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Factors influencing male delinquents to commit capital offences: a case study of inmates in Kamiti Prison.

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A project paper submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Master of Arts Degree in Sociology (Criminology and social order).



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Declaration

This project paper is my original work and has not been submitted for examination in any other university.

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Dedication

To my wife Ruth, daughter Gracious and son Sebastian.

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Abstract

The problem of insecurity is on the rise in the country. Unfortunately, some of the capital offences are committed by juveniles. The Government is struggling to deal with the problem by equipping the police with modern weapons, bullet proof jackets and new vehicles but the menace still persists since the factors that influence juveniles to commit capital offences are not addressed. The study therefore sought to establish factors that motivate juveniles to commit capital offences and which were delinquents' criminogenic history; dysfunctional families; peer pressure and crime prone neighbourhoods.

The research was exploratory which relied on a small sample of respondents and key informants. It was carried out in Kamiti prison purposively sampled for the category of prisoners in Nairobi. A sample of 23 prisoners as well as 5 prison officers and 5 probation officers were drawn. The latter were purposively sampled because of the information they had concerning the study.

Data was collected through interviewing respondents and key informants. The data was analyzed using frequencies and percentages from which conclusions were \$ 23 - LOSSEL SOUND LODGE drawn.

The study findings indicate that majority of the respondents 16 (70%) admitted having engaged in petty delinquency which implies that juveniles who engage in petty delinquency are more likely to commit capital offences. The study also found out that 15 (65%) of the respondents lived with single parents of who 12 (52%) were female indicating that juveniles who live with single and especially female parents are more likely to commit capital offences. How Gon this la

offences as indicated by the fact that 18 (78%) of the respondents had their parents employed as casuals in jobs such as selling curios, manual labour (tilling the land, splitting firewood etc) from which they earned a daily average wage of 80 shillings. Moreover, 21 (91%) of the respondents reported that their parents could not provide them with their basic necessities which led 16 (70%) of them to engage in delinquency for survival hence predisposing them to committing capital offence.

Moreover, due to the low economic status of the respondents' parents, 18 (78%) lived in crime prone slums as indicated by the fact that all of them (78%) witnessed crimes being committed in their neighbourhoods. This may have predisposed the juveniles to commit capital offences.

Twenty (86.96%) respondents reported weak parent-child attachment which is a prerequisite for proper parental guidance and counseling of juveniles. This may have contributed to inability of parents to guide and counsel the delinquents leading them to delinquency. Although 12 (52%) respondents reported being severely punished by their parents, this had no impact since most of the day the parents would be out in search of food. This left the juveniles on their own hence may have predisposed them to delinquency in the neighbourhoods.

Parental criminality/delinquent siblings is not a major predisposing factor since except for 8 (35%) respondents who had delinquent siblings, the rest 15 (65%) had neither criminal parents nor delinquent siblings. However, peer pressure from delinquent friends may influence juveniles to commit capital offences as indicated by 21 (91.30%) of the respondents who had delinquent friends.

From the study findings, it is recommended that the Government addresses poverty and especially slum upgrading.

Parents should take time to guide and counsel their children. They should avoid assaulting their children.

It is also recommended that studies be undertaken to find out the impact of capital offences committed by juveniles. There is need also to study rehabilitation programs in place for juveniles who commit capital offences.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Society has viewed misconduct of juveniles as a problem different from adult criminality as far back as the code of Hamurabi in 2270BC which prescribed specific punishments for children who disowned their parents, or ran away from home. The Hebrews divided young people into three age categories of infant, pre-pubescent, and adolescent and applied increased penalties as offenders advanced to succeeding age groups (Haskell and Yablonsky, 1970).

According to Le Blanc and Frechette (1989), it was not until the end of the 19th century that the term delinquency acquired its specifically legal status following the enactment of a special law recognizing the status of *minor*.

Here in Kenya, the law emphasizes treatment rather than punishment of children in conflict with the law. The Penal Code prohibits passing capital sentences against children. According to the Kenyan Law (Children's Act CAP 586), anybody below the age of 18 years is a child. Any person below the age of 18 who engages in a criminal activity is referred to as a delinquent and the act is labeled as delinquency. For purposes of this study, capital offences committed by inveniles were studied not as crime but a form of serious delinquency since crime is only committed by adults.

Cases of juveniles engaging in criminal activities and more so violent delinquency are on the rise world over (Haskell and Yablonsky, 1970, Siegel and Senna 1985, Schmalleger and Smykla 2001, UNAFEI Reports

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2001&2002; The Department of Correctional Services of South Africa's 2001/2002 Annual Report; The White Paper on Corrections in South Africa February 2005; and the Kenya prisons statistics, 2001-2005). Available literature points to various factors influencing juveniles to delinquency in general. According to scholars, juvenile delinquency is caused by Biological (Adler 1995), Pscho-social (Bandura 1995) and socio-economic factors (Cohen, 1955; Matza, 1972; Muga, 1975). However, there is little literature which specifically discusses factors which influence juveniles to commit capital offences.

This study was also based on the fact that many of the studies referred to by authors were conducted in the Western countries. Those carried out in Kenya (Muga 1975, 1977) were done long time ago. Yet capital delinquency destabilizes society threatening economic activities in any given society. Moreover, some of today's hard core criminals are yesterday's juvenile delinquents. Therefore understanding the factors that motivate juveniles to commit capital offences will be a step towards reducing their numbers hence the number of adults who commit capital offences.

It is against this background that this study set out to establish factors that motivate juveniles to commit capital offences in the Kenyan situation.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Writing in 1976, Mushanga noted that in Africa, and more so in East Africa, crime ranked high next to poverty as an enemy of the people. Security is vital for the wellbeing of any society. Hence efforts must be made to ensure safety of its members. Rampant crime is threatening the security particularly

of most urban dwellers affecting their socio-economic lives (UN-HABITAT 2002, 2005; Daily Nation Wednesday February 7th 2007 and police statistics 2005 & 2006).

Media reports (The Standard, October 27, 2004) indicate that some of the lethal criminal acts are performed by young juveniles. Cases of Homicides, rape and arson in schools are becoming common features in our news. In fact, one ex-convict confessed that at 16 years of age, he would rob, rape, break and steal (The Standard, October 27, 2004). Apart from juveniles engaging in violent criminal acts, studies have shown that many adult criminals are delinquent grown ups (Sykes, 1958).

The government is striving to improve the security system in the country. Measures taken include purchase of bullet proof jackets, new patrol vehicles and paying officers a risk allowance and yet even with all these incentives, crime does not seem to reduce especially in seriousness. This may be so because the police are fighting the manifestations not the root causes of crime. The present study was however premised on the notion that prevention can only be possible if the factors influencing juveniles to commit capital offences are established and altered.

Gibbens and Ahrenfeldt (1966) argue that the problem facing those who study delinquency is to find out how children learn to become delinquent or fail to learn to be law-abiding; and in treating the delinquent, how he may be educated or re-educated to refrain from delinquency. This study therefore sought to establish factors which influence juveniles to commit capital offences in Kenya so as to design ways of cubing the vice.

Most of the existing literature cites findings of studies carried out in other countries (Cohen, 1955; Cloward and Ohlin, 1960; Decker and Winkle, 1996; Hirschi, 1972; Matza, 1964; Parker, 1974; Shaw, 1966 (a); Shaw, 1966 (b); Sheldon and Glueck, 1962; West and Farrington, 1977 etc). Most of these studies carried out were on general delinquency. Therefore there was need to ascertain whether the contributory factors in these studies apply in the Kenyan case.

In their study for instance Nye and Short (Vaz, 1967) excluded violent crimes such as armed robbery. Yet these are the delinquent acts which most threaten security in society. This study sought to fill in the gap by examining factors that influence juveniles to commit capital offences.

Literature reviewed reveals that many of the criminology studies have been undertaken on adult criminals. Yet juveniles continue to engage in capital offences. Findings on adult criminals may not be generalized on juvenile offenders since their socio-economic setting is different. Therefore there was need to specifically study juveniles who have committed these offences to establish factors that incline them to these serious crimes and address them to reduce their chances of committing capital offences.

Similarly, a study conducted on Kenyan delinquents by Muga (1975) dealt with general delinquency. Muga says that the purpose of his study was to know the background of the children in trouble, which is rooted in the environment in which they have been brought up, and which might give a clue as to why the children engaged in delinquent acts. There was need

therefore to specifically study delinquents who engage in capital offences so as to gain a deeper understanding of the factors which predispose them to hard criminal acts. Also Muga's studies were conducted in 1975 and 1977 which is a long time ago and a lot of socio-economic changes have taken place. Hence, the need to study the present day delinquents, to establish the factors influencing them to commit capital offences.

From the literature reviewed, the factors mostly viewed to influence delinquents to criminality and which formed the basis of this study are dysfunctional families; peer pressure; criminal neighbourhoods and delinquent recidivism. However, these factors may not be universally applicable. While the factors appear to apply in the West, the same may not be the case here in Kenya hence the need to find out through research.

The foregoing study was guided by the following research questions:

1.3 Research questions

The study was guided by the following questions:

- 1. Do delinquents who commit capital offences have a delinquent history?
- 1. Do juveniles who commit capital offences originate from dysfunctional families?
- 2. Do crime prone neighbourhoods predispose juveniles to commit capital offences?
- 3. Does peer pressure influence juveniles to commit capital offences?

1.4 Objective of the study

The study aimed at meeting the following objectives:

Broad objective

To investigate factors that influence delinquents to commit capital offences.

Specific objectives

1. To investigate the criminogenic history of delinquents who have committed capital offences.

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2. To find out if juveniles from dysfunctional families are more likely to commit capital offences.

- 3. To establish if crime prone neighbourhoods predispose juveniles to commit capital offences.
- 4. To find out if peer pressure may influence juveniles to commit capital offences.

1.5 Justification of the study

Crime threatens the security of any individual and society at large. It also undermines economic growth, investment and national productivity as well as individual and societal wellbeing (UN-HABITAT, 2002&2005). Entrepreneurs fear to invest in areas where there is rampant robbery. Reports (verbal testimonies from victims) indicate that some of the lethal criminal acts such as robbery with violence are perpetrated by juveniles. Cases of Homicide, rape and arson in schools are becoming common media features world over. All these constitute deling tency, a situation which is compromising the security of the country.

