

AVAILABILITY AND MISUSE OF SALW IN COMMISSION OF CRIME IN KENYA'S URBAN CENTRES AND TOWN

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List of abbreviations

CBD	Central Business District
CCTV	Closed-Circuit Television
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
DCIOs	Divisional Criminal Investigation Officer
IGP	Inspector General of Police
KNICE	Kenya National Integrated Civic Education
LEAs,	Law Enforcement Agencies
MCAs	Members of County Assemblies
NGOA	National Gun Owners Association of Kenya
NGOs,	Non-governmental Organizations
NPS	National Police Service
NPSC	National Police Service Commission
NSC	National Steering Committee on Peace building and Conflict Management
KNFP	Kenya National Focal Point on Small Arms
OCPDs	Officer Commanding Police Division
OCSs,	Officer in Charge of Station
PSV	Public Service Vehicle
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
SGBV	Sexual and gender-based violence
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
SRIC	Security Research and Information Centre
UNDOC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The effect of Small arms proliferation and misuse is a serious challenge in Kenya. Their easy availability compounds the problem. Initially, the menace was more pronounced in the pastoralist areas of the country which were perceived to be less policed¹. In the recent past however, major urban centres notably Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu and Nakuru have witnessed increased firearms related crimes. For instance, in 2014, cases of robbery with violence were more compared to previous years where theft cases were the highest². Indeed, majority of robbery with violence cases involved use of a firearm. Even in other crimes, a firearm was more likely than not, used.

Crime incidents captured in the last one year showed more than 4000 cases were committed using a firearm and led to about 550 deaths, the highest to have ever been recorded since inception of the crime observatory project in 2011. These incidents ranged from robbery, breakings, theft, cattle rustling and motor vehicle thefts. Arising from this security challenge, disproportionately huge amounts of resources have been directed at controlling and managing the proliferation and misuse of illicit small arms and light weapons in Kenya. One of the measures employed by law enforcement agencies to manage this menace has been a series of disarmaments operations. All these operations have been directed at mopping up illegally owned firearms. Crime incidences recorded over the last one year, show an increment in the number of cases reported to have involved a misuse of a legally issued firearm, a situation which has even caught the attention of the National Gun Owners Association of Kenya (NGOA).³

The apparent government's "disinterest" in privately-owned firearms could be construed to stem from the fact that for a long time, the owner's exercised great responsibility and rectitude. In fact, incidences of licensed gun owners misusing or mishandling their weapons were few and far between and as such hardly ever attracted public attention.

¹ See more in Muchai, A. (2005). Insecurity: A case study of Northern Kenya. In Micha Hollestelle and Simon Simonse, eds. Security when the state fails: community Response to armed violence, Vol. 5. The Hague: Pax Christi, pp. 113-29.

² SRIC crime monitoring database, 2014

³ Muraya J. (January, 2015). Association raises alarm over firearms misuse by civilians. Available at: <http://www.capitalfm.co.ke/news/2015/01/association-raises-alarm-over-firearms-misuse-by-civilians/>. Retrieved on 3rd April, 2015

In the meantime, the country is witnessing a growing agitation for privately-held firearms by leaders ranging from a cross-section of politicians – notably Members of County Assemblies (MCAs) - the clergy, business people and private security companies. The rationale underlying the new-found demand for firearms by the country's elite appears to be anchored on the contention that ownership of a firearm guarantees or enhances one's personal safety and security.

This survey was therefore aimed at measuring the availability and misuse of firearms and how possession of firearms impact on general community safety in Kenya's urban centres.

1.1 Main objective

The main objective of the study was to measure the availability and misuse of SALW in the commission of crime in Kenya's urban centres.

Specific objectives

1. To identify crime trends and typologies in the selected urban centres
2. To ascertain the impact of arms in the commission of crime in the selected urban centres
3. To measure public perception on privately owned firearms and the motivating factors leading to demand for the acquisition of SALW.
4. To examine measures put in place by law enforcement officers to minimize misuse of SALW in urban centres

1.2 Study Location

The study was conducted in Nairobi, Mombasa, Nakuru and Kisumu urban centres. The selection of these areas was based on high levels of armed crime incidences as recorded in the crime database. It was also in the major urban centres where the clamour for privately owned firearms was higher.

1.3 Target Population

The study targeted members of the general public, officials of central firearms bureau, police officers, the business fraternity, political leaders, researchers, academia and representatives from relevant civil society organizations.

1.4 Methodology

The study made use of both primary and secondary approaches of collecting data. This included use of structured questionnaires and key informant interview schedules to collect primary data and also reviewing literature from stakeholders such as the government agencies, National Police Service, the UN, (I) NGOs, the media (specifically ‘The Standard’ and ‘Daily Nation’ newspapers), and individual researchers to collect enough secondary data to support analysis of quantitative data. The following specific methods were used to collect primary data:

1.4.1 Questionnaires

A total of 1,304 questionnaires were administered to members of the public in the selected urban centres. Respondents were randomly selected from a sample population of those aged 18 years and above. Also, in keeping with the letter and spirit of the new constitution, gender balance and sensitivity was also considered during the administration of the questionnaires.

1.4.2 Key Informant Interviews

During the study, 4 key informant interviews were conducted in each sampled urban centre. The interviews targeted chiefs or their assistants, OCSs, DCIOs, and representatives from CSOs. The interviews were aimed at gathering information to corroborate some of the findings from the general household questionnaires.

Chapter 2: Analysis and Interpretation of Findings

The survey generated both qualitative and quantitative data. The quantitative data was organized, cleaned, coded and analysed using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) to help generate summaries in terms of tables and graphs for easy analysis and interpretation. The qualitative data was analysed through interpretation of the responses and used to firm-up quantitative data.

The data was first grouped according to the sampled urban centres in order to allow identification of unique crime trends experienced in each of the towns and finally combined for general analysis and interpretation.

2.1.0 Respondents' Profile

In order to ensure that views from as many segments of the population as practically possible were captured, the study sought to analyse a number of demographic factors, specifically respondents' age distribution, sex, level of education and main occupations. In including this information, it was reckoned that such data would help in establishing the extent to which such variables influenced respondents' overall perception and knowledge of armed crime in the sampled areas.

Figure 1 below shows that there was almost an equitable representation of both sexes in the survey in which males comprised 58.67%, while females accounted for 41.33%. During the interviews, it was noted that men were more willing to take part in the survey than women and hence their lower representation.

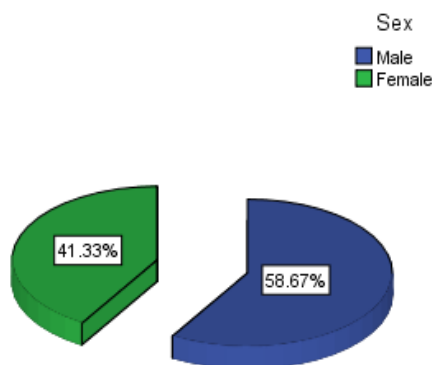


Figure 32: Gender of the Sampled Population

The inclusion and analysis of the gender aspect in the study was aimed at establishing whether there was any direct relationship between respondents' sex and degree to which they

were exposed to or experienced crime. This factor was considered important as it would potentially yield useful insights into the extent to which the country's security architecture should be designed to be responsive to disproportionate gender-based vulnerability to crime, the findings of which are captured in the graph below.

A notable feature was that males bore the brunt of virtually all cases of reported 'mugging' and 'assault' incidents and also seemed to be the most affected by cases of robbery incidents, this fact could rightly be attributed to their ascribed roles in society, which involve masculinity such as protecting their families and property. Men also tend to stay outdoors longer and later than women, hence the huge disparities on how the two sexes get affected by armed violence. As could be well hypothesized, women accounted for close to 2/3rds of all reported incidents of 'rape' compared to men, who were victims in the remainder 1/3rd. An intriguing finding was that more males than females (60.0% and 40.0%) reported having been subjected to 'domestic violence', a radical departure from general assumption that females typically bear the brunt of the menace. It was also noted that both sexes experienced carjacking in more or less proportion.

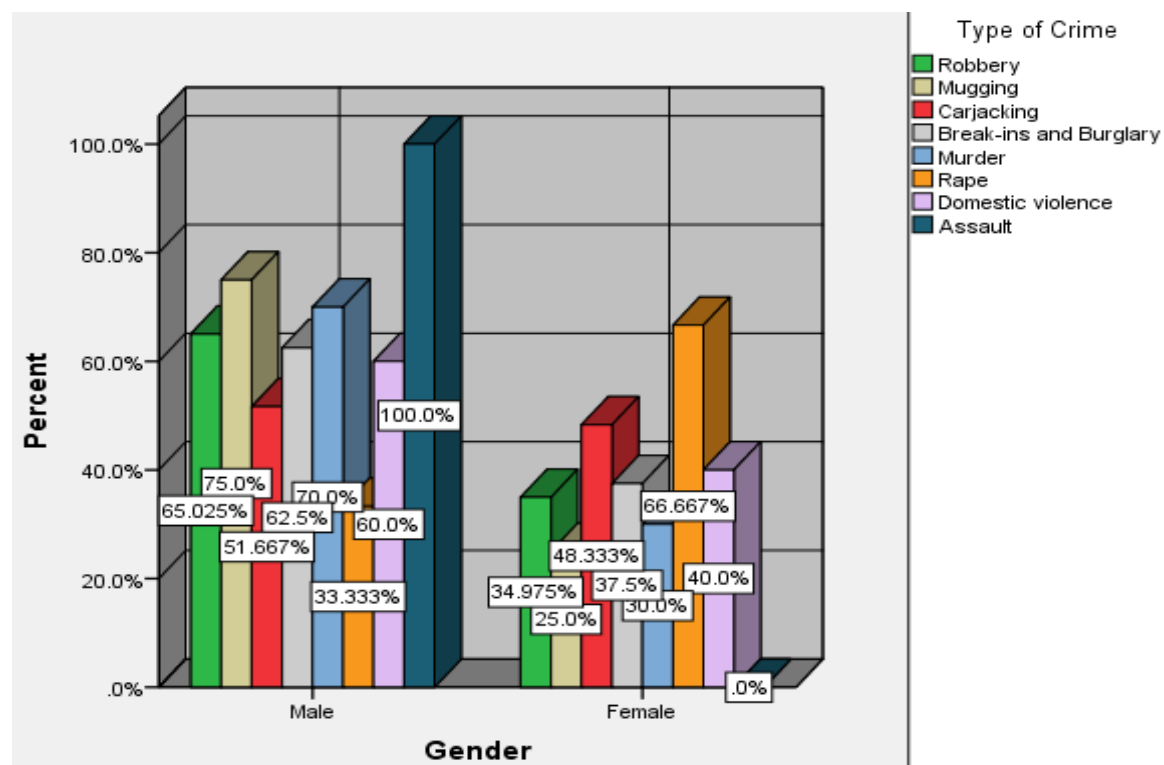


Figure 33: Gender and Type of Crime one is likely to be exposed to

The bulk of the sampled population (59.8%) fell within the age brackets of 18 years and 35 years. This composition could be said to be a reflection of Kenya's current population

structure which assumes a pyramidal shape with a burgeoning youth base and a tapering apex, representing a diminishing older generations⁴. Persons who had not attained the age of majority (18 years) were excluded from the study since, legally, they are deemed to be incapable of making independent judgement.

