

NAIROBI REGION ANNUAL CRIME OBSERVATORY REPORT 2011/2012



NATIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE
ON PEACE BUILDING & CONFLICT MANAGEMENT
MINISTRY OF STATE FOR PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION AND INTERNAL SECURITY



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(SRIC)

NAIROBI REGION ANNUAL
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Executive Summary

Crime and armed violence in Kenya is increasingly becoming a national concern; hardly a day passes without an incident of armed robbery, political conflict, livestock rustling, terrorism related attacks and violent activities associated with organized criminal groups being reported. An upsurge of rape incidents, domestic violence and cross border crimes especially thefts of motor vehicles that has been made more complicated by the advancements in technology rounds up this sorry state of security in Kenya.

Faced with challenge of constantly evolving crime in Nairobi region, the National Steering Committee on peace building and conflict management (NSC) in collaboration with Kenya National Focal Point on small arms (KNFP) and UNDP, commissioned Security Research and Information Centre (SRIC), a key partner in the implementation of Consolidating the Peace Process and Establishing Foundations for a Successful Political Transition, 2010-2013, to undertake a pilot crime observatory project in Nairobi region. Crime Observatory is the collection, analysis and reporting of crime & violence related incidences over a period of time in order to understand the nature, dynamics and index of crimes in a country or locality. This was done through conducting both primary and secondary data collection. The secondary data collection involved extensive review of several sources including previous crime reports by SRIC and other security research organizations, literature from stakeholders and government agencies, the UN, NGOs, newspapers, and police annual crime reports.

Primary data was collected through use of questionnaires, Focused Group Discussions (FGDs), Key Informant Interviews and in-depth interviews of Officer Commanding Police Stations (OCS). A total of 867 questionnaires were administered to targeted members of the public in twelve (12) divisions within the Nairobi region. FGDs were conducted in ten (10) police divisions. A total of 32 in-depth interviews were conducted during the survey targeting Officer Commanding Police Station (OCS) and Officer Commanding Police Divisions (OCPDs), the Administration Police (targeting Officers in the Crime department), and the Criminal Investigation Department Officers. Quantitative data was organized, cleaned, coded and analyzed using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) for easy analysis and interpretation.

The survey established that both robbery and theft were the main types of crime in Nairobi region, accounting for 41.1% and 34.9% respectively. In addition, the survey found that increased terrorist attacks in Nairobi region were increasingly becoming the major source of security concern for the city dwellers and law enforcement agencies. The survey also found that the city residents were worried of the rampant use of small arms, homemade guns and toy guns in most of the crimes committed. Some respondents alluded that acquisition of illegal arms has become very easy especially in some areas such as Kiamaiko, Eastleigh, Nigeria in Mathare slums, and Grogon B in Kariobangi.

It was found that most crime take place between 6pm to 3am. These are the times people either return from work or leave for work early in the morning. This is common in crime hotspots such as Soweto Bridge in Embakasi where criminals waylay unsuspecting civilians who pass during the wee hours of the morning or at dusk. Within the Ngong Forest and which is not well lit, criminals waylay vehicles at night, attack their victims and commit various crimes including sexual assaults.

The survey also profiled crime hotspots areas within Nairobi region. Some of these areas include but not limited to Nyawai, Mwirigo, Santon and Gituamba in Kasarani Division; Kiambui, Mukuru Fuata Nyayo bridge, Ewaso Kedong, Lukiri and Kware in Ngong; Kariokor and Mlango Kubwa in Starehe; Soweto, Kiandaa and Laini Saba in Langata; Gitaru, Maringo and Komarock (Junction to Kangundo) in Embakasi; Kosovo, Kongo and Mlango Soko in Dagoretti

and Mlango Kubwa, Kiamaiko, Mathare North and Majengo in Kamukunji Division. These are Police Divisions under the command of OCPDs.

The survey found that 51.55 % of the respondents in Nairobi region report crimes to the Police, while 44.82 % did not. It established that failure to report crime to the police was due to fear of reprisals, inaction and culpability to leak sensitive information to criminals or lack of confidence in the Police due to past experience where Police have not acted on a reported crime incident or leaked such sensitive information to criminals. Overall the survey established that a good working relationship between the Police and communities was key to deterrence and prevention of crime.

The survey came up with a number of recommendations to the National Police Service, the Government, Civil Society Organizations, UNDP/development partners as well as the members of the public. It recommends that the Police Service should address the welfare of the Police in terms of remuneration, housing and medical cover to boost morale of the Police men and women, undertake regular on job training to keep abreast with emerging crime dynamics, review curriculum of Police training to strengthen crime prevention in urban setting, strengthen the research and planning department within the Service through deployment of qualified personnel and provision of necessary resources for top notch security research and planning. The survey also recommends that the Police Service should step up its tools of work particularly vehicles and fuel. It recommends fast-tracking community policing initiative to enhance the relationship and collaboration between Police, the public, private sector and civil society.

The survey recommends that the government should hasten the implementation of the ongoing security sector reforms, adequately resource the Service through timely provision of necessary equipments, personnel and staff welfare and also improve infrastructure within Nairobi region (proper lighting and use of CCTV cameras to monitor crime).

UNDP, Development partners and Civil Society Organizations should continue supporting security and peace building initiatives in Nairobi region as well as rolling out crime observatory nationally. On its part, the public should take measures to enhance their security like avoiding known crime hotspots and above all collaborating with the Police in crime prevention, control and management.

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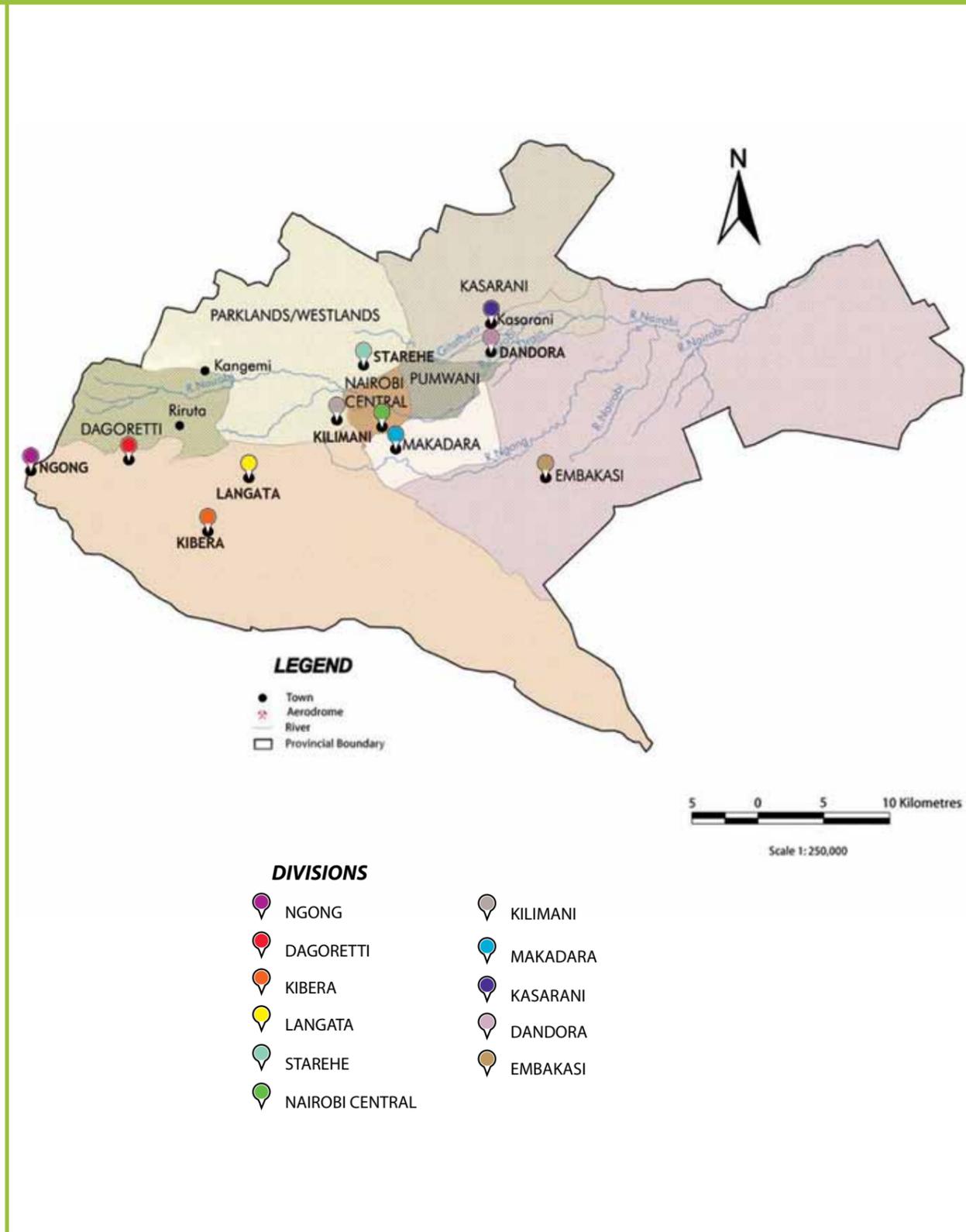
INGOs	International Non-Governmental Organisations
CBOs	Community Based Organisations
CBP	Community Based Policing
CPCs	Community Policing Committees
CSI Nairobi	Crime Scene Investigation Nairobi
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
DPCs	District Peace Committees
FGDs	Focused Group Discussions
FGOs	Faith Group Organisations
ICC	International Criminal Court
IEBC	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
KES	Kenya Shillings
KRA	Kenya Revenue Authority
LEAs	Law Enforcement Agencies
NCC	Nairobi City Council
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NPS	National Police Service
NSC	National Steering Committee on Peace building and Conflict Management
OCPD	Officer Commanding Police Division
PEV	Post Election Violence
PPO	Public Prosecution Office
PSCs	Private Security Companies
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
SGBV	Sexual and Gender Based Violence
SRIC	Security Research Information Centre
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

