MASTERS OF ARTS IN SOCIOLOGY (CRIMINOLOGY)

CHALLENGES FACING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF COMMUNITY POLICING IN KENYA: A CASE STUDY OF KIBERA, NAIROBI.

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REG. No: C/50/P/7648/04

A RESEARCH PROJECT REPORT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE MASTERS OF ARTS DEGREE IN SOCIOLOGY (CRIMINOLOGY), UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

OCTOBER, 2007
Declaration

This research project report is my original work and has never been presented for a degree in any other institution. No part of this report may be reproduced without prior permission of the author and/or University of Nairobi.

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This research report has been submitted for examination with our approval as the university supervisors.

Signature  Date  

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Signature  Date  

DR. CHEPKONG'A M.K
Dedication

I dedicate this research project to the Lord Almighty for his grace that enabled me to go through the course successfully, and my beloved family members for their understanding, moral support and encouragement throughout the course and preparation of writing this research paper.
I wish to express my sincere thanks to my supervisors, Prof. O.N. Gakuru and Dr. M.K. Chepkong’a for their advice, patience and tireless efforts without which I would not have completed this project. I would also like to acknowledge the support provided by the provincial administrators in identifying the respondents in Kibera Slums. Special Thanks goes to the respondents for sacrificing their time to avail the information I needed for the study.

Over and above all, I wish to record my sincere gratitude to my father, God Almighty for the wisdom and understanding of the intricate issues of writing a research paper and all those who assisted in correcting the grammatical errors, thus improving the readability and academic worth of this study.
Abstract

The study sought to identify implementation-related constraints facing the community policing initiative at the Kibera community policing pilot site, Nairobi. The rationale was that the challenges facing the residents and the police in community policing have not been appropriately documented in the existing empirical studies in Kenya. The present study therefore sought to generate baseline data that can be used to evaluate the success of community policing programme in the area with the help of four objectives, namely: To find out the perceptions of Kibera residents and the police officers based in Kibera on the community policing implementation progress; To establish the main implementation approaches of community policing programme in Kibera and how they have assisted in reducing incidences of crime; To identify all the challenges facing implementation of community policing in Kibera; and, to identify the measures put in place by the police in Kibera to manage confidentiality of information and intelligence accruing from residents. The Kibera was purposively selected as the research site because it was one of the centres from which the government sought to pilot the community policing programme. Cluster sampling and simple random sampling techniques were used to draw a representative sample consisting of 130 residents and 35 police officers. Data was collected using questionnaires and interview guides. Descriptive statistics namely frequency counts and percentages were generated to capture the distribution of responses on the key issues addressed in the study’s questionnaire.

The study identified the key constraints to implementation of community policing as follows: poor public image of the police force; poor customer service procedures
within the police force, which discourage the residents from reporting crime; belief by the residents that crime is a source of livelihood for some people, hence the difficulty of eliminating it; persistence of mistrust between Kibera residents and the police; misunderstanding of Kibera residents of the concept of community policing; unfriendly implementation approaches; failure of the programme to incorporate civic education on the principles and practice of community policing; government laxity in providing civic education resources; equipping the police force adequately; mismanagement of confidential information by the police; and persistence of perceptions by the residents that community policing is not an effective way of fighting crime.

To counter the poor public image of the police force, the study recommends that the police should come up with strategies aimed at establishing forums through which the members of the community can express their expectations of the police officers in terms of customer service, integrity, and accountability. The police officers should desist from harassing residents when conducting investigations, besides responding promptly to community concerns without delay. The study therefore recommends that the government should engage the services of such agencies as the Department of Culture and Social Services; NGOs, and the Civil Society in the provision of civic education to the residents so as to adequately empower them in matters of public safety and security issues.
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<th>Full Form</th>
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<tr>
<td>AP</td>
<td>Administration Police</td>
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<tr>
<td>DEAD</td>
<td>Decide, Educate, Announce and Defend</td>
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<tr>
<td>ESRC</td>
<td>Economic and Social Research Council</td>
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<td>KHRC</td>
<td>Kenya Human Rights Commission</td>
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<td>NCBDA</td>
<td>Nairobi Central Business District Association</td>
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<td>NGOs</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organizations</td>
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<td>CPF</td>
<td>Community Policing Fora</td>
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<td>SPSS</td>
<td>Statistical Package for Social Sciences</td>
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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the study

The concept of community policing has its origins in an article, ‘Broken Windows’, published in the Atlantic Monthly in 1982 by two American scholars, James Q. Wilson, a political scientist, and George Kelling, a criminologist (Wilson and Kelling, 1982:5). They argued that decaying neighborhoods breed crime and disorder. In their view, one unrepaired broken window was a message that no one cared. Soon many more would be broken. To prevent this, disorder had to be contained before crime followed. According to Ngare (2007:22), community policing is a crime prevention strategy that envisages a closer partnership between responsible members of the community and the police in preventing crime. Community policing is both a philosophy (a way of thinking) and an organizational strategy (a way of carrying out that philosophy) that allows and enables the police and the community to work together in solving problems of crime, disorder and safety issues in order to improve the quality of life for everyone in the community. The views of Wilson & Kelling (1982) and Ngare (2007) both present community policing as a strategy of restoring order in the society.