Age Group	Frequency	Percent
18-25	273	20.9
26-35	507	38.9
36-45	345	26.5
46-55	131	10.0
56+	48	3.7
Total	1304	100.0

Figure 34: Respondent age bracket

2.1.1 Levels of Education

Of the 1, 304 respondents who participated in the survey, 74.3% had attained secondary school education and above. Indeed, 9.7% were university graduates. On the other hand, 18.1% had completed primary school while 7.6% were illiterate. In analysing this component, the researchers had contended that a respondent's level of education would typically have a bearing on their overall understanding of the subject matter for which they were being interviewed, the thesis being that the higher the level of one's education, the higher the knowledge and vice versa.

Education Level	Frequency	Percent
None	99	7.6
Primary	236	18.1
Secondary	466	35.7
College	377	28.9
University	126	9.7
Total	1304	100.0

Figure 35: Respondents' level of education

⁴ Read more at: Kenya Population Data Sheet, 2011. Available online at: <http://www.prb.org/pdf11/kenya-population-data-sheet-2011.pdf>. Retrieved on 2nd April, 2015.

2.1.2 Occupation of the Respondents

A respondent's occupation was considered critical in influencing perception and experience of armed crime and gun-ownership. Moreover, occupation has a bearing on individual's sense of safety and vulnerability to armed violence.

As indicated in table 3 below, the respondents were drawn from a wide array of occupations with business people being the majority of respondents, 39%. It is notable that a significant portion of the respondents, 19.9% were casual labourers while 14.7% were unemployed. The insignificant number of farmers was not surprising, primarily because the study was conducted in urban centres which are typically characterized by little or limited agricultural activities.

Occupation	Frequency	Percent
Unemployed	192	14.7
Professional	145	11.1
Farmer	3	.2
Casual Labourer	260	19.9
Student	101	7.7
Spiritual leader	21	1.6
Businessperson	508	39.0
Civil servant	28	2.1
Housewife	35	2.7
Hotelier	11	.8
Total	1304	100.0

Figure 36: Main occupation of the respondents

The inclusion of respondent's occupation in the study was based on the assumption that different occupations exposed people to different levels of risk. As shown in the table 4 below, business people were the most affected having been victims of all types of crime with robbery being the most common.

Generally, robbery cut across all forms of occupations followed by carjacking, murder and mugging. Mugging was more common among business people and casual labourers; carjacking was more common among the professionals; casual labourers and business people;

break-ins were more common among the casual labourers while murder mostly affected business people.

Occupation	Robbery	Mugging	Carjacking	Break-ins and Burglary	Murder
Professional	21	1	13	1	7
Casual Labourer	45	3	16	3	5
Student	20	0	5	0	1
Unemployed	22	1	5	1	4
Spiritual leader	6	0	0	1	0
Businessperson	78	3	15	1	11
Civil servant	7	0	2	0	0
Housewife	3	0	2	1	2
Hotelier	1	0	2	0	0
	203	8	60	8	30

Figure 37: Type of crime Vis -a-Vis respondents' occupation

2.2.0 Crime Trends and Typologies

The study sought to establish general crime trends and typologies across the four sampled towns and urban centres. This was aimed at classifying crime types and also establishing areas where firearms misuse was more rampant.

Generally, crime levels across Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu and Nakuru cities and town is average. This was the observation of 43.4% of respondents although 31.21% rated it as 'high'. It was observed that a minority 14.57% of respondents' felt crime was low in their neighbourhoods.

The above scenario suggests a reduction in crime and general insecurity in Kenya's major cities and urban centres. The reduction could be attributed in large measure to a raft of recent deliberate measures put in place by the police to control and manage crime. The most notable of these newly deployed measures include an increase and intensification of patrols and beats in urban centres, installation of high voltage lighting masts in informal settlements as well as the intensification of road blocks to help apprehend suspected criminals.

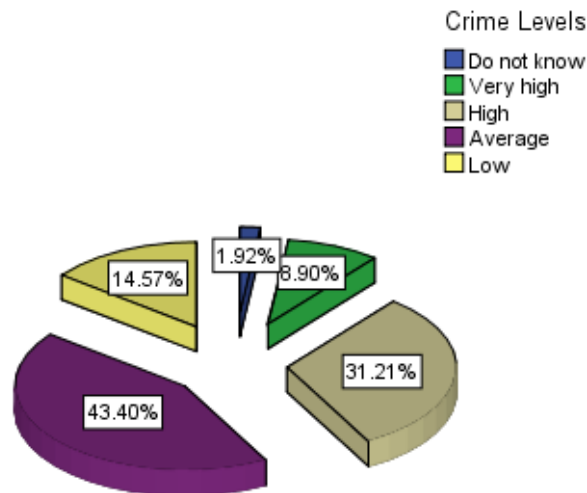


Figure 38: Levels of crime

2.2.1 Most Common Types of Crime

The study sought to establish the most committed crimes across the sampled towns and cities. Out of the fourteen types of crime identified, ‘theft’ and ‘robbery’ were the most common, accounting for a combined total of 67.72%. This observation suggest that person- and property- directed crime is a challenge in the four urban centres, a situation that further points to the level of high poverty and unemployment levels that bedevil a huge segment of Kenya’s population. In this regard, it is instructive to note that ‘burglary’ was the third most pervasive type of crime in the towns and cities despite representing a lowly 9.97%. Firearm trafficking accounted for 0.38%, suggesting that there were illegal firearms in the country’s urban

centres.

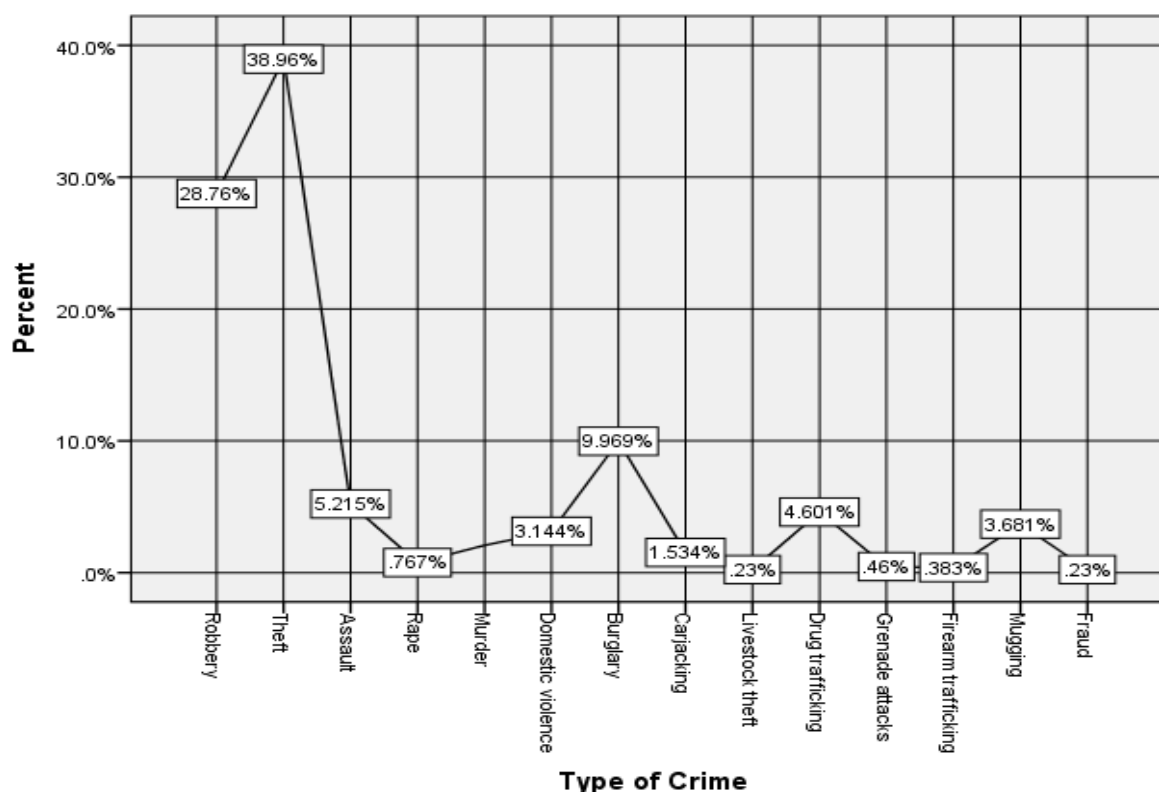


Figure 39: Common types of crime

In order to compare perceptions on use of firearms in perpetrating crime, the study analysed data from the National Police Service (NPS) covering a period of one year, January 2014-December 2014. It was found that there were 3440 crime incidences reported to the police involving use of firearms across the four sampled town and cities. Nairobi recorded the highest followed by Nakuru, Mombasa and Kisumu respectively.

Offences	Nakuru	Mombasa	Kisumu	Nairobi	Total
Homicide	171	69	98	164	502
Robbery	203	153	157	436	949
Breakings	393	224	163	435	1215
Theft Of Stock	102	4	74	12	192
Vehicle And Other Thefts	84	119	39	340	582
Total	953	569	531	1387	3440

Figure 40: Reported cases involving use of firearms (January, 2014 – January, 2015)

When all the criminal incidences recorded over the last one year were ranked against the urban centres, as shown in Figure 10 below, Nairobi recorded the highest criminal incidences in all crime classifications. The most common types of crime which involved use of firearms

in Nairobi were robberies, break-ins and motor vehicle theft/ robberies. Nakuru also recorded the second highest incidences across all the five crime classifications which were considered to involve the use of firearms.

Generally break-ins constituted the highest number of reported criminal activity across the four urban centres constituting more than a third (35%) of the total number of reported cases followed by robbery which accounted for 28% and motor vehicle related types of crime with 17%. Homicides constituted 15% while the least recorded was theft of stock which accounted for 0.1%. Theft of stock was more pronounced in Kisumu and Nakuru apparently because these towns bordered pastoralist areas where cattle keeping is the main occupation.