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Map of Nairobi

Operational Definition of Terms



- Armed violence:** Crime committed while armed with a dangerous weapon such as firearms small enough to be concealed, rifles, or crude weapons such as machetes.
- Assault/battery:** It is the intentional causing of serious bodily harm, or attempt to cause serious bodily harm
- Burglary/Break in:** Unlawful entry to a structure in order to commit a felony or theft or an attempt to do so.
- Crime:** It is the contravening of a set of rules or laws for which some governing authority can ultimately prescribe a punishment.
- Criminal Gangs:** It is an ongoing formal or informal organization, association, or group of three or more persons who jointly commit criminal acts.
- Murder:** It is the willful killing of a person
- Nairobi Region:** Nairobi Region covers the police divisions under the command of the Nairobi Provincial Police Officer, that is, Central, Dagoretti, Kilimani, Starehe, Makadara, Kajiado North, Embakasi, Lang'ata, Ngong, Buruburu, Kasarani, Gigiri, and Kayole divisions.
- Robbery:** The taking or attempting to take anything of value from the care or custody of some one by force or through threats to use force.
- SGBV:** This is broader than the traditional definition of rape (the carnal knowledge of a female, forcibly or against her will), this category includes sexual assault, -completed or attempted, committed against a victim, female or male.
- Theft:** Unlawful taking or attempting to take property or articles belonging to someone without the use of force or violence.



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The Government of Kenya, through the National Steering Committee on Peace building and Conflict Management (NSC), an inter-agency committee within the Ministry of State for Provincial Administration and Internal Security and with support from UNDP Kenya, is implementing a three year peace Programme seeking to consolidate the peace process and establish the foundations for a successful political transition during the period 2010 – 2013.

The design of the 3-year Programme was informed by both external and internal reviews jointly commissioned by GOK and UNDP Kenya in 2009 and 2010, which recommended an integrated programmatic approach to respond to and address the critical issues in peace building and conflict management and more specifically the 2013 General Elections. The three-year peace building and conflict prevention programme, being implemented by several partners, strives to achieve the following key objectives:

- Strengthen national capacity for conflict prevention
- Address the problem of small arms, community security and community justice
- Promote and strengthen national cohesion and integration
- Integrate women in peace building and conflict prevention

- Consolidate peace in pastoralists and rural areas through peace dividend projects
- Enhance active and meaningful participation of youth in violence prevention and peace building.

Crime observatory and research is a key area of focus for this programme. This is based on the fact that a better understanding of the nature, dynamics and trends of crime in Kenya is useful in planning and designing crime prevention and management initiatives.

1.1 Crime Observatory

Crime Observatory is the collection, analysis and reporting of crime & violence related incidences over a period of time in order to understand the nature, dynamics and index of crimes in a country or locality.

It is expected that a standardized way of collecting, collating and interpreting crime data will help in highlighting problem areas, hot-spots or spatial statistical analysis of the prevalence of crime and violence related crimes.

Amongst other benefits, crime observatory is important in analyzing community safety, strengthening of the capacity for addressing the problem of youth and

armed violence and more importantly monitoring and evaluating the impact of specific interventions targeted on crime prevention and management. This report is therefore an overview of crime incidences in Nairobi region for the year 2012.

1.2. Problem Statement and Project Justification

Crime and armed violence in Kenya is increasingly becoming a national concern if media reports are anything to go by. A day never passes without either an armed robbery, violent political conflict, livestock rustling, terrorism related attacks or violent activities associated with organized criminal groups being reported.

An upsurge of rape incidents, domestic violence and cross border crimes especially thefts of motor vehicles that has been complicated by advancements in technology compounds the sorry state of security in Kenya. Indeed the unprecedented increase in the level of crime, especially in the urban centers like Nairobi has become an issue of concern both to the authorities and city dwellers.

Faced with these unprecedented security challenges, Kenyans have been looking up to the Police to provide the much needed remedy notwithstanding the various occasions where the police themselves have appeared troubled by the hardened criminals. Moreover, trends in crime throughout the country are frequently evolving, giving law enforcement authorities the difficult task of keeping abreast with new and emerging crime challenges. With advancements in global technology comes the emergence of criminal activities such as terrorism, piracy, human/drugs/arms trafficking, and cyber crime.

Over the last two years, Nairobi has witnessed increased terrorism attacks occasioned by the Somali-based Al-shabaab terrorist group which is affiliated to al-Qaeda. On the other hand, organized criminal gangs have emerged in the major slums in the city to fill the void left by the absence of the state and attendant services, occasioning such crimes as mugging, extortion, rape, and burglary. The government is aware of the reality that safety and security is the fulcrum around which

the country's potential for growth and prosperity rotate. The extent to which Vision 2030, as well as the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) will be actualized depend to a large measure on the government's ability to create and sustain a stable and secure country¹. Quoting former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan in his address to the United Nations Association of the United Kingdom, Central Hall, and Westminster, United Kingdom:

There is no long-term security without development. There is no development without security. And no society can long remain secure, or prosperous, without respect for human rights and the rule of law².

Therefore, in order to realize development there is need to ensure the safety of the people. To achieve this, continuous research on crime dynamics, measuring, and monitoring of the trends and typologies is paramount.

In addition, triangulating crime data from different sources does not only enrich crime reports but also provides a framework of deducing practical and appropriate response mechanisms to crime and also provide a framework for a joint and concerted effort to address the social, political, cultural and economic fundamentals that give rise to crime.

1.2.1. Main Objective

The main objective of the pilot crime observatory project in Nairobi is to contribute to better understanding of the nature, trends and magnitude of armed crimes in and around the city of Nairobi and its environs.

1.2.2. Specific Objectives.

1. To produce verifiable information on the status, nature of crime and insecurity dynamics in Nairobi Region
2. To identify crime hot spots through the analysis of the prevalence of crime and violence.
3. To collect, collate and interpret crime data in Nairobi region
4. To assess the impact of current armed violence intervention strategies in Nairobi region and to make recommendations for improvement.
5. To propose best practices, challenges, and the role of civil society and communities in the long term resolution of crime in Kenya

6. To stimulate knowledge-based policy debate and formulation towards effective crime prevention and management in the city of Nairobi.

1.3. Significance of the Study

Increased crime in Nairobi and its environs has become a national concern since Nairobi accounts for slightly more than half of Kenya's GDP.

The increase in terrorist related attacks in the city is partly attributed to Al Shabaab reaction to the decision of the Kenya government to send its troops across the border to flush out the militia group; this has added a new dimension to insecurity in Kenya. Based on this emerging and dire security situation that has national security ramifications, the need to conduct crime survey in Nairobi became all the more critical.

Evidence has demonstrated that research on crime inform decisions and policies aimed at fighting crime. A point in case is the Prevention of Organized Crime Bill that became law in 2010 after extensive consultations among the different stakeholders on the issue of crime in the country. The law is expected to prosecute those caught in syndicated criminal activities. Crime surveys ahead of critical events such elections are often inexpensive and cost effective compared

to the cost of possible chaos and reconstruction associated with such events.

The crime survey, together with follow-up multi-stakeholders' engagements, have gone a long way in aiding the formulation of necessary interventions to address crime in Nairobi.

Kenya's National Chamber of Commerce and Industry estimated the cost of the 2007-08 Post Election Violence at US\$ 3.6 Billion³. Similarly, preventive mechanisms like UWIANO Platform for peace that greatly contributed to a free and peaceful constitutional referendum in 2010 only cost US\$ 6 million; a clear proof that it is cost effective to prevent crime and violence which might escalate into otherwise expensive eventualities like the post election violence.

Through the recommendations generated from the findings, this study aims at helping strengthen the capacity of already existing institutions such as the police and possibly lead to the formation of new institutional structures that will contribute in the fight against crime.