Moreover. Sykes (1958) postulates that many adult criminals are delinquent grown ups hence today's delinquents are tomorrow's criminals. It is therefore logical to combat adult crime by establishing and changing factors that motivate juveniles to commit capital offences. For a better solution to crime in the country, there is need to address juvenile delinquency, especially by studying factors that influence juveniles to commit capital offences, which was the objective of the present study.

Measures taken by the government to combat capital offences include purchase of bullet prove jackets, new patrol vehicles, more weapons and the harsh death penalty. Yet with all these, capital offences do not seem to reduce possibly because the measures taken ignore the root cause of delinquent tendencies in the juveniles. There was therefore need to study factors that influence juveniles to engage in capital offences so as to reduce chances of juveniles engaging in capital offences rather than wait and react to their delinquent actions.

1.6 Scope and limitation

Criminologists have linked juvenile delinquency to many factors. However the study only focused on a few namely, criminogenic history of delinquents; dysfunctional families; peer pressure and crime prone neighbourhoods. Hence this left out other factors that may predispose juveniles to commit capital offences.

The study targeted delinquents serving under the President's Pleasure. Out of 65 delinquents distributed in Nyeri 10 (15%), Kamiti 23 (35%), Naivasha 14 (22%), Shimo la Tewa 8 (12%), Kisumu 9 (14%) and Langata 1 2%) the

research focused on 23 at Kamiti Prison. This was a limited sample, in terms of numbers (23 out of 65) and Geographically (Kamiti only). This therefore limits generalizability of the study findings to those inmates at Kamiti as at the time of the study. It is however, noted here that these inmates are usually transferred from one prison to another to 'kill boredom', thus, although few in number, the sample is representative enough in terms of the characteristics of the study population.

It is also instructive that the study sampled institutionalized delinquents. Given the nature of crime committed by the targeted group, it is unlikely that un-institutionalized delinquents would be willing to talk about their acts for fear of the harsh penalty accompanying conviction not to mention the social stigma attached to the offences. In fact some of the respondents took time to open up to the researcher about their criminality. Given the sensitivity of the offence and difficulties involved, it is possible that the researcher may have settled for a non-representative sample frame and consequently missed out other factors that predispose delinquents to commit capital offences.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

Criminologists have attributed delinquency to various economic, social, psychological and Biological factors. Generally, it is observed that a juvenile may be predisposed to delinquency by such factors as peer influence, dysfunctional families, psychological maladjustments, media influence, crime prone neighbourhoods and institutionalization in correctional institutions (Siegel 1995). Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) view delinquency as a form of subculture "partly different" from the wider culture. Cohen (1955) further argues that delinquency is in fact a lower class sub-culture. Delinquency is further linked to relative deprivation (Siegel and Senna, 1985). Yet according to Matza (1972) delinquents drift between delinquency and conventional life and therefore juveniles' delinquency cannot be attributed to one single factor.

This chapter reviewed existing literature on factors that influence juveniles to commit general delinquency and capital offences in particular hence identified research gaps which formed the basis of this study. The specific factors reviewed were delinquents' criminogenic history, dysfunctional families, peer pressure and crime prone neighbourhoods.

2.2 Criminogenic history and juvenile capital offences

The pertinent question here is whether juvenile delinquents, who commit capital offences, graduate from petty delinquency. This applies to both those who are institutionalized and those who have not been apprehended despite

engaging in delinquency. According to Empey and Ericson, in Gialombardo, (1972) boys who had been on probation or institutionalized reported having been far more delinquent. A study by McClintock, cited in West and Farrington, (1977) reported that nearly half of those first convicted for a violent offence had previous convictions for non-violent offences, and the same was true for 80 percent of those sustaining a second conviction for violence. The implication here is that majority of juveniles who engage in violent acts such as robbery with violence and murder may have engaged in petty delinquent acts berore graduating to committing capital offences.

Yet according to Matza, (1964) a delinquent drifts in and out of delinquency. The delinquent at one time engages in illegal acts and at another, in legal ones. The present study therefore set to find out if juvenile delinquents held at Kamiti prison for committing capital offences had engaged in petty delinquent acts prior to committing those capital offences.

2.3 Dysfunctional families

The family is crucial to a child's development. What the child learns in his initial years is what he/she experiences in the family. According to the White paper on the Corrections in South Africa (February 2005) dysfunctional families provide fertile ground for acts of criminality for the young people growing up in them. Similar views are held by Siegel and Senna (1985) who state that the major theoretical models of delinquency are in agreement that the family's role as a socialization agent is critical in the formulation of a delinquent career. The family's ability to handle children with a particular personality pattern has an important influence on a child's social success or failure.

Aspects of a dysfunctional family linked to juvenile delinquency include: broken homes; parents'/guardians' poverty; female headed homes; lack of parent-child attachment; parental violence and neglect, inadequate parental guidance and counseling; parental criminality and/or delinquent siblings; large family size and child neglect or violence. The present study sought to find out if the respondents indeed came from such families.

2.3.1 Broken homes

Broken homes refer to separation of parents as a result of their incompatibility. However, for purposes of this study, it also includes single parenthood resulting from the death of a spouse. According to Haskell and Yablonsky (1970) a home where parents are often fighting is "psychologically broken". Broken homes have been cited as one of the factors influencing juveniles to delinquency (Sheldon and Eleanor Gluek, 1962; Haskel and Yablonsky 1970; Rutter and Giller, 1983; Ferdinand in Bersani, 1970; Monahan in Gialombardo, 1972). From their studies, Shaw (1966b) and Emmy E. Werner in Burchard and Burchard, (1987) concluded that families marked with drunkenness, domestic discord, mother remarrying and stepmother moving into the house predispose a juvenile to delinquency. Although this may be true, the conclusion is on general delinquency and thus not clear as to how these factors may predispose a juvenile to commit a capital offence.

Rutter and Giller (1983) point out that intra-familial discord is likely to lead to truancy which exposes the juvenile to delinquents who in turn influence him to delinquency. They further observe that such an environment would lead to a juvenile internalizing aggression, a trait that is usually evident in

most robberies and murders. Moreover, it also deprives the adolescents involved of the parental guidance that would help insulate them from other pressures toward delinquency (Ferdinand in Bersani 1970). This may be the case in Western countries but it may not apply in the Kenya situation. This study sought to find out whether this is true of male delinquents housed in Kamiti prison.

According to a study by Shulman (1938), many homes in the slums of New York were found to be unbroken. Hence according to Shulman (1938), a formal designation of a family as broken or unbroken in terms of presence or absence of one or both of the breadwinners is but a superficial measure of family stability. The reason being that in spite of majority of the families being physically intact, they were not effective in training children in good habits.

Yet in their study, Haskell and Yablonsky (1970) found that 62% of the delinquents had their natural parents either unmarried, divorced, separated, or the marriage has been broken by death. Only 29% came from an unbroken, congenial home. Sixty four percent had their families comprised of guardians other than their natural parents.

According to Hirschi and Selvin (1967) a broken family itself does not cause delinquency. However, it is more difficult for a single parent to provide material needs, direct controls, and other important elements of family life. Haskell and Yablonsky (1970) further state that whether or not broken homes cause serious emotional disturbances in a child, it adversely affects his socialization making him more likely to be delinquent than those from

intact homes. This statement is more speculative than factual. Thus there was need to ascertain whether indeed broken homes predispose juveniles to commit capital offences.

2.3.2 Parents'/ guardians' socio-economic status

In general terms, delinquency and crime are associated with poverty (Reiner and Kaufman, 1959; Bandura and Walters, 1959; Chilton in Vaz, 1967; Sellin and Wolfgang, 1969; Clinard in Bersani, 1970; Gilbert and Gugler, 1972; Muga, 1975; Wilsher and Righter, 1975; Muga, 1977; Clark and Wenninger, in Siegel and Senna, 1285; and Gugler, 1992). Poverty is usually denoted by the parents' actual earnings, employment status, social class and the general ability to provide for the family's needs. In fact, according to Cohen (1955), although there is evidence that delinquency is present among all socio-economic classes, delinquent subculture is a lower class phenomenon.

According to Muga (1975) and Giallombardo (1972), children from destitute homes are very vulnerable to delinquency. This is because their parents and/or care givers tend to have lower than average incomes and social status and therefore, are unable to support their children by providing them with the necessary education, food, clothing and shelter. These deprivations are likely to have adverse effects on the children thereby predisposing them to such delinquent acts as robbery with violence. However, these are generalized conclusions in need to be verification through empirical data. Besides, the said conclusions are indicative of general delinquency not capital offences. There was need therefore to establish whether the same factors influence juveniles to establish whether the same factors influence

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juveniles to commit capital offences which is part of the essence for this study.

There is a contradiction as to whether socio-economic status predispose juveniles to delinquency and by extension, capital offences (Rutter and Giller, 1983). According to Giallombardo (1972), delinquent offences are committed disproportionately by slum and lower-class youth.

However, Short and Nye (in Siegel and Senna, 1985) differ by pointing out that there is no direct relationship between social class and delinquency. What is real according to them, is a relationship between socioeconomic class and official processing by the criminal justice system but not to the actual commission of delinquent acts. They for instance found no relationship between social class and delinquent acts when they used self-reports of their respondents, but a clear relationship when they used the number of respondents who had been put in correctional institutions as a result of their offending.

Their findings notwithstanding, Nye and Short concentrated on non capital delinquency hence the need to study juvenile capital offences to find out whether indeed juveniles from lower socio economic class are more prone to commit capital offences than those from the middle and upper classes which was one of the objectives for the present study.

According to Siegel and Senna (1985), a study conducted by Richard and Block in Chicago, found that the variable best able to predict crime rates was the proximity in which poor and wealthy people's settlements are located.

They argued that there is evidence that youths living in deteriorated areas of the city who can easily see the benefits of higher social position without being able to enjoy them will resort to such crimes as homicide, robbery, and aggravated assault. The present study therefore sought to establish whether this is true by finding out their parents'/care sivers' socioeconomic status.

Gibbens and Ahrenfeldt (1966) argued that juveniles from the lower class are much more predisposed to delinquency since they are hardly supervised by their parents and/or care givers. On the contrast, the middle and upper class parents and/or care givers closely supervise their children which makes it hard for juveniles from such classes to engage in delinquent acts. This study sought to verify these sentiments in the Kenyan context.