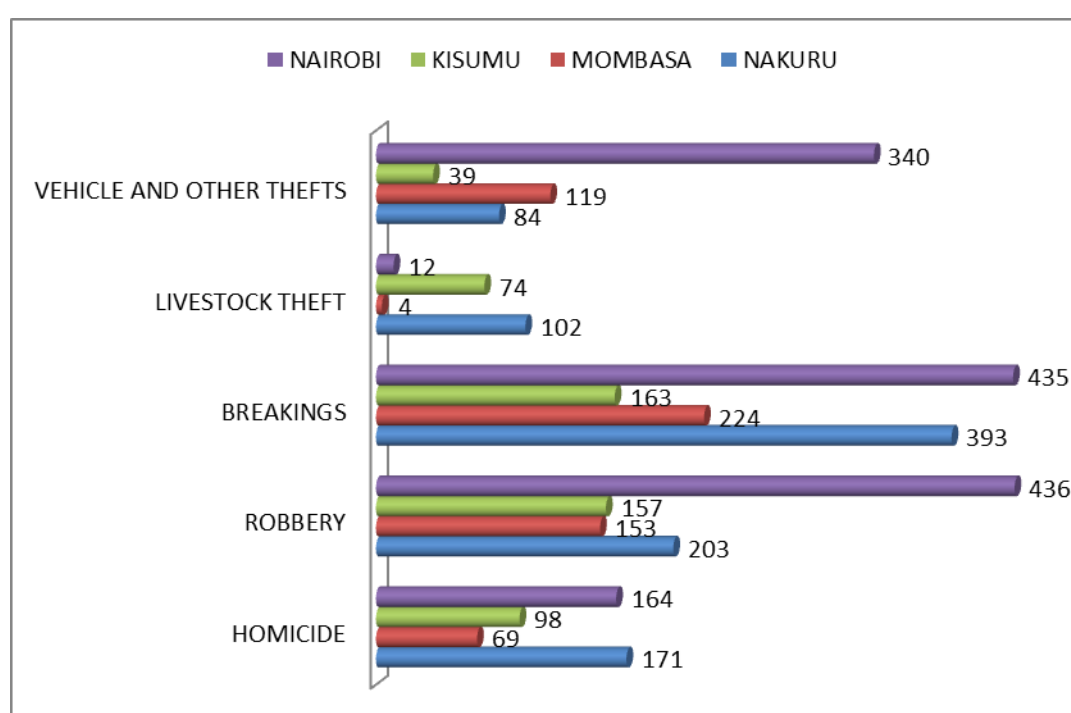


Figure 41: Crime incidents involving use of SALW (Analysis from NPS statistics)

2.2.3 Victimhood to crime

The study found that almost half of respondents (48.77%) had fallen victim to crime. This finding underscores the rate at which crime has permeated Kenya's urban population in particular and the wider society in general. Asked to specify the type of crime, majority of respondents mentioned 'theft' and 'robbery', a finding that, when put into perspective, is consistent with the most rampant crime typology across the country.

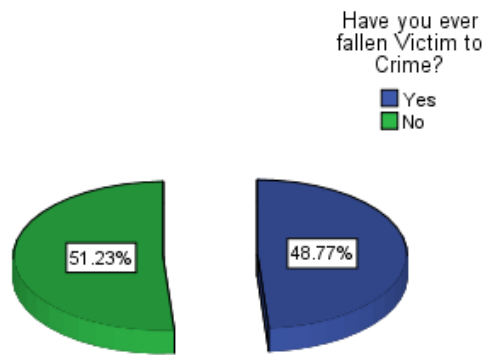


Figure 42: Respondents falling victim to crime

In Njiru/ Kayole, almost all types of crimes were reported to involve use of firearms. Indeed, all murder cases were reportedly occasioned by use of firearms. The seemingly heavy presence of firearms is on account of presence of organized gangs who were described by most of key informants as “dangerously armed”.

In Kangemi, the most common type of crime was found to be Burglary/ break-ins. All respondents reported to have been a victim or witnessed a burglary incidence. Carjacking and robbery were also reported to be common in the area with 60% and 32% of respondents having witnessed or been a victim respectively. All carjacking incidents were found to involve a firearm.

Grenade attacks were found to be common in Eastleigh and Njiru areas where 50% of respondents had either witnessed or been a victim. Considering that over the last one year there was not a single grenade attack recorded in the two areas, it can be safely concluded that either there is either an inherent fear among residents of being attacked or the few individuals who mentioned the vice had once been victims. In Mathare, the most common type of crime was found to be robbery though to a smaller degree compared to Njiru and Kangemi areas which reported higher incidents of robbery, 22% and 32% respectively.

Comparatively, Njiru and Kangemi seemed to be more insecure as all types of crimes had been reported in the area. The situation is worsened by presence of armed gangs. For instance, in Njiru/ Kayole the most notorious criminal group was reported to be “The Gaza” which according to residents demanded ‘protection fees’ from the residents, collected illegal levies from PSV operators in the area and forcefully recruited youth as young as 10 years. In

Kangemi, Jeshi la Wazee seemed to be behind most of the criminal activities reported in the area.

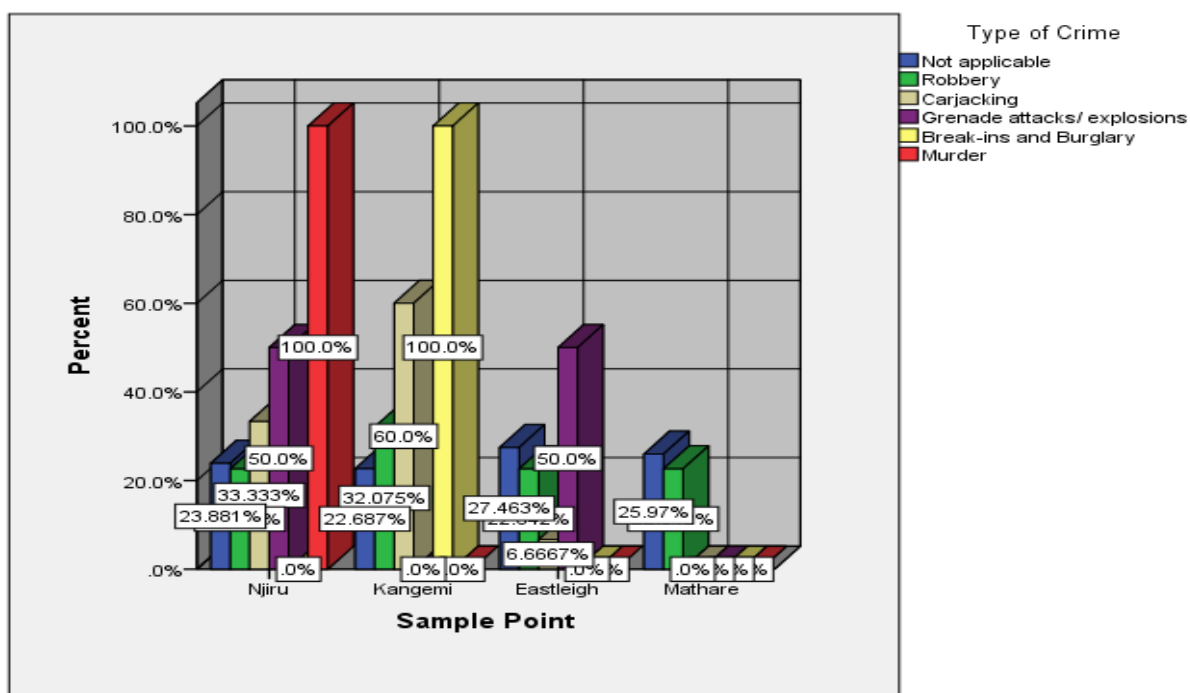


Figure 43: Type of crime victims have experienced in Nairobi

Source: Analysis from the general questionnaires

Nakuru

In Nakuru, the CBD was singled out as the most likely area for shoot-outs. This means that crime involving firearm was more likely to happen at the town centre than in other areas. In Pondamali, residents experience almost all forms of crime with mugging being the highest. Murder and robbery incidents were also high in Pondamali.

Contrary to findings of the previous survey done in the country's major slum areas, which had indicated Bondeni as relatively unsafe⁵, this study established that since release of those findings the County government and the National government had moved-in to improve identified security gaps in the area. Street lighting had been installed and police had increased patrols and beats. However, crime appears to have shifted to the CBD, Pondamali and London areas.

⁵ See more in: <http://srickenya.org/images/publications/slum%20Crime%20Survey%20Report.%20Thur.pdf>. Retrieved on 3rd March, 2015

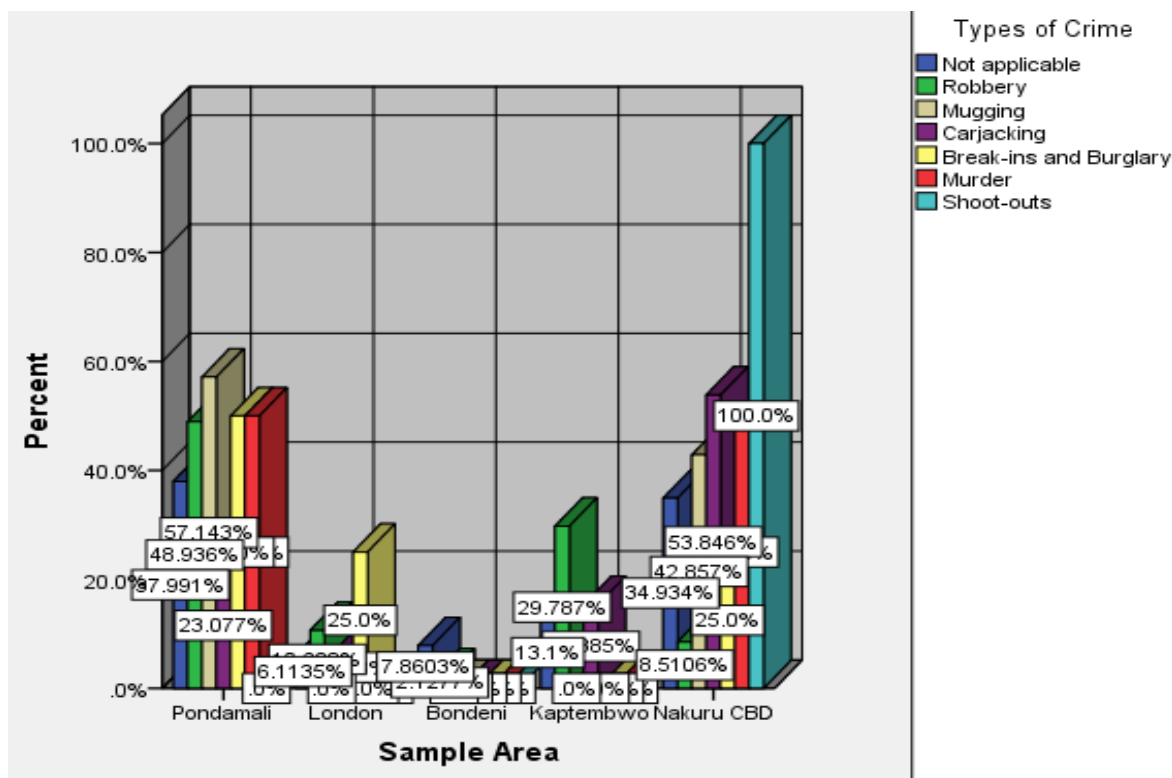


Figure 44: Type of crime victims have experienced in Nakuru

Kisumu

In Kondele, the study found that drug trafficking and domestic violence were the two common types of crime. Indeed, all respondents either had witnessed or been a victim of the two crimes. Murder cases, robbery, carjacking, break-ins were also reportedly common although at varying degrees. Unlike in other areas in Kisumu, Kondele appear to be prone to all sorts of crimes, perhaps exacerbated by drug trafficking. This leads to the conclusion that the slum is relatively unsafe to live in.