¹ <http://www.ke.undp.org/index.php/projects/millennium-accelerated-framework-maf>, retrieved on 14th November, 2012.

² <http://www.una.org.uk/media/video/una-uk-kofi-annan-speech-un-renewal>, retrieved on 14th November, 2012.

³ Tongeren, P. <http://www.cfhs.iofc.org/system/files/private/Pg%209%20%20Paul%20van%20Tongeren%20-%20Infrastructures%20for%20Peace.pdf>, retrieved on 12th November.



CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY

2.1 Data Collection

Primary and secondary data collection methods were used to generate crime data in Nairobi region. This involved review of secondary data from several sources including previous crime reports by SRIC and other security research organizations, literature from stakeholders and government agencies, the UN, (I) NGOs, newspapers, and police annual crime reports.

Primary data was collected through use of questionnaires, Focused Group Discussions (FGDs), Key Informant Interviews (including interviews with Officer Commanding Police Stations (OCS) in Nairobi region.

2.1.1 Questionnaires

A total of 867 questionnaires were administered to targeted members of the public in twelve (12) divisions within the Nairobi region. Respondents were randomly selected from a sample population of those aged 18 years and above. Also in the letter and spirit of the new constitution, gender balance and sensitivity was taken into account during the administration of the questionnaires and the survey at large. The questionnaire aimed at deriving information from four thematic areas, namely: the typology of crimes committed in Nairobi, crime trends, crime characteristics and possible ways of improving security situation in the sample areas.

2.1.2 Focused Group Discussions (FGD)

In order to buttress data from questionnaires, FGDs were conducted in ten (10) police divisions. The aim of the Focused Group Discussions (FGDs) was to get firsthand and expert information on several subject-matters related to crime, that respondents of particular divisions face.

The respondents were carefully selected, representing various groupings in the society (elders, members of peace committees, religious leaders, women leaders, youth leaders, leaders of Community Based Organizations (CBOs) and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs).

Issues discussed included assessing the relationship between the police officers and the civilians, causes of crime in the areas, and what can be done to avert crime.

2.1.3 Key Informant Interviews (KIIs)

A total of 29 interviews were conducted with targeted key representatives from the Private Security Companies (PSC), insurance companies, lobby groups, prison warders, probation officers, hospitals, Public Prosecution Office (PPO) and Nairobi City Council (NCC).

The respondents were carefully selected through a snowballing technique based on their expertise in crime related fields.

2.1.4 In-depth Interviews

A total of 32 in-depth interviews were conducted during the survey targeting Officer Commanding Station (OCS) and Officer Commanding Police Divisions (OCPDs), the Administration Police (targeting Officers in the Crime department), and the Criminal Investigation Department Officers.

The police stations were selected based on findings from the general questionnaire, FGDs, key informant interviews and a review of crime reports.

The interviews were aimed at getting views of the police on the nature, dynamics and trend of crime in their regions as well as other issues regarding intervention strategies, their impact and challenges they face in combating crime. They also focused on information on criminal gangs and terrorist groups, and status of the police reforms. The information generated from the interviews was qualitative.

2.2 Data Analysis

The data collection methods used in the survey 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 (herein referred to as figures) for easy analysis and interpretation.

The qualitative data was analyzed through interpretation of the responses and conclusions drawn in line with desktop review.





CHAPTER THREE

FINDINGS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the possible causes of crime in Nairobi region ranging from distal (remote or distant) to proximate (which immediately precede a criminal behavior): in addition, it examines the various types of crime, the age group of crime perpetrators and their preferred mode of operation, hot spot crime locations, and their distinctive features and characteristics.

The chapter also highlights intervention strategies and plans used by the police and the community to prevent, control and reduce crime.

3.2 Crime and Security dynamics in Nairobi Region

Precedence has shown that the years preceding a general election in Kenya is often dogged by a myriad of issues including social disintegration, economic mismanagement and political indiscipline.

The basic security tends to worsen, with re-emergence of illegal organized criminal groupings which are easily available for hire, and proliferation of hawkers in the CBD who make Nairobi City a chaotic and fertile

ground for crime. It is against this background that SRIC conducted this survey between October, 2011 and September, 2012.

Nairobi has recorded a gradual rise in crime incidents, as evidenced by Kenya Police report, 2011. The report indicated that the rate of crime in Nairobi rose by 40% with the number of female offenders also increasing. Terrorist attacks also skyrocketed since the 'Operation Linda Nchi' military incursion into Somalia by the Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) to neutralize and dislodge the Al-Shabaab militants from the war-torn country. Following several terror attacks, the police spokesperson stated in a press briefing on 1st June 2012⁵ that adequate security arrangements had been put into place to prevent further terrorist attacks. However and despite this assurance, more terrorist attacks continued to rock Nairobi for the better part of 2012.

During a security forum for East African Community legislators, Kenya was identified as a major entry point for the more than 500,000 illegal arms circulating in the region⁶. Indeed, the use of illegal arms has drastically increased even in crimes that were previously perpetrated without them, with criminals having easy access to illegal arms from the black markets. All the

⁴ 2011 Kenya Police annual report

⁵ Daily Nation, on 2nd June 2012, pg. 16

above scenarios have increasingly heightened the fear of crime and led to deterioration of security, whether perceived or real.

3.2.1 Crime or a Means to Subsistence

This survey found that the more risk factors an individual is exposed to, the greater the risk of their involvement in crime. The major factors contributing to crime in Nairobi are: poverty, unemployment and income inequality. Hence the question, are some crimes a means to subsistence or just plain crime.

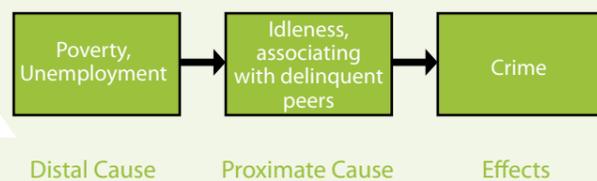
Poverty, unemployment and income inequality were all consistently found to render areas crime-prone. High levels of income inequality exist in an area when there are large differences in household income among residents of an area as reflected in informal settlements or slums⁷.

Three different but not mutually inconsistent explanations for the effect of income inequality on crime have been put forward. On one account, income inequality motivates individuals to offend because it creates a sense of relative deprivation amongst those who are poor. Secondly inequality causes crime in an area because it brings those motivated to offend in close spatial contact with attractive targets for crime. The third explanation argues that the effect of inequality on crime appears to stem from the fact that high levels of inequality result in poverty becoming concentrated in certain areas. The three explanations suggest that most crimes in slum areas are largely "situational crimes" driven mostly by the need to subsist.

From the surveys conducted, a number of factors were found to be the major causes of crime. These include: poverty, unemployment, idleness, peer influence, poor parenting, lack of proper education, and use of narcotics, amongst other reasons. These causes can however be classified into two categories: proximate and distal causes. The proximate causes are those which immediately precede the commission of a criminal act, while distal causes are those which are

remotely connected to the act although not necessarily less influential or important as illustrated in the figure 1 below.

Figure 1. Illustration of Cause Effect Relationship



3.2.2 Common Types of Crime

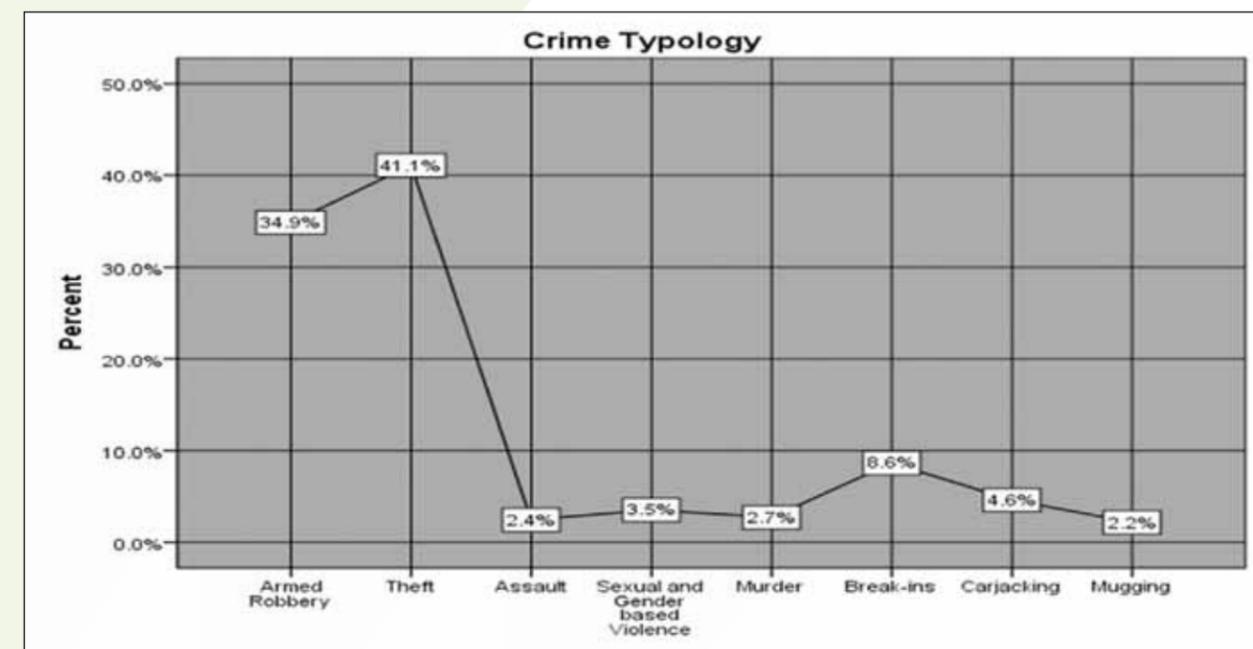
The survey established that robbery and theft were the most common types of crime in Nairobi. When asked to state the most prevalent types of crime in Nairobi region, theft and robbery accounted for 41.1% and 34.9% respectively.

