the presence of at

least one motivated offender who is ready and willing to engage in a crime and the conditions of the environment in which that offender is situated.[10]

The theory focuses on how variations in lifestyle or routine activities affect the opportunities' core crime. This theory intimates that choices in lifestyle on the part of potential victims may create or curtail crime opportunities for the motivated offender. Opportunity therefore becomes the limiting factor that determines the outcome in environments' prone to crime because the offender generally has little or no control over the conditions of the environment.

This theory was used to explain causes of crime in busy urban towns inhabited by working class with a predictable movement patterns who will always be seen either walking or commuting to work at given times within the day and also a

[4] Brent, M. The routine activities theory in delinquency. Retrieved from Retrieved from: http://www.ehow.com /info_8462976_routine-activities-theory-delinquency.html. July 2013

[5] Ibid

[6] Wilson, J.Q. & Kelling, G.K.L (2004). Broken Windows: The police and neighborhood safety" (PDF).

[7] Ibid

[8] Cohen, L. E. & Marcus, F. (1993). Social Change and Crime Rate Trends: A Routine Activity Approach. American Sociological Review 44: 588-608from:http://www.personal.psu.edu/users/e/x/exs44/597b   Comm &Crime/Cohen _FelsonRoutine-Activities.pdf

[9] Ibid

[10] Clarke, R.V. (2000). Situational crime prevention: Its Theoretical Basis and Practical Scope. Crime and justice: An Annual Review and Research, 4,225-256. Worcester Place: Hart Publishing.

similar routine in the evening. This was found to increase the levels of crime especially in relation to urban areas as opposed to rural areas where people's livelihoods were found to be highly unpredictable.

2.6 Crime Pattern Theory

This theory stipulates that crime occurs when the activity space of the offender intersects with the activity space of the potential victim or the target[11]. For example, a downtown area with retail stores, restaurants and a movie theatre would have a higher number of crimes because most people frequently visit the area including victims and potential offenders. The theory was used to explain causes of crime in the major suburbs within the metropolis where activities of the potential offenders and victims coincide and also due to teeming population in these areas where criminals crave as it provides them with much needed cover and anonymity.

2.7 Social Disorganization Theory

This theory suggests that disorganized communities characterized by poverty, ethnic heterogeneity and residential mobility weakens social stability.[12] According to the theory, a neighbourhood that has fraying social structures is more likely to have high crime rates. Such a neighbourhood may have poorly constructed schools, vacant and vandalized buildings, high unemployment, and a mix of commercial and residential property; this neighbourhood is characterized by social disorganization which provides fertile space for crime in two ways;

[11] *Boba, R. (2005) Crime Analysis and Mapping. New York: Sage Publishers.*

[12] *Rupp, T. (2008) Meta Analysis of Crime and Deterrence: A Comprehensive Review of the Literature. Pp. 17. Berlin: BoD – Books on Demand Publishers.*

through lack of behavioural control mechanisms and through the cultural transmission of delinquent values. This was found to be a significant cause of crime in most of the sampled informal settlements such as Mathare, Mukuru kwa Njenga, Chango'mbe slums and other areas experiencing similar social, infrastructural and demographic dynamics.
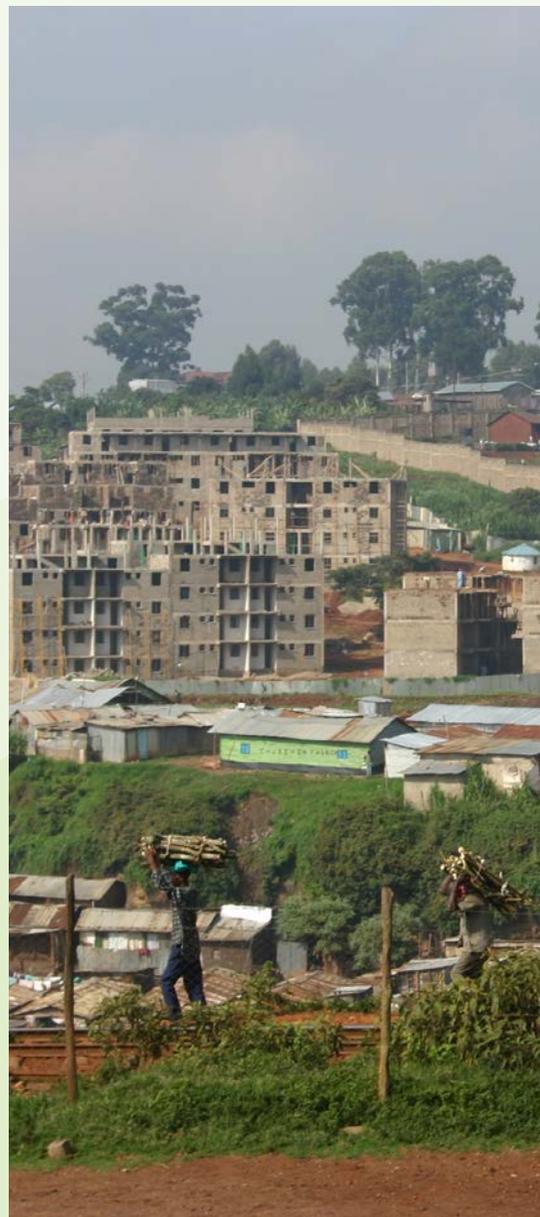
CHAPTER THREE
METHODOLOGY

3.1 Sample Point

The study sampled a total of 17 areas within the Nairobi metropolitan. These were: Mathare, Mukuru kwa Njenga, Buruburu, Limuru, South B, Karen, Lavington (all in Nairobi city), Thika, Kikuyu, Ruiru (Kiambu), Mavoko, Athiriver, Mlolongo, Ruai (Machakos), Kitengela, Ongata Rongai and Kiserian (Kajiado). The areas sampled in Kiambu, Machakos and Kajiado counties are administratively in the said counties but have established, over the years a strong organic relationship with Nairobi city hence regarded as part of the greater Nairobi. On day to day basis, most of these areas tend to be more associated with Nairobi city than other towns in their respective counties. All the 17 sample points were selected purposely on the basis of frequency of reported crime incidents and also information obtained from the desktop review.

3.2 Sample Size

In determining the sample size, the study used the Raosoft sample size calculator[13] with a 5% margin of error at 95% confidence level which puts into consideration the total population of each County to arrive at a sample size of 1645. This was considered as the minimum recommended sample size for the study.

[13] *Available in http://www.raosoft.com/samplesize.html, retrieved on 13th March, 2013.*

Figure 1: Sample Size

COUNTY	POPULATION SIZE [14]	SAMPLE SIZE
Nairobi	3.039M	480
Machakos	906,644	395
Kajiado	406,054	384
Kiambu	744,010	386
Total		**1645**

3.3 Data Collection Method

The study employed both secondary and primary means of data collection. In secondary data collection, previous reports on crime conducted by various researchers and organizations were reviewed. Literature from relevant government agencies, the UN, (I)NGOs, both print and digital media (specifically the Standard, The Star, The people, and Daily Nation newspapers), and individual researchers were also consulted to enrich the scope of this research.

Primary data collection employed three fieldwork techniques; the use of questionnaires, observations (especially in profiling crime hotspots) and key informant interviews. A quantitative household questionnaire was administered to 1645 randomly sampled households as well as 24 purposively sampled informants, all of whom were from Kajiado, Nairobi, Kiambu and Machakos Counties to get public views on crime related issues. The key informants were mainly drawn from the Police (officer commanding police stations – OCS), National Government Administrative Officers (NGAO), Community Policing Committees (CPCs), District Peace Committees (DPCs), Faith Based Organisations (FBOs), Community Based

Organizations (CBOs), Business Community, Private Security Companies, local elders, women and youth groups. Respondents were randomly selected and targeted people aged 18 years and above.

The research tools used in the study were designed to collect data to interrogate eight crime related elements:

- General fear of crime & impact
- Most prevalent crimes and trends
- Conducive condition for crime to occur
- Crime hotspots
- Crime perpetrators
- Reporting of crime
- Efforts put in place to address crime menace
- Means of improving security.

3.4 Data Analysis

The data collection methods used in the study generated both qualitative and quantitative data. The quantitative data was organized, cleaned, coded and analyzed using statistical package for social sciences (SPSS) to help generate summaries in terms of graphs and charts for easy analysis and interpretation. The qualitative data was analyzed through use of content analysis.

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[14] *KNBS, 2009 Census report.*

This chapter presents the main findings of the 2012/13 annual crime observatory survey. It discusses crime trends and typologies, crime perpetrators, crime hotspot areas, fear of crime, reporting crime, efforts put in place to address crime and means of improving security. The findings also make reference to conflict hotspots that were identified in the previous report, that is, Nairobi region annual crime observatory report for 2011/12 with a view to establishing whether the number of crime hotspots have increased, reduced or remained unchanged. The chapter concludes with an evaluation of the ongoing crime prevention and management interventions.

4.1 Demographics of the Respondents

The study sought information from respondents of different age groups, occupation and gender. The rationale was to establish the degree to which certain aspects such as age, occupation and gender could influence commission of crime. In terms of age distribution, the figures below depict the age brackets of the respondents who participated in the study. In keeping with ethical considerations that govern research activities of this nature, only persons aged 18 years and above were interviewed. Nonetheless, majority of respondents (43.0%) comprised of youth between ages 26 – 35 years, followed by those within the 18 – 25 and 36 – 45, who tied at 21.4%.

Figure 2: Age Distribution

AGE GROUP	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
No Response	49	3.3
18-25	322	21.4
26-35	647	43.0
36-45	321	21.4
46-55	115	7.7
56+	49	3.3
Total	**1503**[15]	**100.0**

Source: Analysis from administered questionnaires

The study was interested in understanding the gender aspects and perspectives of crime and therefore a deliberate attempt to involve a significant representation of female respondents. As a result, 40.19% of the respondents comprised of female while the reminder, 59. 81% were male.

Figure 3: Gender Distribution
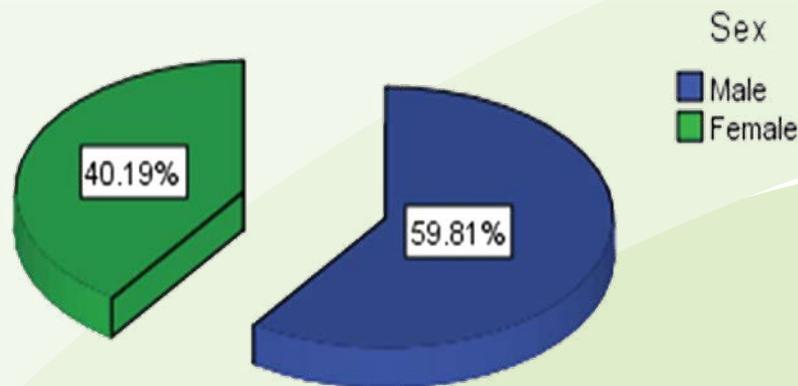
The need to capture the "main occupation" of the respondents was considered central, especially because of the need to establish the degree of correlation between occupation and the propensity to commit crime. This consideration was found to be central to the observatory, since there had been widespread but largely untested allegations that economic deprivation fuelled crime commission. At another level, it was found necessary to interrogate the extent to which lack of employment opportunities for the youth influenced the level of crime.

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[15] *This represents 86.3% response rate.*

4.2 Crime Trends

This section compares crime patterns across the Nairobi metropolitan area. It focuses on the frequency of crime, common types of crime including victims to such crimes. Attention has also been given to the time of the day and month the crimes are likely to be committed.

4.2.1 Frequency of Crime

The study sought to compare the frequency of crime in each of the four counties. It was observed that Nairobi experienced the highest frequency of crime while Machakos County recorded the lowest. It was noted that in Nairobi, respondents were sharply divided on the frequency of crime with 37.4% saying it was very high while 36.8% felt it was very low. The upshot is probably due to social class disparities where crime in high-income residential areas was found to be relatively low compared to low-income residential zones. This is probably due to the fact that residents in the upmarket areas are able to invest more in privately owned security appliances and infrastructures such as erection of high perimeter walls, alarm systems, CCTV cameras, street lighting, electric fences and private security. On the other hand, inhabitants of low-income areas cannot afford to invest in such expensive gadgets or infrastructures, thus rendering these areas more susceptible to crime.

Kajiado was also found to be vulnerable to crime with 35.8% of respondents saying the frequency of crime was 'very high'.

One unique finding was that out of all the respondents who did not answer the question on the frequency of crime, 50% were from Kiambu County; this could largely be attributed to widespread fear of possible reprisals especially from criminals gangs such as *Mungiki* which is known for its ruthlessness in attacking perceived "sell-outs". Figure 4 below shows the frequency of crime in the four counties.

