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THE IMPACT OF THE FAMILY SETTING
ON JUVENILE DELINQUENCY. //

BY

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A dissertation submitted in part fulfilment
of the requirement for the degree of Bachelor
of Arts (Social Work) in the Department of
Sociology, at the University of Nairobi.

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Dedicated to my late father,
James Muteti Mwabu, whose efforts
enabled me to pursue education to
this level. With many loving memories.

DECLARATION:

This dissertation is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

Signed

.....

Student

.....

Supervisor

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CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION:

Juvenile delinquency has been defined by many theorists in different ways. In the International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (1968) juvenile delinquency is defined as that behaviour on the part of children which may, under the law, subject those children to the juvenile court. It's " defined by acts, the detection of which is thought to result in punishment of the person committing them by agents of the larger society." (Hirschi, 1969). Delinquency is defined by Giallo- mbaro (1972) as any act, course of conduct or situation which might be brought before a court and adjudicated. Therefore, a juvenile delinquent is a child between the statutory juvenile age of seven and sixteen (7 and 16) years who commits an act which, when committed by persons beyond this statutory juvenile age would be punishable as a crime, or an act injurious to other individuals of the public (Muga, 1975).

The term juvenile delinquency makes us instantly think of the many boys and girls who loiter along the streets of Nairobi, although there are many others who do not manage to reach these streets and remain in homes and villages, and hence beyond our instant observation. Juvenile delinquency is a phenomenon which has been associated with many factors. Some children engage in delinquency as a result of environmental factors while others are forced into it by biological and psychological mechanisms.

At the environmental level, juvenile delinquency is associated with factors like family structure, size and economic status. For example, Gibbens (1961) observed that juvenile delinquents tend to come from broken families headed by mothers, as well as from fairly large families. At the Psychological level, family relationships have been found to be major factors in juvenile delinquency. As the Gluecks (1962) pointed out, parental incompatibility, maternal deprivation and lack of affection may lead to the development of juvenile delinquency, or any form of psychopathic behaviour. Researchers argue that a child should experience a warm, intimate and continuous

relationship with his mother or permanent mother substitute in order to develop into a normal member of society. These researchers argue further that paternal deprivation equally affects the growing child. Parents should administer punishment consistently to avoid confusion as far as the child's socialization is concerned. Socialization is a very important function of the family and failure in its administration means a great deal.

The family is the one crucial group within any society that is entrusted with the crucial task of rearing and training children to become acceptable members of society. Therefore if unhappy family circumstances beset the growing child, this may lead to personal psychological problems of adjustment for the youth, which are in some way solved by the commission of delinquent acts. Since the family acts as a source of pressure for the individual and an agent of the larger society, failure to perform its duties adequately means that the goals of the larger society may not be effectively attained.

+ The family's widespread instability is shown not only in the facts and figures but in the public burden of payments for deserted wives, upkeep of neglected children and the social cost of young delinquents while the individual suffering involved adds up to a staggering sum of human unhappiness (Stoller, 1962). The family as the group whose influence begins earliest and lasts longest, the only group into which the child is received without any choice on his part, is the most important with which any individual has associations during his lifetime. Here, a child's personality development is nourished and the quality of this development depends largely on the family climate which arises out of the interaction of personalities in the group.

Rapid urbanization, especially in Kenya, and as in any other country, has caused a likewise rapid change in social systems leading to the breakdown of many traditions, customs and social institutions, and a very critical one for that matter, the family. The breakdown has been due almost solely to socio-economic factors. Urbanization has been attracting hundreds of fathers into towns in search of employment and as a result, fatherly supervision and control lacks, and finally the children end up with one parent, the mother. Boys are esp-

pecially affected by the absence of a father figure because they lack a vital model in life, and an additional source of authority.

It's in this light that Mc Gregor and Rowntree (1962) argued that the family is generally in danger of being regarded as simply a nursery for potential deviants. Although material standards have improved in parts, environmental and functional differences persist and help to perpetuate varying codes of behaviour. It has become the established habit in many areas for a family with young children to rely on the earnings of the male breadwinner. These earnings, low for the unskilled, are not compatible with the increasing familial needs and are always interrupted by spells of unemployment and sickness. In their attempt to avoid the relative financial hardships associated with children, an increasing number of mothers in the twentieth century have not only limited their fertility but also gone out to work in order to supplement their husband's earnings. This has a direct effect on the children; they have substitute parents in housemaids and in the long run might completely lose their parents to their jobs. This becomes a healthy ground for the breeding of juvenile delinquency.

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Juvenile delinquency is causing alarm to many countries and especially the developing ones where the processes of industrialization and urbanization are adding onto the pressure of this social problem. A lot of research has been carried out in the Western countries but very little (or nothing) has been done in Kenya. The consequences of social change (urbanization and the resultant rural-urban migration) have made juvenile delinquency an area of concern. Due to this pressing need, it was found important that a study on this area should be carried out. The main reasons which prompted the research were as follows:- to try and find out whether family setting as part of a social system plays any significant role in juvenile delinquency; to try and establish the type of family that has the greatest contribution to juvenile delinquency, especially considering that single parent-hood is on the increase and has been said to contribute alot in the West, and to try and find out the services offered to those affected.

This study will be helpful in many spheres of planning. It will help planners in planning for children's services as well as for programmes like Family Life Programmes. Such programmes will help us learn the weak points of the family and try to work on them. Since the study looked at the Kenyan Community as it is, the findings will be helpful in assessing the state of affairs and what needs to be done. It is also hoped that once the state is observed, national policies will take into account the fact that custodial treatment may not necessarily be the answer, and prevention should also become a vital aspect in these policies. The study findings will help in teaching purposes especially in the Department of Sociology since the material is relevant to the Kenyan Society.

Reference:

1. Hirschi: 1969:47

CHAPTER TWO:

LITERATURE REVIEW:

Delinquency is any act, course of conduct or situation which might be brought before a court and adjudicated. Juvenile delinquency is defined as that behaviour on the part of children which may, under the law, subject those children to the juvenile court (The International Encyclopedia of the Social Science, 1968). In Kenya, a juvenile delinquent is defined as one between the statutory juvenile age of seven and sixteen years who commits an act which, when committed by persons beyond this statutory juvenile age, would be punishable as a crime or as an act injurious to other individuals of the public (Muga, 1975). Petty stealing, burglary, common and indecent assault and other misdeeds that only a child can commit such as being beyond parental control and truancy are all constituents of juvenile delinquency according to Burt (1925).