It was further established that other prevalent types of crime in the city and its environs were burglary, sexual based offenses, carjacking, assaults, drug trafficking and abuse. Most respondents however, had a challenge in distinguishing theft (taking or attempting to take property or articles belonging to someone without the use of force or violence) from robbery (taking or attempting to take anything of value from the care or custody of someone by force or through threats to use force).

In some instances, robbery was largely referred to as theft, for example, when the respondents were asked if the crime they had mentioned (theft) was committed using force by the perpetrator(s), a clear majority, 75.68% answered in the affirmative while 21.62% stated in the contrary.

Sexual and gender based crimes were the least mentioned in the survey. However, the survey found that most victims of such crimes rarely reported them due to a range of practical reasons; fear of stigmatization by their communities, fear of victimization by the perpetrator, need to keep family 'dignity', or simply because they felt that the crimes were not of much significance to be reported.

Figure 2: Crime Typology



Source: Questionnaires analysis

When the respondents were asked the most recent crime they had witnessed within the last three months, a majority of 35.7% responded to have witnessed theft, followed closely by 32.2% who had witnessed armed robbery.

3.2.3 Crime perpetrators

The survey found that crime perpetrators were predominantly males with a small percentage of females. The females were usually assigned non-core facilitative or supportive tasks such as carrying weapons, or acting as pawns in crimes.

Crime, however, is pre-eminently a pre-occupation of the young; whether male or female, the study found that most criminals were aged between 15-30 years (as shown in Figure 5 below). Furthermore, youths between the ages of 15-20 were mostly found to engage in petty crimes such as theft, and pick pocketing. Those aged between the ages of 21-30 mostly engaged in more complex crimes such as robbery, and carjacking. In some instances, adults were found to use school going children as accomplices in crime such as drug trafficking and concealment of contrabands. A case in

point is an incident in Mwiki area where a participant narrated how a man was seen walking suspiciously with a boy dressed in school uniform and also carrying a bag. Upon interrogation and police search the contents of the bag were found to be two pistols.

The study revealed a worrying trend of rampant use of illicit arms, home-made guns or toy guns in most of the crimes perpetrated. Some respondents intimated that acquisition of illegal arms had apparently become easy especially in some areas such as Kiamaiko, Eastleigh, 'Nigeria' in Mathare slums, and Grogon B in Kariobangi.

The survey also established that sexual offenders cut across all age groups, and that they were the most under-reported, principally because of stigmatization by the community and also the fact that most survivors were assaulted by known perpetrators, including neighbours, boyfriends/girlfriends, and relatives. This observation was corroborated by a key informant from Crime Scene Investigation office in Nairobi.

Most respondents observed that criminals, most of whom were young men usually operated in specific

⁶ Daily Nation, on 26th of April 2012, pg. 7

⁷ Don Weatherburn, 2001, Crime and justice bulletin, NSW bureau of crime statistics research

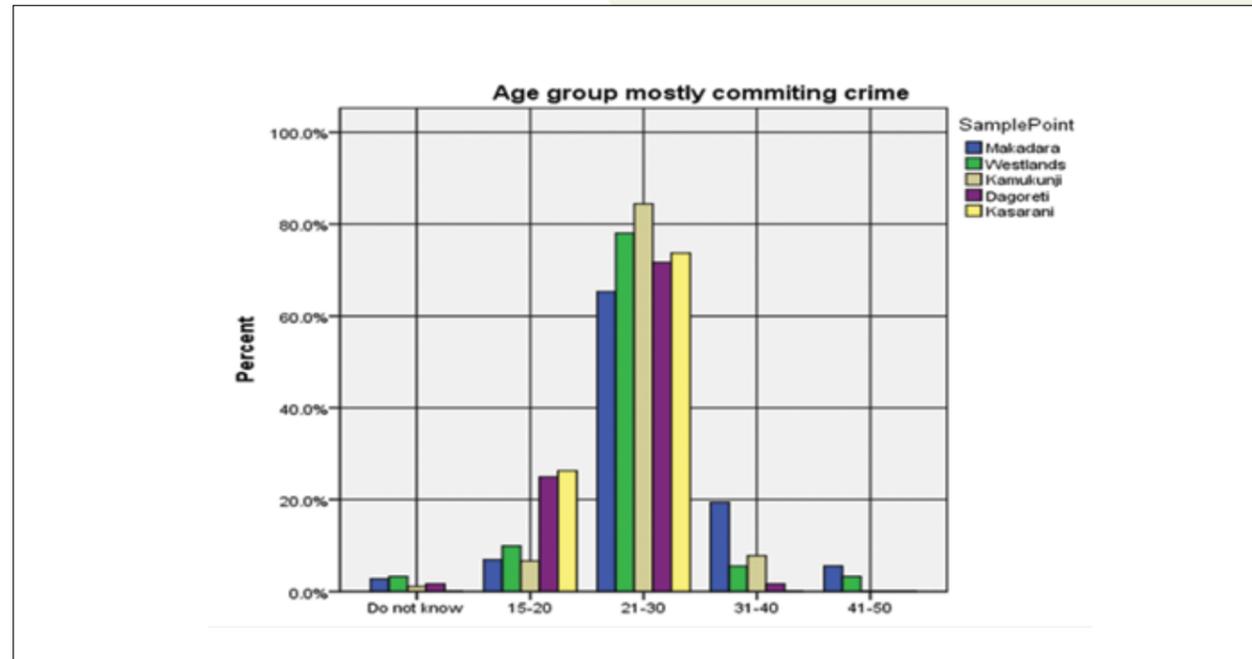
⁸ Population of Nairobi province (Embakasi, Dagoretti, Kamukunji, Kasarani, Makadara, Lang'ata, Starehe, and Westlands constituencies) as per the Kenya 2009 Population and Housing Census, <http://www.knbs.or.ke/Census%20Results/KNBS%20Brochure.pdf> page 2 (Accessed on 31 July 2012).

convergence points referred to as “bases” from where they would plan their criminal activities and reconvene after execution. These criminals normally operate in ad

hoc informal criminal groups which are organized for specific ‘assignments’.

Age group of crime perpetrators

Figure 3: Age group of crime perpetrators



Source: Questionnaires analysis

3.3 Crime Hot spots in Nairobi region: A case of poor urban planning?

3.3.1 Introduction

For the purpose of this study, a hotspot is defined as a particular area in a given locality that is prone to crime mainly due to certain features that characterizes the area. In Nairobi, crime hotspots can generally be observed in two main areas: the informal settlements and the middle-income areas.

A myriad of crimes occur in the informal sectors including assault, rape, and petty crimes. The physical/spatial underdevelopments of these areas appear to limit access of crime prevention strategies by law enforcement officers thereby enabling crime related activities to fester.

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

3.3.2 Characteristics of Hot Spot Areas

The respondents were asked to indicate why particular areas they had mentioned were regarded as insecure and all gave similar answers; which included: absence of police stations within the locality, minimal or predictable police patrols and beats, mono exit and entry routes/bridges/canals/footpaths, traffic jams and dilapidated roads that force drivers to slow down making them easy prey to criminals.

The study also sought to further explore the reasons as to why crimes occur in particular hotspots by relating crime patterns to various criminal theories.



Routine Activity Theory (RAT)

A perfect example of this kind of crime is experienced at the Embakasi-Soweto Bridge shown in the photograph below. Criminals waylay unsuspecting civilians during the wee hours of the morning or at dusk. According to this theory, crime occurs when a motivated offender,

a suitable target and the lack of capable guardian converge in the same place at the same time⁹.

In the absence of effective controls, offenders will prey upon ‘attractive’ targets. Additionally, there are no controllers whose presence can prevent crime, such as presence of law enforcement agent.