Figure 4: Frequency of Crime
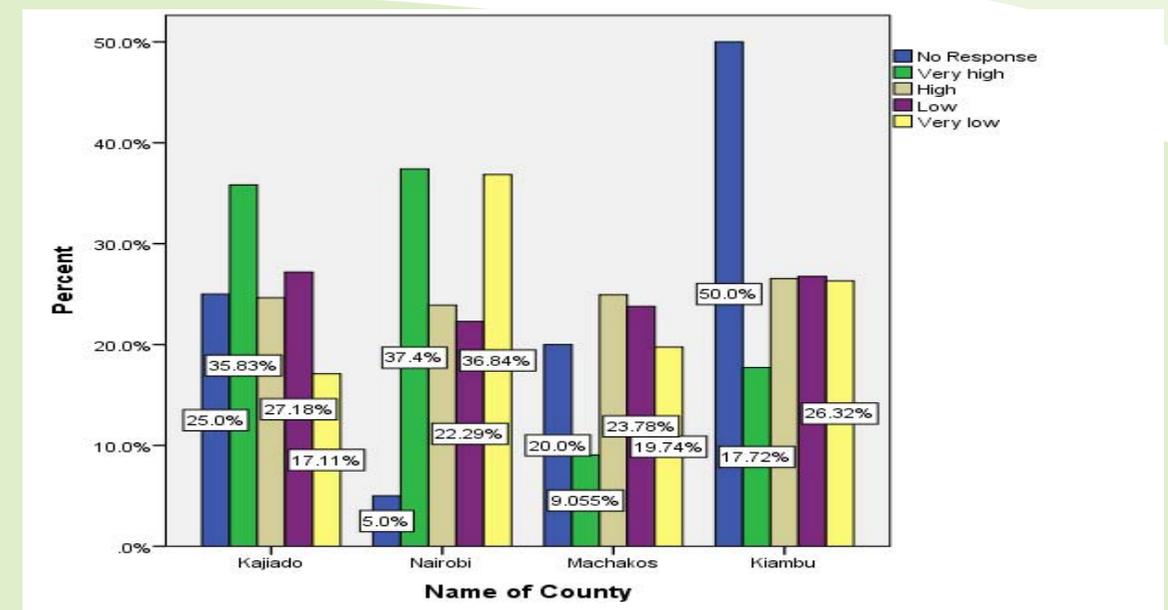
4.2.2 Common Types of Crime

Using the crime categorization and definition adopted by the National Police Service (NPS)[16], the study found that 'robbery' and 'theft' were the most frequently committed crimes across all the counties, accounting for 33.6% and 35.86% respectively. Theft of property was most prevalent in informal settlement areas than in the affluent suburbs. It was noted that people living in informal settlements were more susceptible to property related crimes not only because of poverty but also because they live in over-crowded and least policed areas. Other crimes interrogated in this study included: murder, carjacking, burglary, domestic violence, drug and firearm trafficking and terrorism which revealed similar trends across all the counties as shown in Figure 5 below.

Figure 5: Most Common Types of Crime
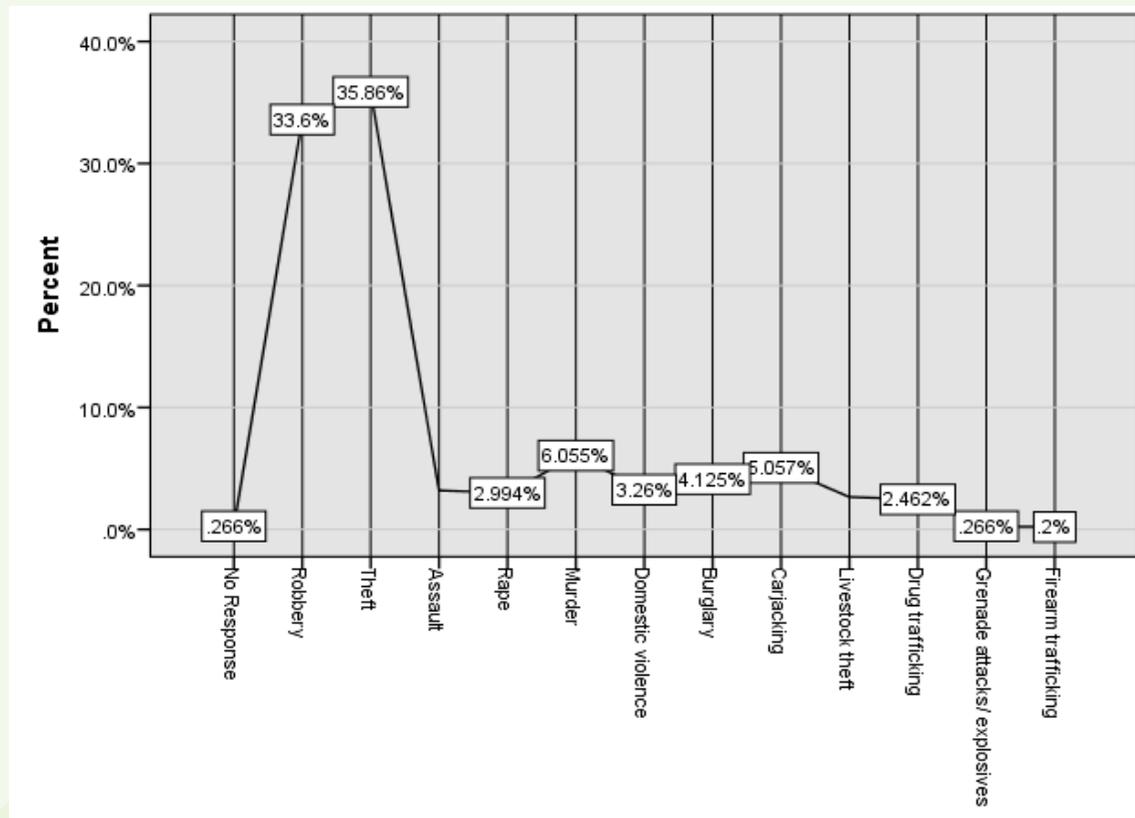
Source: Analysis from administered questionnaires

The study also sought to determine the number of people who had fallen victim to crime. It was established that within a period of three years, 37.3% of residents of Nairobi metropolitan area had fallen victim to crime while 62.01% had not. Nonetheless, this observation is by no means an indication that the crime was less prevalent in a given area; rather it may be surmised that this situation is most likely a function of the "precautionary measures" that individuals have consciously taken to boost their own personal security and that of their properties. It can also be a result of people avoiding responses that tend to give rise to subsequent questions such as "what, why, when, doing what in that area or at that time of the day/night.

Figure 6: In the last three years, have you ever been a victim of crime
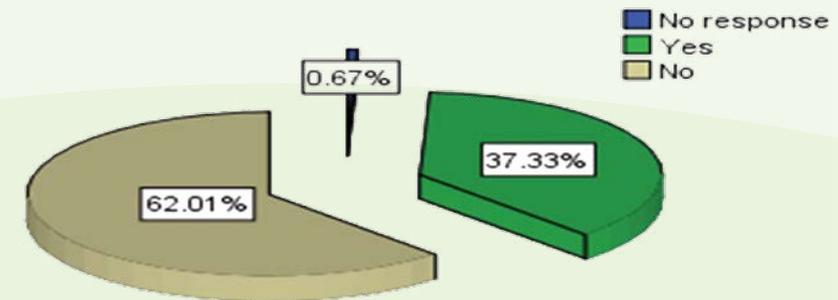
Source: Analysis from administered questionnaires.

"37.3% of residents of Nairobi metropolitan area had fallen victim to crime".

Asked to state the type of crime fallen into, again theft and robbery emerged as the most common. The findings corroborates observations by another study on economic crimes, 2011, which established that theft was the most common type of economic crime reported in Kenya, followed by fraud, 38%, bribery and corruption, 23% and money laundering 13% all of which are forms of theft.[17]

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[16] *Kenya National Bureau of Statistics; Sectoral reports, Justice and crime statistics, Police statistics (2011). Retrieved from: http://www.knbs.or.ke/Classification%20of%20Category%20of%20Offences.php on 3rd June, 2013.*

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[17] *Business Journal; Government to reduce cyber crime in Kenya. Retrieved from http://www.bizjournal-africa.com/information-technology/77-government-to-reduce-cybercrime-in-kenya.html on 3rd July, 2013.*

Figure 7: Types of crime victims fell into

TYPE OF CRIME	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
Not applicable	946	62.9
Robbery	119	7.9
Theft	300	20.0
Assault	26	1.7
Rape	7	.5
Murder	4	.3
Domestic Violence	13	.9
Burglary	31	2.1
Carjacking	31	2.1
Livestock Theft	24	1.6
Firearm Trafficking	2	.1
Total	**1503**	**100.0**

Source: Analysis from the administered questionnaires

4.2.3 Time of the Day when Crime is Likely to Occur

The Figure below depicts the diurnal-nocturnal dichotomy in crime commission, a situation that was observed in all the four counties. Owing mainly to limited vision and decreased human mobility that is experienced during periods of darkness, criminals "occupy" such "opportunistic" spaces to prowl neighbourhoods and carry out their nefarious activities. Moreover, the study established that 62.8% of all the crimes are committed at night while an insignificant percentage of crimes are committed in broad day light. It was noted that a sizeable portion of others, 23.9% are committed any time within 24 hours.

"62.8% of crimes are committed at night."

Figure 8: Time of the Day when Crime is Likely to Occur
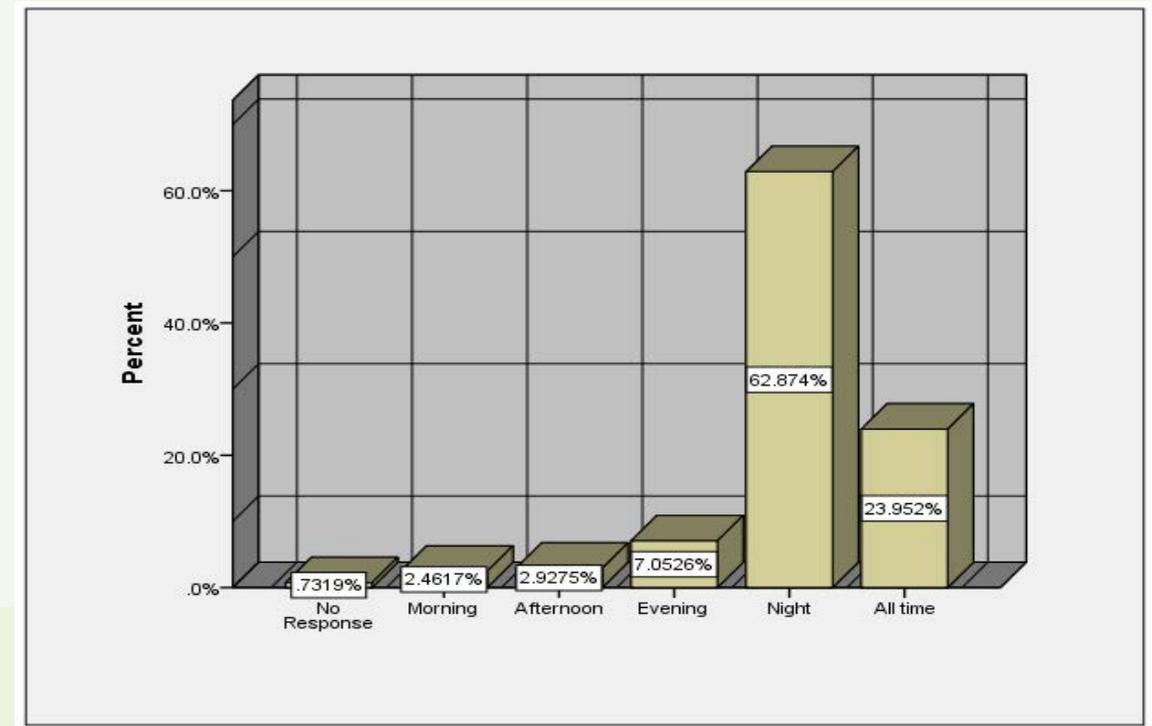
Source: *Analysis from administered questionnaires*

4.2.4 Month of the Year considered most Crime Prone

One of the main objectives of the study was to establish whether there were seasonal dynamics that influenced crime commission and if so, find out the probable reasons. It was found that there was an abnormally high rate of crime commission in the month of December, accounting for almost half (47.8%) of all crimes committed during the year. The study notes that during the month of December, majority of urban residents travel to their rural homes for Christmas festivities leaving residential mostly unattended, thus inadvertently "tempting" criminals to stage break-ins. During the month of December, the need for "extra cash" is normally very high making low income earners, the unemployed and "common criminals" alike vulnerable to "situational crimes". Equally well, "liquidity levels" among people are normally high during the month of December owing to many festivals and criminals are much aware of this.

"During the month of December, the need for "extra cash" is normally very high making low income earners, the unemployed and "common criminals" alike vulnerable to "situational crimes."