As Hirschi (1969) put it, delinquent acts are in particular distinguished from other deviant acts by the very fact that they result in the initiation of special official proceedings by agents of criminal justice. They are a special category of deviant acts and they involve the violation of social rules that regulate behaviour of participants in a social system. They represent departure from the system of norms to which the victim has given his consent and trust.

Delinquent behaviour is as old as recorded history. Evidence is drawn from the earliest known code of laws, that is, the Code of Hammurabi ^{the law giver} that took specific note of children's needs and duties to parents and prescribed punishment for violation. Though newer laws, like the Laws of Kenya have reflected a continued concern over children in society, juvenile delinquency is a relatively new and legal term for a very old phenomenon.

In Kenya, the reasons that may lead children to delinquent activity are still not well documented as very little research has been done on this subject. Nonetheless, poverty has been observed to be related to juvenile delinquency (among other factors). Most delinquent children studied by Muga (1975)

came from families with no proper means of income. Even with working parents, according to Onyango (1983), the break-down of earnings showed that the incomes of the majority of the families were very low.

Several theories have been put forward to explain aspects of juvenile delinquency. Many factors within the family setting have been implicated in the causation of juvenile delinquency. These include, among others, the environmental and psychological factors. As Matza (1974) put it:-

"From the born criminal to differential association, the explanation of delinquency has rested in the radically different circumstances experienced by delinquent and law abiding alike. Each is constrained, but by a fundamentally different set of circumstances". Reaction to prevailing circumstances results in conformity or delinquency.

Environmental Factors:

Ruckert (1925) blames juvenile delinquency on external rather than internal conditions. Delinquents, according to him are not born but made. He assigns the making of delinquents to their early surroundings. To him environment rather than heredity is more of a responsible factor. The environmental factors that researchers have observed include:-

a) Family Size:

Many investigators agree that families with a large number of children contribute a large number of juvenile delinquents. Ferguson (1952) demonstrated this quite convincingly with his sample of 1 349 Glasgow boys. Of those from families of not more than four children, 8% were convicted by 18 years. Of those from families of more than four children, 16% were convicted by the same age. A similar finding was reported by Trenaman in 1952 from his sample of 700 young delinquent soldiers. Compared to a control group sample of ordinary servicemen, the average size of the delinquents' sibling family was nearly twice as large, that is, 6.3 compared to 3.6.

Family size is strongly linked with other social factors, notably, poverty and overcrowding. If the mother of a large

family happens to be a not particularly efficient manager, the children are likely to be deprived both physically and emotionally. Meals become erratic and the children lack proper attention. As a result, children often go to school without some essentials like lunch money or the books they require. Truancy becomes a common phenomenon.

Family size is also connected with social class and religious membership. Lower-class families and Roman Catholic families more often have a large number of children than middle-class or Protestant families. This link between size of the family and other factors shows that many factors interact in the event of juvenile delinquency. It becomes increasingly hard to provide for such a family and especially where there is only one bread winner, as is often the case in Kenya.

b) Overcrowding:

Overcrowding is a concomitant of poverty. As Burt (1925) put it, where all ages and both sexes are huddled together within one stifling room, decency is difficult, delicacy impossible and premature acquaintance with conjugal relations unavoidable. Under such conditions an early preoccupation with sex topics develops very readily. As a result, sexual malpractices are prevalent between members of the same household.
x Where accommodation is limited and children and parents sleep in the same room with no screen or curtain and little sleeping spaces, it is hard for parents to preserve a proper dignity and this injures their self respect. The effects of such a situation are drastic.

There is a ceaseless friction and recurrent irritation, which even among families the most patient and for bearing, can hardly be prevented, while a number of individuals, differing widely in wants and pursuits according to age, are kept jostling, every day and the day long, in the closest personal proximity, within the four narrow walls of an over-packed apartment (Burt, 1925). As a result of lack of privacy, everything is said and discussed in the presence of everybody. To escape this turmoil and ease their nerves, most members (father and bigger children) prefer to spend their spare time anywhere but ⁱⁿ in the house. The mother is only too thankful to be left

in solitary peace. This means that each day she longs for solitude and is glad to be rid of the children. The children lack the necessary parental control and supervision for they spend most of their time playing in the street. As a result, many of them engage in delinquency.

c) Broken Homes:

Investigators define a broken home as one in which one or both parents are absent owing to death, desertion, separation, divorce or commitment to a career. A complete family which consists of a father, mother and their children is vital for the development of a socially adjusted individual (Goode, 1964). A normal home situation is like a self-contained society where each person cares for the other. In 1923, a study done by the United States Bureau of Census reported that 56% of the children in institutions came from broken families. The Gluecks (1962) found out that out of 966 cases of delinquents, 48% came from broken homes. Burt (1925) did a study of delinquents and non-delinquents from the same culture, age, social status and living in the same area and going to the same schools. Broken homes accounted for 61.3% of the families of delinquents and 25.1% for non-delinquents. As such most studies have shown that delinquency is associated with broken homes.

It has been discovered that it is not broken homes which are related to delinquency, but certain circumstances in the home setting (Mc Cord & Zola, 1959). Of the parking boys Wainaina (1977) interviewed in Nairobi, she found that 45% never saw a father-figure and never called any man "father". The majority, 50% had only a mother, irrespective of a father-figure having been seen at one time or other. Her findings held that 85% of these boys had been brought up by single parents (mainly mothers). Their reasons for leaving home included dissatisfaction with family life due to stress, inability to get food, or maltreatment. For them delinquency was an escape from intolerable home conditions. This shows how critical the family is.

d) Economic Factors:

Economic factors can be combined with residence for it's one's economic status which determines his residence.

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Economic conditions and circumstances in the home environment are of paramount importance for the growth and development of the child. Many studies have shown that low social and economic status of the families contribute a lot toward juvenile delinquency. In a study carried out in London, Burt (1925) discovered that there were more incidents of poverty in homes of the delinquents he was studying than those in the control group.

Material conditions in the home where delinquency is prevalent are normally very poor. Poverty has been defined in many ways, but the term simply means that earnings are insufficient for the maintenance of bodily health and other basic needs. Parents' occupations have a bearing on the family's economic situation. Low occupations mean low incomes and therefore hardships in meeting basic needs. Other parents are unemployed and so provision becomes a daily headache.

The Gluecks (1962) noted that many parents of delinquent children are always in a hurry to be rid of their children's responsibility. As a result, many young children start fending for themselves very early and in the process get into the wrong company.