The philosophy of community policing is built on the belief that the people deserve and have a right to a say on how their communities are policed in exchange for their involvement and support. The role of the police as a catalyst in a multi-sectoral approach to poverty reduction and enhanced safety and security for all provides a
clear signpost for the way forward. In the Kenyan Context, Community policing is a strategy where, "The Police work in accountable and proactive partnership with the community; the community thereby participates in its own policing and the two work together in mobilizing resources to promote community safety and support security initiatives on a long-term basis, rather than the Police alone reacting on ad hoc and short term basis to incidents as they occur" (Republic of Kenya, 2004:3).

A report by Fitzgerald (1989) on the "Presidents Commission on Criminal Justice in the U.S.A." observed that although the concept is gaining popularity, implementation of community policing could face several impediments. One of these impediments is the nature of police organizational structures which are universally characterized as rigid and centralized Para-militarized organizations (Ruteere & Marie, 2003:588). Secondly, the organizational culture within a police agency may not embrace values necessary to implant community policing strategies (Ruteere & Marie, 2003:588). This experience has been evident in U.S.A., U.K., Canada and Australia where the strategy of community policing has been implemented alongside traditional policing practices. This study will seek to establish whether these impediments are evident in the Kenyan case, besides establishing the extent to which they affect implementation of community policing.

Fitzgerald (1989) states that community policing emphasizes on problem solving at grassroots level, and this necessitates that the senior officers in the police force use their authority to empower their subordinates. The objective of this is to help patrol
officers assigned to community policing actively and creatively resolve issues as they arise without the usual bureaucratic reference to their superiors. Fitzgerald also notes that the responsibility of the senior officer shifts from operational control to coaching of their subordinates so that they are guided by reason based on consensus with the communities they serve, rather than by the book rules.

Implementation of community policing in Kenya commenced in May 2001 through establishment of a Community Policing Units in Kibera, Ruai, Ziwani, and Isiolo. This was through a joint collaboration effort between the Kenya Police, UN-Habitat, 'Saferworld', and Nairobi Central Business Association. The units in Kibera, Ruai and Ziwani played a leading role in developing an urban-based model for Community policing in Kenya (Republic of Kenya, 2004:6). In addition, the units have developed valuable knowledge and experience in setting up and running community policing forums (CPFs). The units have further been supported by the development of a National Manual that is used in training communities (in policing sites) and police services.

Since 2003, the Government of Kenya has embraced community policing as a core crime prevention strategy. This involves combining the efforts and resources of the law enforcement agencies and community members. Community policing facilitates partnership so that the public can seek assistance from Law enforcement agencies. However, the concept of community policing is faced with the challenge of enhancement of public participation in security initiatives so as to promote access to
justice; and contributing to increased safety whilst encouraging the right to live without fear of crime. Overcoming this requires focusing on issues relating to the role of the policing services within the rule of law and the delivery of effective services to the public. It also requires a focus on engaging the public on crime prevention efforts (Republic of Kenya, 2003:10).

An approach that emphasizes community policing and partnership building requires that stakeholders accept the legitimacy of the institutions and the approaches employed, as well as the legitimacy of the individuals themselves. In this respect, integrity becomes a key factor. The Kenya police, and the other stakeholders, have to ensure that they are above reproach, if partnerships for crime prevention are to become sustainable (Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative [CHRI], 2006:2). As such, strategies to improve the integrity of the institutions must be developed and implemented. Any crime prevention strategy must be holistic. The institutions involved in partnerships for crime prevention must be open to public scrutiny and oversight - this is true for both the police and for other community policing stakeholders. Lack of internal accountability mechanisms within the police force; failure to build integrity in the public institutions has been hindering successful partnerships of the stakeholders (the communities and the police), [Amnesty International, 2003; 16].

Community policing is about actively engaging the community members in public safety and security management. This means empowering the community members
on safety and security issues and policing services (Kenya Institute of Public Policy Research and Analysis [KIPPRA], 2006:3). Capacity building for community policing entails investing in adequate infrastructure at the various levels; providing appropriate equipment and skills development at both community level and the security agencies. At the moment, there is no national standard training program for community policing, nor is there a training strategy to facilitate human capacity building.

Information flow cannot be effective and efficient if there is no adequate communication infrastructure. When community members find it costly to communicate information because there is no reliable and accessible emergency line, this minimizes the flow of information. Similarly, the Law enforcement agencies may not be responsive enough if they are not adequately equipped with appropriate transport facilities. This may break partnership, as expectations are not met. Furthermore lack of meeting facilities for community policing committees to hold their meeting can jeopardize the sharing of information (ibid: 3).