Figure 9: Month of the Year considered most Crime Prone
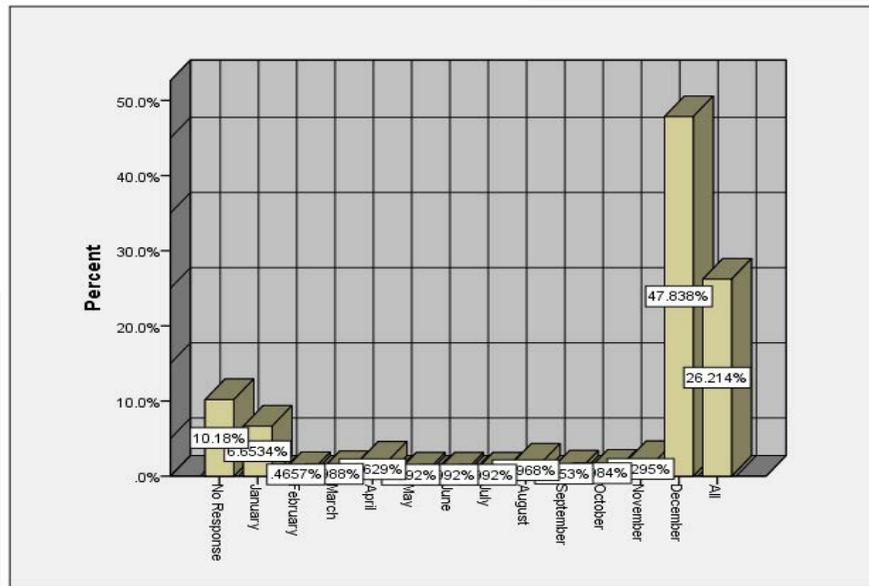
Source: Analysis from the administered questionnaires.

4.3. Crime Hot Spot features

A discernible rural-urban contrast was noted with regard to identifying crime "hotspots". The distinctive features are as tabulated below:

Figure 10: Crime Hotspot Features

CRIME HOTSPOTS FEATURES	
Urban setup	**Rural/ Peri-urban setup**
Uninhabited or secluded areas	Thickly forested zones
Poorly lit alleys and roads	Riverbanks
Thickly-populated inner-city enclaves'	Foot bridges
Riverbanks	Areas around illicit brew dens
Foot bridges as well as Around seedy or low-end drinking joints	Abandoned housing structures

The study established that crimes targeting 'business premises' and 'residential houses' in Nairobi City County were comparatively low compared to those of other metropolis areas; Machakos, Kiambu and Kajiado counties. Further analysis revealed that the fear of crime in the City have forced both residents and the business community to put in place preventive measures as opposed to the situation in the outlying counties, which were only beginning to feel the "heat" of the crime wave, and were yet to make elaborate plans to control and manage the threat. To this extent outlying counties were the new "soft targets" of City-bred and City-based criminals.

"Crimes targeting 'business premises' and 'residential houses' in Nairobi City County were comparatively low compared to those of other metropolis areas; Machakos, Kiambu and Kajiado counties."

4.4. County Specific Crime Analysis

In order to understand different crime dynamics in each of the four counties, it was found necessary to isolate each county for in-depth analysis.

4.4.1 Kajiado County

Kitengela, Ngong, Kiserian and Ongata Rongai are some of the areas within Kajiado County that share a lot with Nairobi city. Most of the Nairobi city residents reside and have invested in these areas whose population comprises many diverse communities. In terms of crime incidences, house break-ins, carjacking, theft and robbery are the main crime typologies established by the study. It was also established that Small arms proliferation and use in the commission of crime in Kajiado metropolis towns was prevalent.

"Small arms proliferation and use in the commission of crime in Kajiado metropolis towns is increasin".

Figure 11: Common Types of Crime in Kajiado County
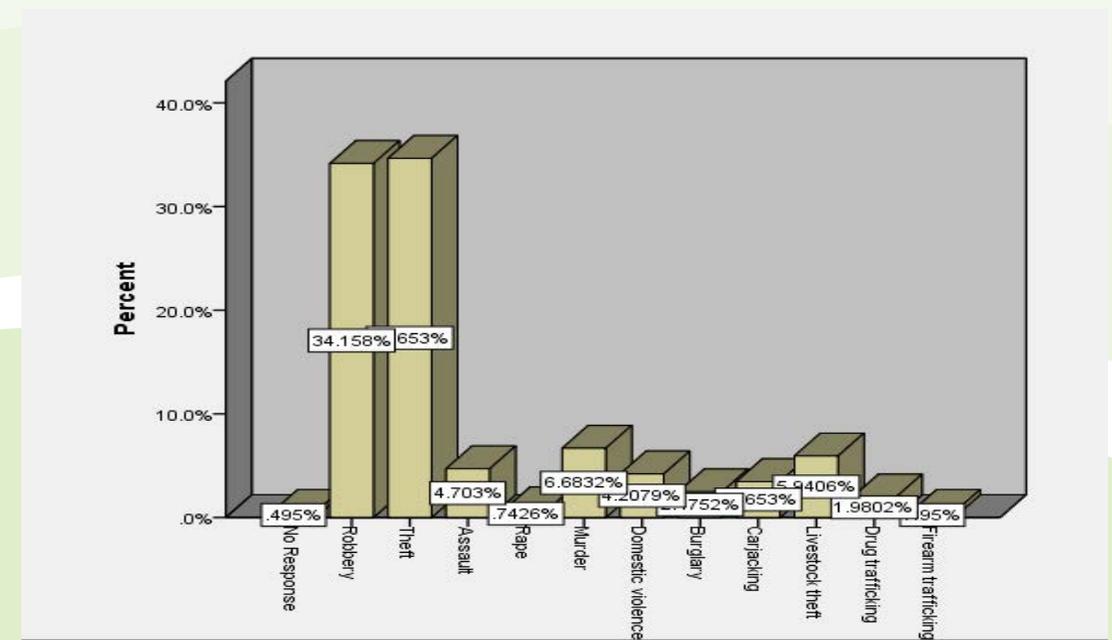
Source: Analysis from administered questionnaires

Kajiado metropolis towns are experiencing exponential population growth courtesy of new investors moving in and setting up businesses (notably flower firms) especially in Isinya and residential homes in Kitengela. It was established that the rapid expansion is complicating the security situation in the metropolis areas.

The study established that crime cases in the towns were increasing steadily with the most common ones being home and business break-ins, robbery, extortions, domestic violence and theft. It was established that crimes such as robberies were directly attributed to a spill-over effect from the neighbouring Nairobi city. It was also found that most of the residents in the area worked in Nairobi, a fact that was borne out by the evidently low diurnal population during the day and heavily congested streets in the evenings.

It was also found that cases of robbery, conman ship and spiking of drinks by women who then go ahead and steal from their 'preys' were on the increase; this situation was blamed on the many number of unregulated pubs in the areas. Prostitution is also high especially in Kitengela town. It was established that the scrap metal business was booming in the area and was contributing to vandalism, with the residents, mostly the youth vandalizing and cannibalizing security lights, road signs and other properties to make a living.

The study found that on average, four cases of crime were reported in a day in each of the police stations in the sampled areas although it surmised that a lot more cases went unreported.

Crime Hotspots in Kajiado

In terms of crime hotspots, Kware area, Gathaka road and Wama road in Rongai were found to be notorious for robberies, theft and carjacking especially at night (between 1800hrs, evening and 0600hrs in the morning); others included: Noonkopir area, Kitengela market, New Valley (along the railway line) and Changombe slums, in Kitengela; area around Kiserian primary, Flats and the main highway from Ngong to Kiserian in Kiserian and Majengo area, dark unlit areas within Isinya town and Kisaju road in Isinya.

"Cases of robbery, connmanship and spiking of drinks by women in Kajiado metropolitan area is prevalent."

Figure 12: Crime Hotspots in metropolis towns, Kajiado

TOWNS	CRIME HOT SPOTS	TYPE OF CRIME	TIME OF CRIME COMMISSION
Rongai	Kware	Snatch and run, theft, robbery Mugging.	11 pm to 3 am in the morning
	Gataka Road	Mugging, theft, snatch and run	11.30 pm to 5 am
	Wama Road/Mandazi Road	Robbery, theft mugging	All Night
	Rongai Stage 1	Theft, robbery, pick-pocketing, mugging	Night and rush hours
Kitengela	Noonkopir (Daraja-Next to Saitoti hospital)	Mugging, Car-jacking, Robbery, extortion, assault	Day and Night
	Changombe slums	Drug trafficking, illicit brewing, rape, muggings, theft	Any time (Day/Night)
	New Valley- Along the railway line	Murder, rape, robbery, assault	6 pm to 7 am
	Kitengela Market	Theft, robbery, vandalism, drug trafficking	Night
Kiserian	*Kiwanja ya Punda*- around Migoni house, just before "Flats" area	Theft, snatch and run, mugging, rape, murder	Night
	Around Kiserian Primary	Car-jacking, robbery, murder, mugging, snatch and run	Night
	Ngong town- Main Bustop	Drug trafficking, robbery, mugging, snatch and run, pick-pocketing	Day and Night
	Mathare slums- Ngong	Theft, house break-inns, illicit brews, rape,	Day and Night
	Kerarapon area	Mugging, robbery, theft	Night
Isinya	Kisaju road stretch	Robbery, car-jacking, rape, mugging	Night
	Bagdad Area	Robbery, theft, murder	Night
	Kichinjio Area	Murder, mugging, rape, snatch and run,	Late in the evening, early in the morning
	Majengo Area	Theft, rape, break-inns, robbery, prostitution	Day and Night

Source: Analysis from the questionnaires administered, key informant and in-depth interviews

The study established that the metropolis areas within the county were comparatively safe during the day but unsafe during the night especially in known crime hotspots. Some of the hotspots areas mentioned included: Kisaju Road which, according to the residents, was very dark and therefore an "ideal" stretch for criminals who waylay and rob residents, Majengo area which is predominantly inhabited by labourers of the numerous flower firms in the town and mostly associated with petty crimes and also other unlit zones in the area.

"Although the flower firms are providing employment, meager salaries appear to drive the youth to petty crime such as prostitution."

A typical greenhouse of a Flower Company in Isinya Area

The study established a strong correlation between crime and the many flower firms in Isinya town. It was found that such flower firms were the main source of employment in the town attracting youth from across the country. Study findings indicated that most of these flower firms subjected employees to poor working conditions including paying meager salaries. The harsh conditions seemed to force majority of youth to look for alternative sources of livelihood with some resorting to petty crimes and prostitution. It was established that the youth, who are either sacked or unable to get opportunities within the flower firms, including the EPZ are a serious security threat.

An image of a residential area where most of the flower firms' workers reside

Profile of Select Crime Hotspots

The study sought to profile select crime hotspots which had been identified as the most notorious locales for crime commission. These included: New valley, Noonkopir, changombe slums in Kitengela; Kiwanja ya punda, areas around Kiserian primary, Gataka road, Kware road and Wama road in Ngong police division.

In Kitengela, it was established that Noonkopir, Changombe slums and New Valley were the most serious crime hotspots. New Valley was reportedly a hide out for criminals due to the high density of people, drug abuse and high number of unemployed youth who evidently idled around drinking dens in the area.

In Noonkopir area, it was established that the *Mungiki* sect enjoyed a significant control of the area and was subjecting residents to informal charges and also extorting money from businessmen in the pretence of offering protection.

Within the New valley, areas adjacent to the railway line were reported to be the most notorious crime hotspots. The area is sparsely populated and is dotted with deserted or abandoned housing structures, is unlit and was reportedly infamous for serious crimes such as murder, robberies and sometimes rape. A resident intimated that cases of people being robbed even in broad day light were high with most residents choosing to avoid the areas altogether.

An open area between Destiny Flats and Elite Suites, in Changombe slums notorious for muggings, illicit brews, drug trafficking and theft.

Left: Open grounds within New Valley along the railway line where criminals waylay unsuspecting residents at night and rob them of their valuables. Right: photograph shows some abandoned house

Noonkopir, Daraja – Next to Saitoti Hospital

The culvert below is in Noonkopir, Daraja area next to Saitoti hospital. The area was reported to be notorious for mugging and carjackings. Carjacking's are exacerbated by the deplorable condition of the road which forced motorists to slow down. It was observed that criminals hide under the bridge and target private cars at night. Unsuspecting pedestrians are also mugged as they accessed their residential houses within the nearby slums and illicit brew dens.

In Changombe slums, the area between Destiny Flats and Elite Suites was reported to be notorious for muggings, illicit brews, drug trafficking and murder that mostly take place at night. One of the main observations about the area was that there were so many apparently idle and menacing-looking youth who were even questioning the purpose of the site photographs that were being taken. One resident who appeared uneasy and anxious to be seen walking around with strangers (the researchers), intimated that the illicit brewers around the area had a "working arrangement" with the authorities and as such would normally not be apprehended or arrested for engaging in the illegal business.

A culvert in Noonkopir slums where criminals target pedestrians and motorists as they navigate their ways through potholes or stop to fix punctures.

In Ngong, the hot spots areas that were mentioned were: Ngong bus station, Mathare slum and Kerarapon area which were reported to be notorious for mugging, break-ins, theft and robberies using mostly crude weapons such as machetes and knives. It was established that most of the crime perpetrators were youth aged between twenty (20) and thirty (30) years who target anyone for money, electronics and cell phones.