It is argued that poverty alone does not lead juveniles to delinquency (Rutter and Giller, 1983 and the White paper on Corrections in South Africa, February 2005). According to Rutter and Giller (1983), it seems likely that, at least in part, poverty and poor living conditions predispose youths to delinquency, not through any direct effects on the child, but rather because serious socio-economic disadvantage has an adverse effect on the parents, such that, parental disorders and difficulties are more likely to develop and that good parenting is impeded. In this way, there may be a chain of adversities emanating from socio-economic disadvantage which may predispose juveniles to delinquency.

The existing literature is not clear on what exactly, in the prevailing parents'/guardians' socio-economic conditions predispose juveniles to commit a capital offence. If any, it is speculative. This study therefore,

sought to go beyond merely establishing the respondents' background socioeconomic status. It sought to establish the difficulties linked to poverty which may influence juveniles to commit capital offences.

Moreover, in their study Le Blanc and Frechette (1989) found that 67% of the group had a utilitarian motive. However, they also found that 53% were looking for hedonistic gratification. They found hardly any differences in percentage levels for utilitarian and hedonistic motives. On the other hand, according to Werthman (in Garabedian and Gibbons, 1970), as members of a gang get older, the motive behind delinquency is acquiring money for their use. This raises the question as to whether juveniles engage in robbery with violence to get what their parents/guardians cannot provide them. This study therefore sought to find out if indeed the need for money to buy what their parents could not provide motivated juveniles committed to Kamiti prison to engage in robbery.

2.3.3 Female headed households

There is debate as to whether the absence of the father in the home may influence the son into delinquency. A study conducted by Miller and Walter (in Giallombardo, 1972) established that in lower class families, fathers are often sporadic visitors to their children or totally absent from the home. As a result, lower-class families which are said to produce the larger portion of juvenile delinquents tend to be female dominated. This study therefore sought to find out how true this was by finding out marital status of the respondents' parents and where the parents were married, how often the father was present and/or absent.

2.3.4 Lack of Parent-child attachment

Scholars have noted that the way a parent relates to his or her child may influence him to delinquency (Hirschi. 1972 Hood and Sparks, 1970). They observe that weak parent-child attachment is likely to influence juveniles to commit capital offences. Such weak relationships are measured in terms of factors as a lack of family leisure activities, absence of intimate communication between the parent(s) and the child and lack of affectional identification with parents (Hirschi 1972, Bandura and Walters 1959). Juveniles with a weak relationship with their parents develop a feeling of rejection. Bandura and Walters (1959) say that such feeling of rejection by their parents is indicated by the extent to which they feel that their parents lack interest in them, fail to promote their welfare, or do not seem to enjoy their company.

According to Hirschi (1972), lack of a direct attachment to the parents influences delinquency since the unattached child does not care the impact of his or her actions to his or her parents and/or care givers' feelings. Therefore they may still commit capital offences even if they know that it will hurt their parents' and/or guardians' feelings. The present study therefore sought to find out whether indeed lack of parent child attachment may predispose a juvenile to commit a capital offence by establishing the relationship that existed between the respondents and their parents as at the time they committed the capital offences.

2.3.5 Parental Violence and Neglect

Criminologists (Shaw, 1966b and Tannenbaum, in Gialombardo, 1972) attribute aggression in delinquency to child abuse and neglect. According to

David A. Wolfe (in Burchard and Burchard, 1987), in studies of abused children, aggressive behaviour appears at an early and disproportionate level. Wolfe (in Burchard and Burchard, 1987), Bandura and Walters (1959) and Bandura (1995), conclude that it appears that aggressive social interactions are more common, even at a young age, among children who have been victims of violence, which may be the precursors to later delinquent behaviour. According to Tannenbaum (in Gialombardo, 1972) a drunkard father may seriously mistreat the child, breaking down his loyalty and unity which are essential to the slow maturation of systematic habit formation.

Abused children become hostile against their parents. However, since they cannot vent their anger towards their parents, they turn it to outsiders (Bandura and Walters, 1959). In a self-confessed story by a Kenyan exconvict (The Standard, October 27, 2004), the family environment which included neglect from parents led to him delinquency and subsequent commission of capital offences as a juvenile. This study set to find out whether juveniles who commit capital offences suffer parental violence and neglect and if the suffering influences their level of aggression.

2.3.6 Inadequate Parental guidance and counseling

Inadequate Parental guidance and counseling has been identified as one of the factors precipitating delinquency (Levy 1958; Werthman, in Garabedian and Gibbons, 1970; Parker, 1974; Rutter and Giller; 1983). According to Haskell and Yablonsky (1970), Juvenile delinquency is linked to industrialization and urbanization with their accompanying changes in family structure and function. This is because, adults have become self-

centred and preoccupied with the enjoyment of prosperity or industrial growth leading to neglect of young people (Gibbens and Ahrenfeldt, 1966; Scott and Vaz, in Vaz, 1967). This leaves the juvenile vulnerable to negative effects of other socialization agencies (Wattenberg and Balistieri, in Bersani, 1970).

Inadequacies in parental guidance and counseling include parents' disinterest in knowing where their children are, what they are doing, and what time they come home (Rutter and Giller, 1983; Mushanga, 1976). Mushanga (1976) further argues that such permissiveness creates the 'predelinquent', that is, a juvenile who is most likely to become delinquent. The conditions of the development and establishment of aggressive behaviour patterns in juveniles are linked to the parents' techniques of handling them (Bandura and Walters, 1959; Bandura, 1995). This includes inconsistency in handling the juveniles' aggression. This aggressive behaviour may then be expressed in commission of capital offences.

However, Bandura and Walters (1959) content that this hypothesis does not explain cases where the hypothesized conditions are present and aggression does not occur. According to Rutter and Giller (1983), there is continuing uncertainty on the extent to which weak parent-child attachment predispose juveniles to delinquency if the family atmosphere is free of discord and disharmony and if supervision is adequate. Therefore this study sought to find out whether indeed inadequate parental guidance and counseling predisposes juveniles to commit capital offences by establishing whether the respondents' parents and/or care givers indeed guided and counseled them

not to engage in delinquent activities which may have been the starting point to committing capital offences.

2.3.7 Family size

According to Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck (1962) crowded homes may influence juveniles into delinquency. Similarly, according to Giallombardo (1972) delinquency rates are high among children who have numerous siblings. However this is not elaborate enough of how large a family should be to predispose juveniles to commit capital offences.

Studies by West and Farrington as well as Wadsworth (Rutter and Giller, 1983) found that family size was associated with delinquency in socially disadvantaged sections of the population. Rutter and Giller (1983) conclude that it may not be the family size per se which is crucial, but rather the disadvantages which tend to accompany large family size in poorer sections of the community. This study therefore sought to establish the family size of the respondents and if at all the size led to any disadvantages that may have predisposed the juveniles to commit capital offences.

2.3.8 Parents' Criminality/delinquent siblings

Parental criminality and/or delinquency of elder siblings may influence children to delinquency (Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, 1962; Tannenbaum in Giallombardo, 1972). In fact findings by Haskell and Yablonsky (1970), show that in 35% of delinquent cases, siblings were delinquent while 21% and 6% of the cases had fathers and mothers with delinquent histories respectively. There was need therefore to find out if this was the case with juvenile delinquents at Kamiti prison. The present study therefore set to find

out if the juvenile delinquent offenders at Kamiti prison had parents and/or siblings with criminal/delinquent histories.

According to Rutter and Giller (1983) the association between parental criminality and delinquency in the offspring is strongest when the parental crime record is both recidivist and extends into the time period during which the children are being reared. Parental criminality on the other hand is associated with the parents' excessive drinking, poor work record and frequent unemployment (Rutter and Giller, 1983). Moreover, Rutter and Giller, (1983) suggest that criminal parents provide a model of aggression and antisocial attitudes and even criminal activities. However, since capital offences are very secretive, it is unlikely that juveniles will see their parents or elder siblings commit them. Therefore there is need to go into details of how acts committed in secret may influence others who have not witnessed them to commit similar acts. However, this is beyond the scope of the present study.

2.4 Peer influence

Scott and Vaz (in Vaz 1967) state that serious delinquency develops gradually from legitimate groupings as a form of innovation. Juveniles start engaging in petty delinquency as a form of passing time. Later they delve into serious offences (Shaw1966a).

However, there is unresolved debate as to the role of peer pressure in influencing juveniles to commit capital offences. Scholars have indicated a link between peer pressure and juvenile delinquency (Shaw, 1966b; Cohen, in Bersani, 1970; Cohen, in Sellin and Wolfgang, 1969; Sutherland, in

Giallombardo, 1972). If a juvenile associates with delinquents, they may influence or entice him/her or simply act as models. According to Hirschi (1972) Sociologists have established that human beings feel morally obligated to conform regardless of the repercussions of that conformity and that they are profoundly sensitive to the expectations of others. This then implies that if a juvenile's peers demand that he commits a capital offence he will actually do it.

It is held that older boys in the neighbourhood influence younger ones into delinquency. For instance they steal as the young ones watch. The little fellows are impressed by these big fellows and get the idea that stealing is an easy rosy way to make big money. Thus, in an area where crime and delinquency thrive, seemingly there is a lot of influence of children by older juvenile delinquents (Shaw1966b).

Peer influence as a predisposing factor to delinquency, is explained by Tannenbaum (in Giallombardo 1972) who while discussing the role of a gang in influencing delinquency, says that, it is not essential that the whole world approve the delinquent act but rather the limited world (peers) to which the individual is attached approve. Korn and McCorkle (in Bersani, 1970) postulate that juveniles engage in offending characters due to the fear of how their peers will react incase they decline to participate.

Therefore, delinquency is portrayed as typically a group phenomenon (Shaw, 1966a; Empey, in Giallombardo, 1972; West and Farrington, 1977; Le Blanc and Frechette, 1989). According to Schmalleger and Smykla (2001), many of the youths confined for serious crimes in the US commit

violent acts as gang members. Reiss and Rhodes (in Gialombardo 1972) opine that some offences are more clearly group activities than others. Although gangs may not be quite a common phenomenon here in Kenya, the issue raised is whether juveniles commit capital offences act in groups or alone. This study inquired whether the group puts pressure on the individual juvenile to commit a capital offence or they simply decide on their own.

However, according to Hirschi (1972) the more the child is accustomed to seeking or getting his parents' opinion about his activities, the more likely he is to perceive them as part of his social and psychological field, and the less likely he would be to neglect their opinion when considering an act contrary to law. Regardless of the delinquency of his friends, the child attached to his father is less likely to commit delinquent acts.