In view of the foregoing facts that crime has continued to be waged on the innocent citizenry, there is need to introduce new crime prevention and tackling methods that are responsive to the needs of the public, hence the relevance and timeliness of community policing in Kenya. Community policing operates on the premise that crime perpetrators and their accomplices live within the communities in which they unleash crime. They are known to their neighbours and this vital resource can be tapped to reduce crime (RoK, 2004a).
The Community Policing core operational principles are as follows: (i) Building partnerships between security agencies and communities and confining them to a distinct administrative area that communities find themselves; ii) Volunteerism among the community members; iii) Adherence to the existing laws and procedures of public safety and security; iv) Empowerment of the community in public safety and security issues; v) Awareness and respect of regional diversity and cultures; vi) Respect for and protection of human rights; vii) Building trust between the security agencies and the community; viii) Sharing information between security agencies and public that result in 'intelligence' policing; ix) Acknowledgement that community policing not a forum for advancing political or other private interests nor is it synonymous with vigilantism that itself is illegal (RoK, 2006).

1.2. Problem Statement

Access to justice, safety and the right to live without fear is important for all people in Kenya, particularly the poor and the disadvantaged. If crime can be reduced, social and economic development will improve, thus benefiting the Kenyan economy and the quality of life for a large section of the population. The police clearly have a central role to play in improving safety and security, but so do Kenya’s citizens. Cooperation between the police and members of the public took a new turn with the launch of community policing (CP) in Kenya in 2003 (Ngare, 2007:22).

The community is the source of crime, the victim of crime and the reservoir of support to the police as it seeks to control crime. That is why successful prevention
and detection of crime depend mostly on a productive and better relationship between the public and the police. In the rapidly changing circumstances of policing today, the police recognize the need to adopt new approaches to law enforcement. New approaches of policing must be adopted while the fundamental objectives and good works of the police remain and are incorporated in crime prevention (National Steering Committee and ‘Saferworld’, 2004:11). Effective implementation of community policing in Kenya has however lagged due to various challenges.

The police have already recognized that they have a very poor public image (Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative [CHRI], 2006:2). This poor relationship hinders efforts to build sustainable partnerships. The adoption of community policing and crime prevention measures involves at the very start, recognition that a different approach to policing is being adopted, which focuses on crime prevention, proactive and responsive approaches to policing. This new approach directly contradicts the current emphasis, which has been on law enforcement, with aggressive policing being the main modus operandi. The existing legal, administrative and other institutional arrangements support the current approach to policing.

Lack of an enabling legislative and administrative environment to support community policing approaches and the development of partnerships has also hindered effective implementation of community policing initiatives (CHRI, 2006:2). This has been due to the slow pace of legal and administrative reforms in both the police and the local government departments. The constitutional review process of 2004 was seen as an
early opportunity to provide Kenyans with principles to define how law enforcement and initiatives for citizen safety are conducted. The constitution can also set standards against which policing is measured. The Ugandan Constitution, for example, clearly places upon the police, an obligation to work with communities and other stakeholders in the performance of their duties, thereby establishing a constitutional duty for the police to include stakeholders, like municipalities, in the development of crime prevention and citizen safety strategies (CHRI, 2006:2). Such an input lacks in the Kenyan constitution.

Another challenge facing effective implementation of community policing is the existing low level of basic mutual trust between the community and the police. As Pelser (1999:18) implies, this is difficult, if not impossible, if basic resources are not yet available. It is also clear that gaining trust will be a long drawn out process in some communities. It is of interest to refer again to the views of Patten et al (1999:44) on the changes required in order to develop mutual trust: "Partnership is a matter of policing style, but it is also an attitude of mind, both for police officers and for the public. It is at least as much a matter of philosophy as it is one of method, and it amounts to a profound shift in police thinking and community thinking". Initially, it is likely that developing trust will stem from demonstrated police behaviour and this is not necessarily dependent on the inevitably drawn-out process of changing police culture and attitudes. Behaviour change may precede attitude change, if behaviour is controlled by a clearly set out and widely known set of rules and procedures guiding police conduct in contacts with community members, with accompanying procedures
to deal with misconduct. To put it another way, perhaps control of police discretion is a priority in the early stages of developing trust.

Successful implementation of Community policing is largely dependent on how well security agencies manage confidentiality of information and intelligence accruing from the public. Mishandling of information can put the informers into a risk with the criminal offenders and make the community members unwilling to cooperate and collaborate in the fight against crime. Information leakages and misuse by both the community members and security agencies can adversely affect the trust between and within community members and security agencies and as a result weakens the information sharing (KIPPRA, 2006:4). Community policing strategy is based on intelligence gathering and information sharing. As a result, smooth flow of information between the community members and the security agencies is crucial.

The other big challenge facing the police as they embark on a new approach to policing is the recognition of the need for culture change within the force (Commonwealth Police Watch [CPW], 2006:1). The police have failed to reorient themselves towards citizens, and change their attitude, that citizens are "outsiders" and should therefore not be privy to, or question police action. The managers of any institution sometimes draft policy without involving the people expected to implement the policy, creating a gap between policy aspirations and actual implementation.
The Kibera community policing pilot project was implemented with the view that its success would eventually lead to replication of such projects in other parts of the country. The initiative had several key objectives, namely: to counter the poor public image of the police in Kibera; to improve the perceptions of both the police and Kibera residents on community policing programmes; and, to strengthen the police measures for managing confidentiality of information and intelligence obtained from the residents. Theoretical discussions about the challenges facing the residents and the police in community policing have not been appropriately documented in the existing empirical studies in Kenya. Secondly, observations about the empirically based research in Kibera, in order to be useful in building a body of knowledge, need to be generalizable to other pilot sites. The present study therefore sought to generate baseline data which can be used to evaluate the success of community policing and make decisions on whether to expand the programme.