Kiwanja ya Punda, around Migon House

Kiwanja ya Punda is behind/next to Migon House just before Flats area and is a shortcut route preferred by the residents to Kiserian open grounds. The area is unlit and deserted at night making it an ideal hunting ground for criminals prowling unsuspecting individuals. It was established that the area was notorious for theft ('snatch and run'), mugging, rape and murder especially at night. The area is strategic for thugs since they can monitor movement of unsuspecting individuals from both corners. The criminals reportedly targeted mostly mobile phones and money.

Left photograph shows Migon House while the right one shows the short cut route to Kiserian grounds where criminals stalk unsuspecting individuals

Around Kiserian Primary

The first corner to Kiserian Primary School along the road from Kiserian to Rongai was identified as a crime hot spot. The area is bushy and deserted during the night. Criminals waylay unsuspecting civilians in the bushes and rob them of their possessions. A recent incident reported in the area involved a *boda boda* cyclist who was murdered and his motorbike stolen by individuals posing as passengers.

Most commonly reported types of crime in this area are theft (snatch and run) and mugging and targeted anyone using the road at night.
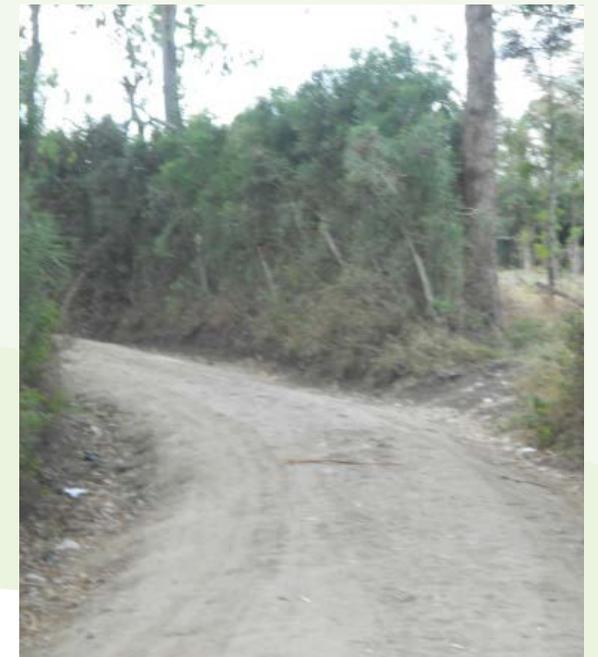
Section of the road believed to be a crime hotspot just before Kiseran Primary school (The left photograph shows thick vegetation along the stretch leading to the bend while the right one shows the bend where criminals waylay and pounce on road users as from 6.00 pm

Gataka Road

The area along Gataka road – Small shopping centre near Boonhouse School and also extending to the second juction connecting to Mayor road and Kware in Ongata Rongai was identified as a crime hot spot. This area is next to Kisumu Ndogo, a slum believed to be the hide out of criminals. The type of crimes mostly committed in this area are mugging, theft and snatching. These types of crime mostly take place in the wee hours of the evening and early morning especially after the police patrols. Youth aged between 21 and 30 years were reported to be behind the upsurge of crime incidents and were said to be using crude weapons including machetes, swords, clubs and also toy pistols.

Criminals were reported to target valuable items such as mobile phones and money among other things from traders and workers either as they leave their homes in the morning or late at night as they make their way back.

Gataka Road – the road section from the shopping centre near Boonhouse School to the second juction connecting Mayor road and Kware road is known for mugging, theft-mostly' snatch and run')

Kware road

The road connecting Kware stage and Kware residential slum is always busy during the day and forms Kware's most known business area. The road is a crime hotspot known for snatching and mugging. These crimes take place at night mostly from 2300hrs to 0300hrs in the morning. The criminals who are mostly youth between the ages of 15 and 30 years targets mobile phones, money and any valuable item from the road users.

It was established that even though police patrols were high along this road, residents and road users felt that the criminals had mastered the police patrol patterns and pounced on residents immediately after the patrols. Residents keep safe by avoiding the main road or getting home early.

Section of the road from Kware stage (along Rongai-Kiserian) leading to residential slum area believed to be a crime hotspot.

Wama Road.

Wama road leads to Wama Hospital and connects to Green Castle Hotel. Along this road there are small-scale businesses, which operate during early morning and early evening. The area is not well lit at night and criminals accost their victims especially worshipers walking about or coming from the nearby mosque. The most common types of crime in the area are robbery, theft and mugging. Criminals along this road target money, phones and other valuable items.

Section of Wama road identified as a crime hotspot.

Intervention Strategies

The study established that residents within Kajiado County have embraced community policing as a strategy to combat crime. As a result, the local administrators and the police hold regular meetings with the public to discuss issues affecting the area and recommend means of resolving them. It was observed that the residents had a lot of confidence with local administrators and also the district peace committees (DPCs) and would sometimes find it easy confiding with them on security matters in the area.

Kitengela residents on the other hand work well with the Police although, it was established that

"local administrators and the police hold regular meetings with the public to discuss issues affecting the area."

most residents preferred reporting criminal cases to chiefs who are trusted to resolve most cases, especially domestic wrangles, faster and more amicably. Further, it was found that, the community policing initiative was in the process of being revamped with the administrators lauding the *Nyumba Kumi* initiative as an ideal strategy of eradicating crime in the area especially considering that the area is highly cosmopolitan. It was found that the County had

embraced alternative strategies of fighting crime such as:

- Zoning the area and assigning them to specific policemen who are answerable to the crime rates in the areas.

- Holding frequent community policing forums to discuss issues of crime affecting them.

- Intensifying police raids, foot and mobile patrols during the day and beats at night in the area.

- Increasing communication with the public by putting up toll free hotlines.

- Conducting patrols in civilian attire.

- Some residents have introduced marking/naming streets and residential and business gates to make it easy for the police to locate them in cases of emergencies or crime incidences.

Challenges

It was found that most of the police stations in the County experienced operational challenges such as, inadequate staffing, poorly equipped officers, inadequate and unreliable means of transport. It was observed that the whole division had only been assigned two official vehicles.

Public- Police Relations

Despite the existence of appreciable progress in community policing initiatives, the public was nevertheless said to be occasionally reluctant in cooperating with the police in volunteering useful and timely information which could aid in the prevention of crime and apprehension

of known and wanted criminals in their midst. It was observed that members of the public frequently withdraw criminal cases before they were fully investigated and culprits taken to court for prosecution. Similarly, it was learnt that the public were reluctant to report to the police certain types of crime and were generally reluctant when called upon as witnesses in already filed cases, thereby frustrating police work while at the same time exposing themselves to reprisal attacks by the same criminals. It was apparent that there was still some mistrust between the members of public and the police, with some local residents even shying away from discussing security issues and brushing off the topic as the express constitutional mandate of the government on which its legitimacy to govern is based. In this regard, the administrators interviewed observed that there was need to sensitize the public about the fact that, ultimately, security was everyone's responsibility and they owed it to themselves to report and give all forms of information to the police for action. It was established that the public did not follow instructions when security alerts were issued and the few who did so reacted reluctantly or half-heartedly. One officer stated:

"When the members of public are called upon to give information about wanted criminals and to testify on filed cases, they fear for their lives and their relatives because the criminals are let free through bonds".

It was observed that the public were reluctant to give out information leading to the apprehension of criminals especially when their relatives and neighbours were involved. It was revealed that members of the public even demanded money in exchange for information volunteered, oblivious of the fact that they were the ultimate beneficiaries of improved security.

4.4.2 Kiambu County

The study found that there were fewer reported cases of robbery in Kiambu metropolis than there were in Kajiado and Machakos metropolis. Moreover cases of theft were comparatively more, 48.429%, leading to the conclusion that

Figure 13: Common Types of Crime in Kiambu County
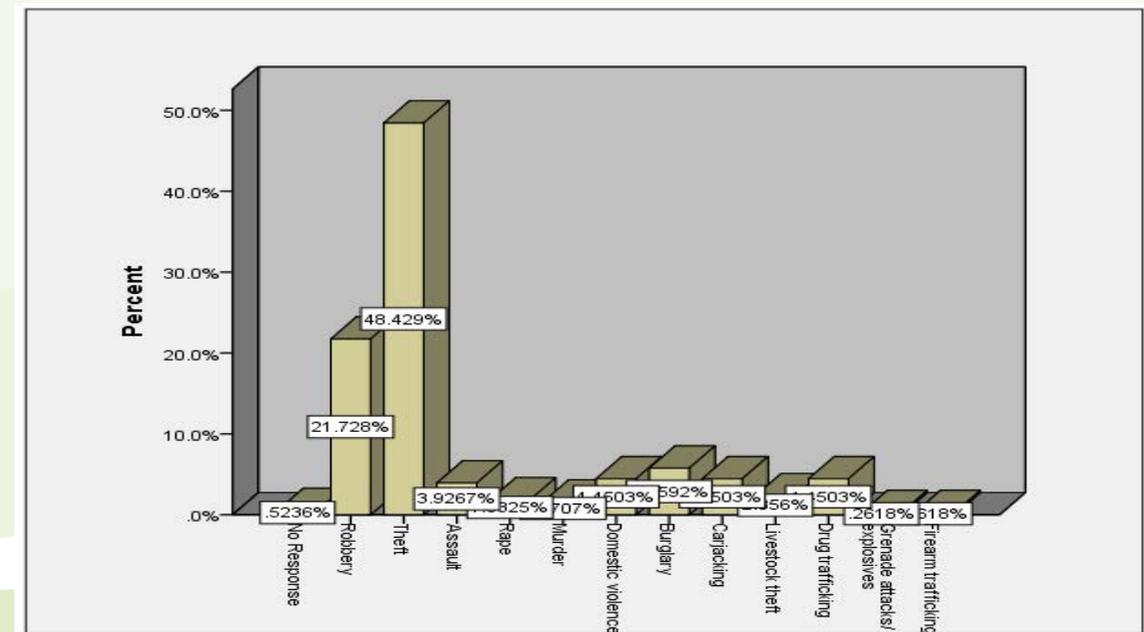
Source: Analysis from administered questionnaires.

Crime Hotspots in Kiambu Metropolis

The most notable crime hotspots in metropolis areas within Kiambu county were: Thika area-Ngeta area (field), Kiandutu, flyover connecting Ruiru town and Kenyatta University's Ruiru campus, Muchatha and Gachororo area (mostly inhabited by students), areas around Faith Church, the road between Kiambu and Ruiru town and also the Chania River junction,

criminals either preferred staging robberies in Nairobi then retreat back to their rural/peri-urban domiciles or like in many areas, respondents had a challenge in distinguishing theft from robbery which may have contributed to the significant differences in reported rates.

Makadara and Makongeni residential estates, Thika-Nairobi Mang'u over-pass/under-pass.

Kikuyu area-The railway line Junction along Nairobi-Nakuru highway and the unlit stretch near Kikuyu town, dark alleys within Kikuyu town and Patel bridge, King'eero, Kahuho, the numerous railway bridges and road underpasses/overpasses, Kidfarmaco, Rungiri/Kinoo, Nairobi River upstream areas and brewing joints.

Kiambu area- Mashimoni road, the area around Faith church, Kirigiti (From DC's office to Kirigiti centre) and Kiambu main road (especially in areas surrounded by coffee plantations), a desolate stretch between Kiambu Institute of Science and Technology (KIST) and Kiambu Town, Ndumberi - Githunguri road, Ruiru - Kiambu road (before the coffee plantations).

Limuru area- Stretch between Limuru town and the Nakuru highway, Limuru Town Bus Park, along the railway line in the densely populated Kamirithu/Murengeti shanties, Limuru bus stage and dark alleys within the town centre in Limuru.