The present study therefore sought to establish whether capital offences committed by juveniles are group activities. Moreover, it aimed at analyzing the role of peer pressure to ascertain whether indeed it predisposes juveniles to committing capital offences. The study therefore sought to find out whether juveniles held at Kamiti prison had delinquent friends and if so whether those friends inclined them to commit capital offences.

2.5 Crime prone neighbourhoods

Crime prone neighbourhoods refer to areas where crime is rampant and/or tolerated. They are seen to be 'partly different' from other areas predominated by conventional lifestyles (Wolfgang and Ferracuti 1967). The former are essentially areas referred to by criminologists as socially

disorganized neighbourhoods (Kumar, 1992; Riemer, 1952; Clinard and Abbott, 1973).

Tannenbaum (in Giallombardo 1972) describes them as places where houses of prostitution are located; where gangsters gather; where there are various types of perversion; where street pilfering is the norm; where there is hostility to the police; where the children, with or without the knowledge of their parents, may engage in illicit forms of employment such as acting as procurers for prostitutes or as messengers and/or go-betweens for criminals; where they can observe the possession of guns, the taking of dope; where they can hear all sorts of tales of crime and observe criminal practices or be invited to participate in such practices.

These are areas that are marked by a lifestyle which Louis Wirth (1938) refers to as 'Urbanism', or urban relational style, where nobody minds other people's welfare ((Reissman, in Meadows and Mizruchi, 1967; Clinard, 1975; Rosenthal, in Ficker and Graves, 1971). Such areas lose the informal social control exercised in the rural areas, due to the high rates of in and out migrations (Bandura and Walters, 1959; Marsh, 1967; Thomlinson, 1969; Bersani, 1970; Decker and Winkle, 1996; Palen, 1992; Kartedt and Bussmann, 2001).

Criminologists maintain that such socio-cultural settings may influence juveniles to criminality (Shulman, 1938; Ferri, in McLaughlin et al, 2003), since they offer what Siegel (1995) calls 'situational inducements'. However, although some studies conducted indicate a link between juvenile delinquency and the criminality of their neighbourhoods there are arguments

on the contrary (Shaw 1966a). Parker (1974) points out that total criminal societies are not a reality.

Moreover, Klineberg, in Gibbens and Ahrenfeldt, (1966) holds that whether or not a community is crime prone, individuals make their own personal decisions. This implies that this debate on the role of crime prone neighbourhoods as a factor that predisposes juveniles to commit capital offences is unresolved. Hence, the need for verifying the assumption by finding out whether juveniles who commit capital offences here in Kenya are the product of crime prone neighbourhoods.

2.6 Theoretical framework

The theoretical review in the present study sought to understand some of the explanations given as to why juveniles commit delinquent acts. The theories seek to explain why juveniles commit delinquency in general and specifically capital offences.

It is on the basis of these theories that the study sought to find out the factors that influence juveniles to commit capital offences. The study therefore was based on anomie and differential association theories.

2.6.1 Anomie theory

This forms part of the wider strain theory (Adler et al 1995). The theory was first developed by Emile Durkheim (1951) who suggested that in modern societies, traditional norms and standards become undermined without being replaced by new ones. Therefore anomie exists where there are no clear standards to guide behaviour in a society. According to Durkheim (1951) no

living being can be happy or even exist unless his needs are sufficiently proportioned to his means.

Anomie theory as an explanation of crime and delinquency was developed by Merton (in Giallombardo 1972: Ritzer 2000; Rock in Maguire et al 2002) based on Durkheim's initial anomie theory. As Giddens (2001) puts it, When Merton modified the concept of anomie to refer to the strain put on you individuals' behaviour when accepted norms conflict with social reality.

According to Merton (in Giallombardo 1972) the extreme emphasis upon the accumulation of wealth as a symbol of success in our own society militates against the completely effective control of institutionally regulated modes of acquiring a fortune. Crime becomes increasingly common when the emphasis on the culturally induced success—goal becomes divorced from coordinated institutional emphasis.

According to the theory therefore, delinquency is in a sense a means used by juveniles who are not able to access their basic needs to actually get what they need. Thus according to this theory, juveniles who have limited access to conventional means of access to their basic needs are more likely to engage in delinquency and hence later graduate to capital offending. However, the theory fails to explain why some juveniles who have limited access to legal means of meeting their needs do not after all end up becoming delinquent. Moreover, some of the capital offences committed such as murder may not have monetary gains as the driving force. Thus the theory fails to explain why juveniles commit such delinquent acts. Therefore the present study sought to find out why juveniles commit capital offences.

2.6.2 Differential association theory

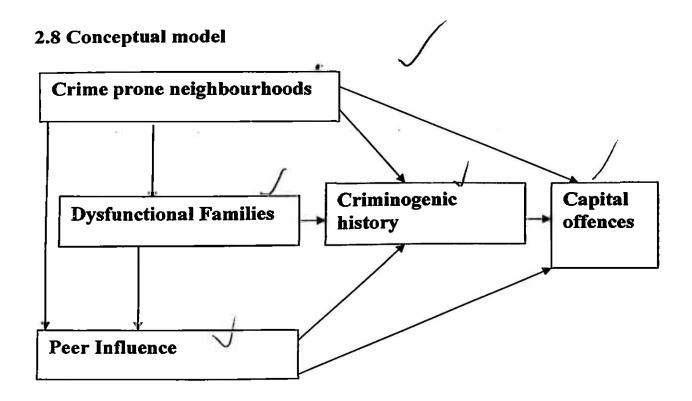
This theory was advanced by Edwin Sutherland (in Giallombardo, 1972). According to this theory, criminal behaviour is learned (Bandura, 1995; Clinard in Bersani, 1970). The theory explains that a juvenile who is not already trained in delinquency does not invent delinquent behaviour, just as a person does not make mechanical inventions unless he has had training in mechanics. Thus criminal behaviour is learned in interaction with other persons in a process of communications.

Therefore the more a juvenile associates with delinquents, the more likely he/she is to become delinquent (Parsons, 1951; Siegel and Senna, 1985). Such delinquents may then graduate to later commit capital offences. However, this may not be the case for juveniles who commit capital offences. Therefore the present study sought to find out whether indeed all delinquents who commit capital offences will have associated with delinquent peers before they committed the offences.

2.7 Conceptual framework

The research aimed at studying factors that influence juveniles to commit capital offences. Therefore the conceptual framework describes the factors presumed to influence juveniles to commit capital offences. The study premised that crime prone neighbourhoods may lead a juvenile to develop criminogenic traits which may then lead him/her to commit capital offences. Moreover, crime prone neighbourhoods may lead to dysfunctional families which in the long run, may predispose juveniles to engage in delinquent activities and later graduate to commit capital offences.

On the other hand, peer pressure, which may be a result of dysfunctional families, may lead a juvenile to have criminogenic traits which later predispose him/her to commission of capital offences. However, it is possible that juveniles may commit capital offences without necessarily having a criminogenic history.



2.9 Operational Definitions

Capital Offence: This refers to a Criminal act which if committed by an adult would lead to death penalty. These acts range from treason, robbery with violence, to murder. However, capital offences in the present study were measured by the number of murders and robberies with violence committed.

Crime prone neighbourhoods: Places where the number of crimes committed and criminals is higher compared to other neighbourhoods. Such areas were also viewed as encouraging, applauding or not punishing crime and delinquency. These were measured by the attitude of residents towards delinquent acts, the number of occasions witnessed crime committed and the types of crimes witnessed being committed.

Criminogenic history: This refers to repeated delinquent acts during a juvenile's childhood. It was measured by the number and types of delinquent acts engaged in by the juveniles.

Dysfunctional families: These are families that are marked by characteristics that cause physical, emotional and psychological suffering to juveniles. These characteristics include: families are broken homes; inability of parents/guardians to provide their families with basic needs; lack of parent-child attachment; parental violence and neglect, inadequate parental guidance and counseling; parental criminality and/or delinquent siblings and large family size.

Peer influence: Getting convinced by peers to commit capital offences. This was measured by a juvenile's friendship with delinquents. It was also measured by a juvenile's actions under instructions, persuasion or coercion from his peers.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Alphyletia 1 sofer The present study employed a qualitative approach (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2003; Hirschi and Selvin, 1967; Parker 1974). This chapter therefore describes the study site and justifies how and why it was chosen. It further describes the units of analysis and observation, explaining the sampling procedure. The chapter also gives the sources of the study data, how they were collected, analyzed and the challenges encountered during the collection. The chapter concludes by stating the ethical considerations taken during the study.

3.2 Site selection and description

The study site was Kamiti Prison next to Kahawa West estate, behind Kahawa Garrison off Nairobi-Thika Road. The prison holds all categories of male prisoners serving long sentences of at least 7 years and remand prisoners suspected of committing capital offences. These include juveniles who have committed capital offences, the category under study. Prisons were chosen because given the nature of the offences under study, uninstitutionalized delinquents may fear to talk about the offences they have committed. Given the targeted respondents, the site was purposively selected since it is the only place one finds this category of juvenile delinquents in Nairobi. Nairobi was also purposively selected for easy access by the researcher

3.3 Unit of observation and analysis

The present study's unit of observation was institutionalized male juvenile delinquents who had committed capital offences and incarcerated at Kamiti prison.

The study unit of analysis was the factors that influence juveniles to commit capital offences. These included delinquents' criminogenic history, dysfunctional families, peer influence and crime prone neighbourhoods. proper rous

3.4 Sampling procedure:

The total sample of the study was 33 comprising of 23 inmates, 5 prison officers and 5 probation officers all who were in Nairobi as at the time of the present research. Nairobi province was purposively sampled for ease access by the researcher. The province also had the highest number of juveniles committed to jail for committing capital offences.

From the existing sample frame, Kamiti prison was also purposively selected because it had the highest number of the target group who are juveniles who committed capital offences since it had 23 (35%) out of a total of 65 (100%) inmates distributed thus; in Nyeri 10 (15%), Kamiti 23 (35%), Langata-1(2%), Naivasha 14 (22%), Kisumu 9 (14%) and Shimo la Tewa 8 (12%). Moreover, it is the only institution within Nairobi province with the category of inmates under study. The category of inmates too was purposively selected since the aim of the study was to establish factors that influence juveniles to commit capital offences. Therefore the unit of observation had to be persons who at the time they committed the capital offences for which

they were institutionalized, they were under the age of 18 years. Due to the small number of the category of inmates under study, all the 23 present at Kamiti were purposively sampled.

The size may seem small but according to the Kenya police website reports, capital crimes are committed by very few criminals who engage in series of criminal acts (WWW.KENYAPOLICE.KE).