1.3. Research Questions

i) How far have the approaches of implementing community policing programme in Kibera assisted in reducing incidences of crime?

ii) What measures have the police put in place in Kibera to manage confidentiality of information and intelligence accruing from the residents?

iii) What are the perceptions of the Kibera Police and residents on the implementation of Community Policing programme?
1.4. Study Objectives

1.4.1. General objective

The general objective of this study is to identify implementation-related constraints facing the community policing initiatives at the Kibera community policing pilot site, Nairobi.

1.4.2. Specific Objectives

The study explored the following specific objectives.

i) To find out the perceptions of Kibera residents and the police officers based in Kibera on the community policing implementation progress.

ii) To establish the main implementation approaches of community policing programme in Kibera and how they have assisted in reducing incidences of crime

iii) To identify all the challenges facing implementation of community policing in Kibera

iv) To identify the measures employed by the police in Kibera to manage confidentiality of information and intelligence accruing from residents.

1.5. Scope and Limitations of the study

The study was conducted in Kibera slums. Kibera is located approximately 5 km south east of the city centre of Nairobi. The study population comprised of both Kibera residents and the police. The key study informers were the members of Provincial Administration, civil societies and religious sectors. The residents are
distributed across 13 villages in Kibera slums namely: Makina, Kisumu Ndogo, Gatwekera, Soweto, Kianda, Lindi, Silanga, Mashimoni, Soweto of Laini Saba, Laini Saba, Kambi Muru, Raila Quarry and Kichinjio. The police officers are stationed in five police camps namely Divisional Headquarters; Sarang'ombe police camp; Kibera Location police camp; Mugumoini police camp; and, Laini Saba police camp. The study covered issues on the implementation-related challenges facing the community policing programme at the Kibera pilot site. Given this scope, the findings of the study may not be generalized to other urban slum dwellings, community policing pilot sites, or the country at large in view of the limited research sample.

The study was limited by the scarcity of documented literature and statistics on community policing initiatives in Kenya, specifically in relation to the pilot site. During fieldwork, the field study involved extensive criss-crossing of the slum in a bid to track down the residents from each of the 13 villages for purposes of ensuring adequate representation of the sample. The expanse of the slum and agglomeration of houses hindered accessibility to some areas of the slum. Illiteracy amongst the respondents was also limiting in the sense that the researcher and the assistants had to frequently explain and/or interpret questionnaire items for them to comprehend. Simplification of the questionnaire items may have, in some cases, altered the intended meaning, thus eliciting an unanticipated response. The interpretations were considered necessary to ensure a maximum response rate was obtained.
1.6. Operational Definition of Key Terms

**Implementation**

This means the execution of the programme as per the strategic plans

**Community Policing**

This is an initiative where security agencies work in an accountable and proactive partnership with the community towards mobilizing resources to promote long term community safety and support of security initiatives.

**Challenge**

This means a hindrance towards meeting the goals and targets of the particular community policing approach or initiative

**Kibera Resident**

Someone who lives or has lived in Kibera slums for a period of more than one year or who was born there

**Implementation Approach:** Ideas or actions intended to deal with the problem of executing an initiative

**Perception:** A way of conceiving something
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Introduction

This chapter presents a review of the related literature on the subject under study presented by various researchers, scholars, analysts and authors. The research has drawn materials from several sources which are closely related to the theme and the objectives of the study. Models by writers are used to illustrate the various sub topics mentioned in the objectives of the study.

2.2. The Concept of Community-Based Policing

A classic definition of community policing as the co-production of safety and order by the police and the public was provided by Skolnick and Bayley (1988, pp 4-5):

"The central premise of community policing is that the public should play a more active part in enhancing public safety. Neither the police nor the criminal justice system can bear the responsibility alone. In an apt phrase, the public should be seen along with the police as "co-producers" of safety and order. Community policing thus imposes a new responsibility on the police to devise appropriate ways for associating the public with law enforcement and the maintenance of order."

Core components of community policing were suggested by the Department of Safety and Security in South Africa in 1997, in its Community Policing Policy Framework and Guidelines. The five core elements of community policing in South Africa were defined as 1) Service orientation - the provision of a professional
policing service, responsive to community needs and accountable for addressing these needs: 2) *Partnership* - the facilitation of a co-operative, consultative process of problem-solving; 3) *Problem solving* - the joint identification and analysis of the causes of crime and conflict and the development of innovative measures to address these; 4) *Empowerment* - the creation of joint responsibility and capacity for addressing crime; and 5) *Accountability* - the creation of a culture of accountability for addressing the needs and concerns of communities.

In practice, a range of interpretations of community policing are possible, along the lines of the well-known 'ladder of participation.' At one extreme, this may refer to the police and public providing information to each other as well as the public being asked to help the police. At the other extreme, emphasis may be solely on empowerment of the community. Both extremes seem unrealistic in terms of providing a successful partnership.