Figure 4: Soweto bridge



Situational Crime Prevention Theory

In the area shown below (Ngong forest), criminals engage in waylaying passersby as well as committing sexual offences mostly during dawn and dusk because the area is forested and isolated making it an ideal hideout for criminals.

Similarly criminals use this section of the road to carjack and abduct motorists mostly at night. These

crimes can be explained away using the situational crime prevention theory which suggests that crime and public disorder can be prevented by reducing opportunities for crime¹⁰. The theory is premised on employing deterrent safety measures hence making criminals desist from engaging in criminal behavior for fear of being apprehended. For example, if crime occurs regularly in a dimly lit alley, authorities could improve lighting by installing high voltage flood lights and also increasing police presence in the area.

Figure 5: Ngong Forest



⁹ Clarke, Ronald V., and David Weisburd, “Diffusion of Crime Control Benefits: Observations on the Reverse of Displacement,” *Crime Prevention Studies* 2 (1994)

¹⁰ Skogan, Wesley, and Kathleen Frydl, eds. *Fairness and Effectiveness in Policing: The Evidence*, Washington, DC: The National Academies Press, 2004.

Broken Windows Theory

A bridge connecting the upper (towards Ngumo) and the lower part of Kibera (Silanga area) was found to be a hotspot for crime.

The area like many other informal settlements in Nairobi is neglected with poor sanitation and mostly used as a dumping site making it an ideal hunting ground for criminals. The criminals capitalize on the fact that potential victims have little chances of escaping, moreover the area is not lit thereby compounding the

situation. Most crime incidences on this bridge occur between 6pm and 5am.

Broken windows theory suggests that a particular sequence of events could be expected in deteriorating neighbourhoods and that an evidence of decay, broken windows, accumulated trash and deteriorated building exteriors points to criminal predisposition¹¹. The theory advocates that law enforcement agencies target minor transgressions, and relevant authorities to ensure maintenance of environments, so as to prevent serious crimes from developing in those places.

Figure 6: Kibera Laini Saba



Crime Opportunity Theory

The dilapidated section of Dar es Salaam road near the Post Office in Industrial area was found to be a hotspot for crime. The spot is synonymous with carjacking and theft from moving vehicles, a phenomenon which conjures with Crime Opportunity Theory. The theory argues that when criminals intend to commit crime,

they first look for an opportunity that would increase chances of success. If these opportunities are reduced, then crime can be reduced¹². For example by repairing the dilapidated sections of the road, locking car doors, not exposing valuables and parking in secure area, carjacking and theft from moving vehicles can be reduced.

Figure 7: A section of Industrial area



¹¹Benard E. Harcourt. "Illusion of Order: The False Promise of Broken Windows Policing". Harvard University Press, 2001.

¹²Felson, M. & Clarke, R. V. Opportunity Makes the Thief: Police Research Series, Paper 98, (1998).

Social disorganization Theory

The section of Silanga in Kibera slums shown in the image below is synonymous with mugging, robbery and sexual based offences. Like in many other informal settlements in the city, the area lacks the necessary infrastructure and social amenities. This situation

leads to inability by the community to control its membership and therefore unable to maintain public order¹³. Such an informal settlement area would be more crime prone, than a gated community.

Figure 8: A section of Kibera slum



Crime Pattern Theory (CPT)

The Mau Mau Bridge shown below connects the lower part of Kangemi in Westlands and Dagorreti through a single entry/exit. It is a danger spot between 1900hrs and 0600hrs in the morning. The bridge is a good example of crime explained by the Crime Pattern Theory. The theory explores the interactions of offenders with their physical and social environments

that influence offenders' choices of targets. The theory specifically focuses on places and the lack of social control or other measures of guardianship that are informally needed to control crime. For example, a residential neighborhood can become a hot spot for burglaries because some homes have inadequate protection or where nobody is usually home to guard the property¹⁴.

Figure 9: Mau Mau Bridge in the Junction between Dagoretti and Westlands



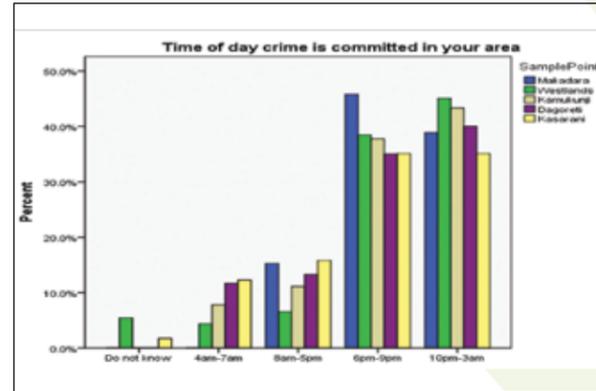
¹³ Mustaine, E.E., Tewksbury, R., & Stengel, K.M. Social disorganization and residential locations of registered sex offenders. Oxford University Press, (2006)

¹⁴Weisburd, David, and Lorraine Green Mazerolle, "Crime and Disorder in Drug Hot Spots: Implications for Theory and Practice in Policing," Police Quarterly 3 (2000)

3.3.3: Relationship between Crime and Time

The figure below indicates the timings that most crimes in the identified hotspots take place.

Figure 10: Time of day crime is committed



Source: Questionnaires administered in the survey

From the figure above, it can be observed that most crimes usually took place from 6pm to 3am. Most respondents indicated that crimes were generally committed as victims commuted back home from work at 6pm and late at night as from 10pm.

It was also observed that some crimes also took place as early as 3am when workers were walking to their work places especially market vendors; this was mostly reported in areas around market places like Dagoreti and some parts of Kamukunji.

Case study 1

An FGD participant who is a trader in Gikomba market, Kamukunji division narrated how, he and his colleagues have been attacked several times by criminals when going to the market early in the morning and late in the evening when commuting back home.

3.3.4 Targeted property/people

The survey also sought to establish the most targeted victims and property in the hotspots mentioned. The figures below indicate the analysis per the sampled division and the manner of execution in the sampled areas.

Figure 11: Most targeted Persons in hotspot areas

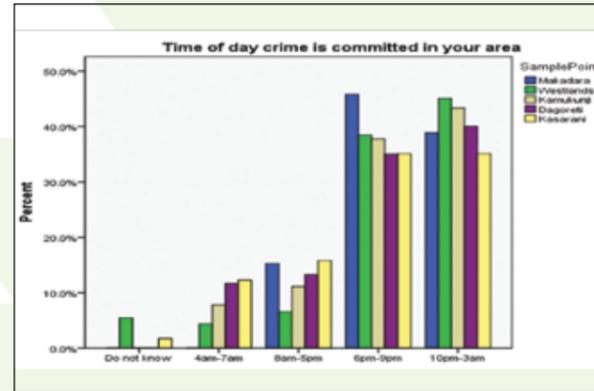
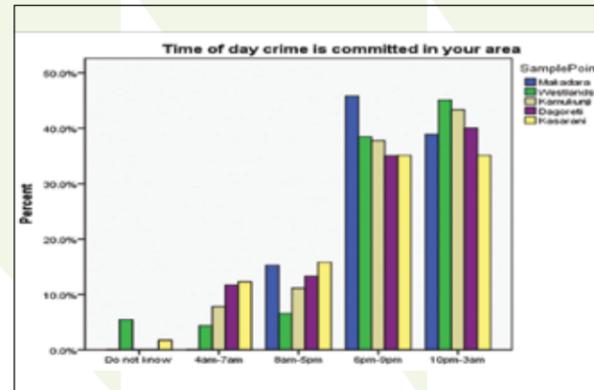


Figure 12: Most targeted Property in hotspot areas



Source: Questionnaires administered in the survey

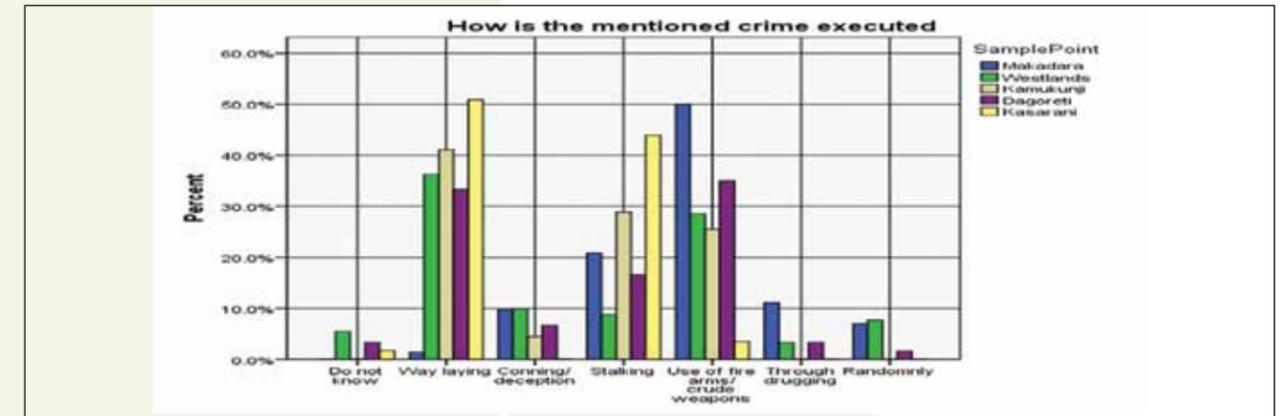
From the figures above, it can be observed that no one is secure. However, workers (who leave houses before dawn, and return when dark) are more vulnerable. The findings further indicated that money and mobile phones were the two most targeted properties during incidents of mugging and pick-pocketing.