At the CBD, mugging was the most common crime mostly involving cell phones and other valuables usually snatched as victims boarded PSV vehicles, as they walked in the streets or even at times as they waited to board PSVs from the CBD. There are cases of shoot-outs too with 50% of respondents having witnessed such incidents. Carjacking, burglary and robbery were also reportedly common at the CBD.

Majority of respondents who indicated that they had been assaulted in one way or another came from the Carwash area. The carwash area is synonymous with idle youths who man the Matatu stage. Some youth do other activities such as tyre repair and washing of vehicles. The

area setting can thus be termed as favourable for disagreements and brawls which easily lead to assaults.

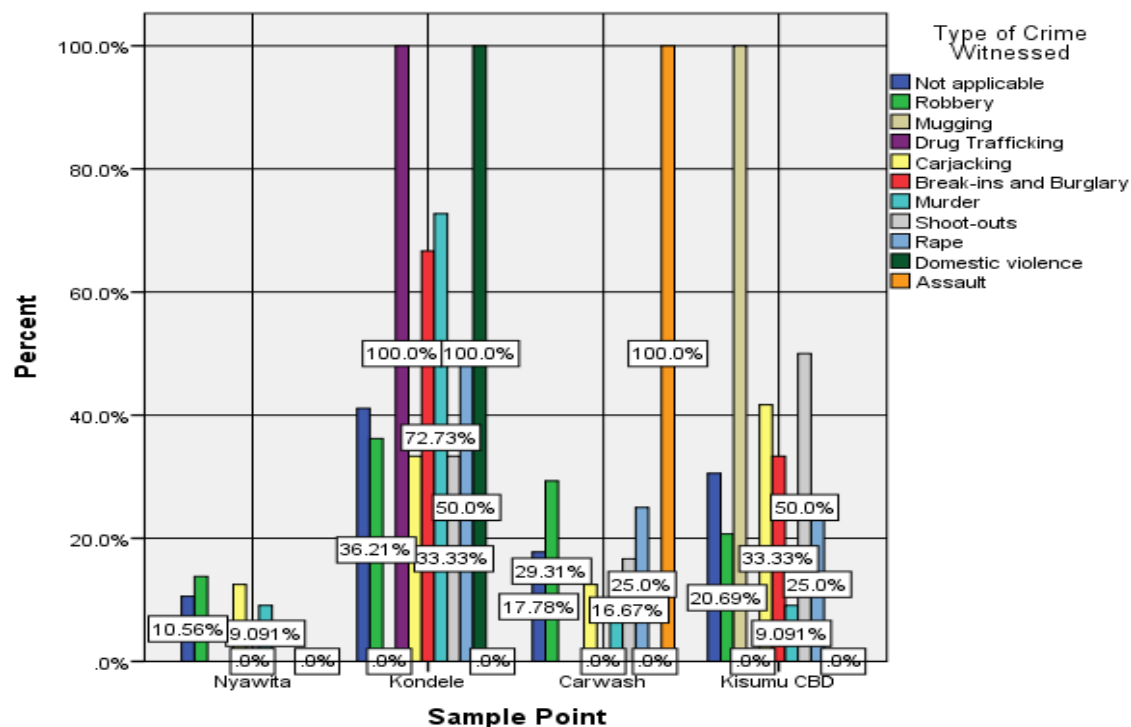


Figure 45: Type of crime victims have experienced in Kisumu

Mombasa

Extra-judicial killings and grenade attacks were perceived to be the most common types of crime involving use of firearms in Mombasa. The two are most common in Changamwe and Island. This may not necessarily mean that extra-judicial killings were many as perceived by a majority of the respondents but could as well be understood to mean that may be residents were associating any form of death to state agents which may not be the absolute position. In Changamwe, domestic violence and rape were equally common with all respondents having witnessed or been victims. Shoot-outs are also common in Changamwe, further affirming the use of firearms in extra-judicial killings and grenade attacks. It was interesting to note that out of all respondents who indicated that they had witnessed or experienced a grenade attack all of them came from Changamwe. This can be interpreted to mean that the recent terrorist related activities in Mombasa were still causing fear to the residents.

Mishomoroni was found to be prone to robbery and assaults while in Likoni, 56.25% of respondents said murder cases were the most common in the area.

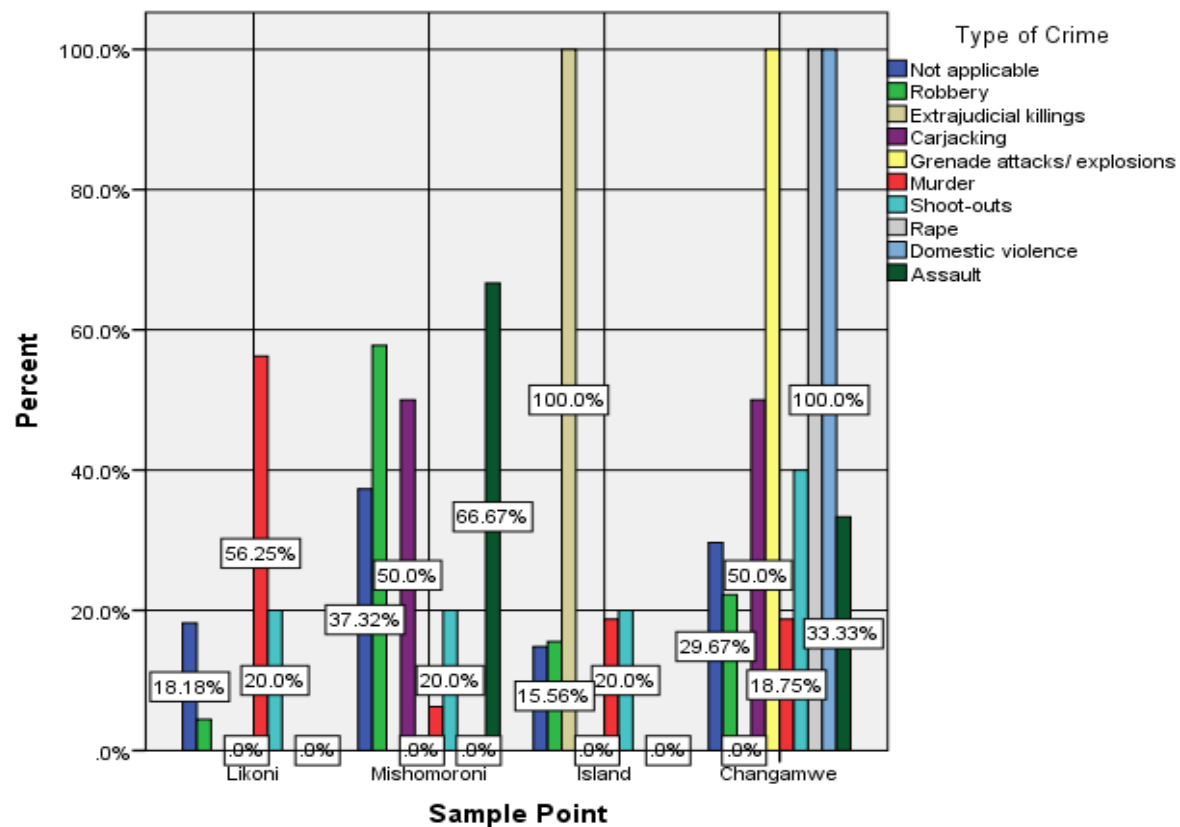


Figure 46: Type of crime victims have experienced in Mombasa

2.2.4 Time and Period mostly associated with Crime spike

There was overwhelming concurrence that crime was intrinsically linked to specific times or periods of the day (77.07%), while a remarkable minority (19.07%) reckoned that crime occurred at all times. Figure 16 below provides a statistical breakdown of the specific time of the day when crime was likely to be committed. It was noted that criminals prefer perpetrating crime during the night. One, darkness tended to provide “ideal” cover for the criminal elements because with limited visibility, the chances of them being recognized by their victims are considerably diminished. Secondly, criminals prefer to be nocturnal operators since this was the time when there is limited outdoor movement and as such it was easy to pick out their potential victims and rob them with little chances of being apprehended.

Other periods when crime was likely to be committed included weekends (15.4%) and during end month (13.5%). The latter period is particularly telling in that end month is the period when workers in gainful employment receive their salaries and wages, hence the motivation

and predisposition by criminals to target them with the intention of robbing them of their money. Similarly, the mention of ‘weekends’ as being significant high-risk period could be attributed to Kenyans’ habit of engaging in various social or leisurely activities, including the frequenting of entertainment joints which extend deep into the night and wee hours of the morning, enabling prowling criminals to waylay and attack them.

Time Periods	Frequency	Percent
Not applicable	276	21.2
Weekends	88	6.7
End Months	176	13.5
End month weekends	86	6.6
At night	373	28.6
Early mornings	38	2.9
During holidays/ festivities	64	4.9
All the time	201	15.4
Rainy season	2	.2
Total	1304	100.0

Figure 47: Most crime-associated time of the day/month

2.3.0 Perceptions on Firearms

The focus of the survey centred on armed violent crime in which use of firearm in the perpetration of crime was measured in leading Kenyan urban centres. Although a majority 44.33% felt use of firearms in the commission of crime was low, 34.05% of the respondents rated their use in their localities as either ‘very high’ or ‘high’. At the other end of the spectrum was the finding that 18.17% rated the usage of firearms as ‘non-existent’.