Figure 14: Crime Hotspots in Kiambu

DIVISION	HOT SPOT AREA	TYPE OF CRIME	TIME CRIME IS COMMITTED
Thika	Kiandutu Area	Robbery, Assault, mugging, break-ins, theft, drug abuse & trafficking, Arson	Day and Night
	Flyover (near Mangu)	Robbery, Mugging, Snatch and run	Night
	Muchatha Area	Robbery, theft, break-ins, snatch and run (handbags, mobile phones….)	Day and night
	Gachororo area (Mostly inhabited by students)	Robbery, theft, muggings, rape, drug abuse and trafficking, arms trafficking	Day and Night
	Thika -Ngeta area (field)	Robbery, theft, snatch and run (handbags, mobile phones)	Day/Night
	Flyover connecting Ruiru town and Kenyatta University's Ruiru campus	Theft, Mugging, snatch and run	Late evening, early morning
	Areas around Faith Church	Robbery and theft	Night
	The road between Kiambu and Ruiru town and also the Chania River junction,	Robbery, theft, rape, mugging, car-jacking	Night
	Makadara and Makongeni residential estates	Robbery, theft, muggings, rape, drug abuse and trafficking, arms trafficking	Day/Night

Kikuyu	The railway line (Junction Nairobi-Nakuru highway and the stretch to Kikuyu town)	Murder, robbery, theft, rape, mugging, car-jacking	Night
	Across Patel Bridge	Murder, robbery, rape, mugging,	Night
	Along Ondiri road	Robbery, theft, car-jacking	Night
	Around Alliance Boys and Kikuyu Hospital	Mugging, rape, theft	Night
	Kiandutu slums	Robbery, theft, rape, mugging, house break-inns	Day and Night
Kiambu	Mashimoni (Marimaini) Road	Carjacking, robbery, mugging	Night
	Near Faith Church (Especially around the slum area)	Robbery, theft, rape,	Early morning, Night
	Kirigiti (From DC's office to Kirigiti centre)	Mugging, robbery,	Night
	Kiambu-Ruiru road (especially in areas surrounded by coffee plantations)	Carjacking, robbery, murder, rape, mugging	Night
	Ndumberi area	Extortion, murder, mugging, rape	Day and Night
Limuru	Along the Road (Stretch between Limuru town and the Nakuru highway)	Car-jacking, robbery, theft, mugging	Night and early morning hours
	Along the railway line in the densely populated Kamirithu/ Murengeti slums,	Drug abuse and trafficking, pick-pocketing, conman-ship, theft, robbery	Day and Night

Source: Analysis from the questionnaires administered, key informant and in-depth interviews.

The study also established that proximity to Nairobi city, high population density characterized by high poverty levels especially in informal settlement areas are some of the reasons for high crime rates in Kiambu metropolis.

Crime Trends

The study established that crime in Kiambu metropolis tends to increase during tea and coffee bonus payment seasons. On average, five criminal cases are reported daily across all the police stations and other satellite police patrol bases. It was also established that the local communities preferred to report cases of person-directed crimes such as non-fatal domestic and sexual violence to chiefs and their assistants rather than to the police. It was established reporting to chiefs was a conscious decision to preserve the family values. In this regard, "sensitive" sexual offences such as rape, incest and defilement were seldom reported to the police.

The study established that trading in stolen motor vehicle parts was rife in the County especially in Limuru, Zambezi, Kikuyu, Kinoo, Wangige, Kiambu and Thika towns. Motor vehicles as well as motor cycles are either stolen in Nairobi or within the neighbouring Counties, dismantled and their parts sold as spare parts in illicit markets. Other related crimes include theft and vandalism of road signage and railway line sleepers, a fact that is a clear pointer to the thriving scrap metal business in the County.

"Trading in stolen motor vehicle parts is rife in the County especially in Limuru, Zambezi, Kikuyu, Kinoo, Wangige, Kiambu and Thika towns."

Profile of Select Crime Hotspots

The study sought to profile select crime hotspots which had been identified as the most notorious locales for crime commission. These included: a pathway between Faith church and student hostels, the road between Kiambu town and Ruiru town and section of Kiandutu slums.

A pathway between Faith Church and students Hostels

The above pathway connects the school of theology (Faith church) to the student's hostels across the river. It was reported that the area is notorious for robberies and theft cases with criminals waylaying unsuspecting students as they either made their way to the college in the morning or later in the day as they went back to the hostels. The area was also reported to be safe during the day and very unsafe at night.

The road between Kiambu town and Ruiru town was also identified as one of crime hotspots in Kiambu metropolis. The road is deserted, unlit and bushy making it conducive for carjacking, robberies, murder and other forms of crime. Cases of murder where people have been killed either around the area or elsewhere and dumped in the area were reported.

It was reported that criminals would commit crime and disappear into the bushes, which lead to the coffee plantations making it hard to trace them.

A photograph showing the thick vegetation along Kiambu and Ruiru towns believed to be a crime hotspot with criminals targeting motorists and other solitary road users

The crime hotspots are typically characterized by low-income social groups (petty traders, unemployed/self-employed youth), easy availability and consumption of an assortment of illicit alcoholic drinks, are poorly lit, are bushy desolate or deserted streets and/or footpaths and are oftentimes far removed from police stations, AP (Administration Police) or chiefs' offices. Moreover, criminals seem to position themselves on bus/*matatu* stages along the roads, in groves and forests that dot the various parts of the County.

Photograph showing a section of Kiandutu slum where criminals hide in miraa selling dens, pool table bases and in wines and spirits shops

Intervention Strategies

This report finds that people tended to experience a constant and pervading sense of psychological apprehension and imminent vulnerability to criminal attack in their own localities. This analysis is validated by the heavy investment in the installation of home and business security gadgets such as perimeter walls, heavy gates with toothed iron nails, barbed/razor wires, alarm systems, electric fence or broken bottles and other protective installations witnessed in residential homes and business premises.

In responding to crime menace, the police service in Nairobi metropolis has adopted a number of targeted prevention and intervention measures including but not limited to; scaling up frequency of patrols and surveillance, entering into mutual partnerships with local authorities in the installation and maintenance of street lighting including high-mast floodlights in strategic locations. As a case in point, the Kikuyu Town Council had entered into a collaborative partnership with the World Bank Group to install town-wide Street lights within Kikuyu Township and adjacent villages and market centres. A similar initiative had already been undertaken in Thika, Kiambu, Ruiru, Juja, Limuru and Kamirithu townships. Moreover, the CID in Kikuyu have set up and supplied dedicated hotlines for reporting crime to a group of core civilian informers who alert them whenever a crime is being planned.

The study also found that there were a number of robust, community-fronted intervention mechanisms to counteract criminal activities in the County. Firstly, neighbouring communities, especially in Kikuyu and Tigoni areas, have taken the initiative to exchange mobile numbers with their neighbours, so that whenever their neighbours or business community are attacked, they immediately alert and mobilize one another to rescue the victims and /or try and apprehend or at the very least repulse the criminals.

Another ingenious personal security measure that was observed across all the townships was the fact that doors in both homes and business premises were specially reinforced to make break-ins extremely difficult to execute. To further boost their security, it was learnt that communities had mobilized themselves and hired guards and formed vigilante groups to safeguard their safety and security.

Challenges in addressing crime

In all the police stations sampled, a number of operational challenges were reported to hamper optimal service delivery by the police service, chief of which include police mobility and fuel shortage, disproportionately few number of officers vis-à-vis the huge swathe of geographical areas to be covered and frequency of crime responses; constant population movement and temporary/shifty settlement patterns in urban centres for those living in non-occupier residences (Thika and Kiambu), which police likened to "shooting at a moving, shadowy target".

Generally, police officers complained that while their job was one of the most taunting, risky and challenging public service, the job was arguably one of the most misunderstood and "thankless" services in the country. Specifically, the officers complained of poor terms and conditions of service, which included long working hours, logistical challenges, poor tools and equipments, shortage of manpower, inadequate and squalid housing.

Public-Police relations in Kiambu

The study established that there was significant public cooperation and collaboration with the police and other law enforcement agencies (LEAs) when security alerts are issued by the police. In addition when specific security or crime-related information is requested from members of the public by the police and chiefs to apprehend and hand over wanted criminals; the communities were very supportive. Community policing forums were also robust as evidenced by huge attendance and participation in the discussions. There were indications that the *Nyumba Kumi* initiative had largely been embraced by the residents as they have been reporting suspicious characters to the police and above all, willing to step forward and act as witnesses in court cases.

It was found that the Police-public relations and collaboration in the county was boosted by the close accessibility to command structures whereby members of the public dissatisfied with junior police officers response easily sought intervention from their seniors. One of the officers remarked that:

"Whenever the OCS or OCPD sees a multitude of people milling around a police station or patrol base, he/she would normally enquire what could be the problem. Besides, wananchi themselves have gotten to know their rights, not least because, as

a standard practice, police service charters are now displayed on public notice boards in virtually all police stations and patrol bases across the country".

It was also observed that some of the stations, notably in Thika and Kikuyu, had well patronized and staffed community-policing offices. Police service delivery charters with details of the range of services offered were also prominently posted on the public notice boards, and these include the Service's vision and mission statement as well as a detailed recourse for members of the public to channel their complaints or grievances.

One police officer commented that;

"Even in the best of circumstances, like in times of peace and tranquillity, we as security officers would still need to reach out to members of the public who are the ultimate consumers of our services. At any rate, protection of the citizens is our reason for existence. The police service does not exist to serve

itself but to discharge its cardinal duty of protecting the lives and property of fellow citizens at all times ".

4.4.3: Machakos County

Due to proximity to Nairobi and the relative high level of urbanization, metropolis areas within Machakos county experiences heightened criminality, which is economically directed or motivated. Other than the crimes of robbery and theft, notable crimes in Machakos metropolis are rape and murder, which had a combined frequency of 20.9%.

The study covered Mlolongo, Athi River, lower parts of Ruai and Mavoko town centres. Areas that had previously been identified as crime hotspots were also revisited and profiled to establish the current position.

Figure 15: Most Common Type of Crime
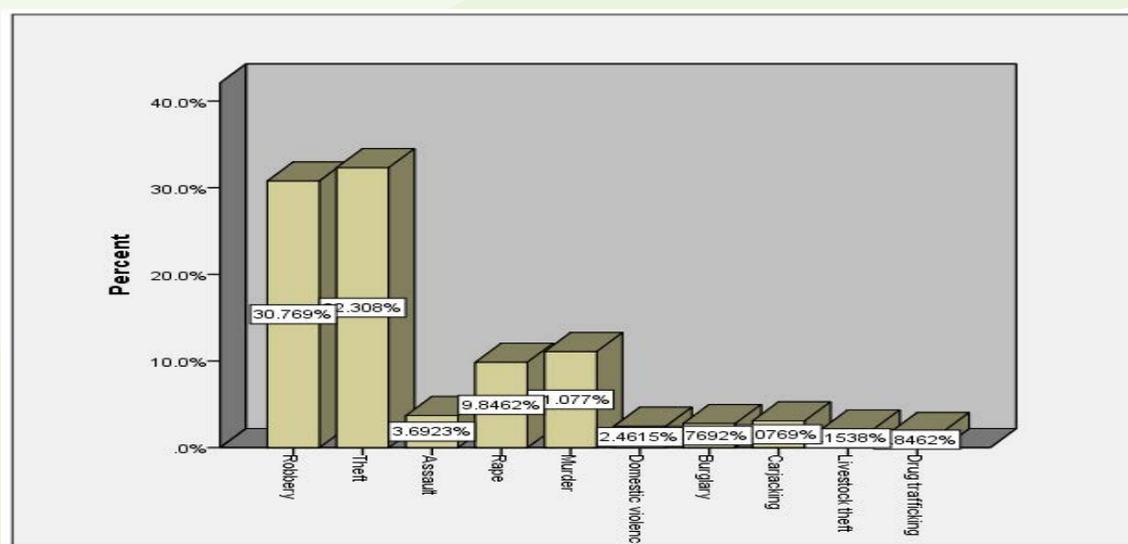
Source: Analysis from administered questionnaires.

Crime Hotspots in Machakos

In Machakos metropolis centres, the most crime hotspots include; Kanaani area, Railways, and Mombasa road in Athi River; Ngwata area, Silanga dam and Madharau Street in Mlolongo; areas around the Nairobi-Kangundo highway, Sewage area and dark alleys within the town centre in Ruai and Sovia, Makadara, Bondeni area and Devik in Mavoko among others.

Figure 16: Crime Hotspots in Machakos

DIVISION	HOT SPOT AREAS	TYPE OF CRIME	TIME CRIME IS COMMITTED
Athi River	Kisumu Ndogo area	Break-ins, mugging, murder	Day and Night
	Kanaani	Theft, carjacking	Night
	Kosovo- slum area bordering Athi-river and railway line	Break-ins, Robbery, mugging	Day and Night
	Soweto Street	Mugging, Robbery, Snatch and Run	Night
	Athi River Market	Vandalism, Robbery	Day and Night
	Athi River Main Stage	Snatch and run, pick-pocketing, theft-including of Boda bodas, conmanship	Early in morning, late in the evening
Mlolongo	Behind Muli Block (Game Park)	Robbery, theft, mugging, rape	Night
	Madharau Street	Prostitution, Rape, Robbery, theft, mugging	Night
	Kalembe Street	Mugging, robbery	Night
	Near Silanga Dam	Theft, Murder, robbery, Assault	Night
	Around Ngwata Area	Robbery, Assault, bodaboda theft	Night
	Beach Area	Prostitution, theft, robbery, rape	Night

Ruai	Kona Mbaya	Mugging, robbery, rape,	Day and Night
	Kipawa area	Mugging, robbery	Night (when dark)
	Sewage- along Maji Mazuri road	Murders, motorcycle theft and rape.	Night
	Drum vale area (Ong'au and section 26)	Mob justice, Break-ins, burglary, robbery	Day and Night
Mavoko	Sabaki	Robbery, mugging	Mostly Night
	Devik area along the railway line	Robbery, mugging, rape,	Night
	Bondeni	Break-ins, mugging, robbery, prostitution	Day and Night

Source: Analysis from the questionnaires administered, key informant and in-depth interviews.