A total of 5 key informants among the prison officers namely two documentation officers who record personal information of inmates, a visiting clerk who conducts visits between inmates and their relatives and two officers who work in the wards where the inmates live were purposively sampled because their areas of deployment made them have more relevant information to the study than the rest of the officers. Similarly, 5 probation officers were purposively sampled as key informants based on their experience in matters of delinquency having worked as probation officers whose roles among others are to visit families of delinquent children for purposes of compiling reports which the courts could take into cognizance when concluding juveniles' cases.

3.5 Sources of data

This study used both primary and secondary data. The primary data collection was on the background characteristics of the sample, the types of capital offences committed and the factors that influenced them to commit those offences. Primary data was collected from respondents who included juveniles who had committed capital offences and key informants (prison

and probation officers). Sources of secondary data included police, prison and probation records. Literature on delinquency was also reviewed.

3.6 Data collection methods and tools

In order to get in-depth personal information from the delinquent respondents, the research applied semi structured interviews. Interviews were conducted with the key informants on the various factors likely to influence juveniles to commit capital offences. The factors included delinquents criminogenic history, dysfunctional families, peer influence and crime prone neighbourhoods.

The research employed an interview schedule to assist during the interview of both the respondents and key informants. The respondents' schedule contained both structured and open-ended questions that were arranged thematically under the following themes: delinquents' criminogenic history, dysfunctional families, peer influence and crime prone neighbourhoods. The open-ended questions were to allow for maximum information. The questions were arranged so as to facilitate a logical flow of the study themes. Care was taken to avoid excluding important information whose omission may have led to drawing of wrong conclusions. During data collection, flexibility was exercised in terms of the arrangement of questions but without compromising the study objectives. A list of topics was prepared for discussion with the key informants to find out how they link the concepts under discussion to the commission of capital offences by juveniles. A discussion guide was also developed for the focus group discussion.

An interview time table was developed to assist the prison authority to avail inmates to be interviewed whenever needed to do so. This also acted as the study timetable during the data collection phase of the study.

3.7 Data analysis

A qualitative study method was employed for the present study. Each study concept was coded for easy analysis. Moreover, analysis was based on the verbal expressions of the respondents and the key informants. Since the sample size was small (23 respondents), data was analyzed using simple frequencies and percentages.

3.8 Challenges encountered in the field

Since the researcher was conducting the interviews during working hours, it was difficult at times to get the category of inmates under study, because they would be busy working in the prisons industries. However, this was solved when the researcher was assigned an officer to ensure that inmates to be interviewed are not deployed on the scheduled day.

The inmates initially would be suspicious of the purpose of the study. They thought the aim of the interview was to prove their criminality. However, the researcher was able to assure them of the study's academic purposes, hence winning their trust and confidence.

Unfortunately, some of the respondents would become so emotional especially when they recalled the length of time they had been in prison and the indefinite nature of their sentence. For instance among the two inmates who had committed murder one was incarcerated at the age of 11 and was at

the time of the interview, 29 years old, but still with no hope of getting released in the near future. Similarly, another who had committed robbery was incarcerated at the age of 17 and was at the time aged 34 years with no hope of ever leaving prison. Of the remaining respondents, 3 (13%) had been in prison for at least 10 years while 18 (78%) had been in prison for periods ranging from 1 year to 10 years. Even those who had been in prison for 1 year were equally emotional given the indefinite nature of their sentence. The respondents' emotional outbursts almost interfered with the interviews. However the researcher encouraged them to have hope and managed to put their emotions under control.

On the other hand, the incarcerated respondents interpreted the researcher as a sympathizer and so initially would start by only giving information they felt would draw sympathy from the researcher. Some respondents wanted to exonerate themselves from blame hence giving a lot of irrelevant information which at times was time-consuming. However, the researcher technically guided the interview to collect relevant information. The researcher crosschecked the information given by the respondents with that of key informants, documentary evidence and also by asking the same questions in different formats.

3.9 Ethical considerations

The respondents' consent was sought before participating in the study. Therefore the respondents were informed that the study was for academic purposes so that they could decide whether or not to participate. Also given that many inmates would not like their "story told", the respondents were assured of confidentiality of their identity. However, they were informed

that the information would be made public although without disclosing the respondents' identity.

CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction:

This chapter takes a detailed analysis of factors that are likely to influence juveniles to commit capital offences. The specific factors under study were delinquents' criminogenic history; dysfunctional families; peer influence and crime prone neighbourhoods. The study interviewed 23 prisoners, 5 probation officers and 5 prison officers. The researcher used frequencies and percentages to analyze the data.

4.2 Delinquents' criminogenic history

The researcher inquired whether the respondents had committed delinquent acts prior to the ones for which they were incarcerated. This was for establishing if there was a link between petty juvenile recidivism and commission of capital offences. The study also sought to find out whether the respondents were repeat or first offenders in the capital offences for which they were incarcerated. This was to establish whether indeed they had fully graduated to hard core crime or they were still learning.

Sixteen (70%) of the respondents reported having engaged in petty delinquency prior to committing capital offences. They would steal money, food stuffs from shops and items such as axes, utensils, hoes, etc from people's homes which they sold for money to use to buy food. When asked how many times they had engaged in delinquent acts prior to committing the capital offences for which they were committed to prison all the 16 (70%) reported that it had become a part of their life and so they could not tell how many times they had been involved in delinquency. Similarly according to

probation officers interviewed, in majority of the cases, the neighbours would complain that a boy on whom a report was to be made was a known delinquent in the neighbourhood. Therefore according to them, a majority of the inmates had records of petty delinquency.

Only 5 reported having been taken to police stations while 4 had been initially institutionalized for delinquency. The remaining 10 were reported to their parents.

4.3 Dysfunctional families

For purposes of this study a dysfunctional family is one marked with: broken homes; poverty of parents/guardians; lack of parent-child attachment; parental violence and neglect, inadequate parental guidance and counseling; parental criminality and/or delinquent siblings; large family size and child neglect or violence.

4.3.1 Broken Homes

The study sought to find out the marital status of the respondents' parents at the time they committed the delinquent act for which they were incarcerated. Out of the 23 (100%) respondents interviewed, 2 (9%) male and 3 (13%) female parents were widowed; 1 (4%) male and 4 (17%) female parents were divorced; 5 (22%) female parents had never married while 8 (35%) couples were married.

Table 1: Marital status of delinquent respondents' parents

Marital Status	Male Parents	Female Parents	Total	Percentage
Married		-	8*	34.9
Divorced	1	4	5	21.7
Widowed	2	3	5	21.7
Single		5	5	21.7
Total			23	100
			1	

Source: Research data

*Key: It was impossible to divide those who were married between males and females since all of the 8 couples were in the same marital status. This makes it impossible to get the subtotals of both male and female parents.

From the above statistics out of the 23 (100%) interviewed delinquents, 3 (13%) lived with the father alone; 12 (52%) lived with the mother alone while 8 (35%) lived with both parents. However, 3 (13%) reported being abandoned by their remaining parent upon losing the other parent either through divorce or death. Given that of the 23 (100%) respondents interviewed, 15 (65%) lived with one parent, there is a higher likelihood of juveniles from broken homes becoming delinquent than those from intact homes. This could be alluded to the difficulty of single parents rearing children in terms of providing for their basic needs and having general control. This is because it is easier for two parents to fend for their children than one. Moreover, out of the 3 (13%) who reported living with their father, 2 (9%) reported that their father abandoned them shortly after the death of their mother. The remaining respondent said that although his father did not abandon him per se, he (the father) did not adequately provide him with his basic needs after the death of his mother. The two engaged in petty

delinquency, especially theft, to get food and shelter. The remaining 1 (4%) was abandoned by his mother at the death of their father. His grandmother was traced and she took him to a social Hall to live with street children under the Government program of rehabilitating street children. It was here that he learned delinquency from the already delinquent juveniles picked by the Government from the streets.

Table 2: Gender of Parents the delinquents lived with at the time they committed their offences.

Parent	Frequency	Percentage	
Father	3	13	- 6
Mother	12	52	
Both	8	35	
Total	23	100	

Source: Research data

All the 8 (35%) who reported to have lived with both parents were asked if both parents lived together under the same roof which they answered in the affirmative. However, 3 (13%) reported that most of the time their fathers were out drinking. From these statistics, about 65% of the respondents lived with single parents of which about 52% lived were female. This was also confirmed by the prisons documentation officer who reported that majority of the delinquents had given their mothers' names for their next of kin. This implies that juveniles from broken homes (Sheldon and Eleanor Gluek, 1962) especially those headed by female parents are likely to commit capital offences. This may be because of the difficult of a single parent to provide

for the needs of her children. This is also based on the fact that women are more disadvantaged in society in terms of wealth accumulation and ownership.

4.3.2 Parental fights and quarrels

The research sought to find out whether the juveniles' parents fought or had serious quarrels which criminologists suggest predisposes them to delinquency. The 5 (22%) whose parents had divorced reported frequent fights between their parents before they divorced. The main reason for the fights was the drunkenness of the fathers as reported by 4 (17%) respondents. The fifth respondent said his mother used to 'work late' irritating his father. The researcher interpreted this to mean unfaithfulness of the mother. Out of the 8 (35%) who lived with both parents, 5 (22%) reported serious quarrels especially when the fathers got home drunk. The remaining 3 (13%) said their parents would occasionally quarrel but this had no impact on their family relations.

There is therefore a possibility that the 5 (22%) whose parents fought regularly leading to their divorce may have developed aggression due to experiencing it from their parents (Bandura and Walters 1959). This may have been the case too for the juveniles who at the time they were committing the acts for which they were incarcerated were living with parents who always quarreled seriously.

4.3.3 Parents'/guardians' economic status

The study theorized that low parental economic status is likely to influence juveniles to commit capital offences. Therefore the study set out to establish

whether the economic status of the respondents' parents may have predisposed them to commit capital offences. Economic status was measured by employment, residence and provision of basic necessities.

None of the delinquents' parents was permanently employed. Of the 23 (100%) respondents, 18 (78%) of them had their parents employed as casuals in jobs such as selling curios, manual labour (tilling the land, splitting firewood etc) from which they earned a mean daily wage of 80 shillings. Of the remaining, 3 (13%) did subsistence farming but supplemented with casual labour while 2 (9%) practiced small scale farming.