Despite the seemingly “low” prevalence of the problem, the reality is that the statistical picture would seem to seriously belie the enormity and magnitude of the problem, and this needs to be put into its proper perspective and context in order not to underestimate its overall impact on public safety and national security. This is because a country in which close to half of its urban population lives under a constant fear of falling victim to armed violence cannot possibly be said to be safe or secure, not least because, in an ideal situation, one gun or weapon in the wrong hands is one too many.

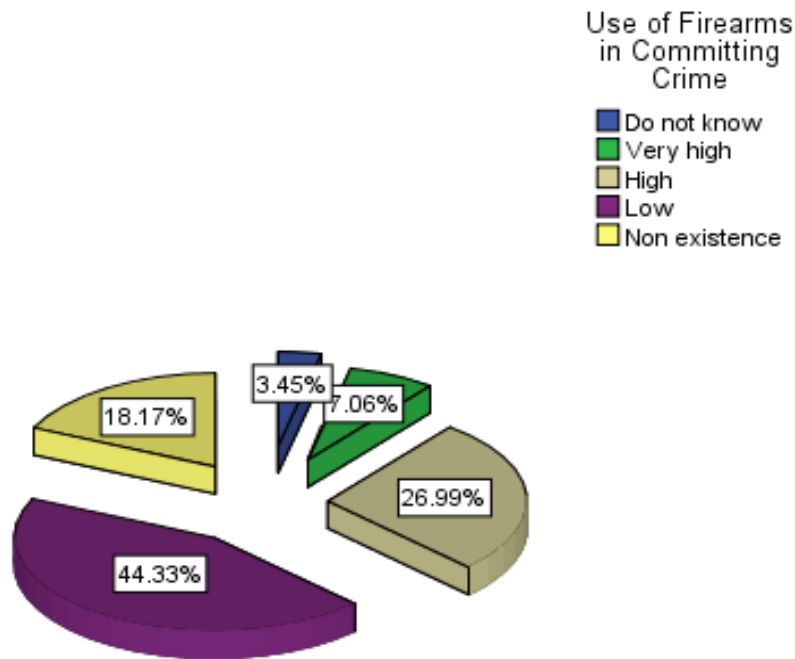


Figure 48: Use of firearms in committing crime

When asked the types of crime likely to be committed using firearms, majority of respondents mentioned robbery, 15.6%, carjacking, 4.6% and to a smaller degree murder 2.3%. Findings also showed that an overwhelming majority of respondents, 73.1% did not respond to this question. This could be attributed to either that some felt that use of firearms was not so rampant to warrant a mention or had never fallen victim to any form of crime involving use of firearms or even that were ignorant of the problem. The findings can also be understood to point to a trend in which criminals are increasingly discarding the use of ‘brute force’, which hitherto used to be their *modus operandi*, in preference to more subtle means, which exposes them to less risk of apprehension by the law enforcement officers.

Type of Crime	Frequency	Percent
Not applicable	953	73.1
Robbery	203	15.6
Mugging	8	0.6
Drug Trafficking	1	0.1
Extrajudicial killings	1	0.1
Carjacking	60	4.6
Grenade attacks/ explosions	3	0.2
Break-ins and Burglary	8	0.6

Murder	30	2.3
Shoot-outs	19	1.5
Rape	6	0.5
Domestic violence	5	0.4
Assault	7	0.5
Total	1304	100.0

Figure 49: Type of crime mostly involving use of firearms (witnessed by the respondent)

2.3.1 Misuse of Firearms

Generally, the survey found that 24.69% of the respondents had witnessed cases of police officers misusing or otherwise mishandling their firearms. Majority of respondents, 75.31%, had not witnessed such cases. By all accounts, the 24.9% of respondents who reported to have witnessed a misuse of firearm by the police represents a worrying position where a legitimate custodian of law becomes the breaker. This position contradicts the policy of zero tolerance to firearm misuse as espoused in the NPS Act and the Service Standing Orders⁶.

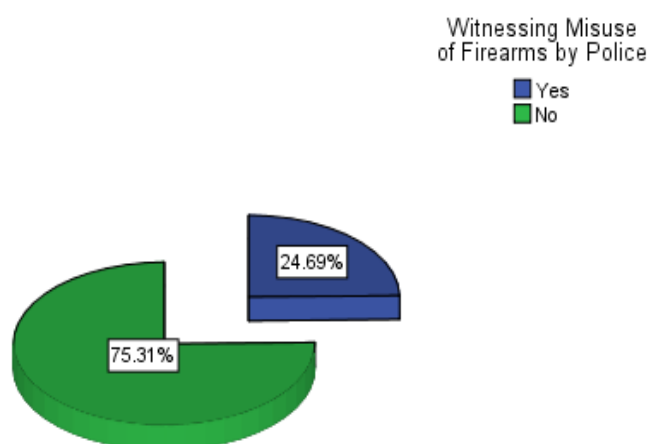


Figure 50: Cases of firearm misuse by police officers

In regard to privately licensed firearms, the study found that 12.42% of respondents had witnessed their misuse. Considering this category of firearm holders' are fewer and operate under a legal regime that imposes stringent set of conditions stipulating their use, the

⁶Laws of Kenya: National Police Service ACT. No. 11A of 2011. Retrieved from: <http://www.icla.up.ac.za/images/un/use-of-force/africa/Kenya/National%20Police%20Service%20Act%202011.pdf>.

situation is equally worrying. Indeed, many Kenyans still revered ownership of firearms and as at 2014, slightly more than 10,000 people had been licenced to own a firearm⁷;

This finding confirms assertions by the National Gun Owners Association of Kenya (NGOA) representatives who in January, 2015 raised alarm over firearm misuse by civilians and went ahead to recommend regular vetting of gun holders to ensure everyone entrusted with the responsibility of owning a firearm is accountable⁸.

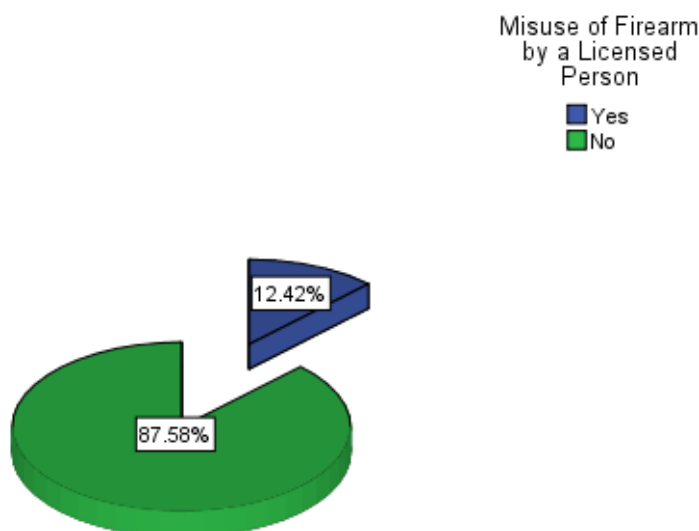


Figure 51: Misuse of a firearm by a Licensed Gun Holder

2.3.2 Perceptions on Private Ownership of Firearms

One of the objectives of this study was to measure public perception on privately owned firearms and the motivating factors leading to their demand. This was informed by the current clamour by a cross-section of leaders - particularly politicians and members of the clergy – to the government to issue them with firearms arguing that firearms would boost their personal security, in light of a string of murder cases which seemed to be targeting political leaders, robbery with violence and attempted carjacking as well as terrorists attacks perceived to be directed at churches.

The study revealed that, 68.71% of respondents did not consider possession of a firearm as constituting a sufficient deterrent or panacea for personal security. On the other hand 31.29%

⁷ Institute for Security Studies. 2002. 'Firearms and Crime in Kenya.' *FOCUS*, Sept 2002 (3), p. 5. Pretoria: Arms Management Programme, Institute for Security Studies / ISS. 1 September.

⁸ National Gun Owners Association (NGOA) representatives raise alarm over firearm misuse by civilians in Kenya. Retrieved from: <http://www.capitalfm.co.ke/news/2015/01/association-raises-alarm-over-firearms-misuse-by-civilians/>. On 20th March, 2015

of the respondents felt private ownership of firearms would make one safe with 10.6% arguing that issuance of firearms to civilians should be encouraged as a way to “match” and neutralize the firepower of armed criminals.

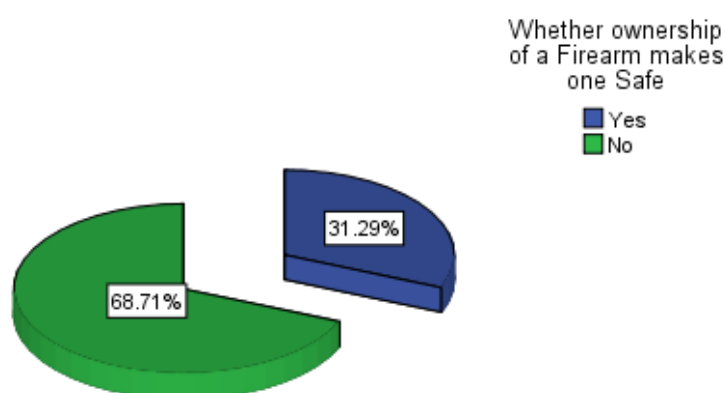


Figure 52: Whether owning a firearm makes one safe

However, majority of respondents felt more guns in private hands would have the unintended effect of ‘making their areas more insecure’, or that at the very minimum, ‘laws should [instead] be tightened to reduce number of firearms in private hands’, including by implication those illegally owned by criminals, gunrunners and arms traffickers/dealers.

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Do not know	31	2.4
Should be encouraged	138	10.6
Would increase security	227	17.4
Would make this area more insecure	490	37.6
Laws should be tightened to reduce number of firearms in private hands	409	31.4
Should be discouraged	9	.7
Total	1304	100.0

Figure 53: Private ownership of firearms and Safety

2.4.0 Factors Motivating Acquisition of Firearms

On motivations behind the need for privately owned firearms, the study revealed that majority would own a firearm for self-defence probably due to increased insecurity in their areas of residence and also that gun ownership seemed to make one gain fame and respect. This can be understood to mean that there were some people who saw gun ownership as a

source of security and probably felt that the NPS was not responding to their security needs as they would have wished and given a chance would want to be responsible for their own.

There were fears too. Majority felt laws governing firearm handling and safety were discouraging and that they lacked the knowhow of operating a firearm. Other de-motivating factors revolved around the inclination to use it on personal enemies and the likelihood of the firearm being stolen by criminals and even children and used to perpetrate crime.