Social stratification has resulted in certain families being at the bottom of the ladder. Many studies carried out in the West have shown that families of low social status contribute most to juvenile delinquency. However, this might not be clearly observable in Kenya where "modern" social stratification has not fully shown its characteristics. But, bearing in mind that the traditional subsistent economy has been replaced by the cash one, it leaves no doubts as to the conditions and consequences of poor economic conditions.

e) Peer Groups: (ASSOCIATES)

Peer groups are especially operational where a child is not getting enough emotional support from the family setting. Erikson notes that the peer group is crucial at the adolescent stage since the adolescent may take refuge in the gang and thereby allow it with its rigid rules and intolerance of "differences" to provide him with an identity. The peer group therefore can be regarded as a generator of delinquency. For this reason, behaviour is seen not simply as a result of extreme

independent factors acting upon the individual, but rather formed by the interaction of these factors.

The notion that man's behaviour is the result of inner drives and instincts operating below the level of consciousness and the other extreme that holds that man is a passive creature acted upon by the external conditions surrounding him are rejected in favour of Erikson's approach which is thought of as being middle of the road in the nature-nurture dichotomy (Bandura, 1973). The juvenile delinquent actively associates with a delinquent peer group to fulfil a pressing need of recognition and acceptance which has not been fulfilled in the home setting.

Psychological Factors:

Psychological factors are mainly concerned with relationships within the family setting. In Cohen's (1966) view, psychological approaches to juvenile delinquency focus their interest upon the processes by which specific youths acquire delinquent attitudes and behaviour patterns. The critical causal factors centre around personality problems to which juvenile delinquency is presumed to be a response. Aichhorn (1955)², another pioneering figure in the development of this argument asserted:-

"There must be something in the child himself which the environment brings out in the form of delinquency".

Delinquents behave the way they do because they are in some way "sick", "maladjusted", or "pathological" persons. Aichhorn's statement also indicates a second assumption that the environment may function as a precipitating force, but never as a primary force in delinquency causation. Researchers have observed the following causation factors among others:-

a) Family Relationships:

Features of a child's early upbringing cited by many analysts of juvenile delinquency as likely to interfere with superego formation centre upon the emotional tone of the child's earliest experience of other persons, namely his relationship first with the mother and later, and to a lesser extent, with the father and other adults. Given a situation

where the child's material needs are adequately met, the children who thrive best are likely to be those who receive consistent parental love, encouragement and discipline. Material deprivation and emotional insecurity in combination are known to correlate with various kinds of social deviance, including delinquency. ✓

Where the relationship is close and loving, this favours the process of identification whereby the infant comes to develop a self-reference ideal based on his image of the parent. A loving relationship acts as a powerful incentive to conformity, since rebellion risks the withdrawal of love, upon which the child feels utterly dependent. If the parents are overburdened, preoccupied or neglectful, opportunity to learn and absorb rules is correspondingly reduced. Inconsistent punishment such as sometimes condoning and other times punishing a particular act worsens the situation.

Erratic, neglectful and unloving parents normally fail to inspire a restraining ideal or superego in their children. This leaves a permanent mark upon the character of their offspring who risk growing up into antisocial adults, with a permanent incapacity for love or kindness. Complex psychological traits such as feelings of resentment, anxiety, inferiority and frustration, all tending to weaken and cripple personality and character, are related to early conditioning in the home setting. According to Gluecks (1962), lack of parental interest in a child, erratic discipline, improper supervision, lack of family ambition, parental laziness and lack of parental love must be taken into consideration in the ^{parent's} ~~assessment~~ assessment of traits that become anti-social in expression. A child easily rejects the parents as symbols of emulation if their behaviour becomes unbearable. The Gluecks concluded that the resulting personality adds to the child's incompetence to meet the demands of life that are made on him in the ever-widening world outside the borders of "home".

The peaking of delinquency at puberty can be associated with the conflict that accompanies this developmental stage. The conflict between personal and social desires makes it necessary that the parents help the child overcome them and develop into an acceptable member of society. The abrupt change

inherent in this stage results in all sorts of things, ranging from delinquency to total confusion and emotional problems. As Gibbons (1970) argues, truancy and other delinquent acts ensue.

Truancy should therefore not be regarded as a childish escapade but ³⁰ a reaction to circumstances. Petty stealing is another result of unresolved oedipal complexes of the anal stage of development. Parents should therefore help their children to resolve their developmental crisis so that they can grow into secure men and women.

Parental relationships are important factors in delinquency causation. In another study it was ascertained that adolescents with problems were more likely to come from homes with marital conflicts or separation than from homes completely broken (by death or divorce). Landis (1953) remarked that the relationship between the parents is important for the appropriate growth and adjustment of the child. Emotional problems between parents result in role failure, which has a more destructive impact on the children than the withdrawal of one spouse (parent). The parents are normally engaged in quarrels and accusations and fail to give the children adequate supervision. More often than not, children engage in delinquency without the parents' notice and by the time they realize this, a lot of damage has been done.

Another factor in delinquency is parental alcoholism. Money is squandered as a result of alcoholism. As Burt (1925) asserted, health and discipline are neglected and the family is despised by neighbours. A perpetual life of discord, irregularity and passion is created and sustained. The parents abuse each other and mistreat the children. Indecency of speech and behaviour become rife and violence (of word, act, and feeling) induce a deep-seated revulsion in the growing child who may take revenge on his own tiny juniors - hurting and cursing as had been done on him. Or, he may seek to escape it all by refusing to live with the family, perhaps supporting himself by theft or by other immoral means.

Alcoholic parents do not get enough time to be with their children and to help them with their developmental crisis. The children break down under these pressures and become easy victims of delinquency. Where only one parent is alcoholic, the

other suffers emotional stress due to lack of emotional support from the other spouse and may at times breakdown. This often results into role failure.

b) Maternal Deprivation:

Regardless of the number of children in a family, each child has a different relationship with the mother, and every mother reacts somewhat differently to each child. Since a child's first personal experiences are with the mother, it is the quality of her care for him from which his fundamental attitudes to the world of people and things are developed. Before he can communicate in words with her, he communicates emotionally and senses her responses to him whether they are warm and loving, anxious, overprotective, rejecting or distant. His notion of himself, to a large extent comes from the way she talks to him and speaks of him.

Favourable conditions for personality development must include the opportunity to make warm relationships with parents or parent substitutes if the child is to develop normal social responsiveness, Stoller (1962) holds that infancy and the first three years of the child's life are the most important ones. It follows that the quality and quantity of maternal care received is vital. The importance of the emotional aspects of mothering has been emphasized. Bowlby (1965) has drawn attention to the effects of maternal deprivation. He says that separation of an infant or young child from its mother or reliable mother-substitute for any length of time negatively affects his personality structure and hence his future prospects. 'As a result of maternal deprivation, there emerges an "affectionless", unloving and unlovable personality who is afraid of giving or receiving affection.