3.3.5 Means of Crime Execution

From the analysis, it was observed that the most common means perpetrators used to commit crime in the hotspot areas was waylaying, where criminals lie in wait and ambush victims. This form of crime execution was reported to be particularly prevalent in areas with mono entry and exit routes like Mau Mau in Westlands.

It was also reported that in these areas there was extensive use of firearms and crude weapons. Other ways of executing crime in the hotspot areas mentioned included: Conning/deception, stalking and also drugging (spiking), in which criminals administer a drug to victim(s) in order to induce stupor or insensibility before committing crime.

Figure 13: Most common ways of executing crimes in the hotspots areas mentioned



Source: Questionnaires administered in the survey

3.3.5 List of Crime Hotspots, Types and Time

Generally, the survey established that crime could take place anywhere in Nairobi. However, respondents were

able to locate specific areas that they termed notorious for crime. The table below shows areas mentioned as hotspots in Nairobi region.

Table 1: Hotspots in Nairobi region

Division	Area	Types of Crimes	Time of the Day/Night
Langata	Kibera • Salama, Karanja Road. • Kiandaa (dark alley). • Bombolulu, Soweto, Misingo, Lindi, Line Saba and Soweto Highrise	• Theft • Armed robbery • Assault	Both day and night
Embakasi	Kayole • Soweto-Embakasi Bridge. • Area opposite Jacarada Estate. • Highridge Teachers college playing ground. • Other areas include:Gitari, Marigo, Laikipia, Kangundo road-railway line junction	• All kinds of crime (Kidnapping, theft, armed robbery, trading in SALW, assault and so on). Narrow bridge and unattended surroundings (bush).	6pm – 5am Broad daylight.
Dagoreti	Kosovo	• Drug peddling	Any time
	Ndunyu	• Theft of motor cycles (boda boda)	Evening
	Maumau	• Dumping site of dead bodies • Drug trafficking	
	Kianda	• Armed robbery	6pm – 3am

	Waithaka Kwa Ng'ang'a/ Kabiria	• SGBV	6pm – 5am
	Kongo	• Drug peddling • Trading in SALW	
	Mlango soko in Kawagware	• Theft	6pm – 3am
Kamukunji	Mlango Kubwa (between Eastleigh, Garage and St. Teresa)	• Car accessories snatching e.g side mirrors • Luggage stealing	During the day (when there is traffic jam, 6am – 8am and 5pm – 7pm)
	Lunga Lunga corner; under the bridge	• Assault • Armed robbery	Any time (day and night)
	Maumau	• Drug peddling	
	Huruma Grounds and around the Chief's place	• Drug peddling • SGBV	
	Eastleigh (Desai Road Section 3 and 7)	• Armed robbery • Assault	
	Kiamaiko	• Kidnapping	
	Mathare North area (near Albadir Petrol Station)	• Assault • Mugging	
	Majengo	• Break-ins	
	Ngara; Railway quarters and near Equitiy bank	• Car accessories snatching like side mirrors • Theft	
Kasarani	Nyawai	• Theft (daytime) robbery (night)	
	St.Francis near Global Academy	• Robbery	8am – 11am
	Mwirigo	• Robbery of M-pesa shops	
	Santon, Gituamba area	• Robbery	6pm – 6am
	Near China site open ground	• Attack on bodaboda operators • Robbery on commuters (throughout the day)	Broad day light (8am – 6pm)
	Mutirithia	• House break-ins	At night (6pm – 5am)
	Red soil	• Theft • Robbery (early mornings and from 8 -11pm)	Early morning (8am – 11pm)
	Soweto	• Trading in SALW • Robbery	Anytime (day and night)
	Rurie (along railway station near Kenyatta University)	• Theft • Robbery	Daytime (6am -6pm)
	Korogocho	• Gun peddling	At night.
Makadara	Jericho/ Jericho Sports ground (Uwanja soo)	• Kidnapping	Any time (day and night)

	Kiambiu, Katulo road, Rabai, Mutanda, Shepherds and Uhuru Junction.	• Theft • Assault	6pm – 5am
	Mukuru Fauta bridge	• Armed robbery	
	Makongeni-Likoni Rd bridge.	• Theft	At night (6pm – 5am)
	Mesora, Mukuru Ruben	• Trading in SALW	At night (6pm – 5am)
	Harambee, stage 2	• Assault	
	South B near the bridge	• Carjacking	
	Mukuru Njenga near Muhindi mweusi supermarket	• Assault • SGBV like rape	
South C near fly over	• Carjacking		
Westlands	Waiyaki Way around Consolata Shrine	• Assault	Anytime (Day and Night)
	Stage 56	• Theft	6pm – 7am
	Kianda stage	• Theft	
	Mau mau (junction between Kawagware and Kangemi)	• Robbery • SGBV like rape	6pm – 5am
	Chiromo Lane (junction)	• Assault	6pm – 7am
	Bus stop opposite Barclays bank	• Theft	6pm – 7am
	Areas around Sarit Centre	• Theft	
	Dam near Peponi road	• Break-ins	
	Museum Hill round about	• Hit and run accidents	
	Ngong	Ewaso Kedong, Lukiri, Rimba, Kware, Maasai Lodge, Ngong Hills, Oloorua Forest and Olokiri	• Cattle rustling (Rimpa). • Carjacking (Ngong Hills). • Robbery. • Kidnapping. • Theft.
Starehe	Ngara	• Theft (mobile phones).	Anytime (day and night), only worsens at night.
	Kariakor, Mlango Kubwa, No. 10	• Illegal trading of SALW.	
	Huruma, Kiamaiko	• Illegal immigration.	
	Juja Road	• Drug trafficking.	
	Mathare's Nigeria	• Theft (Snatching mainly due to road construction) Drug trafficking/trade. • SGBV.	

Source: Survey report surveys.

3.4 Crime Intervention strategies

This subsection describes the various crime intervention measures by the LEA as well as other actors in Nairobi region.

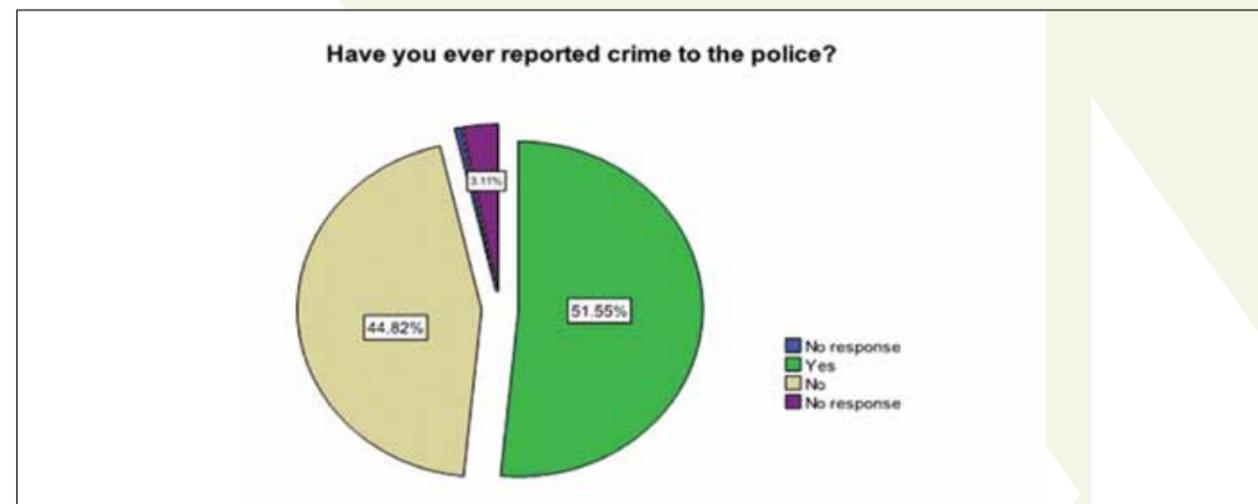
3.4.1 Forms of intervention (formal, informal)

As the Kenya Police motto states, "Service to all", so does common sense dictate that all crime-related

incidents should be reported to the police as the lead LEA in the country. In-depth interviews with police officers indicated that they too were eager to listen to and address public concerns on security.