Reasons	Frequency	Percent
Do not know/ No response	209	16.0
Increased insecurity or crime	275	21.1
Self Defence	357	27.4
One gains fame and respect	9	0.7
Lack of adequate training on usage	52	4.0
Could be wrongly used	290	22.2
Is the work of the police to protect individuals	28	2.2
Total	1304	100.0

Figure 54: Factors motivating or discouraging private ownership of firearms

2.4.1 Reasons for increased clamour for firearms by politicians, clergy and business community

Over the last 3 years or so, a number of urban centres have experienced violence resulting from use of firearms. In some of these areas under study, gun related crimes seem to be forcing sections of the clergy, local politicians and other leaders to continually request to be issued with firearms for personal security. While the main reason for the apparent agitation for firearms invariably advanced the spurious and largely untested narrative that this would help boost personal security (51.15%), significant portions of respondents also cited peripheral “reasons” such as the pursuit of self-actualization (status symbol, 25.08%), lack of rigorous firearm policy and legislative frame work and ignorance around the mechanics and technical skills – personal discipline needed in order to handle a firearm in a responsible manner (20.17%).

Ultimately, the study concludes that, if these views were anything to go by, a free-for-all policy would be patently counterproductive and detrimental to the preservation of law and

order in the country, rather than a mitigating factor. At another level, such an approach would tend to advance the erroneous assumption that “hardware security” translates to a magic bullet for individual and collective security. Such an argument tends to emphasize the adoption of a state- rather than people-centrist approach to security in which security or lack of it is equated to the lethality of the tools of violence at the disposal of the state or a coterie of its subjects.

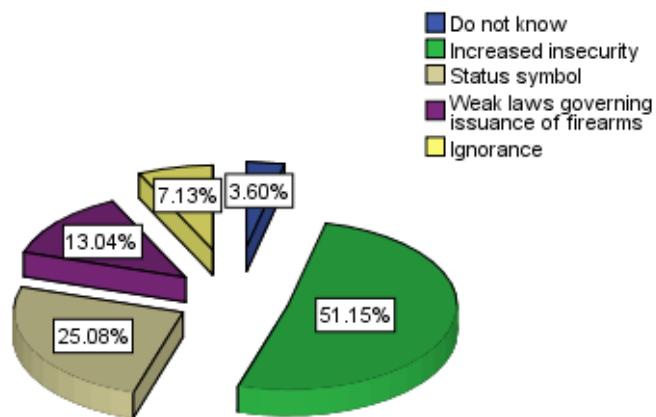


Figure 55: Reasons for contemporary clamour for firearms by politicians and other leaders

On whether increased number of legally-owned firearms translated to more safety, 72.78% of respondents felt it doesn't. Only 24.39% felt it would lead to more safety. This finding underscores the importance of enforcing strict measures put in place by the firearms act to discourage private ownership of firearms.

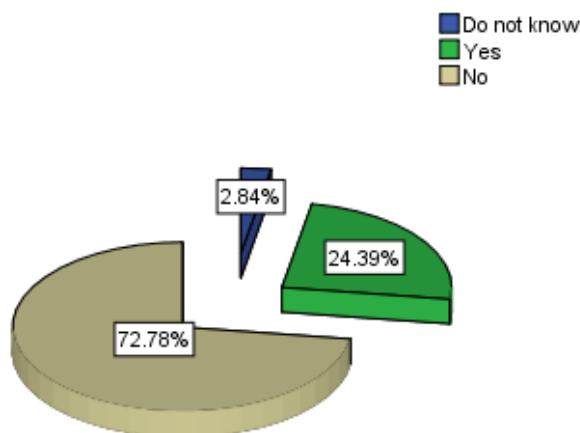


Figure 56: Whether having many legally-held firearms in circulation improves security

2.4.2 On buying a firearm if granted an opportunity

This question generated responses that would enable the researchers to objectively gauge citizens' attitudes towards and propensity for acquisition of firearms, if they were to be afforded the option to do so. It was reckoned that to some extent, an individual's desire to (legally) own or acquire a firearm would serve as a powerful pointer to the (real or perceived) degree of insecurity in their own backyards and vice-versa.

Figure 26 below depicts that there were more people in Kisumu willing to acquire licit firearms than in Nairobi, Mombasa and Nakuru. Nairobi leads in the category of those who would not wish to own licit firearm, 35.51% although more people, 22.06% than Mombasa 16.55% would still wish to own a gun.

The situation in Kisumu is intriguing for a variety of reasons. For one, in relative terms, the town is not particularly known to rank high in reported cases of armed violence, according to findings from previously done studies as well as police records (refer to Table 2 above), in which Nairobi consistently outstripped all the other major towns in terms of reported armed crime incidences. By the same token, Kisumu is not classified or known to be a significant transit or destination point for illicit arms trade. Based on these considerations, the only plausible reason that can explain this above-average desire by its residents to own a firearm could be tied to the "prestige" and sense of elevated social status associated by some respondents with gun ownership.

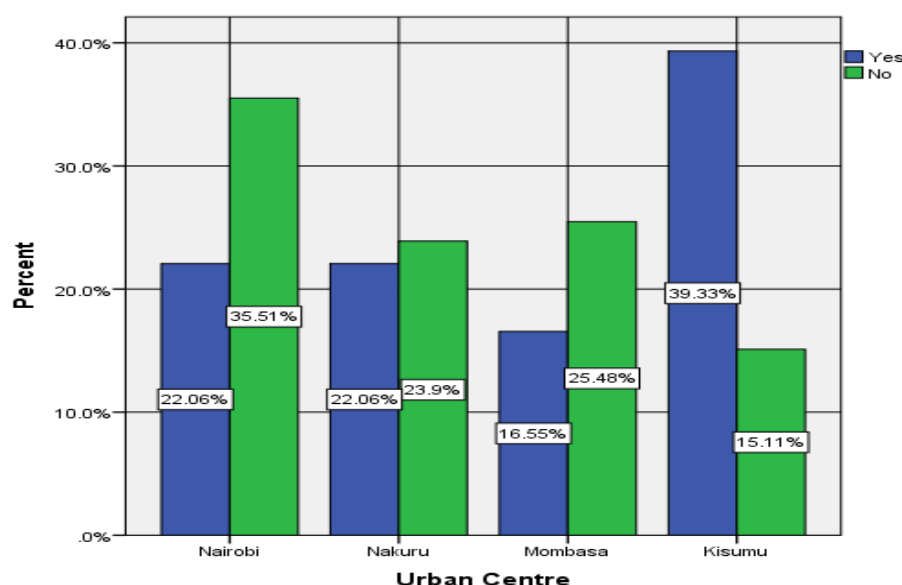


Figure 57: Whether given an opportunity an individual would buy/ apply for a firearm

The pro-firearm ownership cited an array of reasons, chief of which included enhanced security for self, family and businesses and to thwart new and emerging crime typologies which were reportedly becoming increasingly violent. At the other end of the dichotomy were the anti-gun ownership crusaders who posited that, contrary to common currency that gun ownership improves ones security, it might potentially create a “gun culture” in society, a situation that could inadvertently fuel proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALW) in the country.

Some of the specific reasons advanced to buttress this position ranged from concerns that uncontrolled firearm ownership would precipitate deterioration in public safety and security; that there was no breakdown of law and order to justify such ownership; firearm ownership by civilians evokes fear; it might inadvertently become a source of danger to one’s family members and a an inherent tendency to engender mortal sense of insecurity in the owner as well as a set of practical challenges that revolve around firearm handling, usage, servicing and storage.

Reason for not buying	Frequency	Percent
Not applicable	462	35.4
Threat to safety and stability	476	36.5
There is no compelling reason to warrant ownership of a firearm	89	6.8
It is scary to own one	256	19.6
My family will not allow	14	1.1
Do not know how to use	6	.5
No need since police exist to provide security	1	.1
Total	1304	100.0

Figure 58: On why one would not want to own a firearm

Reason for buying	Frequency	Percent
Not applicable	900	69.0
Promotes security	100	7.7
It is increasingly becoming a necessity due to increased insecurity	167	12.8
To protect my family and business interests	137	10.5
Total	1304	100.0

Figure 59: why one would wish to possess a firearm

2.4.3 Measuring the Ease with which to Acquire SALW

Prior to undertaking this study, there had been untested but frequent reports in the mass media and other platforms to the effect that obtaining an illegal firearm in Kenya's urban centres was generally easy and virtually hustle-free. Clearly, this was a most unsettling assertion whose veracity and extent needed to be empirically established.

In this regard, 19.40% of respondents felt obtaining a firearm in the urban centres was easy. In fact, 6.21% felt it was very easy, a most disconcerting finding which points to a systemic weakness by the relevant authorities in detecting and eradicating 'grey areas' that permit the proliferation and trafficking in arms in the country.

Moreover, it was noted that a significant number of respondents, 36.81% opined that it was 'difficult' to purchase or otherwise access a firearm, while 41.72% did not know whether it was easy or difficult to acquire a firearm-perhaps because they were not concerned.

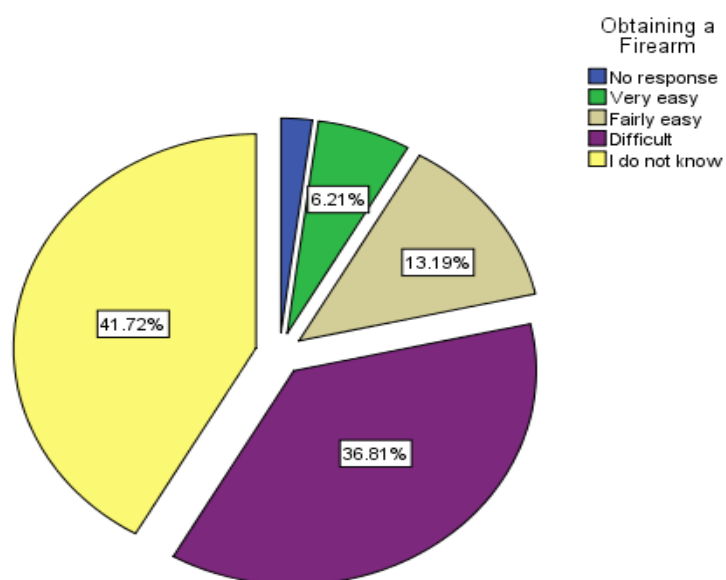


Figure 60: Ease of obtaining a firearm

Comparison of availability of firearms across towns and cities in Kenya

Figure 30 below provide a town-by-town picture on the perceived ease or difficulty in acquiring a firearm in Kenya. At 38.27%, Nairobi leads the rest of the cities and towns with the ease at which one can acquire a firearm. It is followed closely by Kisumu, 34.57%. Nakuru and Mombasa posted the lowest percentages in this category at 9.87% and 17.28% respectively. Across all the four towns and cities, between 20% and 30% thought that the probability of one acquiring an illegal firearm was 'difficult'.