In a new beginning report on Policing in Northern Ireland placed great emphasis on policing with the community by recommending that policing with the community should be the core function of the police service and the core function of every police station" "Patten et al. (1999). The report featured more on neighbourhood policing rather than community policing and saw devolution of police work to this level as essential. Patten et al. (1999) argued that neighbourhood policing should be at the core of police work, and that the structure of the police service, the staffing arrangements and the deployment of resources should be organized accordingly.
They recommended that neighbourhood policing teams be empowered to determine their own local priorities and set their own objectives, within the overall Annual Policing Plan and in consultation with community representatives. Decisions taken in this way are much more likely to be responsive to local community needs than directions from senior ranks far removed from the neighbourhood.

Patten et al (1999) also defined partnership between the police and the community as working together to solve problems in the long term on the basis of shifts in attitudes in both the police and the community. This means the police working in partnership with the community; the community thereby participating in its own policing; and the two working together, mobilizing resources to solve problems affecting public safety over the long-term rather than the police alone reacting to short-term incidents as they occur. Besides being a matter of policing style, partnership is also an attitude of mind, both for police officers and for the public. It is at least as much a matter of philosophy as it is one of method, and it amounts to a profound shift in police thinking and community thinking.

Community based policing is both a philosophy (a way of thinking) and an organizational strategy (a means to carrying out that strategy) that allows the police and the community to work together in new ways to solve problems of crime, disorder and safety. It rests on two core elements: changing the methods and practice of the police and taking steps to establish a relationship between the police and the public. At the heart of community based policing are three essential and complementary
components: i) *Partnerships* between the police and community; ii) *Problem solving* as a method to identifying and solving problems of concern to the community; and iii) *Change management* within the police organization to accommodate increased community involvement (Hendrickx and Ryckeghem, 1999).

The success of community-based policing is hinged on security sector reform. At the core of this is police reform. An effective police reform must be linked with other criminal justice institutions. The entry point to the justice systems and the part in closest contact with the public, a fair, competent, non-discriminatory, and a respectful police is integral to upholding the rule of law, a service and not a force. Along with courts and correctional services, the police are an essential part of the ‘triad’ of institutions needed to make a justice system run effectively. Success is only realized if all parts of the triad are effectively reformed (Dixon, 2000).

### 2.3. Community Policing in Kenya

The popularization of community policing gained momentum in Kenya when the New York-based Vera Institute of Justice proposed in 1999 to support related projects in Kenya through two civic organizations, the Kenya Human Rights Commission (KHRC) and the Nairobi Central Business District Association (NCBDA). NCBDA was formed by six businessmen in 1997 to pressurize the Nairobi City Council over the delivery of public goods, and notably on security issues. It now brings together more than a hundred business institutions and individuals based in Nairobi. The Vera Institute has a long history of interest in policing, specifically the developing of new tools and principles of policing in the United States. In the 1990s, it established a
project on ‘Policing in Democratic Societies’, the aim of which was to help reform police systems in newly democratic societies, including South Africa. The community policing project has subsequently been adapted and translated by Kenyan actors. (Bloom and Currie, 2001)

The Kenya Police appear to bring to community policing a similar interpretation to that of their South African counterparts. As far as can be established from police reports, community policing became an operating concept some time in the 1990s, before the 1999 Vera Institute initiative. In his introduction to the police service’s 1997 Annual Report, the then Police Commissioner set out what the police perceive community policing to be: ‘the concept involves recruiting civilians as police reserve officers and the construction of police offices and residential houses on a harambee basis’\(^1\). This view is close to the ‘broken windows’ version of community policing. In its implementation, it is hierarchical, oriented towards the maintenance of order, and ignores the principles of trust, co-operation and accountability that civic organizations stress (Kenya Police, 1997).

Community policing strategies have been developed and applied in western countries from the 1980s and recently adopted by developing countries including Kenya. Against the background of the authoritarian models of policing that have operated in Kenya since colonial times, community policing, on the face of it, may appear a transformative model. Indeed, conceived as the entry-point for the introduction of democratic values into policing, it holds the potential for fundamentally altering the

\(^1\) *Harambee* is Kiswahili for self-help.
political culture of the police force. It may not only change the vocabulary of policing but more fundamentally challenge the definitions of crimes and criminals that have often earned the police force criticism from the public and civil society groups (Mutuma and Marie-Emmanuelle, 2003).

2.4. Challenges to Implementation of Community Policing

According to Mutuma and Marie-Emmanuelle (2003), the central problem, is that in the implementation of their community policing initiatives, the civic organizations either fail to address or deliberately ignore the wider political context, which is characterized by practices of clientelism, corruption, and coercion (Roger, 1999). The police force had never embraced a culture of accountability and both the KHRC and the NCBDA concede that it is almost hopelessly corrupt. The 2002 Kenya Bribery Index, published by Transparency International-Kenya, pointed out that the law enforcement sector was regarded as the most corrupt in Kenya, with respondents subjected to demands for a bribe in nine out of ten cases. The interaction between the development of violence and corruption inside the police forces had also been documented in a report by Africa Watch (African Watch, 2003). Yet these projects did not incorporate strategies for addressing this police culture.