Bowlby further demonstrated that among those involved in certain areas of disturbed or deviant behaviour there was a high proportion of affectionless personalities who had been deprived of maternal care. This does not necessarily signify a causal relationship, but it does point to a correlation which might be regarded as indicative. Apart from separation, rejection or neglect may result and predispose a child toward delinquent conduct. However, Wotten & Allen (1959) pointed out

that, prolonged separation during the period between six months and four years may cause distress, development of delinquent character and persistent misbehaviour. There's little damage, if any, if the infant is below four months.

Therefore, the satisfaction of a child's emotional needs by the mother or an adequate mother substitute helps create a child's own capacity for love as a result of the warm, intimate and continuous relationship which he has formed with his mother from infancy onwards.

c) Paternal Deprivation:

Paternal deprivation may have a great claim on deviant behaviour. A study by Andry (1962) showed that more delinquent than non-delinquent boys felt themselves to be father-rejected. Too, many delinquent girls have been found to be fatherless. If fathers play their roles defectively or reject their children, Andry says that the personality and general development of these children are adversely affected.

Father-deprived boys lose the chance to identify with a caring man and fail to gain a confident independence by association with an admired model. Fathers expect their sons to emulate them, which reinforces their masculinity. A good relationship with an adequate father also helps a boy relate effectively with authority figures. An incompetent, ineffectual, cold father provides an inadequate model, and is a source of insecurity (Farmer, 1979).

Fathering complements mothering and provides love, security and a favourable environment for growth. However, the building of a father-child relationship demands that the father is at home for a significant amount of time while the children are awake. For fathering to take place in any real sense, fathers must be actively participant in family life.

d) Single Parenthood:

Single parenthood arises from individual circumstances such as unmarried motherhood (or fatherhood!), widowhood, divorce or separation. In such situations, the failure of adequate socialization is not uncommon for the missing parent cannot be an adequate role model for the children and neither

can serve as an added source of authority in enforcing conformity to social rules. Many times the single parent is left with little time to socialize the children and enforce social control, being preoccupied with other roles. The lack of close parental supervision encourages engagement in delinquent acts.

e) Defective Discipline:

Defective discipline shows the closest connection with crime (Burt, 1925). Home discipline may be too lenient, too strict, or virtually non-existent. Excessive punishment imposed by a parent may at once call forth some challenging counter-stroke - either by swift and open retaliation, as in physical assault, or instant flight from home. It may also result into devious ways and hidden mental processes, as in reactions more indirect, like theft - of edibles mostly, or a few coins.

Discipline which is too weak and easy-going may arise from various causes which paralyse the ruling hand: physical defect or ill-health, mental disability, ignorance and being too emotional. Too, if the two parents have two opposite codes and standards of discipline, one does the shielding and spoiling while the other plays the stern and stringent parent. The effect is confusion on the part of the children.

Summary:

The above analysis of the causal factors of juvenile delinquency bears evidence of the social change that has taken place in society. The family has been adversely affected by this rapid social change which has resulted in failure to socialize the growing child into a socially acceptable individual. The urbanization and modernization processes which have accompanied social change have resulted in the breakdown of traditional patterns of social organization and a lack of proper supervision for adolescents. Rural-Urban migration has destroyed the cohesion within families by taking away the male authority figure away from home into the towns in search of employment. This weakening of the family and the society at large has resulted in high rates of juvenile delinquency.

Social System:

- a) An organised interrelated group of activities, each of which affects the others. In its broadest sense, it's the organization of the parts of the structure of a society in such a way that the functional independence that results enables the society to survive. Within the social system there are a number of sub-systems that are internally cohesive, but also affect each other.
- b) The patterned series of interrelationships existing between individuals, groups, and institutions and forming a coherent whole (social structure), the formal organization of status and role that may develop among the members of a relatively small stable group (as a family or club).

Parental Neglect:

Parent (or other person legally responsible for a child's care) does not adequately supply the child with food, clothing, shelter, education or medical care. Abandonment or desertion by parent leading to the child's likelihood to suffer from improper guardianship, lack of moral supervision or guidance to the extent that the child requires the aid of the court.

Delinquency:

Acts, the detection of which is thought to result in punishment of the person committing them by agents of the larger society. The behaviour which may, under the law, subject those who are involved to the court. It involves acts of anti-social behaviour.

Delinquent:

One who violates the social rules that regulate the behaviour of participants in a social system. One who departs from the system of norms that guide his group.

Juvenile:

A person who is of the age of fourteen (14) years or more and is under the age of sixteen (16) years. But for the purpose of this study the age is between nine (9) and eighteen (18) years.

Child:

A person under the age of fourteen (14) years.

Juvenile Delinquency:

That behaviour on the part of children which may under the law, subject those children to the juvenile court.

References:

1. Matza, 1964:12
2. Aichhorn, 1955:30

CHAPTER THREE:

METHODOLOGY OF STUDY:

Site of study:

This study was carried out in and around Nairobi. This includes the nearby Kiambu District. Nairobi is a meeting ground for many people from all parts and sectors in Kenya. Being an urban centre, it attracts people from all walks of life, people from different ethnic, economic, social and religious backgrounds. Also, being an urban centre and a place with evident signs of social change and development of many types (social through structural), it was considered an appropriate site for the study to be carried out.

This study was carried out partly in the offices of Children's Department, Vice-President's Office and Ministry of Home Affairs, (Electricity House), and partly in institutions under the same office, that is, Children's Department. The institutions included: Kabete, Getathuru, Kirigiti Girls' (Kiambu) Approved schools, and the Nairobi Juvenile Remand Home. These institutions which provided respondents for the study, serve certain purposes. Kabete and Kirigiti Approved Schools are purely rehabilitation centres where inmates (in this case the convicted juvenile delinquents) receive education and vocational training. Getathuru Approved School serves as a reception centre, while the Nairobi Juvenile Remand Home serves as a place for remanding the young delinquents to await court ruling.

Sample size:

The population sample which provided information for this research was chosen from the total population of 300 children from the four institutions mentioned above. The sample consisted of 38 male and female children. The four institutions were chosen because they promised a clear picture of the population bearing in mind the fact that the city of Nairobi is like a convergence zone for members of all ethnic groups in the country, not to mention people of various nationalities.

(22)

I noticed that respondents did not want to talk directly about their families, although some would try to rationalize everything, only to be betrayed by responses to other questions. I felt that probably my presence as an interviewer might have influenced them.