Table 3: Guardians'/parents' employment status

Employment status	Frequency	Percentage	·
permanently employed	Nil	Nil	
Employed as casuals	18	78	
subsistence farming	3	13	_
Small scale farming	2	9	
Total	23	100	

Source: Research data

Thus based on the employment statistics, the study sought to find out whether the juveniles' parents were able to provide for their basic necessities. Of the 5 (22%) who lived in the villages, only 2 (9%) reported adequate provision of food, clothing, shelter and school fees. However, 1 (4%) reported that although his parents provided him with all his basic needs, compared to their very rich neighbours, he felt they did not give him enough money to go out and have fun. He also felt that his parents did not

buy him as expensive clothing as their neighbours did for their children. He therefore harboured a sense of relative deprivation compared to his neighbours which drove him to engage in robbery to get what his parents could not give him. The other 3 (13%) had inadequate supply of basic necessities. All the 18 (78%) who lived in the slums had inadequate supply of food, clothing shelter and fees.

The prison officer who conducts visits between the inmates and their families reported to know majority of the visitors to those inmates and described them as very poor. He said that in fact they did not visit the inmates regularly. This was also confirmed by majority of the inmates who said their parents hardly visited them. When asked why, they said they lacked fare. However, although it may be true that the parents/guardians lacked fare to the prison, it is also possible mat due to the poor relationship that existed between the respondents and their parents prior to their incarceration, the latter may have just decided not to visit the former in prison.

According to the two officers who work as documentation officers, one way of knowing if a prisoner comes from a wealthy home is the amount of money he brings to be kept for him in the office. The officers said that except for one, the rest did not have any money kept for them

Asked to state what they did to get what their parents failed to provide them, 16 (70%) engaged in petty theft. They would steal foodstuffs or money. However, to them they did not feel they were engaging in anything seriously wrong. Of the remaining, 3 (13)% reported engaging in child labour

including loading of cargo on transport vehicles, carrying small luggage for people and tilling people's land, while 2 (9%) stayed at home to wait for their parents to bring food. Also, of the 16 (70%) who reported engaging in theft to get what their parents could not provide, 13 (57%) reported engaging in child labour such as loading sugarcane on tracks, weeding and picking coffee.

Table 4: Activities Juveniles engaged in to acquire their basic needs

Frequency	Percentage
3	13
3	13
13	57
4*	17
23	100
	3 3 13 4*

Source: Research data

The above statistics indicate that about 70% of the respondents engaged in delinquency as a means of acquiring what their parents could not provide them. They thus may have matured into hard core delinquents, committing robberies as a means of survival.

From these statistics, it may be inferred that majority of the juveniles had poor parents. This may have contributed to their delinquent tendencies as a form of survival mechanism. This is because their parents' earnings were not sufficient to carter for their basic needs and therefore the juveniles engaged

^{*}Key: Included in the 4 (17%) who remained at home are 2 (9%) delinquents who reported they did not suffer any inadequacies in provisions of basic needs.

in delinquent acts as a means of supplementing their parents' efforts to provide for them.

Apart from the 5 (22%) respondents who lived in the villages, the remaining 18 (78%) lived in ghettos in urban settings. Of the 5 (22%) living in the villages, only 2 (9%) lived in permanent houses, 3 (13%) lived in mud walled and iron sheet roofed houses while 1 lived in a timber walled and iron sheet roofed house. All the 18 who reported residing in ghettos lived in temporary structures made of timber off cuts or old iron sheets. Of the 18 (78%) living in ghettos, only 3 (13%) had their parents rent an extra room for the children. The remaining 15 (65%) lived with their parents in single rooms. Of the 15 (65%) living in single rooms, 5 (22%) lived in structures built by their parents. The highest paid rent was Ksh. 600 (six hundred) for those who paid for two rooms. The rest paid between Ksh. 200 and Ksh. 300. All these point to the fact that the delinquents' parents were poor. This was confirmed by the probation officers who reported that most of the delinquents' homes they visited indicated poverty. The houses were small, temporary and of very low quality (some were make shifts made of polythene paper).

Table 5: Types of houses where the delinquents resided

Type of house	Frequency	Percentage	
Permanent	2	9	
Semi permanent	3	13	
Temporary	18	78	
Total	23	100	

Source: Research data

Moreover, the houses were close together and so the juveniles would easily mingle, thus influencing each other. Thus the study sought to find out the whether the respondents' neighbourhoods were crime prone. All the 18 (78%) respondents who lived in slums knew older neighbours who committed crimes. All the 18 (78%) admitted witnessing crime, particularly muggings take place in their neighbourhoods. The respondents (78%) admitted that there were young adults who were known to make money out of crime, and whom they admired. On the other hand, of the 8 (35%) who lived in the villages, only 3 (13%) reported knowing at least one criminal in their locality.

Thus due to their parents' poverty, 78% of the respondents lived in crime prone slums which may have predisposed the juveniles to initially engage in petty delinquency due to exposure to criminal activities they witnessed in their neighbourhoods.

4.3.4 Parental guidance and counseling

Respondents were asked whether their parents took time to guide and counsel them against delinquency and how they reacted to their delinquent

acts. For proper guidance and counseling to take place, the parent-child relationship must be cordial. Although all the interviewed respondents reported great attachment to their parents, 21 (91%) who committed robbery with violence reported that a rift widened between them and their parents as they (respondents) grew older. Twenty (87%) reported that due to poverty their parents had nothing to offer them. So they hardly shared their problems with their parents. One of the respondents said, "Ile kitu ningeuliza mathe ni chakula. Akinipa basi, sina maneno tena na yeye ju nilijua hata hiyo chakula kupatikana ni diambo". ("The only problem I could share with my mother and expect a reply was food. As long as she provided me with food I would not bother her because I knew even getting that food alone was a problem"). The weak child-parent attachment later developed into defiance where juveniles would defy their parents' instructions and/or guidelines.

Table 6: Different ages at which juveniles defied their parents

Age at defiance	Frequency	Percentage
12-13 Years	5	22
13-14	7	30
15-16	9	39
Never defied	2*	9
Total	23	100

Source: Research data

*Key: The 2 respondents who committed murder never defied their parents.

Out of the 23 (100%) respondents interviewed, 69% of them reported defying their parents between the age of 13 and 16. The statistics indicate

that the more a juvenile grew older, the more defiant he became and therefore the more prone he became to committing a capital offence. This is because the defiant juveniles initially refused to listen to their parents and later started living independent of their parents. This gave them all the freedom to do what they wanted without caring about their parents' reactions.

Of the 16 (70%) who reported being seen engaging in theft, when asked about their parents' reaction to their actions, 12 (52%) said their parents would punish them while 3 (13%) reported that their parents remained indifferent to reports of their children engaging in criminal activities. Of those who reported being punished, 10 (44%) reported that their parents would defend them against the accusations and only punish them when the complainant had left. The 30% of the respondents who never engaged in delinquency reported that their parents too never took time to counsel them on how to lead a delinquent free life.

Table 7: Parents' reaction towards their children's delinquency

Parents' Reaction	Frequency	Percentage	
Punished juveniles	12	52.2	
Verbal Warning	1	4.4	
Indifferent	3	13	
Other	7*	30.4	
Total	23	100	_

Source: Research data

All the 16 (70%) of the respondents who reported having engaged in petty delinquency prior to committing capital offences also reported that their parents were out most of the time looking for food for the family. Thus despite the punishment which always came in the evenings when the parents return, the respondents would still engage in delinquent activities in the absence of their parents with a hope that their parents would not discover. This therefore indicates that the parents did not have time during the day to guide and counsel their children. This may have predisposed the juveniles to delinquency hence leading them to later commit capital offences.

4.3.5 Parental violence and neglect

This study set to find out whether the respondents suffered any parental violence and neglect. Of the 23 respondents, 12 (52%) reported incidences of severe punishment/ assault. Of these, 3 (13%) ran away to the streets where they lived until their arrest; 4 (17%) would periodically take refuge

^{*}Key: The 7 respondents never engaged in theft.

with their relatives for durations ranging from days to weeks and come back home.

Table 8: Juveniles' reaction towards parental violence and neglect

Reaction by the juveniles	Frequency	Percentage
Ran away to streets	3	13
Ran to relatives	4	17.4
Relocated to relatives	1	4.4
Remained at home	4	17.4
Never Punished	11	47.8
Total	23	100

Source: Research data

Although all the 52% who reported assault/severe punishment denied ever habouring grudges with their parents, it is likely as Bandura and Walters (1959) have stated, that they may have internalized aggression and because they could not vent it towards their parents, they turned to outsiders who they robbed. Moreover, those who ran to the streets (13%) engaged in delinquency for survival. This may have led them to graduate later, to committing capital offences.

4.3.6 Family size

The researcher sought to know the family size of the delinquents so as to determine if it predisposed them to commit delinquent acts including capital offences. Of the 5 (22%) respondents who lived in the rural areas, only 1 (4%) had less than 5 siblings. Of the 18 (78%) living in the slums, 8 (35%) reported to have less than 5 siblings. The remaining 10 had between 5 and 8

children. All the respondents complained of limited space in their houses regardless of their numbers.

Only 3 (13%) out of the 23 (100%) respondents reported having occasionally lived with a relative.

Table 9: Respondents' family size

Number of siblings	Village dwellers	Ghetto dwellers	Total	Percentage
0-4	1	8	9	39
5-6	1	8	9	39
Over 6	3	2	5	22
Total	5	18	23	100

Source: Research datas

The family size statistics indicate a relationship between the family size and delinquency since close to 62% of all the respondents had over 5 siblings. However, the main reason for delinquency may not indeed have been the number of siblings but rather the economic hardships experienced in the family due to inadequate provision of necessities. In fact, regardless of the number of siblings, 21 (91%) of the respondents reported inadequacies in provision of food, shelter, clothing and fees. Therefore the more predisposing reason was the parents' poverty rather than the number of children they had.

4.3.7 Parents' criminality/delinquent siblings

Respondents were asked whether they had criminal parents or delinquent siblings to establish whether it played any role in influencing them to delinquency and later committing capital offences. Except for 8 (35%) respondents who had delinquent siblings, the rest 15 (65%) had neither criminal parents nor delinquent siblings. Out of the 8 (35%) delinquent siblings, 5 (22%) were older than the respondents. Of the 15 (65%) who denied having delinquent siblings or criminal parents, 7 (30%) reported having relatives (cousins and younger uncles) who were delinquent.