Another point of concern on the political dimension of community policing is the meaning of democratization in policing matters. In a study commissioned by Mutuma and Marie-Emmanuelle (2003), they established that in Kangemi\(^2\), the community was very suspicious of the police force and would prefer to patrol alone. In an

\(^2\) Kangemi is a cosmopolitan unplanned settlement to the west of Nairobi whose inhabitants are mostly low income earners. Levels of education are generally low and many of its residents are unemployed (KHRC, 1999).
interview with the secretary of the coordinating committee in Kangemi (dated 3rd of July, 2002 and quoted in Mutuma and Marie-Emmanuelle, 2003), the secretary reported that they don’t let them [police] go patrolling alone because they extort money from the residents. They would not like people to lose their money without justice. So they only invite the police in as a back-up. Because of police harassment of the tenants, the owners of land and property in Kangemi’s neighbourhood had always tried to keep the police out of the area. Consequently, they were reluctant to work with the police on the Kenya Human Rights Commission (KHRC)-fronted initiative and had argued against night police patrols. (Mutuma and Marie-Emmanuelle, 2003).

This kind of community policing where the police are merely a back-up for the community is far more community-centered than the sector-policing approach developed in Western countries. Yet what it means, in other words, is the replacement of formal security by private or community initiative. In such an instance, the line between vigilantism and community policing becomes tenuous, opening up the possibility of violence and social anarchy. Vigilantism and the so-called Jeshis (private militia/gangs often bankrolled by political figures) have been condemned for working outside of the legal framework and employing senseless violence (KHRC, 1998a; Anderson, 2002). Neighbourhood watches may be more human rights friendly but may be an ominous signifier to the privatization of security and a warning of the possible decay of the state. On the other hand, government responses, especially to violent crime, have involved the use of special squads with the sole aim of killing of suspects rather than investigating and preventing crime. This has often left a trail of
deaths, often of innocent people, further destroying the little remaining public trust in
the police force (KHRC, 1998b).

Although community policing formally intends to develop democratic ways of
preventing crime and a better management of policing, there exists shortfalls of such
principles as conceptualized and implemented in the Kenyan context. The principles
underlying community policing have often been adopted because the concept is itself
vague enough to fit almost any interpretation. This has led to conflicting and often
contradictory perspectives, as in the current situation in Kenya. In situations where the
basic interaction between the police and the people is one of confrontation, it may
require a whole new political culture for community policing, in its democratic sense,
to stand a chance. (Mutuma and Marie-Emmanuelle, 2003)

Community policing is today widely proposed as the basis for effective policing in
developing countries, promising the key features of good governance, human
rights, participation, democracy and justice for the excluded. It is often seen as very
much a British export, although it developed earlier in the USA, where its origins lie
in a number of attempts to repair what were perceived to be poor and declining,
police-minority relations. A major and almost universal limitation of community
policing is that it has been interpreted as an “add-on” function to the other
responsibilities of the police. It is clear therefore, that one of the primary goals of
community policing policy - the fundamental transformation of policing - has
frequently not transpired as envisaged (Clegg et al., 2000).
The most frequent implementation problem cited for community policing is the failure to involve all sectors of the community. A study in South Africa by Janine (2002) showed clear evidence of the marginalization or exclusion from Community Policing Fora (CPF) of the poor, some racial groups and women. Problems of representativeness had been compounded by CPF becoming the sites of local struggle between political parties and civic associations and an independent local review of the Western Cape project concluded that political tensions still threaten the community policing structures. (Janine, 2002)

The success of any crime prevention programme is directly related to whether it is accepted by the target community (Sean and Dick, 2002). Community acceptance requires some degree of community involvement in the project development process. Defining 'community involvement' is however difficult. The main avenue for community participation is through the CPF. The CPF is mandated to communicate the needs and views of the community organizations it represents on the community safety forum. The relationship between Community Security Fora (CSFs) and local government is also relevant to the issue of community involvement. Although community needs are currently expressed through the community police forums, cognizance must be taken of elected councilors who have a democratic mandate from the people in their area, and should participate in the identification of community needs. Local government is also key to the sustainability of CSFs. (Pelser (1999), Pelser (1999) further argued that marginalized groups are usually very reluctant to
become involved and may become increasingly disadvantaged by community policing which works better in wealthier areas. Although the logic of community policing assumes the availability of inherent community resources – social capital – which may be tapped and enhanced to produce social order; very often such groups have, in practice, limited resources to offer. The areas that are in most need of this service, such as Nairobi’s Kibera, are often characterized by extreme poverty and other social maladies.

Writing about the UK, Adam Crawford (1999) also emphasized on the reluctance of some communities to become involved. Communities are often portrayed as the antithesis of violence and crime. On the contrary, however, the collective values of a community may serve to stimulate and sustain criminality. Pelser (1999) argued that implementation of the South African community policing policy entrenched the very societal divisions it was meant to help overcome. This primarily happened through its relative success in wealthier (and whiter) areas and the consequent displacement of crime to those communities which, because of their relative poverty, are less able to deal with its effects. The poor usually lack resources and hence they are frequently intimidated by the police. This in turn affects the sustainability of CPFs. Indeed, in South Africa the CPFs often worked best in (white and wealthy) areas which required them the least, and remained fragmented and weak in poorer areas (Pelser, 1999).