Communication is only possible when the two parties have a common medium of expression. Language barrier was a problem I faced during this study period. Some of my respondents could not express themselves in any other language apart from their own mother-tongues. Since some of them were straight from the rural areas and a number had not been to school, we could not communicate in either Kiswahili or English and I had to operate through an interpreter. This was rather a poor way or means of receiving information because a third party was involved. It could have been another reason for some of the vague answers received.

Age was another problem. Some of my respondents were of very tender age (10 or 11 years) and I found it quite a task to make them concentrate seriously in the interview process. As a result, most of them answered in mono-syllables and I could hardly get anything more from them.

Although all the institutions I visited to obtain data are under the Children's Department Agency with which I was placed for my fieldwork, there was very little communication between the two except through writing and when the institutions were facing a crisis. This made my visits there so formal that it was like I was not operating in one and the same department. The agency should be more concerned with the institutions' task of rehabilitation. This would be possible through feedback.

Finally, the inmates claimed that the reasons for their admission to the rehabilitation centres were vague and false. I had to consult the records and staff members from time to time. It all proved a bit time consuming.

CHAPTER FOUR:

PRESENTATION OF DATA:

This part of the study presents the research findings as observed in the field.

Age:

The majority of respondents were aged between thirteen and fifteen years. Fifty eight percent were found in this age group while there was 21% for the group between ten and twelve years. Table 1.

Table: 1. The Respondents' Age at the time of interview

Age (years)	N	%
Below 10	-	-
10-12	8	21.0
13-15	22	58.0
16-18	8	21.0
Total	38	100

Twenty one percent were aged between sixteen and eighteen years. There were no respondents below ten years.

One might be justified to argue that the respondents might have attained the above age while they were in the institutions, which would distort the age variable. To prove that the age between thirteen and sixteen is more prone to delinquency, the table below shows the age at which the respondents were admitted into the various institutions. Table 2.

Table 2: The Respondents' Age at commitment:

Age (years)	N	%
Below 10	1	3.0
10-12	10	26.0
13-15	27	71.0
16-18	-	-
Total	38	100

Only one respondent was admitted at age 9.

Sex:

According to the data obtained, male children were more involved in delinquent acts than female children. There were twenty-five males and thirteen female children. Table 3.

Table 3: Respondents' Sex:

Sex	N	%
Male	25	66.0
Female	13	34.0
Total	38	100

Another observation was that there were more institutions catering for boys than for girls. Out of the four institutions visited, two were solely for boys, one for girls and the fourth catered for both sexes. It was also observed that even in the mixed institution (The Nairobi Remand Home), the boys -

greatly outnumbered the girls. As a result of the unavailability of a girls' institution in Nairobi, a visit was made to visit an institution for girls in Kiambu District.

Education:

The findings showed that the number of non-educated respondents was significantly small compared to their counterparts who had received some formal education. Only two out of the thirty eight respondents had not received any formal education. As the table below indicates, the incidence of delinquency went up as the respondents became more educated, and reached a peak at the level Std. 4 - Std. 6, but dropped considerably as we went up the education ladder. Table 4.

Table 4: Respondents' Educational Level at the time of Interview:

Education	N	%
None	2	5.0
Std. 1 - Std. 3	6	22.0
Std. 4 - Std. 6	21	55.0
Std. 7 - Form 2	7	18.0
Form 3 and above	-	-
Total	38	100

Only seven respondents had reached the level Std. 7 to Form 2.

Religion:

The study observed religion in terms of religious denominations and religious faiths. This is in terms of the Christian and Islamic faiths, as well as the Roman Catholic and

Protestant denominations. The category "others" catered for any other faith or denomination. The christian respondents greatly outnumbered the Muslim respondents. Table 5.

Table 5: Respondents' Religious Affiliation:

Religion	N	%
Christianity	35	93.0
Islam	3	7.0
"Others"	-	-
Total	38	100

From the study it was noted that delinquency could be compared and to some extent related to religious denominations. Within the Christian faith, it was noted that the Roman Catholic denomination had more respondents than the Protestant denomination. Table 6.

Table 6: Respondents' Religious Denomination:

Denomination	N	%
Roman Catholic	25	74.0
Protestants	10	26.0
"Others"	-	-
Total	35	100

3 respondents were Muslims.

Place of Residence:

Most residents were rural dwellers. They significantly

outnumbered the urban dwellers. Twenty eight respondents were from the rural areas compared to ten from the urban setting. Table 7.

Table 7: Respondents' Place of Residence:

Residence	N	%
Rural area	28	44.48 74
Urban area	10	26
Total	38	100.00 78.2

44 + 26 = 108?
74
78.2

According to the data obtained, most of these respondents from the rural areas were apprehended by the police in the City. They came to the city as a result of the pull by the glamour of the urban centre. They got lost and found themselves in the hands of the police and finally before the juvenile court.

Ethnic Group:

The table below shows that certain ethnic groups experienced higher rates of juvenile delinquency than others. Table 8.

Table 8: Respondents' Ethnic Background:

Ethnic Group	N	%
Kikuyu	23	61
Kamba	4	11
Luhya	3	7
Luo	2	5
"Others"	6	16
Total	38	100

"Others" stands for: Kalenjin, Taita, Meru Embu, Samburu, Arab

There were many respondents from the Kikuyu ethnic group. This single ethnic group had more than half the total sample of respondents. The Kamba, Luhya and Luo ethnic groups had more or less a similar representation. "others" stand for six different ethnic groups which had only one respondent each. Table 8.

Mothers' Occupation:

Only 4 respondents reported that their mothers were formally employed. The majority of respondents had mothers who were just housewives. Table 9.

Table 9: Mothers' Occupation:

Occupation	N	%
* Teacher	1	3.0
* Secretary/Clerk	2	6.0
Small business	9	28
* Cleaner	1	3.0
House wife	20	60
Total	33	100

N.B.

- 1)* Occupations that are regarded as formal employment.
- 2) 5 respondents had no mothers (dead).

Twenty eight percent composed of mothers who ran small businesses, especially vegetable and cloth dealers.

Parental Marital Status:

Children from intact families (where both parents were alive and lived together as husband and wife) showed a higher representation. Seven respondents had separated parents. Table 10.

Table 10: Parents' Marital Status:

Marital Status	N	%
Married	14	38
Widowed	6	16.0
Separated	7	18.0
Divorced	2	5.0
Single (Never Married)	6	16.0
Not applicable (both dead)	3	7
Total	38	100

Six came from single parent families and another six from widowed parents. Two had divorced parents and three were orphans and so this variable was inapplicable to them.

Relationships:

In this study relationship was taken to stand for the way parents related with their children. Four out of thirty eight respondents expressed feelings other than just good or poor in terms of their relationships with parents. They were ambivalent. The majority said that their relationship with parents was good. Table 11.