Crime Trends

It was revealed that the Nairobi-Mombasa highway (between Athi River and Chumvi junction to Machakos town) which was previously identified as an hot-spot for carjacking had been contained through police roadblocks. The security agents had also succeeded in bringing down other crimes such as motorcycle thefts, mugging, murders, robberies, assault and other crimes through formation of welfare groups among the *boda boda* operators. It was established that the *boda boda* operators have been very resourceful to the police by informing them of suspicious individuals and in providing early warning information to help avert crime in

"Nairobi-Mombasa highway (between Athi River and Chumvi junction to Machakos town) which was previously identified as an hot-spot for carjacking had been contained through police roadblocks."

the area. It was noted that through the welfare groups, operators were also being advised on how to better their businesses, protect themselves from attacks and sensitized on importance of reporting crime. The police have also devised a mechanism to register all *boda bodas* through welfare groups with their details

including motor bike registration numbers and phone numbers to allow easy tracking in case of crime incidents.

Nonetheless, shoplifting and break-in incidents, especially the go-downs owned by factories in the County, were rampant; a trend attributed to inside jobs by the disgruntled employees. The incidents of break-in are common especially in the newly constructed houses in the urban centres. The main perpetrators are believed to be the labourers involved in the construction.

Profile of Select Crime Hotspots

The study sought to profile select crime hotspots which had been identified as the most notorious locales for crime commission. These included: Kanaani, Silanga dam area, Ngwata area, Sewage area and Drum vale.

Kanaani, a slum area bordering River Athi and the railway line was identified as a hotspot. Specifically, the road branching to the slum and passing through the railway line has been earmarked as a crime hotspot with most crime being reported as from 1900hrs.

Photograph showing road junction leading to Athi River, bordering the Kanaani slum area

Silanga Dam Area

Silanga Dam is in Mlolongo urban centre and is characterized by informal settlements with poor road network and many idle youth. The most common types of crimes reported in this area

include theft, murder, robberies and assaults and occur mostly at night between 2000hrs and wee hours of the morning.

A section of Silanga dam area in Mlolongo

Ngwata Area

Ngwata area, also in Mlolongo is densely populated with a section having houses that are close together and the other with houses spread apart. The area is commonly known for crimes such as robberies, assaults and *bodaboda* theft. The entire area is built along a hill with poor road networks and is dangerous especially between 1900hrs and 0530hrs.

A road section within Ngwata area in Mlolongo, known for robberies, assaults and boda boda theft.

Sewage area: Maji mazuri

The Sewage area along Maji Mazuri road in Ruai is a hot spot area characterized by desertion and unlit sections. The area is notorious for murders, motorcycle theft and rape. The area used to be bushy but has since been cleared on hedges.

Sewage area along Maji Mazuri Road in Ruai

Drum Vale area

This area has many upcoming stand-alone homesteads with houses built far apart from each other, a perfect condition for staging crimes. The most common crimes include break-ins and burglaries targeting new homeowners. The perpetrators of these crimes are mainly the construction workers who construct the houses and help with moving-in the owners.

The entire Drum Vale is known to be crime prone but the main areas within Drum Vale that these crimes occur mostly include; section 26, Kamulu area and Ong'au. The residents of On'gau have however formed their own vigilante groups to protect themselves from crime. Consequently, mob justice cases are very common in the area as the residents believe that the only way they can eradicate crime is through eliminating the perceived crime suspects.

A photograph showing some of the upcoming stand alone homesteads in Kamulu area in Ruai

Intervention Strategies

Although Community policing structures were reportedly not well grounded in Machakos County, the Police through community leaders in some areas like Athi-river have established groups, safe estates, in different neighbourhoods each with a chairperson who ensures that he/she meets with respective groups to discuss security situation and propose mechanisms of improving

general security in the area. The police organize consultative meetings with the group leaders to report on group deliberations and agree on the best way forward.

Challenges faced in Responding to Crime

It was established that the police in most rapidly expanding areas like Mlolongo were not only few but also ill equipped. Resources were found

to be inadequate and also notable low morale among the police officers in most parts of the County covered in this study. It was noted that most police stations in the County were not only assigned a single car for patrols but also suffered insufficient fuel.

Another main challenge that the police have been facing is lack of housing facilities. This has forced some officers to look for houses around the area and others far from their work station. This has created a challenge to the police, especially in accessing the station in cases of emergency. It was however observed that some staff houses were being developed and were expected to be completed in a few months' time, which could alleviate the housing problem.

Other challenges faced by the police include some rogue community members who give succour to criminals especially relatives, political interference especially by local influential personalities such as politicians and business people, who would normally make pleas and intercessions for the release of apprehended criminals.

Public- Police Relations

It was established that in some areas of the metropolis within Machakos County such as Mlolongo, Community Policing structures had virtually collapsed. The community members were said to arrest, conduct investigations and in most cases torture suspects. It was found that members of the public were not as cooperative in terms of volunteering information especially when their relatives were involved. Police however were in the process of restructuring community policing through reaching out to the residents and also educating them on the ideals and functionality of the initiative.

4.4.4 Nairobi County

Nairobi city is the most populous city in East Africa, with an estimated population of 3,138,295 inhabitants living within 269 sq. km[18]. Nairobi is home to thousands of Kenyan businesses and over 100 major international companies and organizations making it an established hub for business and culture. This has intensified rural urban migration and also attracted challenges associated with urbanization such as upsurge in crime levels. Crime in the city is high and perceived to be increasing annually.

The study revealed that the most prevalent types of crime in the city were robbery and theft, which together accounted for 75.8% of all the crimes reported. It was noted that carjacking and murder cases were not as frequent and accounted for a paltry 8.9% and 5.6% respectively. Further analysis revealed that most of the crime incidents in Nairobi were from informal settlements. In these areas, CRECO (2012), found that an estimated two-thirds of the city population resides in these areas that accounts for only one-fifth of the total surface area of the city; alluding to deep inequality which could potentially fan social tensions[19].

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[18] *Population distribution by province/district and sex: 1979-1999 Census. Kenya National Bureau of Statistics.*

[19] *Constitution and Reform Education Consortium (Cre-co, 2012). Building a culture of peace in Kenya; Baseline report on conflict mapping and profiles of 47 Counties in Kenya, retrieved from http://www. twawezacommunications.org/docs/mapping.pdf*

Figure 17: Most Common Type of Crime in Nairobi County
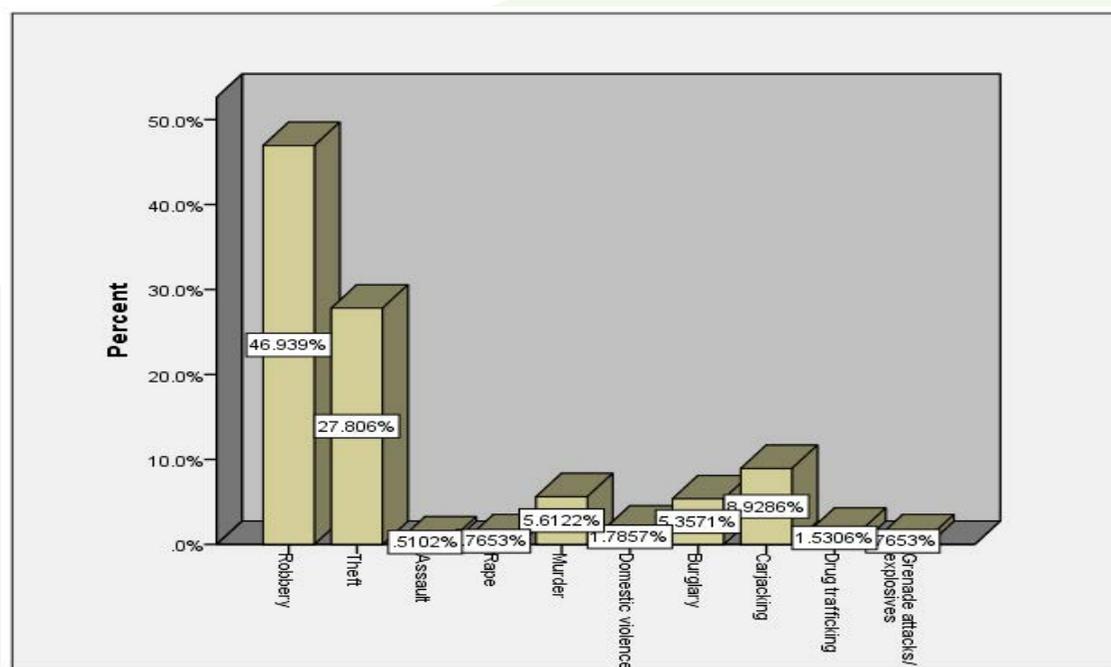
Source: Analysis from administered questionnaires

Compared to year 2011/2012, robbery cases in Nairobi seem to have gone up from 41.1% to 46.9% in 2012/13 period. This means that despite the deployment of Nairobi County Police Commander, security still remains a major challenge in the city and its environs.

Crime Hotspots in the City

In Nairobi City county, some of the crime hotspots areas include: Oilibya petrol station, Nigeria area in Mathare slums; areas along the Gitanga road and Congo area in Lavington; surrounding slum areas (especially Kiamaiko slums), city cotton and unlit areas in Buruburu shopping centre in Buruburu; Muindi Mweusi, Mariakani road and surrounding slum areas in South B and Wapewape area, area around the Embakasi girls and the Railway crossing in Mukuru kwa Njenga among many others.

"Compared to year 2011/2012, robbery cases in Nairobi have gone up from 41.1% to 46.9% in 2012/13 period."

Figure 18: Crime Hotspots

DIVISION	HOT SPOT AREA	TYPE OF CRIME	TIME CRIME IS COMMITTED
Mathare	Oilibya Petrol Station in Mathare slums	Mugging, robbery, carjacking	Night
	Nigeria Area	Drug trafficking, illicit brewing, break-ins, rape, Arms trafficking	Day and Night
	Kosovo	Mugging, Drug trafficking, break-ins, Arms trafficking	Day and Night
	Okey Petrol Station opposite Moi Airbase gate.	The area is controlled by Mungiki who are mostly behind most types of crime in the area including mugging, carjacking, armed robbery, extortion	Day and Night
	Mathare 3C	Ethnic based rivalries which lead to arson, SGBV, robbery, theft, mugging	Day and Night
Eastleigh	Jam Street and 12th Street	The two streets are 'controlled' by Superpower and Sky gangs respectively. Common types of crime include mugging, robbery, break-ins (business premises), theft	Day and Night
Lavington	Along Gitanga road	Carjackings, robbery	Night
	'Congo' (Kawangware)	Arms trafficking, drug abuse, rape, mugging, robbery,	Day and Night
Buruburu	Kiamaiko slums	SALW trafficking, break-ins, robbery, mugging, Drug abuse and trafficking	Day and Night
	Mutindwa-Jericho stretch and the Shopping Centre	Robbery, drug abuse and trafficking, prostitution, theft	Day and Night

South B	Mariakani Road	Carjacking, robbery, murder, mugging, drug abuse	Day and Night
	Muindi Mweusi- Mukuru kwa Njenga	Mugging, robbery, rape	Day and Night
	City Cotton- next to Moi international Centre	Extortion, Rape, robbery, murder, theft	Day and Night
	Foot bridge connecting Commercial and Mariguini	Mugging, robbery, Rape	Day and Night
Mukuru kwa Njenga	Wapewape area	Break-ins, mugging, robbery, illicit brews, rape	Day and Night
	Motomoto area	Break-ins, mugging, robbery, illicit brews, rape	Day and Night
	Kware area	Robbery, break-ins, murder, theft	Day and Night
	Vietnam area	Break-ins, mugging, robbery	Day and Night

Source: *Analysis from the questionnaires administered, key-informant and in-depth interviews.*

Crime Trends

It was reported that averagely fifty (50) cases of crime are reported in a day in all the police divisions. The high number of crime is linked to the massive unemployment among the youth, high levels of poverty which make people resort to crime as a source of income, urbanization which has led to mushrooming of slums in almost all neighbouring towns and also the huge economic gap between the poor and the rich.

Most of the reported crimes are assault, kidnapping, carjacking, theft, mugging and robbery using firearms, knives and pistols. It was established that youths aged between sixteen (16) and thirty (30) years were the culprits and targeted traders, motorists, passengers, and police officers especially in the morning between 0530hrs and 0600hrs and in the evening between 1900hrs 0200hrs.

In some places like Eastleigh, congestion was blamed for upsurge in crime. It was established that both human and motor traffic, unplanned semi-permanent structures and presence of organized criminal groups such as "super power", "sky" and "sitaki kujua", all associated with Somali youth have conspired to exacerbate crimes in eastern part of the city. Most of crimes reported in the area included break-ins, assault, burglary and robberies using *pangas,* and pistols. Increment of refugees in some areas in the city like Eastleigh and abuse of drugs like alcohol and bhang and traditional brews like *chang'aa, busaa* and *kaluvi* were blamed for increased crime incidences in the area.