The survey established that 51.55 % of the public reported various crimes to the police, while 44.82 % did not as shown in figure 10 below.

Figure 14: Have you ever reported crime to the police



Source: Survey report surveys.

Failure by a significant number of citizens to report crime may have led to intervention challenges by the police resulting to overall crime increase in Nairobi. According to the Annual Police Crime report for the year 2011¹⁵ the security situation in the country was characterized by an increase in all categories of crime. The crime figures reported nationally increased by 4,954 cases or 7%, as compared to the previous year, 2010.

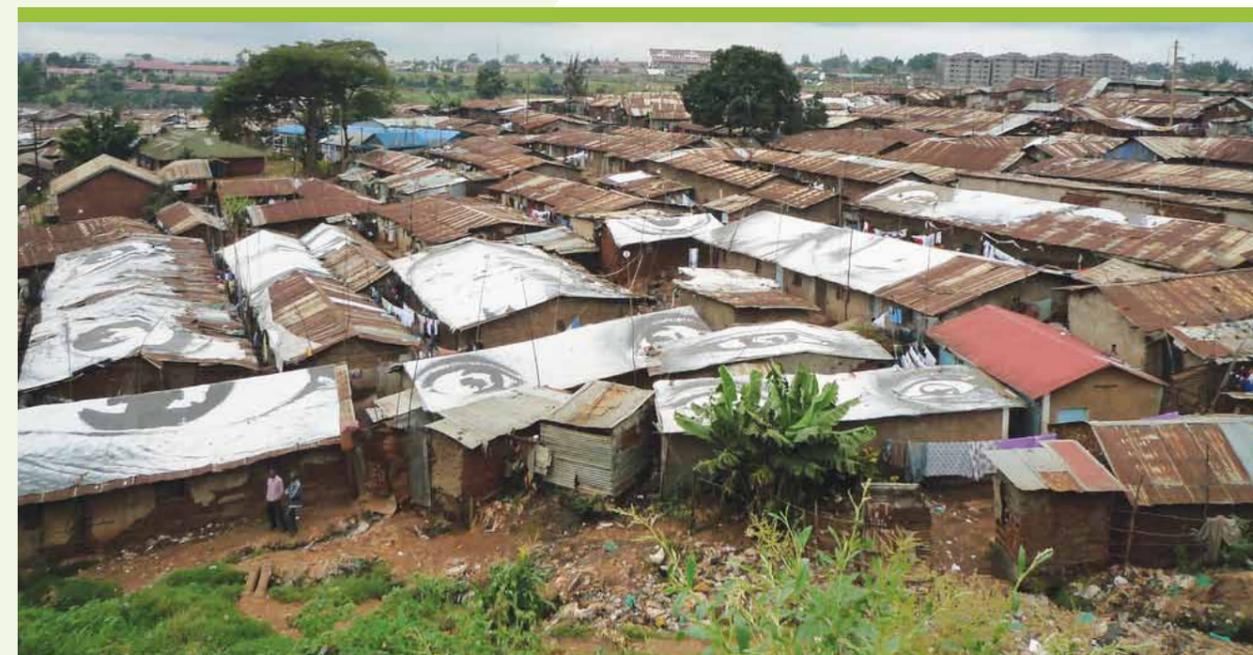
The report also indicated an increase in homicide, offences against morality and persons, robbery, break-ins, stealing, theft by servant, vehicle theft, criminal damage/vandalism, economic crimes, corruption, offences involving police officers and other offences.

In the monthly crime trend comparative figures, increases were noted in the following Months: January 414 cases or 7%, February 383 cases or 7%, March 691 cases or 12%, May 704 cases or 13%, June 966 cases

or 17%, July 1199 cases or 22%, August 1044 cases or 19%, September 200 cases or 3%. Conversely decreases were noted in the months of October at 273 cases or 4%, November at 123 cases or 2% and December at 276 cases or 4%. April, with 25 cases had a very small percentage increase.

The survey also found that generally people were reluctant to report crime to the police because of a number of reasons such as lack of confidence in the Police due to past experience where Police had not acted on a reported crime incidences. During most of the FGDs, it was alleged that in some instances, some rogue Police officers collaborate with the criminals and in the process a person who had gone to report a criminal incident end up being victimized and attacked by the suspects.

In spite of these challenges in reporting crime, it is



important to note that for the war against crime in Nairobi region to be won, it is imperative that crime cases be reported to the Police who should in turn do all their best to act on the report. Moreover, the police should conduct themselves in a professional manner and maintain confidentiality so as to win and retain public goodwill and confidence.

3.4.2 Other authorities where people report crime

Apart from the police, other institutions that people often reported crime to were: elders, community watchdogs, Provincial Administration (Chief and Assistant Chief), Administration Police, Community Based Policing committees (CBP) and District Peace Committees (DPCs). These institutions or people often

share this information with the police for follow up. However, after investigations, the police intimated that getting a witness to be able to successfully prosecute the case was normally a big challenge making the fight against crime difficult.

3.4.3 Out-of-Court Settlements

This option is preferred by those who are offended by people they know, or regarding petty crimes such as threat and extortion.

It is considered safe as it ensures privacy for sexual and gender based violence. Moreover, the process is less cumbersome and saves time and tends to promote restoration of personal relationship.

¹⁵ 2011 Kenya police annual crime report



CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 Conclusion

While it is evident that the police are doing their best in crime intervention given the available resources, statistics show that they have a long way to go to make serious inroads in addressing crime in Nairobi region. It is therefore important to address the various challenges with a view to increasing their efficiency.

It has generally been observed that crime evolves in tandem with an increase in literacy levels, technology, political transformation, social cultural dynamism and economic advancement.

The survey findings corroborates this cause and effect relationship on the crime trends, in the process pointing to a participatory gap in the crime intervention strategy to preserve the technological, political, social- cultural economic fabric against erosion by the effects of crime.

Though the government facilitates the law enforcement agencies (LEAs), the war against crime cannot be won without an all-inclusive effort by all stakeholders. This means while the government does its part through the LEAs the public have their role to play.

It is therefore imperative that there is smooth flow of information between the public and the LEAs. This

calls for positive cognitive interaction between the public and government agencies in order to stamp out crime in Nairobi and the country as whole.

Availability of information to critical consumers to enable them understand the crime trends and dynamics will assist in logical crime mappings to come up with the cognitive dimensions of crime which will facilitate the formulation of effective intervention strategies for successful intervention.

4.2 Recommendations

Crime prevention, control and management in Nairobi region has been faced by a myriad of challenges, which are surmountable so long as necessary resources and strategies are deployed. It is based on this reality that the following key specific recommendations are made:

4.2.1. To the National Police Service

Invest in Police Welfare to Boost Morale

The National Police Service should invest in the welfare of its personnel to boost morale and enthusiasm to their work. This should include better remuneration, insurance cover, better housing and better transportation amongst other welfare issues. This subject has been discussed for long but it is high time the national police service implemented various recommendations concerning Police Welfare.



Regular on-job Trainings

To keep abreast with emerging crime dynamics, the Police Service should review its training curriculum and for the serving officers, organize on job trainings to improve the technical capacity of the service in dealing with crimes such as terrorism, cyber crimes and kidnappings amongst others.

Strengthen Research and Planning Department

The Research and planning department within the police service should be strengthened through deployment of qualified personnel, equipments and technology.

There are a number of University graduates within the service including PhD holders so they should be capacitated to conduct research that would inform planning and execution of police operations.

The Research and Planning Department should also help the Service establish and maintain a national security data base system that will strengthen and enhance information sharing between and among the LEAs. This may even involve reinvigorating and expanding the "Toa Habari Kwa Polisi" boxes but engage an independent group/body to be in charge of opening the boxes, analyzing the suggestions/information and formulating recommendations which could then be forwarded to the police for further analysis/evaluation and action.

Improve Police tools of work

The National Police Service should continue investing more in modern technology and be proactive, not reactive in response to crime. The police need modern equipment that matches the latest technology if they are to stand a chance of eradicating crime in Nairobi region.

Police data systems need to be computerized so that documentation becomes easier and faster. A starting point would be to computerize and digitize all police stations in Nairobi region to increase service delivery. Currently, police reports are handwritten.

Step up patrols around the city

There is a critical need for Police to step up and enhance regular and irregular Police patrols and operations. The patrols should not be predictable since in certain areas, criminals have mastered the hour's police patrol or conduct raids and often strike immediately after the patrols or raids. Police must also devise better and ingenious ways of identifying themselves that cannot be easily imitated by criminal elements.

Strengthen collaboration between Private Security Sector and the Police

The Police should strengthen its working relationship with the private security companies which will enable them access crime data held by the companies. This could be through periodic debriefing meetings with the private security companies. The private security

firms could also share critical information regarding crime in Nairobi region with the police for action

Step up Community Policing

There is need to revamp the community policing strategy and encourage frequent forums that bring together police, communities (especially local leaders), administration police and Provincial Administration.