Table 11: Child-Parent Relationship:

Relationship	N	%
Good	31	89.0
Poor	-	-
Ambivalent	4	11.0
Total	35	100

3 respondents were Orphans.

However, responses to other questions suggested something different. Questions 13-15 on parents' consumption of alcohol, 20 on punishment and 16-17 on parental absence from home were answered with negative attitudes. Table 12 and 13.

Table 12: Parental Punishment:

Punishment	N	%
Yes	23	67.0
No	12	24.0
Not applicable	3	9.0
Total	35	100

Sixty seven percent of the respondents received punishment regularly, compared to 24% who never received it at all. Table 12.

Table 13: Attitudes toward Parental Alcohol Consumption:

Alcohol Consumption	N	%
Like it	-	-
Don't like it	11	73.0
Not bothered	4	27.0
Total	15	100

Most of the respondents whose parents consumed alcohol did not like it and wished they could stop. The element of ambivalence in relationship is shown again by 27% of the respondents who were least bothered, Table 13. Seventy three percent said they hated their parents' drinking habits and the ensuing behaviour. Most of them said they were forced to sleep away from home to escape parents' alcoholic wrath. The parents also fought after the drinking sprees. Therefore Child-parent relationship was not as good as the responses to question number 21 would have us believe.

Discipline:

Parents tried to instil discipline and curb unbecoming behaviour through punishment. Table 12. According to information from the respondents, punishment took the form of being refused food, physical (corporal) punishment and being refused certain offers and privileges. The observation was that though most of them were regularly punished (once or twice within a fortnight), there was a high rate of delinquent acts. Only three respondents (orphans) did not receive any parental punishment.

Family Size:

It was observed that more than half the total number of respondents came from fairly large families. Twenty four out

of the thirty eight respondents came from families of five members and above, compared to the remaining fourteen from families of four members and below. Table 14.

Table 14: The Size of Respondents' Families:

Family size (members)	N	%
1-4	14	37.0
5-8	22	58.0
9-12	1	2.5
13 and above	1	2.5
Total	38	100

Two respondents came from large families of between 9 and 13 members.

The Institutions:

Most of the respondents had a very negative opinion about the rehabilitation centres in general. They felt that these institutions were more of prisons than places of recovery.

Table 15: Respondents' Attitude toward the Institutions:

Attitude toward Institutions	N	%
Liked it	2	5
Did not like it	30	79
No difference	6	16
Total	38	100

Seventy nine percent expressed very negative feelings about the institutions. When asked about a comparison of the institutions and home, most of them stressed that they preferred home and would give anything to be back there. Quite a number were home sick and terribly missed their families.

CHAPTER FIVE:INTERPRETATION OF DATA:

Many factors within and without the family setting have been identified by other studies as playing a role in making a child delinquent. This study has confirmed some of these factors, and found others less strong in this community.

Hypothesis 1:

Family setting as part of a social system is a factor in juvenile delinquency.

The family is the institution through which the child has his first contact with the world. Factors within the family that impel a child into delinquent activities were taken into account. From the data obtained it was noted that most children engaged in juvenile delinquency between thirteen and sixteen years. This is the puberty stage where adolescents are faced with a developmental crisis of a conflict between their personal desires and social expectations. Many children engaged in delinquency at this stage which interfered with their academic activities (Table 1). Many of them left school and started roaming the town streets from where they were apprehended.

This study also observed that most of these children came from fairly large families (Table 14). More than sixty-four percent of the sample had families of more than five siblings. It was also noted that family size could be associated to religious denominations. The Roman Catholics turned out to have very large families, compared to the Protestants. This can be explained by the fact that the Catholic Church does not encourage family planning practices (contraceptives). Large families led to overcrowding in the household and this bred friction between the family members. It was also hard to provide for such large families (poverty) and in most cases the children left school as a result of lack of school fees and other basic facilities. As Ruckert (1925)¹ put it: "He who is not comfortable at home will always be running off to mischief!"

not true
Roman Catholics
are more
likely to be
not necessarily
that they have
no family
planning
method

Many of them engaged in petty thefts and teamed up with others for support. The study observed defective discipline within the family. Though the children were punished, it did not seem to help in making them socially acceptable individuals. More than half the sample received regular punishment, that is, they were punished at least once or so in a fortnight. The observation was that the punishment administered was faulty: either too strict or confusing as in the case of sometimes punishing and sometimes condoning a certain act. This might have baffled the child hence the ineffectiveness.

Biased findings ~~Truancy~~ was prevalent among the respondents, and it advanced to the stage of these children leaving school and engaging in malpractices. The study noted that strained marital relationships drove these children to deviance. Most the children from intact families reported constant parental quarrels. These were mostly those whose parents were also alcoholic. After the drunk parent or parents arrived home, the children had to sleep immediately if they were not chased away from the house. *use.*—This was often the case in Catholic families where drinking is allowed so long as it is "limited". The problem becomes how to measure this "limit". These alcoholic parents were not bothered about their children's school performance and did not supervise them adequately. Some of them said their parents noticed their truancy after a long time.

The study observed that parents' marital status was an important factor. Broken homes contributed a lot toward juvenile delinquency (Table 10). Separation had the highest number of respondents compared to the other types of broken families. Since one parent is usually missing in the case of broken homes, it was found that one parent could not effectively bring up the children. Maternal or paternal deprivation led to serious repercussions such as delinquency. The children were not properly looked after because, as they reported, their only parent was busy trying to fend for them and satisfy their basic needs. There was not much love lost between the two groups. This led to strained family relationships and to escape it once in a while, the children started frequenting the streets. The study also noted that single parenthood is on the increase. (Table 10).

Hypothesis 2:

Delinquency is a solution for those who suffer parental neglect.

Three out of the thirty eight respondents in the sample expressed ambivalent feelings in terms of their relationships with parents. (Table 11). Although most of them answered the question on relationship favourably, the responses they gave for other questions portrayed strained relationships. Strained relationships bred dissatisfaction within the family setting. This had drastic effects especially on the children. Any sign of rejection from the parents easily leads the children further and further away from their parents who are supposed to be their source of solace in a world of turmoil. The tie between the two groups was weak.

Parental alcoholism had far reaching effects and led to squandering of money and neglect of the children's needs and health. The children grew negative attitudes toward the parents and finally left home and joined friends in delinquency. They reported that they could not stand their parents' alcoholic wrath and misbehaviour. Most of them justified their truancy behaviour by saying that they could not stay at school because of hunger, lack of school uniform or just because they simply felt that their parents were not bothered.