Police officers interviewed admitted that Nairobi city was experiencing an upsurge of crime incidences and mentioned some areas which they felt were more susceptible to crime

including Mukuru kwa Njenga, Mukuru Kwa Ruben slums in Industrial area police division; Oilibya petrol station, unlit areas in Mlango Kubwa, Kiboro, Nigeria, Okey petrol station, Mathare 3C, Eastleigh Jam Street and 12th street and Juja road in Starehe police division and other areas such as Kiamaiko, city cotton, and Muindi Mweusi supermarket in South C.

Profile of Select Crime Hotspots

The study sought to profile select crime hotspots which had been identified as the most notorious locales for crime commission. These included: a section of open grounds along the railway line opposite Makadara Hamza and Buruburu, areas around the flyover along Likoni road - just before the standard group offices in Industrial area and a footbridge leading to South B from Mukuru kwa Njenga slums.

A section of open grounds along the railway line opposite Makadara Hamza and Buruburu just befor the Donholm round about/ flyover.

The area shown above is opposite Buruburu and along Jongoo road and just before the Donholm flyover. In this area, residents of Makadara Hamza, Buruburu and workers from the industries near the railway line prefer to cross through the open ground as a shortcut. The area is notorious for robberies, rape, murder, mugging and many other forms of crime both during the day and night. It was observed that criminals hide in the bushes, in some abandoned train cabins or pretend to be working in some *shambas* in the open grounds as they waited for unsuspecting individuals. Crime incidences

increase during the night as the area is always deserted and unlit making it a perfect hunting ground for criminals who unleash all forms of terror on residents of the neighbouring estates. It was found that some criminals would steal from the neighbouring estates or from PSVs (pick-pocket or grab valuable items from motorists and commuters, especially when there are traffic jams) and disappear into the open grounds making it hard to trace them.

The flyover neighbouring Makongeni Estate and Standard group offices in Industrial area is notorious for robberies, murder, drug trafficking,

mugging and rape. The area is normally unlit and deserted at night making it a perfect hunting zone for criminals who target workers from the many industries around the area as they made their way either to their homes or to their work places.

A Flyover along Likoni Road just before the Standard group offices in Industrial area

It was established that criminals would disappear through Makongeni Estate or Mbotela Estates which are congested making it hard for anyone to trace/track them down.

In Mukuru kwa Njenga slums, theft, robberies, muggings and break-ins were found to be too common. The problem is attributed to congestion and lack of properly designated access roads making it hard to police the areas. The bridge shown below is a hot spot for mugging and robberies.

The footbridge shown above leads to Mukuru kwa Njenga through South B area and is notorious for muggings and robberies especially at night

The study established that robbery cases using toy pistols and stealing of laptops and cell phones were most prevalent in areas around Umoja between 0500hrs and 0630hrs in the morning including in Matatus. The crimes were exacerbated by the many *panya* routes around the estate and people walking alone in the morning and late in the evening.

Interventions Strategies in the City

To combat the problem of crime and insecurity in Nairobi County, a number of efforts have been expended by both the national, county governments and civil society towards making the city a safer place to live in. CCT cameras have been installed in major buildings in the city and this has greatly contributed to increased arrests of criminals. High power masks have been erected in some slums. In addition, village elders were found to be sharing information with police concerning insecurity.

Challenges of fighting Crime in the City

Inadequate transport was found to be the main challenge facing the police in Nairobi City County. Moreover, the few vehicles available were not sufficiently serviced or lacked adequate fuel since most cars had been assigned only eight (8) litres of fuel per day which was by far inadequate. It was established that there were no enough bulletproof jackets and modern weapons to match what most criminals were using to commit crime in the city.

In the slums, congestion, poor accessibility and difficulties in house identification were found to be some of the challenges police faced in pinpointing the exact location of crime.

Public-police Relations in the City

In Nairobi County, Community policing initiative was hailed as a good strategy for fighting crime. This involved public-police collaborations and sharing information. The *Nyumba kumi* initiative was also supported with one police officer observing that:

"The initiative will make it easy for residents of certain localities to identify and report criminals through good neighbourliness and ultimately help the law enforcement agencies weed out criminals in the neighbourhoods"

However, it was established that police were unhappy with the manner in which most members of the public treat security matters especially when security alerts are issued. It was established that in Nairobi County, members of the public were reluctant to volunteer information leading to apprehension of wanted criminals especially when relatives were involved. It was apparent that the public was also reluctant to volunteer as witnesses in filed cases allegedly for fear of reprisals and also the perceived waste of time and resources since the police were said to lack a clear witness support system especially when cases dragged for a long time. One police officer observed:

"Members of public need to be sensitized on the role of the police in maintaining law and order and also to understand the duty of the police in safeguarding their rights in order to avoid giving bribes when caught breaking laws or want any form of service from police officers"

4.5 Characteristics of Crime Hotspots

The study sought to understand why particular locales were prone to crimes. These areas, referred to here as crime hotspots, were found to exhibit the following attributes and features: presence of a huge group of unemployed/idle youth; densely populated/congested areas; vicinities around

drinking joints/pubs; unfinished buildings, footbridges, poorly lit streets or alleys (urban), deserted footpaths (rural areas) and unpatrolled spaces. Figure 19 below shows strength of each attribute identified.

Figure 19: Characteristics of Crime Hotspots

| CHARACTERISTICS	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
No Response/ Not Applicable	621	41.3
Unemployed youths who idle by	246	16.4
Many pubs operating 24hours	43	2.9
Not/ Poorly lit	350	23.3
Densely populated/congested areas	85	5.7
Along the bridges	8	.5
Not policed and patrolled	26	1.7
Known 'Base'/ Den for criminals	124	8.3
Total	**1503**	**100.0**

Source: Analysis from administered questionnaires

Crime Incidents compared to the Previous Year (2011/12 observatory)

The study sought to establish the status of crime as compared with the previous year. It was found that while Kiambu and Machakos counties showed a remarked decrease, more cases of crime were reported in Kajiado and Nairobi counties. In metropolis areas within Kajiado County, the feeling of 'more insecure' could be attributed in large part to the exponential growth of urban centres such as Kitengela, Ongata Rongai, Ngong, and Kiserian. On the other hand, the metropolis areas within Kiambu County, though bordering Nairobi, are mostly "closed" and experience limited immigration owing mostly to unavailability of land for expansion. Moreover, it is also likely that better policing service is beginning to bear fruit.

On the other hand, the reduction in the number of crimes committed in the metropolis areas within Machakos County compared to the previous year could be attributed to initiatives put in place by the County government, particularly provision of patrol cars to boost the existing security infrastructure in the County.

"Crime levels in Kiambu and Machakos counties have decreased in the last one year."

**Figure 20: Crime Incidents compared to the Previous Year**
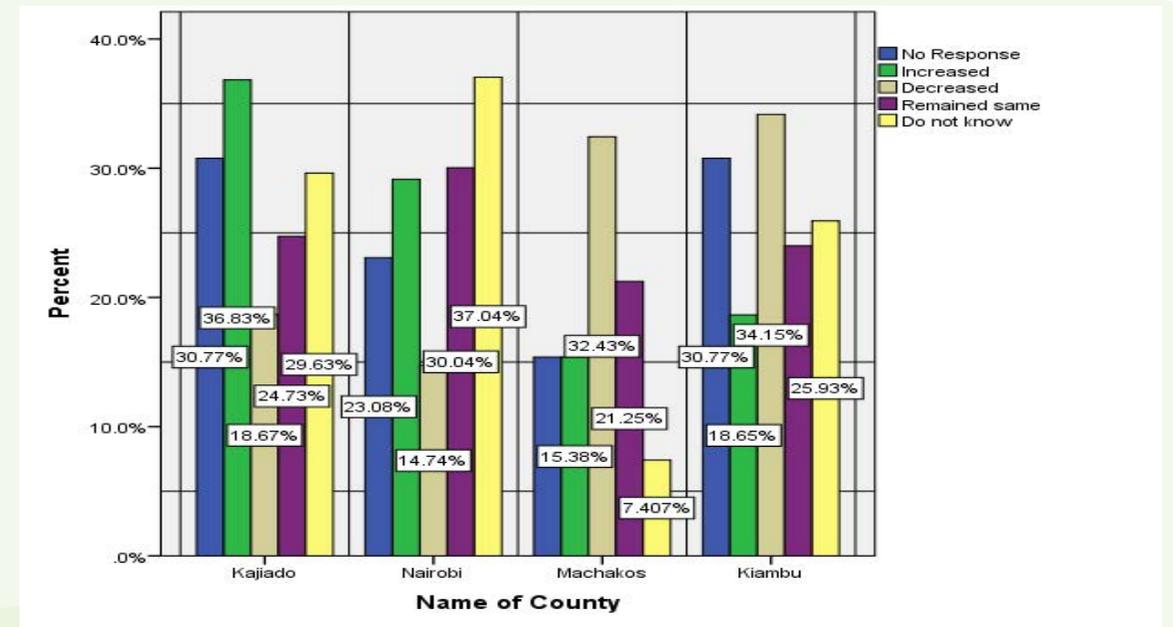
4.6 Reporting Crime

The study established that the number of people reporting crime to the police reduced during the current observatory period (2012/13) to 37.9% from a high of 51.6% in 2011/12 observatory period. The drop in reporting crime could indicate a loss of confidence by members of the public in the police. As shown in figure 21 below, majority of the respondents (58.62%) preferred not to report crime to the police probably because they reckoned that doing so would still be inconsequential.

"Number of people reporting crime to the police has reduced from 51.6% to 37.9% in the last one year."

Figure 21: Reporting of Crime to Police

The loss of confidence was largely attributed to police inaction, corruption, cost of travelling to police stations, fear of reprisals from the perpetrators and a preference for alternative dispute resolutions (ADR)[20] including neighbourhood watch groups, councils of elders forums, faith based mechanisms or other initiatives set up by the non-governmental organizations which are reportedly less time consuming and cheaper. Findings indicated that, the probability of recovering lost property was higher through ADR than with the police.

Figure 22: Challenges in Reporting Crime to Police
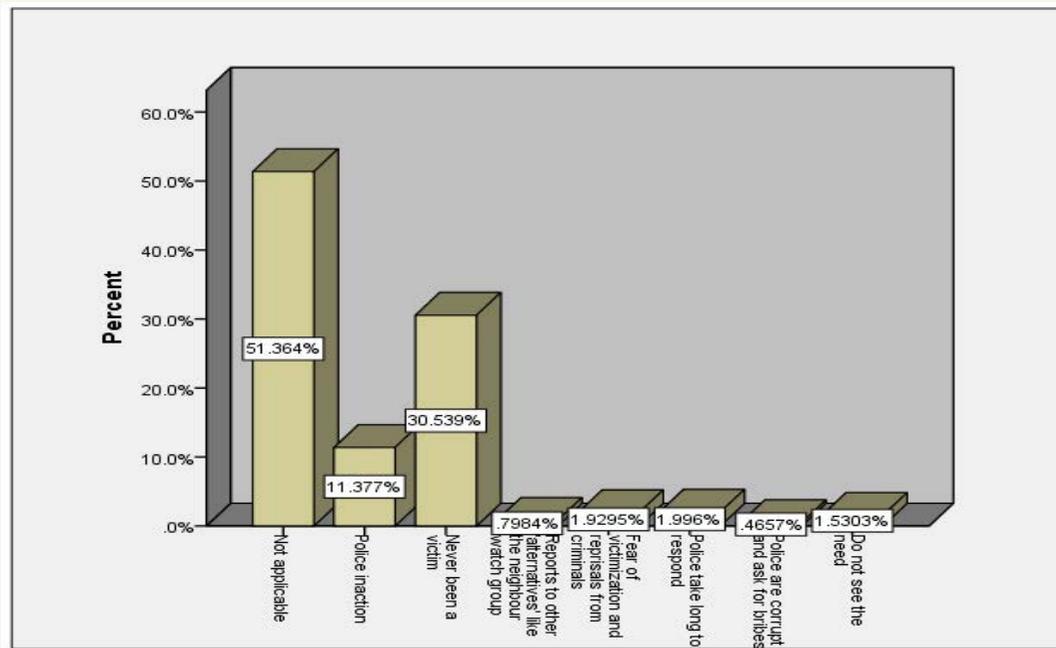
Source: Analysis from administered questionnaires

The study established some interesting dynamics in regard to reporting crime to the police. For example, in Nairobi City, those in white collar employment (comprising mostly of office professionals), hardly report crime to avoid acts or situations that could potentially ruin their careers.

"Those in white collar employment (comprising mostly of office professionals), hardly report crime."

[20] *Alternative Dispute Resolution ("ADR") refers to any means of settling disputes outside of the courtroom. ADR typically includes early neutral evaluation, negotiation, conciliation, mediation, and arbitration. As burgeoning court queues, rising costs of litigation, and time delays continue to plague litigants, more people are increasingly turning to ADR programs.*

Means of Personal Security

The study found that the extent to which residents go to assure personal security was informed principally by their own perception of security and the degree of vulnerability. This sense of apprehension in turn determines the set of precautions that one deploys to try and ward off potential danger, including installation of security gadgets and appliances around homes and business premises, and the "pooling" of community-wide security arrangements such as the formation of vigilante groups, hiring of private security guards, as well as the novel but fast-evolving concept of "gated communities" in urban and peri-urban residential estates.