In addition, Police should engage proactively and regularly with existing community structures such as community elders and District Peace Committees and participating in community events such as youth forums and chief's barazas. These should include open forums for dialogue over issues affecting the communities.

The police should also increase and adequately man toll-free hotlines for crime reporting in order to shorten the process of reporting and improve response.

Regular transfers and promotions

Some officers have overstayed in certain stations and are alleged to breed too much familiarity with the criminals, hence compromising the effectiveness of officers. As such, there is need to transfer officers regularly to avoid situations where some overstay in one station as was alleged by some respondents. Officers should also be promoted according to merit so as to boost their morale in crime prevention and management.

Address the problem of corruption within the service

Corruption surveys have over the years shown that Police Service in Kenya is one of the leading institutions in terms of corruption.

To redeem the Police Service especially now that the Service is independent and headed by an Inspector General, they should be continuously vetted to weed out corrupt elements. Vetting could include periodic wealth declaration.

Conduct periodic disarmament initiatives in Nairobi

Police should conduct regular disarmament exercises in Nairobi region particularly in crime prone informal settlements. In addition, the Police Service should pay close attention to the activities of the ex-prisoners and ex police officers and establish a follow up mechanism to reintegrate them into the society.

4.2.2. To the Government

Hasten Implementation of Security Sector Reform

The government should ensure that the ongoing Security Sector reforms, particularly police reforms, are implemented to the letter and spirit. The reforms should also be anchored on a transparency platform to improve ethics within the police service.

Adequately Resource the Security Sector

The government should avail more resources to the NPS to better address crime and insecurity. This should include adequate, high quality, and reliable vehicles and choppers, protective devices, better arms and sufficient motivation even as preparation to reform the structure is underway.

The government should also increase the fuel allowance for police vehicles; currently a vehicle is allocated around 10 liters a day and is expected to cover up to 200km.

Improve Infrastructure in Nairobi region

The survey deduced that crime is rampant in areas with the challenges of poor roads, lighting and drainage. These areas provide hideouts for criminals, thus to reduce crime, good access roads, drainage systems and lighting should be put in place. As a result crimes such as house breaking and mugging will have minimal or no chances of occurrence. The government should hasten completing the proposed CCTV surveillance project in Nairobi for easy monitoring of criminal activities and crime trends in the region.

Address Unemployment crisis including empowerment of the youth

Unemployment conspicuously featured as the cause of idleness for most youths, which lend credence to the adage that 'an idle mind is the devil's workshop'.

As portrayed by the respondents, unemployed youths constitute the bulk of crime perpetrators in the hotspots. Since unemployment is on the rise in the city as a result of urban sprawl, the best way to deal with it is to explore ways of engaging the youth in income generating activities by making use of such facilities as the Youth Enterprise Fund. If funds were availed to the youth without unnecessary conditions such as securities, majority would begin to earn a living and possibly provide employment to others.

4.2.3. To UNDP and Other Development Partners

UNDP should continue providing resources to facilitate continuous crime observatory in Nairobi region and also scale up the observatory nationally.

Invest in Peace Building Initiatives in Nairobi

Development partners should also invest in conflict management and peace building initiatives in Nairobi as one way of addressing crime. Peace Committees, Community Policing Committees and Task Forces on SALW should be strengthened further to deliver on their mandates.

4.2.4. To Civil Society Organizations

Civic education

Since mob justice and domestic violence seem to pose a fairly significant challenge, civic education to the public is imperative to improve their understanding on the legal rights of both victims and perpetrators. Organize forums to create awareness among members of the public on responsible citizenship including respect of the law, significance of reporting crime and the rights of witnesses.

Research and provision of information on crime.

Civil society organizations need to step up efforts in research and provision of timely information on crime.

Counseling and rehabilitation:

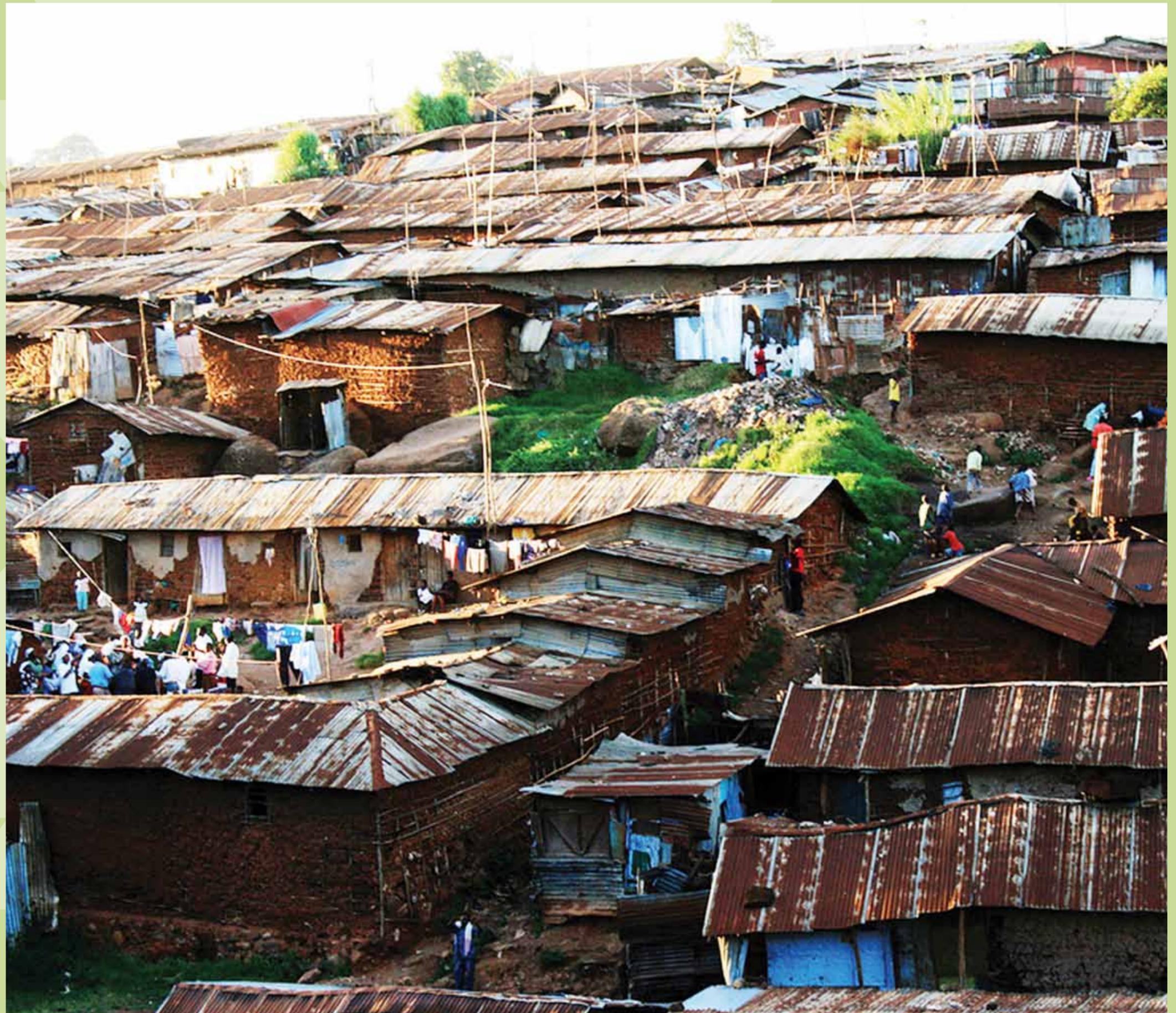
Victims of domestic violence need a facility which offers them guidance and counseling to help them reconcile with the ordeals they go through. In many instances, they may also require services of rehabilitation centers in worst case scenarios so that they feel accepted in the society. This will in turn boost their attitude towards reporting all types of gender based violence.

Establish victims support units;

Victims should not be left vulnerable from the perpetrators and must enjoy protection. They should also be provided with guidance and counseling services for psychosocial support.

4.2.5. To the Public

- Everyone should be conscious and mindful of his or her own personal safety and security at all times.
- Identify and avoid crime hot spots including avoiding exposure during high risk hours. Exercise caution while traveling at night, for example, by having specific (known) boda boda riders (and taxi drivers) who can be called when necessary.
- Communities should demand regular and interactive participation in chiefs' barazas and use such opportunities to discuss the crime-related challenges facing the community.
- If possible, hire credible private security companies.





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Security Research & Information Centre

Security Research and Information Centre (SRIC), prides itself of several objectives that constitute its driving force. Two of the principle objectives are to contribute towards better understanding of security sector dynamics and to produce verifiable information in the real status and trends of crime and human security.

This publication attests to these principle objectives as it provides a clear trend of crime in Nairobi region. The findings in this research report spells out the scope and magnitude of crime in Nairobi region.

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