However, other parents were not alcoholic but still neglect of their children resulted. This study confirmed that material provision is not enough for the growing child. Emotional deprivation can lead to worse repercussions. One of the respondents in the sample had well to do parents. Both parents were working and so his material needs were adequately met. On asking how he came to be in the institution, he said that his mother had him arrested because he associated with bad company (a bhang-smoker) and she suspected that he, too, also smoked bhang. He said he involved with such company because he normally felt very lonely at home as he was an only child. His father often travelled on business and his mother always retired to her bedroom after serving him supper in the dining room. He would eat and watch television but would get bored and depressed. He therefore went out often to talk to this friend of his, at least to pass time.

In this case, the boy felt neglected. Although he had all the material leisure he wanted, he lacked the necessary human contact with his parents and as a result got into the wrong company. This observation ties with what the Gluecks (1962) observed that lack of parental interest in a child was bound to have an expulsive effect forcing the child into the streets. Most of the respondents said they succumbed to delinquency as a result of the feeling that the parents did not care and to them delinquency was a solution to the problem of parental neglect. This shows that they were trying to attract attention.

Marital conflicts also contributed to the neglect of children. Where parents were busy fighting against each other, there was little room to bother about the children's welfare. Marital conflict led to defective discipline. While one parent tried to punish the children, the other shielded them. This demonstrated how the two could not agree and their disagreement was manifested on the children. Marital incompatibility is therefore a serious aspect in the family setting (Hirning, 1956) Others were neglected especially in single parent families where the missing parent could not be an added authority to help in disciplining the children as well as providing for their material needs. In such a situation, discipline was neglected in favour of material provision which led to involvement in delinquent activities.

Hypothesis 3:

Delinquency provides support from peers for those who feel inadequately supported from the family setting.

The peer group can be regarded as a generator of delinquency. Peer groups are most effective during childhood, and especially between age thirteen and sixteen. As the study observed, this is the age group which is most prone to juvenile delinquency. Peer groups enhance delinquency when adolescents form gangs or teams to whose rules they adhere.

When asked why they left home and school, most of the study's respondents said that their friends (most probably age mates) told them to. They seemed to have great allegiance to

their friends' opinions. Most of them said they preferred being with their friends to being at home where the parents were always telling them to do many little chores. Since the parents did not supervise their children closely as the study observed, peers influenced their lives and hence engagement in delinquency. Again, since most of these children felt inadequately supported from home, they relied on the peer group for support. Peer groups made these children feel recognized, accepted and needed.

This study observed that peer groups were not as effective on their own in this community as they might be in other communities. Cohen (1962) says that delinquency is a gang members' response to problems of status and self-respect. He says that the gang provides moral support to the delinquent who experiences some form of "status-deprivation", which is a motivational source of lower-class delinquency. Class differences are not as pronounced in Kenya as in the United States. This study concluded that though peer groups may be based on status-deprivation else-where, it was more a source of emotional support, recognition and acceptance in this community rather than a base for class or status struggle as might be the case in Cohen's community. Other factors within the family setting such as neglect or lack of adequate supervision drove the children into the streets from where they were apprehended and later taken to court.

General Observation:

The study observed that the Kikuyu ethnic group had a very high representation of delinquents. This is because Nairobi City lies in ^{Maasai / Kalenjin} ~~Kikuyu~~ land and most of the delinquents from there are easily surrounded and taken before the court. They are referred to the nearby rehabilitation centres. The greater number of delinquents from a given ethnic group admitted into the institutions, the more the likelihood to have a higher representation in the sample. The Kamba ethnic group is also nearer to the city. This explains why it had the second highest representation.

More boys than girls were involved in juvenile delinquency. Table 3. Though boys are naturally more aggressive than

girls through the sex-role models (fathers and sometimes characters presented on television), broken homes had a greater effect where boys faced problems of identification. Most single parents were mothers.

Finally, the study observed that most of the respondents longed to rejoin their families. This was because they had a negative attitude toward the institutions (Table 15), as well as the juvenile courts. They felt that the institutions were too restricting and the whole atmosphere was unfriendly. Nevertheless, some benefitted a lot from the education and vocational training they received.

Reference:

1. Ruckert, 1925: 62

CHAPTER SIX:CONCLUSION:

Juvenile delinquency constitutes a social problem about which something must be done. This study observed that the family setting as part of a social system is a factor in juvenile delinquency. According to the study findings, children engage more in juvenile delinquency between thirteen and sixteen years. The developmental crisis that besets them at this stage needs assistance from parents to enable the children to go through it as smoothly as possible. However, as a result of other factors within the family setting, these children did not receive the necessary assistance and ended up engaging in delinquent activities.

Broken homes also contributed a great deal to juvenile delinquency. The majority of the children in the study sample came from families where parents were either separated, divorced, widowed, or single. Separation had the highest contribution to delinquency. The observation made was that families completely broken by whatever aspect contributed less delinquents compared to families where parents continued to interact unhappily as in the case of separation. Most single parents were mothers and the study found out that paternal deprivation is a serious condition in the family setting. It was also observed that intact families also contributed substantially to juvenile delinquency. This was attributed to the fact that many parents do not give their children adequate attention and a number of them completely neglect them (children). This is a result of poor marital relationship between the parents or over-commitment to their careers.

Although parents administered punishment in the form of disciplinary action, it did not have the intended effect. The study concluded that the parents were either too strict or administered defective discipline. That is, they sometimes condoned and sometimes punished a particular act. This resulted in confusion as far as the children were concerned. Uniformity in discipline or punishment is therefore necessary.

Parents' abuse of alcohol aroused negative feelings in the children. Apart from this, these parents failed in their role performance as a result of constant conflicts and fights after the drinking sprees. The children lacked proper supervision and fell easy victims to delinquency. Parental alcohol consumption led to misuse of money and many children left school prematurely while others lacked basic necessities and started stealing edibles and money. The study observed that child-parent relations were strained and the result was departure from home. Family relationships are important in determining a child's life chances.

Family size contributed to juvenile delinquency according to this study. Children from families of between five and thirteen siblings dominated the sample. Parents experience difficulties in providing for such families. Large families coupled with economic hardships brought about by social change propelled the children into delinquency. Catholics, it was observed, had fairly large families. It was as well observed that boys engaged more than girls in juvenile delinquency. Peer groups were a strong factor only where boys were concerned.