The security situation in Kenya has deteriorated in recent years, particularly in the country’s urban centers, with an upsurge of car-jacking, robberies, and murders.
Crime costs the country millions of shillings every year in terms of loss of property, loss of life, huge payments by insurance companies in form of compensation (Gimode, 2001). Locally some forms of organized crimes such as those of proscribed sects have created fear to the public. For instance, in Kenya sects such as Mungiki, Taliban, and Jeshi la mzee have created havoc to the government and the public at large. It is also of importance to note that crime creates an environment not conducive for conducting business. This has kept away many direct foreign investors, hence the lethargic economic development (Nairobi-habitat, 2003).

In the backdrop of intermittent waves of crime in the country, the Kenya police, the authority charged with the maintenance of law and order have been dynamic in its response to crime. There are various departments in the police force that have undergone special training to deal with different kinds of crime. The paramilitary general service unit and anti riot police are highly trained to deal with crime that is riotous in nature. The criminal investigation department arm of the police force is highly trained to investigate already committed crimes and/or anticipated ones. The commissioner of police has also formed various crime-specific prevention units in the police force as the need arise. These include the flying squad, quick response team, the Kifaru, Kanga squad, among others (Gimode, 2001). However, notwithstanding the diligent and judicious police work, crime has continued to exist in the country. This is evidenced by some of the latest headlines on crime such as "cry of a nation" Sunday Nation June 3, 2007 in reference to Mungiki attacks on a matatu tout and a
The law enforcement agencies are seriously inadequate and lack the necessary resources and capacity to combat the perpetrators of crime effectively. With the cooperation of the business community, the police force has embraced the principle of community policing. Unfortunately, a legacy of distrust still exists between the police and the public, emanating from past police practices. Upon realizing this problem, the police together with NGOs have teamed up to raise public awareness on the need for more effective policing and adequate resources and duties within the framework of human rights (Gimode, 2001).

2.5. Theoretical Framework

Singleton et al (1988:136) assert that all empirical studies should be grounded in theory. A theory is a set of interrelated constructs, definitions and propositions that present a systematic view of phenomena by specifying relations among variables, with the purpose of explaining and predicting the phenomena (Kerlinger, 1964:11). This study used theoretical literature to try and explain the challenges facing the implementation of community policing initiatives in Kibera.

2.5.1. Personal construct theory

This theory was developed by George Kelly in 1967. According to the theory, individuals actively interpret reality and guide their behavior according to the kind of reality they construe. Criminal activities within the slum areas in Kenya are a reality,
and different people look at it from different perspectives. Odegi-Awoundo (1993) viewed crime as a deviant behaviour that is considered not to be a serious threat to group life and therefore can be tolerated. The second category of deviance involves behaviour that is perceived to threaten the group life and need to be punished. Richard Quinney (1970) viewed crime as a definition of behaviour that is conferred on some people by others. Agents of law, legislators, police, prosecutors, magistrates and judges representing the segments of politically organized society are responsible for formulating and administering criminal law. Crime can be viewed in terms of social construction. Sociologists have examined crime as a human construct. Its definition comes from individuals and social groups and involves a complex social and political process that extends over time. Individuals and groups create crime by making rules through two models, the consensus and conflict perspectives.

Kelly argued that personal constructs are retained only as long as they are believed to be accurate. This implies that when individuals get new information on a particular issue, they are likely to use that information to re-evaluate their constructs. Depending on the strength of the new information, individuals can retain their constructs or revise it. Going by this theory therefore, it is possible to help the communities living in slum areas to adopt and maintain a cordial relationship with the security agencies in the spirit of community policing. According to Steven (1973), personal constructs are ways in which predictions for the future are embodied in our psychological processes. This means that with adequate participation from the community members and the police, responsible crime prevention mechanisms and practices can be embodied in
the minds of the residents which will in turn help them to form constructs that will help them to protect themselves from criminal acts. The question here is, are the residents ready to participate in the policing initiatives together with the police? What extent can they trust the police when they divulge information relating to insecurity?

2.5.2. Systems theory

A system is a set of elements connected together which form a whole, thereby possessing properties of the whole rather than of its component parts (Checkland, 1981). Activity within a system is the result of the influence of one element on another. This influence is called feedback and can be positive (amplifying) or negative (balancing) in nature. Systems are not chains of linear cause-and-effect relationships but complex networks of interrelationships (Senge, 1990). Systems are described as closed or open. Closed systems are completely autonomous and independent of what is going on around them. Open systems exchange materials, energy and information with their environment. The systems of interest in managing of community policing initiatives can all be characterized as open systems.

Kay and Schneider (1994) described the essential implications of systems theory as follows: “systems theory suggests that ecosystems are inherently complex, that there may be no simple answers and that our traditional managerial approaches, which presume a world of simple rules, are wrong-headed and likely to be dangerous”. Citizen engagement in the maintenance of law and order, decision-making, and policy implementation has been integrated into a wide range of governance processes. The call for participatory processes is partly driven by the democratic position that those
affected by a decision should be involved in the decision-making process (Jacobs, 1999; Dryzek, 2000; Roseland, 2000).