The upshot of the above finding is that despite the existence of the requisite policy framework and legislative regime, there is irrefutable evidence to believe that there could be unacceptably high stockpile of illicit SALW in circulation in Kenya's urban centres.

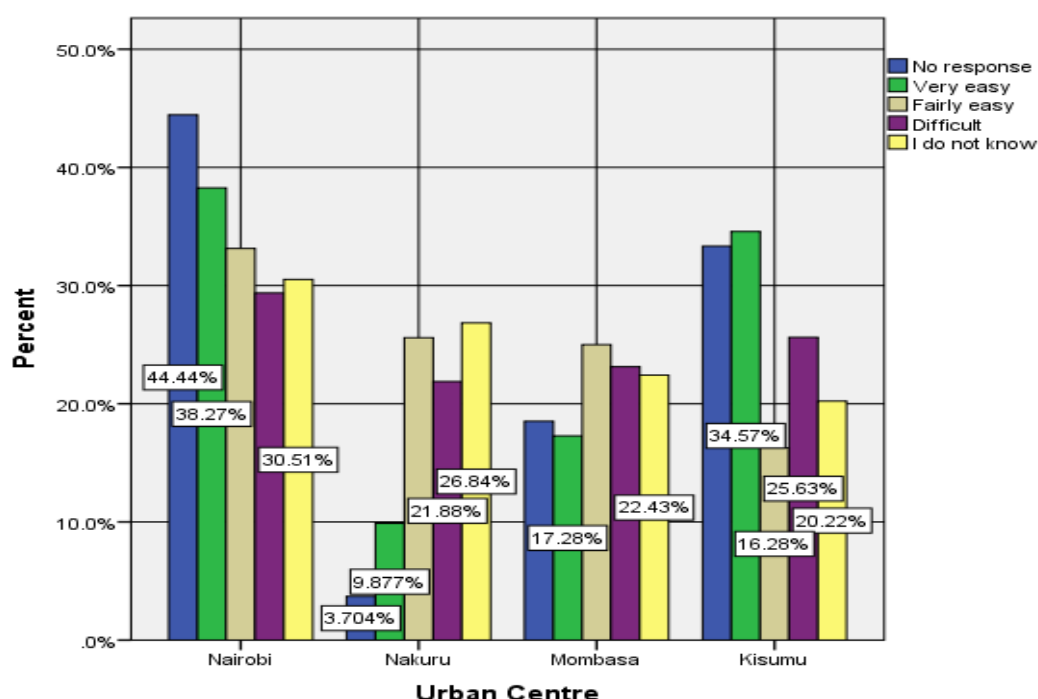


Figure 61: Comparing the ease of obtaining an illegal firearm across the sampled towns

2.4.4 Sources of SALW

The study established that the main source of firearms into the urban centres was the neighbouring countries- Ethiopia, Somalia and South Sudan. It was observed that 8.9% of the firearms are brought-in by aliens or even using other hired means from the neighbouring countries through Garissa, Isiolo and to a small extent Busia. This finding validates assertions by Sabala (2002), who indicated that Kenya shares porous borders with some of the most politically unstable countries in Africa such as Somalia and Sudan. Kenya's long and isolated borders with Tanzania, Uganda, Sudan, Somalia and Ethiopia – and its 536 km coastline – are difficult to patrol owing to limited resources and insufficient training. Poor and corrupt policing of the borders between Kenya and its neighbours has facilitated the influx of small arms into Kenya⁹.

⁹ Sabala, K. (2002). "The Proliferation, Circulation and Use of Illegal Firearms in Urban Centers: Case of Nairobi, Kenya." Bonn: BICC, 2002.

It was also interesting to note that, according to 4.1% of the respondents, politicians would sometimes provide firearms to some of their constituents, especially during the electioneering period all in disguise of offering protection. This can be interpreted to mean an increase in the number of firearms in circulation which also contributes or impacts on crime dynamics in these regions.

This study also established that there were also locally made/ assembled weapons in circulation as indicated by 0.8% of the respondents. This ‘toy guns’ have been recovered in a number of crime incidences in different parts of the country, especially in the urban centres. It was also interesting to note that there some people who believe that some of the firearms used by criminals in executing crime came from the law enforcement officers, as indicated by 2.7% of the respondents. This corroborates findings by United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNDOC, 2009) which indicated that the biggest challenge most East Africa Countries were grappling with was the diversion of firearms from official sources due to a combination of factors, including looted government stockpiles, and theft from state-run small arms inventories. The majority of firearms are diverted from poorly secured government stockpiles by corrupt officials or thieves and transactions are frequently facilitated by illicit brokers, who take advantage of weak regulatory systems, poor or non-existent import and export controls and licensing systems. In addition, local law enforcement and other officials are involved in the supplying of ammunitions, whether legal, semi-legal or illicit¹⁰.

Respondents identified some areas which they felt had more criminal incidents involving use of firearms. In Nairobi, some of the areas mentioned included; Kiamai (Huruma), Huruma Corner, Korogocho, Kosovo (Mathare), Kayole/ Njiru and Dandora; in Mombasa areas mentioned included; Kisauni Barsheba and Bombolulu; in Nakuru areas mentioned included; Pondamali, Section 58, Bondeni, London and Shabaab areas while in Kisumu areas mentioned included; Arina, Kondele and Obunga slums. The survey found that two sources of the illicit firearms featured prominently: one, ‘illegal arms traders/dealers’ and – quite depressingly – two, that the firearms were ‘hired from security providers’.

¹⁰ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNDOC, 2009). Organized Crime and Trafficking in Eastern Africa. A discussion paper. Retrieved from: http://www.unodc.org/documents/eastern africa/regional-ministerial-meeting/Organised_Crime_and_Trafficking_in_Eastern_Africa_Discussion_Paper.pdf, on 3rd March, 2015

Source of Firearms	Frequency	Percent
Not aware	1236	84.5
Eastleigh through Garissa	22	5.3
Brought in by Aliens living in the area (Eastleigh)	6	1.4
Stolen/ hired from Law enforcement agents	11	2.7
Locally made/ assembled	4	0.8
Given by politicians/ leaders	20	4.1
Brought in through Isiolo	5	1.2
Total	1304	100.0

Figure 62: Sources of firearms

In terms of transportation of these firearms to the urban centres, this study established that there was still some form of illegal trading in SALW in the urban centres as indicated by the majority of respondents (28.5%). According to 14.4% of the respondents, it was apparent that there was some rogue officers who seemed to be abetting movement of illegal firearms by unlicensed individuals. Other forms of transport mentioned in this study included; use of public transport (8%), transported by market women (0.8%) and also use of transit vehicles (0.9%).

According to the key informants interviewed in this study, use of transit Lorries seemed to be common along the major international highways as sometimes it would be difficult for police officers manning these routes to thoroughly inspect all vehicles. This was properly captured by a key informant in Nakuru, who lamented that:-

... "sometimes these people stuff bullets in the spare wheels and short guns in animal carcasses to avoid being detected by the police.....they use all means to conceal and transport firearms, including use of charcoal and cereal sacks, coffins, construction sand as well as enlisting the services of unsuspecting school children and street urchins" ¹¹

According to the law enforcement officers, sometimes they would be overwhelmed by the number of Lorries forcing them to conduct physical inspections as opposed to use of proper screening equipment and other gun detection devices which were reported to be inadequate.

¹¹ Key informant interview report held in Nakuru on 23rd March, 2015

Transportation of Firearms	Frequency	Percent
I do not know	618	47.4
Illegal traders	371	28.5
Transported by law enforcement officers	188	14.4
Transported through public transport	104	8.0
Transported by market women	10	.8
Transit vehicles (Hidden in the cargo)	13	.9
Total	1304	100.0

Figure 63: Transportation of Firearms (How the firearms find way to the Urban Towns)

2.5.0 Improving Security/ Targeted Security Measures

The study also sought to analyse means/ measures law enforcement officers had put in place to minimize misuse of SALW in perpetrating crime in the four urban centres and town.

2.5.1 Rating government/ police efforts in Minimizing Misuse of SALW

In rating the government/ police efforts in minimizing misuse of firearms, the study aimed at assessing police capacity to deploy rapid response teams during times of distress, to which majority of respondents felt it was a bit satisfactory. Table 33 below shows confidence levels on the police by the citizenry.

It was observed that 9% of respondents felt police efforts in addressing the proliferation of illicit firearms was ‘very satisfactory’, while a combined percentage of well over half of the sampled population, 56.29% described police performance in their towns as ‘fairly sufficient’ and ‘sufficient’ respectively, bringing the total percentage of those who approved of police work to 65.29%. Those who held a contrary view accounted for a significant 37.73%, while a negligible segment was non-committal as far as rating police performance was concerned.

This analysis suggest an appreciable improvement in the rating of police work by the citizens, a positive development that could be attributed at least partially to a better understanding of what police work entails, courtesy of a more enlightened citizenry and an attitude change on the part of the police officers themselves towards the citizens. It is hoped that the on-going reforms in the NPS and the wider security, justice and governance sectors would provide the much-needed impetus for the consolidation of a mutually beneficial police-citizen partnership and respect.

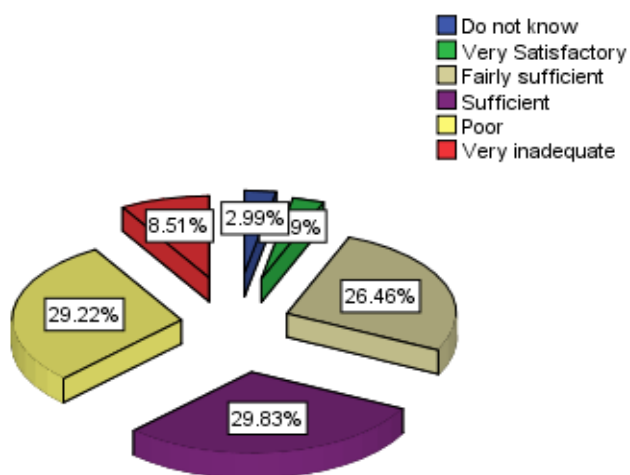


Figure 64: Rating government/ police effort in minimizing misuse of SALW

Chapter 3: Conclusion and recommendations

Conclusion

The survey constitutes the latest effort that serves to provide useful insights on the extent of the availability and misuse of SALW in Kenya's major urban centres and cities, namely Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu and Nakuru. In particular, the findings of the study zeroed in on antecedent factors such as crime trends and typologies, the extent of the firearms misuse/ problem, suspected sources and means used to transfer firearms and the capability of NPS to detect and control the misuse of SALW. The study delved into gauging citizens' views on whether or not it was prudent to issue private citizens with more state-owned firearms in a bid to counter spiralling violent crime wave being witnessed in Kenya.