One of the most notable findings relating to means of personal security was the high proportion of respondents who resorted to "carrying a weapon" in Kajiado County (45.1%). This could be attributed to the lifestyle of the dominant Maasai community, who regard carrying rudimentary weapons such as traditional swords, clubs and occasionally spears as part of their cultural lifestyle. More fundamentally however, it should be noted that the carrying of those crude weaponry was informed by very practical exigencies, and

ought to be understood in the context of their immediate surroundings. The principal reasons for this scenario were twofold: One, to provide ready protection of self and one's livestock from marauding wild predators such as lions and cheetahs and, secondly to either aid or stave off cattle thefts from "enemy" communities. It should however be noted that in the current realities, the said weapons were invariably used strictly for self-defence rather than for aggression by Maasai men, who, in any case, regard them as part of their "attire" or personal paraphernalia.

The above finding contrasts markedly with the situation in all the other three counties, with the exception of Nairobi, where 30.4% of the respondents reported carrying weapons for purposes of bolstering their own personal and family security. In Nairobi County for example, the predominant finding was that most residents resulted to avoiding the known crime hotspots as a way of ensuring their own security while in Machakos and Kiambu Counties the residents would bolster their security through use of security guards and erecting high perimeter walls (which includes emergence of gated communities) especially in the satellite towns.

Source: Analysis from administered questionnaires
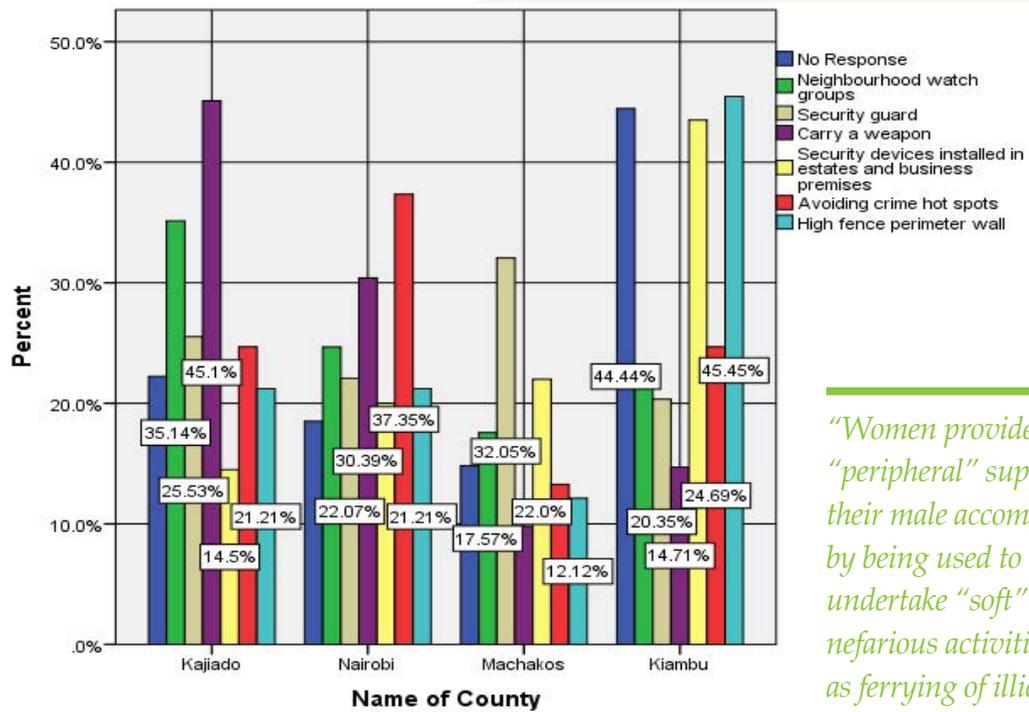
"Women provide "peripheral" support to their male accomplices by being used to undertake "soft" nefarious activities such as ferrying of illicit firearms and drugs, as well as 'logistical support'".

4.7 Crime Perpetrators

The study sought to profile crime perpetrators in the selected counties as outlined here below.

Age Group of Crime Perpetrators

For the second time in two years, the youth were largely blamed for crime commission in all the four counties under the study. Indeed, 78.8% of the respondents mentioned youth, 16.5%, middle aged and 2.7% mentioned women. The comparatively low participation in crime by women was attributed to a combination of factors ranging from strong socialization that frowns at anti-social behaviour by females in virtually all Kenyan communities and fear of the inherent danger associated with crime, including death, injury and possible incarceration if caught.

The study established that the youth constituted the most hard-hit segment of population that is affected by unemployment, and by extension abject poverty, a condition that seemed to "entice" them into criminality with little persuasion. Nevertheless, women were found to provide "peripheral" support to their male accomplices by being used to undertake "soft" nefarious activities such ferrying of illicit firearms and drugs, as well as logistical support.

Factors Motivating the Youth to Commit Crime

On factors that motivated the youth to engage in crime, more than half of the respondents (54.9%) felt that unemployment was a major contributor. Other major factors that were found to motivate the youth to commit crime included idleness (17.2%), high levels of poverty (8.7%) and peer pressure (3.5%). The least mentioned factors were drug abuse which constituted 2.5% and demands from parents (0.5%) where youths felt pressured to take up certain responsibilities within their families without stable sources of income.

Figure 25: Factors Motivating the Youth to commit Crime
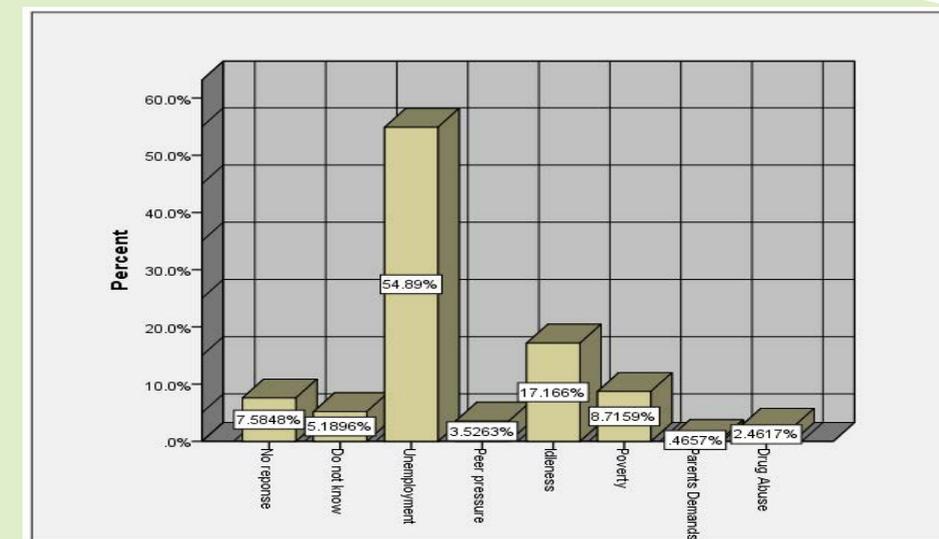
4.8 Police-Civilians relationship in crime prevention

In general, community policing involves sustained collaboration and consultation between police and members of public. proponents of this concept argue that, it promotes accountability to local citizens, improves service delivery and combines the resources of the police, County governments and local residents to ensure effectiveness in crime reduction[21].

The study sought to understand the relationship between the public and the police and found that there was a gradual but steady recognition by the public that public-police partnership was an indispensable ingredient in combating crime in the country. However, it was apparent that community policing – both as a philosophy and strategy – was still a subject of great misunderstanding, often and in practice being confused with vigilante groups or neighbourhood watches. There were suggestions that crime can be best tackled if police changed their "combative" and condescending attitude and became "friendlier to the members of the public" and stopped taking bribes.

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[21] *Bureau of Justice Assistance (1994). Understanding community policing; a framework for action. Retrieved from: https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles/commp.pdf.*

5.1 Conclusion

One of the most striking findings was that the wave of crimes – irrespective of their typologies - had greatly permeated from the bustling Nairobi City into the rural and mostly sedentary metropolis towns in Kiambu, Machakos and Kajiado counties. This situation was attributed in great measure to the exponential growth and expansion of these satellite towns especially by the middle class, who have built palatial homes and set up thriving businesses, but without the supportive security infrastructure. Consequently, some home owners, notably in Kiambu and Kajiado counties, were unable to put up with the unrelenting crime waves and hence had opted to vacate their classy homes and relocated to rental houses in Nairobi city, which they – quite ironically - considered to be relatively safe.

5.2 Recommendations

Arising from the above findings, the study recommends a set of targeted recommendations to key stakeholders, considered to be practical, viable and sustainable for managing the worsening security situation in the country.

"Some home owners, notably in Kiambu and Kajiado counties, unable to put up with the unrelenting crime waves opt to vacate their classy homes and relocate to rental houses in Nairobi city, which they – quite ironically - consider to be relatively safe."

To the Police and other law enforcement agencies

1. The security apparatus – led by the police and local administrators – should pro-actively strive to enlist and nurture a spirit of collaboration and strategic partnership with members of the public under the aegis of community policing by identifying and working to overcome vestiges of long-standing mutual mistrust and suspicion.

2. Since crime is an inherently dynamic social phenomenon, and the perpetrators highly calculating, it follows that police officers need to constantly keep abreast of criminals nefarious schemes and *modus operandi* so as to effectively prevent and control spiralling crime wave in their areas of jurisdiction in particular and the country at large. This requires that the officers undergo regular refresher and specialized training in order to keep themselves abreast of emerging crime trends and how best to combat them.

3. The police should be afforded the requisite technical and logistical facilitation, as well as incentives to enable them to discharge their core duties and responsibilities in an efficient and effective manner.

4. Being a crosscutting issue and an indispensable ingredient for every conceivable human enterprise, the design and composition of the security architecture should be cascaded to the grassroots level and broadened to include relevant non-state actors, notably the private sector and civil society organizations.

5. In order to assuage pent-up feelings of bitterness systematic or structural marginalization by communities living in crime-prone areas such as slums/informal settlements in the major urban cities and their satellite towns, the police should increase and stump their presence and visibility in those areas through constant and unpredictable beats and patrol patterns.

6. Considering that graft and corruption in general were cited in the study as a major contributing factor to citizens tending to shun reporting crimes to the police, it is necessary that police command take decisive steps – under the on-going police and security sector reform initiatives – to tackle the vice and salvage the image of the service.

To the Public Benefit Organizations

1. There is need to roll out a well targeted civic education programme to educate citizens to appreciate the fact that security and safety matters is a responsibility for all Kenyans and therefore obliged to contribute to improving personal safety and ultimately national security.

2. Since police have the constitutional and legal remit to enforce law and order in the country, members of the public should be encouraged to report cases of insecurity and other forms of social delinquency to them.

3. Parents, community and learning institutions should be encouraged to inculcate into the children virtues of being responsible and law-abiding citizens in the face of rapid urbanization and formidable forces of globalization that tend to "conspire" to systematically supplant traditional African morals and value systems.

To the Government (National and County governments)

1. In the case of Nairobi and other major satellite urban centres, there is need for the respective county governments to embark on the installation of functional closed circuit television (CCTV) cameras to monitor the movements of criminals along the streets and inside commercial buildings on a round-the-clock basis.

2. Develop a structured information-sharing mechanism with police and other LEAs, including full-time dedicated offices operating horizontally to continually deal with security matters in the cities and their outlying areas.

3. The national government need to ensure that the police service is accorded the requisite logistical and other facilitation, within the wider framework of the on-going police and sector-wide reforms agenda so as to enable the service discharge its statutory mandate effectively and in an efficient manner. This includes the need to allocate more vehicles, effective communication gadgets and enough fuel to police to enhance more patrols and ease police movement.

4. In order to ensure that police are not 'beaten in their own game' by "ingenious" criminal networks, the government should make action research an integral component within its security architecture and dedicate adequate resources to the relevant institutions and agencies to continually carry out action research to help inform policy formulation and programmatic design, including the training and equipping of police officers on emerging crime typologies such environmental crime, cyber crime, terrorism as well as trafficking in illicit SALW, humans, drugs and other forms of contraband.

5. Need to sensitize members of public on the importance of maintaining a good relationship with the police and also reporting crime cases as and when they occur.

6. There is need to set up and support programmes aimed at creating more job opportunities for the youth.

7. Since most of the identified crime hotspots seemed to have a common characteristic of being unlit, the study recommends installation and rehabilitation of street lighting including erection of high mask flood lights in the known dark alleys where most types of crime occur.

8. Fast-tracking police reforms while paying attention to mechanisms of improving the terms and conditions of service for police officers in order to boost their morale.

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NOTES

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Nairobi Metropolitan Area: Annual Crime Observatory Report, is an investigation of crime trends in Nairobi city and its fringe towns in Machakos, Kajiado and Kiambu Counties. 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.

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