Negative opinions toward the institutions were observed. There is a need to improve family life if the problem of delinquency is to be curbed for it is utopian to think of a complete eradication. It has its roots deeply enmeshed in society and the family and so treatment should take the two into consideration. As Friedlander (1947) said, delinquency is a disease of the society, just as cancer is a disease of the individual. The study therefore concluded that the family setting plays a major role in making a child delinquent.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

Ways and means of preventing juvenile delinquency have not been clearly designed as such. However, Family Life Education Programmes have been started to try and improve family life and help people contain certain social problems. According to the Gluecks (1962), the general malaise of the times, the pervasive cultural changes and the growing disharmonies

and threats in life have been implicated. Therefore, the need for improvement in family life is clear, and as such, programmes must be based on closer examination of the social environment in which delinquency takes place. National policies should take into account this pressing problem and lay down ways of dealing with it before it gets out of hand.

In view of this, the following recommendations have been made:-

1. The family contributes a lot toward juvenile delinquency as this study observed. More education on family life is therefore recommended. It is only fair that more emphasis should be put on the initial factors that make a child delinquent. Family relationships should be an area of great importance in the family life education programmes. These include child-parent and parent-parent relationships. Parents should also be educated on the effects of maternal and paternal deprivation and parental alcoholism which leads to neglect and lack of supervision for the child.

Secondly, parents should be educated on the impact of defective discipline on the growing child as well as the result of large families. Family Planning Programmes should try to help parents bring forth the number of children they can handle and provide for. Environmental factors in juvenile delinquency would be minimized by having small families that would enable parents to cope with the daily economic hardships.

Child-welfare Programmes should be further re-examined in terms of the services they offer.

Parents should be sensitized on the effect their marital conflicts have on the growing child.

2. Juvenile courts should make it clear to the delinquents that their duty is not to punish for the offence but to readjust the offender to the community. Many respondents had a negative attitude toward the rehabilitating institutions because they felt that the judge committed them there so that they could be

punished for their misdeeds. Instead of being rehabilitated they hardened and so rendered the treatment process ineffective.

Accurate diagnosis of the circumstances and the motives influencing the offence becomes necessary. The fullest inquiries as to the antecedents and surroundings of the offence must be made for estimating the personal factors, especially mental and physical, parental influence, the effect of the environment and the effect of peer groups. The court's utmost concern should be with the welfare of the child rather than with guilt or innocence.

3. The place of rehabilitative institutions in total community strategy should be re-examined. The committed youngsters see the approved school as concerned only with compulsion and restraint. The main objective becomes to get out of the place and this contributes to the high number of escapees reported. Institutions should therefore re-examine their place in society, ensure diversified resources, each of which has a programme appropriate to the range of needs expressed in the delinquencies of specific groups of children, and, develop continuity between all institutions and community-based services.

Some people see the approved school only as a place to keep children out of trouble and out of the normal community. This is not an adequate objective although most schools or institutions do little more. A second group regards institutions as places where children may be held while they undergo individual therapy. The daily living experiences within the family setting are overlooked.

Though many inmates receive vocational training, institutions should note that the inmates' problems are not lack of training. They should provide a therapeutic environment where a child can relearn attitudes and discover trust in adults and their world and thus begin to accept their values.

As the U.S. Children's Bureau (1957) put it, the general public expects the training school to control the child for the period of commitment without recurrence of delinquent behaviour and to provide some type of training that will enable him/her become a contributing rather than merely a consuming member of society. The method and means by which such a change in the individual is effected should be relevant to each child's needs. The child's opinion of the institution is very important in the process and should always be considered.

4. A decision should always be made as to whether, for treatment, the child needs to leave home or not. If there is no danger in treating the child within the family, this should be done for it provides the child with moral support and encouragement. Institutionalization of a child should not be regarded as the only means of treatment. However, it might be necessary under the following situations:-
 - i) If the child must leave the community for a period of time for his own or community security.
 - ii) If the child's problems cannot be dealt with unless they are removed from precipitating factors in their families or environments.
 - iii) If the child is believed to be most reachable and rehabilitatable through institutional experiences, specialized in vocational-educational programmes and any other resources provided in the institutions.
It would only be a successful period of removal from society if it helps the child to equip himself and prepare for his return to the community.
5. After-care services are very important if the treatment process is to have the intended effect. After-care service programmes should be established to continue assessing the progress the rehabilitated delinquent makes. This helps in making decisions as to whether it is safe or not to have the former offender at large.

The community as a whole is responsible for the adequate rearing of its children. No agency can undertake this entire role. It should be an aspiration to help the parents restore or enhance their capacities as parents and to modify personal and situational factors so that their children may have the opportunity to develop into mature adults, able to handle parental functions in their turn.

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APPENDIX:

The questionnaire used in this study investigation:

RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE:

1. Name _____
2. Age _____
3. Sex _____
4. Religion _____
5. Ethnic Group _____
6. Residence _____
7. Education: a) Standard reached _____
b) Years at school _____
8. Was your school a) far
b) near
from home?
9. Class repeated _____
a) No. of times _____
b) Reasons for repeating _____
10. Siblings a) No. of brothers _____
b) No. of sisters _____
c) Birth position _____
11. Parents a) Together _____
b) Separated - when? _____
12. a) What does your father do? _____
b) What does your mother do? _____

13. a) Does your father drink? Yes _____
No _____
b) If yes, how often? _____

14. a) Does your mother drink? Yes _____
No _____

b) If yes, how often? _____

15. How do you feel about a) His drinking _____
b) Her " _____
c) Their " _____

16. a) Has your father been absent from home for sometime?
a) a few days _____
b) a few weeks _____
c) a few months _____
d) a few years _____
e) specify _____

b) Reason _____

17. a) Has your mother been absent from home for sometime?
a) a few days _____
b) a few weeks _____
c) a few months _____
d) a few years _____
e) specify _____

b) Reason _____

18. How were conditions at home?
a) very poor _____
b) Poor _____

c) comfortable _____

d) very comfortable _____

19. What subjects did you like? a) Most _____

b) least _____

in school _____

20. a) Were you punished regularly by parents? Yes _____

No _____

b) Reason _____

21. a) How was the relationship between you and your parents?

Good _____

Poor _____

Specify _____

b) In what way _____

22. a) How was the relationship between you and your brothers and sisters?

Good

Poor

Other

b) In what way? _____

23. What made you leave school? _____

24. Age: When committed to the institution _____

25. How did you come here (to the institution)? _____

26. What are your favourite activities here? _____

27. What do you like doing during your sparetime? _____

28. (for those who had been parking.
How was life in the streets?) _____

29. How do you find this place compared to home? _____

30. a) Do you miss members of your family? Yes _____
No _____

b) Whom do you miss most? _____

c) Reason _____

31. a) What would you like to do after this? _____

b) Would you like to go back home? _____