However, it is possible that the 15 (65%) respondents who denied having criminal parents lied or could not tell if their parents were criminals, since their parents were out most of the time. Besides, given that 19 (83%) of them had ran away from their respective homes by the time they were 17 years old, it is possible that, at the time they were leaving, they were not old enough to understand the character of their parents/siblings. Also, since 7 (30%) of the 15 (65%) were firstborns in their families it was not possible for them to have learnt delinquency from their younger siblings.

Only 2 (9%) of the respondents committed the acts for which they were incarcerated in company of a relative. However, the 5 (22%) who reported having older delinquent siblings looked at their older siblings as role models. Therefore because they saw them commit delinquent acts as a means of survival, they too took to doing similar things to make ends meet.

Therefore, from these findings, it is incorrect to conclude that parental and sibling criminality influenced the respondents to commit delinquent or even

capital offences. However, given that 5 (22%) of the delinquents had older delinquent siblings, it is possible that they influenced them to engage in delinquency and later even commit capital offences.

4.4 Peer influence

The research sought to find out whether peers influenced the juveniles to commit capital offences. Except for the 2 (9%) respondents who committed murder, the remaining 21 (91%) had delinquent friends. In fact 18 (78%) of them reported being punished by their parents because of "walking with bad boys". These "bad boys" were actually delinquent. In fact to them 'every child' engaged in delinquency. For instance one of the respondents narrated how he in company of friends would make fun of a shopkeeper by tricking him/her to get an item stocked at a higher shelf and once he/she is up, they grab foodstuffs near the counter and run away: "Mimi na maboys tulikuwaga tunaingia shop, tunamshow mbuyu atupe kitu fulani tumecheki juu. Akipanda, tunamperemba na mikate au chochote cha kumanga karibu yetu na kuishia". ("My friends and I would get into a shop and tell a shop keeper to give us an item we spot high on the shelf. As soon as he climbed up to pick the item, we would grab bread or whatever foodstuffs we could find next to us and run away").

Asked what role their peers or older friends played in influencing them to commit capital offences, 10 (44%) admitted having been persuaded by friends to commit the act while 8 (35%) said they planned together to commit the act. Three (13%) of them reported that they attacked their victims without prior plans. One narrated how they met a man riding a bicycle and decided incidentally to attack and snatch the bicycle.

Table 10: The role of peers in 'he ac's that led to the juveniles' incarceration

Role	Frequency	Percentage
Persuaded by peers	10	43
planned together	8	35
Committed without prior plans	3	13
No peer influence	2	9
Total	23	100

Source: Research data

The data indicates that about 79% of the respondents were either persuaded by or planned together with their peers the capital offences for which they were incarcerated. This therefore implies that indeed peer influence plays a vital role in influencing juveniles to commit capital offences. This is especially where the peers are already delinquent. Thus this proves the criminology theory of differential association which states that juveniles who associate with delinquent friends are more likely to commit delinquent acts than those who do not.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter summarizes the key research findings, draws conclusions from the data analyzed and suggests policy recommendations and areas for further research. The purpose of this study was to identify factors that influence juveniles to commit capital offences. in order to do this, the following major factors were investigated: delinquents' criminogenic history, dysfunctional families; peer pressure and crime prone neighbourhoods.

5.2 Summary of findings

5.2.1 Delinquents' criminogenic history

The study findings indicate that majority of the respondents 16 (70%) admitted having engaged in petty delinquency. This implies that juveniles who engage in petty delinquency are more likely to commit capital offences than those who do not.

5.2.2 Broken homes

The study found out that 15 (65%) of the respondents lived with single parents of who 12 (52%) were female. This therefore indicates that juveniles who live with single and especially female parents are more predisposed to commit capital offences. However, this could be alluded more to the economic difficulties a single parent- especially female- faces rather than merely being female.

5.2.3 Parents'/guardians' economic status

Eighteen (78%) of the respondents had their parents employed as casuals in jobs such as selling curios, manual labour (tilling the land, splitting firewood etc) from which they earned a mean daily wage of 80 shillings. Moreover, 21 (91%) of the respondents reported that their parents could not provide them with their basic necessities which led 16 (70%) of them to engage in delinquency for survival hence predisposing them to committing capital offence.

Due to the low economic status of the respondents' parents, 18 (78%) lived in crime prone slums as indicated by the fact that all of them (78%) witnessed crimes being committed in their neighbourhoods. This may have predisposed them to criminal activities which may have influenced them to engage in delinquency hence ended up committing capital offences. This was further aggravated by the fact that the houses were too close to each other hence making it easy for juveniles to learn from adults and from one another delinquent activities. Thus from these findings juveniles whose parents have low economic status are more likely to commit capital offences due to the inability of their parents to provide them with their basic necessities. They are likely to live in crime prone areas which may predispose them to criminal activities including committing capital offences.

5.2.4 Parental guidance and counseling

The study found out that parental guidance and counseling for the respondents lacked. In fact 20 (86.96%) respondents reported weak parent-child attachment. Yet for proper guidance and counseling to take place, the parent-child bond must be strong. The parents too spent most of the time out

looking for food hence had limited time for their children. Although 12 (52%) respondents reported being severely punished by their parents, this had no impact since most of the day the parents would be out leaving the juveniles on their own.

These statistics indicate that juveniles who have weak attachment to their parents are likely to engage in capital offences. Also, even if a parent punishes his/her child, yet is not at home most of the time to guide and counsel the child, such a child is more likely to become delinquent and subsequently engage in committing capital offences. Moreover, juveniles who are severely punished by their parents are more likely to commit capital offences as an expression of the aggression they may be holding against their parents.

5.2.5 Family size

The study found that 14 (61%) of the respondents had at least 5 siblings. Given that majority (78%) of the respondents' parents were casually employed, providing for 5 children could not have been an easy task as indicated by the fact that about 91% of the respondents reported that their parents could not provide for their basic needs. Moreover, the 19 (83%) of the respondents who had left their parents accommodation by the age of 17, cited inadequate accommodation space in their parents' residences.

Thus from these statistics it is evident that juveniles whose parents have low economic status yet have 5 or more siblings are more likely to commit capital offences.

5.2.6 Parents' criminality/delinquent siblings

Except for 8 (35%) respondents who had delinquent siblings, the rest 15 (65%) had neither criminal parents nor delinquent siblings. Out of the 8 (35%) delinquent siblings, 5 (22%) were older than the respondents. Of the 15 (65%) who denied having delinquent siblings or criminal parents, 7 (30%) reported having relatives (cousins and younger uncles) who were delinquent.

However, it is possible that the 15 (65%) respondents who denied having criminal parents lied or could not tell if their parents were criminals, since their parents were out most of the time. Besides, given that 19 (83%) of them had ran away from their respective homes by the time they were 17 years old, it is possible that, at the time they were leaving, they were not old enough to understand the character of their parents/siblings. Also, since 7 (30%) of the 15 (65%) were firstborns in their families it was not possible for them to have learnt delinquency from their younger siblings. However, the 5 (22%) who reported having older delinquent siblings looked at their older siblings as role models. These findings indicate that although juveniles with delinquent siblings may be influenced into delinquency by their older delinquent siblings, parental criminality and sibling delinquency does not play a significant role in predisposing juveniles to delinquency and subsequent capital offending.

5.2.7 Peer influence

The study found out that 21 (91.30%) of the respondents had delinquent friends. In fact data indicates that about 79% of the respondents were either persuaded by or planned together withy their peers the capital offences for

which they were incarcerated. This implies therefore that juveniles who have delinquent friends are more likely to become delinquent and subsequently commit capital offences.

5.3 Conclusions

Low socio-economic status is the main factor that predisposes juveniles to commit capital offences as shown by statistics which indicate that 18 (78%) of the respondents' parents/guardians were employed as casuals. Moreover, 21 (91%) reported that their parents could not provide for their basic necessities. Thus 16 (70%) of the respondents were pushed into petty delinquency as a means of getting what they lacked. They may have later graduated to committing capital offences. This number too indicates that juveniles who engage in petty delinquency are more likely to engage in capital offences. Moreover, although 12 (52%) of the respondents lived with single female parents, the predisposing factor may have been the poverty of the female parents rather than their being female.

Also due to poverty majority of the respondents' parents were out of the home looking for food for the family. This meant they had very limited time to guide and counsel their children as indicated by 12 (52%) respondents who said despite being punished by their parents, they still engaged in delinquent acts since the absence of their parents most part of the day gave them a sense of freedom. Poverty too affected the child-parent attachment as reported by 20 (87%) since the juveniles disrespected their parents for failure to provide for their basic necessities thus defying them.

Moreover, although 14 (61%) of the respondents reported having 5 siblings and more, the main reason for their engagement in poverty is their parents' poverty rather than the number of siblings. This is because, the parents found it difficult to provide for the 5 or more children. Moreover, due to poverty 18 (78%) lived in slums in single rooms. Besides the slum exposing them to delinquency as reported by 18 (78%), the single rooms were one reason why 19 (83%) of the respondents fled from their homes hence exposing themselves to more delinquency given their freedom away from their parents. Similarly, 12 (52%) who were punished still engaged in delinquency, since being far away from the parents may have given them freedom to engage in capital offences.

On the other hand 15 (65%) of the respondents reported having no criminal/delinquent parents/siblings. This indicates that parental/sibling criminality/delinquency does not play a significant role in predisposing juveniles to commit capital offences.

5.4 Recommendations

1. From the study findings, it is evident that of the factors likely to predispose juveniles to committing apital offences, poverty is the most significant. Therefore as a measure to address this, it is recommended that the Government immediately develops programs aimed at improving the people's economic standards. This includes housing schemes to address slum residences which predispose juveniles to criminal activities at an early age.

- 2. Given the poverty of the respondents' parents and the number of siblings they had, it is recommended that the Government urgently puts more emphasis on family planning education and intensive provision of the services closure to the slum dwellers and those in the low economic class. This will reduce the number of the children such poor parents will have hence reduce chances of failure to provide for the children's basic needs which is one of the factors that predispose juveniles to commit capital offences.
- 3. Also even though parents may be poor, they need to create time for their children so as to be able to guide them.
- 4. Parents should not severely punish their children to the extent of assaulting them since such children are likely to run away from home and hence be predisposed to delinquency.
- 5. Parents should be keen on who their children associate with. They must always advice their children against associating with peers with delinquent traits.