Based on the analysis, this study concludes that the relative ease with which illicit SALW can be procured in Kenya should be a serious cause of concern to the relevant authorities, both state and non-state actors. It was established that knowledge by citizens that illicit SALW abound within their living vicinities and business locations tended to induce a morbid sense of vulnerability, phobia and a deeply-embedded psycho-social trauma. Indeed, close to half of the sampled population admitted to having fallen victim to violent crime at one time or another, a fact that serves to underline the extent to which violent crime has insidiously permeated the Kenyan society, and particularly so those residing in major cities and towns.

On the question of whether or not the government should acquiesce to growing demands from sections of the political leadership and the clergy to be issued with firearms as a means

of boosting their personal safety, this study concludes that the proposal would be counterproductive. Moreover such a move on the part of the government would inevitably undermine – rather than improve – individual safety as well as public and national security. More arms in private hands would be used as weapons of first line offence and defence, hence fuelling some sort of miniature “arms race” as criminals and potential victims seek to “outgun” one another at the slightest provocation. In the final analysis, such an uncritical move would potentially end up creating a “gun culture” in the country in which security is conceived of in “hardware” rather than “software” terms.

Finally, it should be emphasized that the most ubiquitous crime typologies (theft, robbery and break-ins) across all the sampled towns and cities are both a function and consequence of the dire economic circumstances to which the bulk of crime perpetrators, namely the burgeoning youth bracket, is consigned. This finding is a pointer that the government and its partners should take targeted imperative measures to devise ingenious ways of systematically bridging the huge gap that currently between the have and have-nots in society, and for which Kenya has variously been described as one of the most (economically) unequal countries in the world. This finding would appear to lend credence to the theory that frustration (invariably) tends to lead one to adopt an aggressive behavioural trait or inclination.

Recommendations

The study was keen on establishing community-driven initiatives of mitigating or minimizing misuse of firearms in Kenya. Based on the survey findings, the following sets of recommendations were made:

To the National Government

1. **Recruit, train and equitably deploy more police officers to meet the growing demand.** It was apparent that the current human resource within the NPS was inadequate in offering sufficient service to citizens, especially in manning major international highways which the study established as the main illicit SALW routes into the major cities and urban centres.
2. **Empowering the youth – on a continuous basis - with relevant vocational training skills.** Based on the demographic analysis, this study reaffirmed the widely held opinion that the bulk of crime perpetrators were the groups that fell within the age brackets of 18 – 35 years. The study and similar previous ones on

crime indicate that the youth were by far more engaged in criminal activities than any other age group in the society and there was an urgent need to devise ways of ensuring that they were more equipped with necessary technical knowhow and other vocational skills to assure their own subsistence. It is also important to ensure that the youths are more engaged in productive activities such as sports and other club activities to curb excessive idleness.

3. **Install and regularly maintain street lights across all towns and cities.** The rationale for this particular proposal was that there was a notable reduction in general crime in well-lit areas and conversely, a spike in crime in dingy or unlit spaces. The study takes note of specific county governments' efforts in erecting high-mast flood lights, cases in point being in Nakuru's Bondeni estate and other parts of the town, and recommends replication of the same to all streets known for crime at the fall of darkness across other crime-prone estates and other cities and towns.
4. **Address corruption among government officers (immigration, arms issuing bodies and the police).** The study noted that most of the SALW proliferation routes were along the Kenya's borders and recommends thorough and regular vetting of all public officers before they are posted to such areas with a view to determining their integrity. In this regard, the study further noted the efforts by the National Police Service Commission (NPSC) in vetting and retiring from service corrupt or incompetent officers, but nevertheless recommends an "extension" of the same exercise to all law enforcement officers manning designated ports of entry and exit.
5. **Incorporate community security into civic education programming.** This report recommends that there be a continuous sensitization of the citizens on the importance of harmonious co-existence and also on their civic duty as far as actively contributing to the maintenance of law and order is concerned. Programmes such as the Kenya Nationale Integrated Civic Education (KNICE) programme need to be expanded to also encompass security and crime detection, management and prevention.
6. **Invest in modern equipment for fighting crime.** An upgrade of police armoury should be seriously considered and prioritized, given that criminals were reported to be increasingly acquiring superior weapons that enable them to challenge the police fire-power during confrontations, which were becoming a common spectacle, even in some cases resulting in the death or inflicting serious injuries to the officers'. In

particular, the NPS should consider universal issuance of bullet-proof jackets and other protective gear, “short-barrier” weapons as well as buying sufficient firearms detection equipments in not only to address crimes in the urban centres but also cut off illegal transportation of firearms into the urban towns and centres.

7. **Tighten laws on misuse of legally owned SALW.** The government needs to scrupulously enforce the existing firearms control laws which limit ownership of licit firearms issued to police officers and other LEAs, members of the armed forces or individuals with written approval from the Inspector General of Police. This should also include enforcing laws to do with issuance of firearms to civilians which entail thorough vetting of applicants before they are issued with firearm licences and establish a monitoring mechanism to check on their observance.
8. **Conduct targeted sting disarmament operations.** Easy availability of arms within the urban centres especially in the slums was identified as one of key drivers of armed robbery. This study, therefore recommends institutionalization of elaborate/ holistic disarmament programmes to help rid the urban centres of illegal SALW, including conducting sting operations.
9. **Equip police officers and other LEAs especially those charged with manning major transnational highways and road corridors with state-of-the-art surveillance machines and gadgets with which to detect and confiscate contraband, including illicit SALW.** This study found that transportation of firearms from border points to other areas was mainly done through the major highways. The trend was attributed mostly to laxity of police officers to physically inspect all vehicles (including government-owned ones) that may be used to smuggle contraband. Physical inspection is simply too slow, cumbersome and ineffectual to deter this type of crime.

To County Government

1. **Install CCTV cameras in the streets to monitor criminal activities.** This study noted that crime tended to be especially more pronounced in the urban centres than in peri-urban or rural set-ups and the logic advanced was the anonymity huge populations tends to confer to criminals. The study therefore recommends to the County governments to install CCTV cameras in strategic locations to monitor and eradicate criminality within their areas of jurisdiction.

2. **Set up Armouries in the County Assemblies.** Owing to the increased clamour for firearms by politicians including the MCAs, the study recommends to the County governments to set up armouries for safe keeping of weapons. This could potentially reduce cases of misuse by the politicians like it happened in Makueni County.
3. **Establishment of County Policing Authorities.** The county government needs to fast-track establishment and operationalization of County Policing Authorities to facilitate inclusive participation of all stakeholders in addressing security matters and concerns at the county levels.

To the National Police Service

1. **CFB to periodically vet ALL licenced gun holders to ensure those individuals entrusted with state-owned firearms adhere to the prescribed rules and regulations** governing use of the firearms. This could be achieved through the establishment of a working rapport with relevant bodies such as the National Gun Owners Association of Kenya (NGOA) which is mandated to promote responsible and safe gun use amongst licensed civilians, under the Firearms Act (Chapter 114), Laws of Kenya.
2. **To ensure that there are regular, equitable, demand-based and justifiable transfers and deployment of police transfers** to avoid undue “over-familiarization” between officers and residents who over-stay in stations, including criminal networks, which could potentially compromise officers’ professional conduct and dispassionate service delivery.
3. **Increasing community participation in augmenting policing responsibilities.** Residents were convinced that a functional partnership between the police and the public in reporting and possible arrest of gun runners was the best strategy in dealing with crime in their respective areas. The study recommends more sensitization and on-the-job trainings for officers on diplomatic and interpersonal skills deemed necessary to win public goodwill and buy-in.
4. **Make use of plain-clothes and undercover police officers as well as unmarked transportation.** The study recommends use of plainclothes and undercover police officers to ensure less familiarization with members of the public and therefore improve effectiveness of police in assuring security.

5. **Police to return weapons when not on duty.** The law obligates police officers to deposit their firearms in designated armouries within their stations when not on duty unless expressly exempted owing to nature or exigencies of their work or rank/position. This study recommends that police officers abide by this principle to avoid falling victims of firearms misuse especially in settling personal scores with their peers and even members of the public. The study also recommends OCSs and OCPDs to be vigilant in enforcing this requirement in order to reduce cases of firearms misuse among the police officers.
6. **Make use of gun-tracking devices.** Due to fast-evolving and ingenious tricks employed by criminals in smuggling contraband and other merchandize into the country, the study recommends the use of high-tech detective devices and equipment which can electronically detect firearms and other contraband.

To the Members of the General Public

1. **Report all suspected illegal immigrants, aliens and suspicious strangers.** The study recommends that there is need for members of the public to be more vigilant and report all suspicious individuals as a civil duty. Inevitably, this may involve embracing community policing strategy – including the *nyumba kumi* initiative – which encourages some form of neighbourhood social organization and action designed to identify and report suspected criminals in their midst to the authorities.
2. **Report all crimes to relevant authorities.** The study noted that many crime incidences went unreported to the authorities, thereby giving the wrong impression as to the real security situation in a particular area, thereby hampering police efforts to objectively determine the extent and magnitude of insecurity in a particular locality. This in effect makes it virtually impossible for police and the government to plan for facilities such as determining suitable locations on which to cite police stations or patrol bases and intensification of beats and patrols.
3. **Avoid frequenting known crime hotspots.** This study noted that there were some areas which were known for heightened criminal activities and recommends to the members of the public to be on the look-out and avoid such areas for their own personal safety and security.
4. **Stop giving bribes.** The study found that members of the public had largely resigned themselves to the notion that the only way one would be accorded due service by

police was to offer them inducements – whether that was expressly solicited or not. This kind of internalized mind-set by both the giver and receiver of the inducement is testimony of how rampant and pervasive corruption and bribe-taking has permeated into society's social fabric, including dangerous elements such as gun traffickers. A particularly telling revelation was that the more serious the nature of crime, the fatter the inducement, which was mostly pegged on monetary terms. This was found to be common along the borders especially facilitating movement of contrabands.

5. **Hire private guards/ install security lights/ fence.** It is important for members of the public to take some precautionary measures on their part such as erecting electric fence around their houses (where resources permit), hiring the services of credible private guards (especially for 'gated communities) or even installing security lights around their homes or business to reduce chances of becoming victims of crime, since lighting seems to discourage criminals. This recommendation specifically related to home and business break-ins, theft and vandalism.
6. **Report or surrender illegal firearms to the government.** It is important for the members of the public to report all illegal gun holders in their neighbourhoods or even surrender illegal firearms to the authorities to ensure neighbourhoods are rid of firearms which could sometimes put their own (communities') lives in danger.

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