5.5 Recommendation for further research

The present study was on the factors that predispose juveniles to commit capital offences. Since these juveniles are sent to prison as punishment and for rehabilitation, there is need to study whether the prisons in which they are held have proper rehabilitation programs which may make them come out of prison changed citizens. This is especially given the fact that this category of inmates are sent to prison indefinitely. Thus there is need to find

out the impact of the current program of indefinite imprisonment to the delinquents.

Moreover, one of the reasons for conducting the present study was that there are reports from the media and victims that juveniles are committing capital offences. However, the gravity of the matter can only be discovered by studying the impact of the capital offences on the victims. Therefore, there is need to deliberately study the impact of juvenile capital offences on victims of their acts.

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QUESTIONNAIRE

FAMILY ENVIRONMENT

Personal information				
Current age				
Type of delinquent act committed				
Age at which arrested				
Criminogenic history				
1. Had you committed any delinquent acts before? Yes				
No 2. Which delinquent acts did you engage in?				
3. Had you been institutionalized for committing those acts?				
Yes No				
What was your experience in those institutions (did they make you wish to change)?				

5. Why do you think you never stopped your delinquency?				
Broken homes				
Broken homes 6. At the time of your arrest, were your father and mother living together? Yes				

	No
7.	Were they living in the same shelter?
	Yes
	No
8.	Did your parents ever quarrel or fight?
	Yes
	No
9.	If yes how often
	Daily
	At least once a week
	At least once a month
Econo	mic status of parents or guardians
10.	Were your parents working?
	Yes
	No
11	Describe the kind of work they were doing
• •	Employed (permanent, casual)
	Self employed
	Unemployed
	Other (e.g. retired)
12.	Where was your residence (estate)?

13.	Describe your parents' house
	Size-single room
	Two roomed
	Over two roomed
	Type-Permanent
	Temporary
	Rent-below Ksh.5000/=
	-between Ksh. 5000/= and Ksn. 10,000/-
	-over Ksh. 10,000/=
	basic needs (Food. Shelter.
14	Were your parents able to provide you with your basic needs (Food, Shelter,
14.	Clothing, Fees)?
	Clothing, Fees)?

15. Whenever you missed anything at home what was your general feeling?
978.74
16. Did you make any efforts to get what you missed from your parents?
17. Yes No
18. Did they know what you were doing?
19. What were your parents' feelings about what you did to get whatever they failed to give you? Disliked it
Liked it
Were indifferent
Wele liquitetent
20. Compared to your neighbours would you say your parents were
Poor
Rich
Middle level
21. How did you feel about it?
21. How did you reel about it:

22. Did you at any time view your parents' position as caused by your rich neighbours?
Yes
No No
23. Explain

Lack of Parent-child attachment
24. How do you feel about your parents generally?

25. Do you like your parents?

	Yes
	No
26	Why do you have that feeling?
20.	Why do you have that reeing.
27.	Do you feel your parents like you?
	Yes
	No
	my to that faciling?
28.	Why do you have that feeling?

29	Would you like to be the kind of person your parents are?
	Yes
	No
	those feelings?
30.	Why do you have those feelings?

31	Did you share your problems with your parents?
J1.	All the time
	At times
	Never
	94
32.	Why?
32.	
32.	Why?
32.	Why?
	Why?
	Why?
33.	Why? While outside the home, did you feel your parent(s) knew where you were and
33.	Why?

34. Did you ever consider how your parents would feel on knowing that you had done
something bad?
Yes
No
the state of the offence
35. If yes how come you still went ahead and committed the offence?
Parental Violence and Neglect
36. Did your parents deny you basic needs (food, shelter, clothing, fees etc)? Yes
No
37. If yes under what situations did your parents deny you the needs?
They lacked means
They simply refused
38. Did your parents ever assault you?
Yes
No
• • •
20. IS that circumstances were you assaulted?
39. If yes under what circumstances were you assaulted?
39. If yes under what circumstances were you assaulted?
39. If yes under what circumstances were you assaulted?
39. If yes under what circumstances were you assaulted?
39. If yes under what circumstances were you assaulted?
39. If yes under what circumstances were you assaulted?
39. If yes under what circumstances were you assaulted?
39. If yes under what circumstances were you assaulted? 40. Did you ever run away from home due to parents/guardians' mistreatment?
 39. If yes under what circumstances were you assaulted? 40. Did you ever run away from home due to parents/guardians' mistreatment? Yes No
 39. If yes under what circumstances were you assaulted? 40. Did you ever run away from home due to parents/guardians' mistreatment? Yes No 41. Where did you go whenever you ran away?
 39. If yes under what circumstances were you assaulted? 40. Did you ever run away from home due to parents/guardians' mistreatment? Yes No 41. Where did you go whenever you ran away? To live with a relative
 39. If yes under what circumstances were you assaulted? 40. Did you ever run away from home due to parents/guardians' mistreatment? Yes No 41. Where did you go whenever you ran away? To live with a relative To live with a friend
 39. If yes under what circumstances were you assaulted? 40. Did you ever run away from home due to parents/guardians' mistreatment? Yes No 41. Where did you go whenever you ran away? To live with a relative To live with a friend To live on the streets
 39. If yes under what circumstances were you assaulted? 40. Did you ever run away from home due to parents/guardians' mistreatment? Yes No 41. Where did you go whenever you ran away? To live with a relative To live with a friend To live on the streets Other (specify)
 39. If yes under what circumstances were you assaulted? 40. Did you ever run away from home due to parents/guardians' mistreatment? Yes No 41. Where did you go whenever you ran away? To live with a relative To live with a friend To live on the streets Other (specify)
 39. If yes under what circumstances were you assaulted? 40. Did you ever run away from home due to parents/guardians' mistreatment? Yes No 41. Where did you go whenever you ran away? To live with a relative To live with a friend To live on the streets Other (specify) 42. For how long would you stay out after running away?
 39. If yes under what circumstances were you assaulted? 40. Did you ever run away from home due to parents/guardians' mistreatment? Yes No 41. Where did you go whenever you ran away? To live with a relative To live with a friend To live on the streets Other (specify) 42. For how long would you stay out after running away? Days
 39. If yes under what circumstances were you assaulted? 40. Did you ever run away from home due to parents/guardians' mistreatment? Yes No 41. Where did you go whenever you ran away? To live with a relative To live with a friend To live on the streets Other (specify) 42. For how long would you stay out after running away?

Parental guidance and counseling

No
• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •
44. If yes which are some of the activities?

45. Did your parents ever punish you for doing what they had asked you not to do? Yes
No
46. If yes what are some of them?
20100
33444444444

47. Did your parents ever tell you not to do what they themselves were doing?
47. Did your parents ever tell you not to do what any
Yes
No
48. If yes which specific acts?

49. Did your parents demand to know where you were going and for what purpose?
Yes
No
50. Did you like it?
Yes
No
51. If no why?
51. If no way.

1. Let you were going to do?
52. Did you tell them where you were going and what you were going to do?

Yes No 53. Were your parents interested in knowing who your friends were? Yes No 54. Did you seek your parents' opinion before engaging in anything? Yes No Family size 55. How many brothers do you have? 0-2 3-5 Over 5 56. How many sisters do you have? 0-2 3-5 Over 5 57. How many other relatives depended on your parents/guardians? 0-2 3-5 Over5 58. Were your parents able to adequately provide for all who stayed in the household? Yes No Parental criminality and delinquent siblings 59. Has your father, mother, sibling or relative ever been arrested? Father Mother

Siblings

60. If yes how many times?

Father- 0-2 times 3-4 times Over 5 times

Mother- 0-2 times

Siblings- 0-2 times 3-4 times Over 5 times Relative- 0-2 times 3-4 times
Over 5 times
61. For what reasons were they arrested?

W
273

62. What was your general feeling about what they did?

63. Was any member of your family implicated in the case that led to your incarceration? Yes No
64. Had they actually played any role in the act? Yes No
Peer influence
65. Did you have any friends? Yes No
66. Did you have friends who were delinquent? Yes No
67. Did you know that your friends were delinquent before befriending them? Yes No

3-4 times Over 5 times

68. What kinds of activities did they engage in?		

•••		
69. Did your friends ever persuade you to engage in what they were doing?		
Yes		
No		
Yes	any of your friends when committing the capital offence?	
No		
71. Did they persuade	you or are you the one who persuaded them?	
72 What was their role	e during the commission of the act?	
	•••••	

Crime prone neighbourhoods		
Crime prone neig	hbourhoods	
	hbourhoods live with your neighbours?	
73. How close did you		
73. How close did you Very	live with your neighbours?	
73. How close did you Very Very	live with your neighbours?	
73. How close did you Very Very 74. Did you know of no	live with your neighbours? y close y far	
73. How close did you Very Very 74. Did you know of no	live with your neighbours? y close y far	
73. How close did you Very Very 74. Did you know of no Yes No	live with your neighbours? y close y far eighbours who engaged in criminal activities?	
73. How close did you Very Very 74. Did you know of no Yes No 75. Did you witness the	live with your neighbours? y close y far eighbours who engaged in criminal activities? em commit crimes?	
73. How close did you Very Very 74. Did you know of no Yes No 75. Did you witness the Yes	live with your neighbours? y close y far eighbours who engaged in criminal activities?	
73. How close did you Very 74. Did you know of no Yes No 75. Did you witness the Yes No	live with your neighbours? y close y far eighbours who engaged in criminal activities? em commit crimes?	
73. How close did you Very 74. Did you know of no Yes No 75. Did you witness the Yes No 76. Did they engage you	live with your neighbours? y close y far eighbours who engaged in criminal activities? em commit crimes?	
73. How close did you Very Very 74. Did you know of no Yes No 75. Did you witness the Yes No 76. Did they engage yo Yes	live with your neighbours? y close y far eighbours who engaged in criminal activities? em commit crimes?	
73. How close did you Very 74. Did you know of no Yes No 75. Did you witness the Yes No 76. Did they engage you	live with your neighbours? y close y far eighbours who engaged in criminal activities? em commit crimes?	

78.	How are crimi	nals viewed in your neighbourhood? Admired Hated Indifferent
		nbours ever see you commit delinquent acts? Yes No
		neighbours feel about your criminal activities? Admired Hated Indifferent
	neighbours?	think was your parents' feeling towards the criminality of your Admired Hated Indifferent
82.	Did you ever v	witness a relative harm another relative? Yes No
		d to the victim of your capital offence? Yes No
84.	84. Would you mind if such an act would be done to your relative?	
		Yes No
85.	How would y relative/friend	you feel if a similar thing would be done to you or your close?
		Bitter Indifferent