Participation in such decisions, it is argued, empowers people to have control over their lives (Freire, 1970). Currently participatory processes take many different forms on a variety of scales (Economic and Social Research Council [ESRC], 1998; Barnes, 1999; Smith, 2001) including consultation, stakeholder dialogue or negotiation, valuation exercises and criteria mapping. However, despite the wide range of forms participation may take, actual practices face significant challenges. Public consultations often fail to be truly participatory, since they can have little bearing on final decisions and very limited influence on resulting policy. Consultation has, however, taken many forms and actual practices have often been criticized as tokenistic and cynical. In some cases, the approach taken has been referred to as the “decide, educate, announce, defend” (DEAD) process of public consultation (Roseland, 2000). A similar approach is essential in the implementation of policing initiatives in the Kibera pilot site. The systems theory argues that all the four aspects namely decision-making, civic education, awareness, and defense should be well integrated if the desired results are to be achieved.

2.6. Conceptual Framework

Henderson (1994) argued that that the major aims of a research should be either to relate data to a theory or to generate a theory from data. In order to hold existing and new knowledge, theory should provide a conceptual framework, so that knowledge can be interpreted for empirical application in a comprehensive manner. The
conceptualization will be based on the following variables: Perceived image of the police by the residents; Modes of implementation applied; Mistrust due to ways of handling confidential information; and nature of existing Legislative and administrative structures. These will form the independent variables of the study. The dependent variable is quality of implementation of community policing. Figure 2.1 shows the conceptualization of the relationship between the dependent and the independent variables.
Figure 2.1: The Conceptual Framework

- Perceived image of the police by the residents
- Modes of implementation applied
- Mistrust due to ways of handling confidential information

Leads to

- Failure in implementation of community policing

Nature of existing Legislative and administrative structures
CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on the research design to be used in this study. Research design is defined as "the plan, structure and strategy of investigation conceived so as to obtain answers to research questions and to control variance." A research design guides the research in collecting, analyzing and interpreting observed facts. This chapter details the approaches that were used in the research project. This includes the study design, study population, sampling techniques, data collection instruments, data collection procedures, data collection methods and data analysis. Kerlinger, (1964; 275)

3.2. Site Description

The research was conducted in Kibera Slums, Kenya, which also happens to be the largest slum in Africa. The name "Kibera" is derived from kibra, a Nubian word meaning "forest" or "jungle". It is located approximately 5 km southwest of Nairobi city centre and is approximately 2.5 square kilometers. Nairobi Dam is to the south. The estimated population density is 300,000/km². There are 13 villages in Kibera slums namely: Makina, Kisumu Ndogo, Gatwekera, Soweto, Kianda, Lindi. Silanga, Mashimoni, Soweto of Laini Saba, Laini Saba, Kambi Muru, Raila Quarry and Kichinjio. Its population is estimated at about 700,000 people (UN-HABITAT, 2003; Republic of Kenya, 2004b).
Implementation of community policing in Kenya dates back to May 2001. Community Policing Units were first established in Kibera, Ruai, Ziwani, and Isiolo. Kibera residents have since recognized that they have a role to play in their safety and security. It is a role they would like to play, except for some hindrances. Key among them is the lack of community governance structures to facilitate their participation; poor public image of the police in Kibera; and mistrust between the police and the residents in Kibera. The process of forming community policing forums is in itself a model for building functional community decision-making and policing structures. A community policing forum readily becomes a platform for discourse on a wider range of issues facing the residents of Kibera.

3.3. Unit of Analysis

According to Schutt (1996:593), unit of analysis is “the level of social life on which the research question is focused”. The unit of analysis in this study is the category across which the study’s variables vary. The major units of analysis for this study were the challenges facing the implementation of community policing at the Kibera pilot site.

3.4. Units of Observation

The units of observation were the residents and the police officers involved in the implementation of community policing at the pilot site. The key informants were the local provincial administrators, who are also members of the local security committees namely, the District Officer (DO), and the Chiefs. Included also were the religious leaders and members of the civil society working in Kibera.

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3.5. Target Population

According to Borg and Gall (1983:241), “a target population refers to all the members of a real or hypothetical set of people, events or objects to which we wish to generalize the results of our research.” The target population of this study was made up of approximately 700,000 residents (Republic of Kenya, 2004b) distributed within the 13 villages and 76 police officers distributed across five police camps within Kibera, namely; the divisional headquarters, Kibera Location, Magumoini, Laini saba, and Sarang’ombe (Republic of Kenya, 2004b) [See Table 3.1].

3.6. Sampling Techniques

Cluster sampling and simple random sampling techniques were used to draw a representative sample consisting of residents and police officers. To ensure representativeness in selecting a sample of residents, the villages were treated as clusters from which a sample of 10 residents was drawn through simple random sampling. This gave the study a sample of 130 residents. The local administrative leaders assisted by identifying the boundaries of each village. In sampling the police officers, the police camps were treated as sampling units from which a representative sample was drawn through proportional sampling. As shown in Table 3.1, a proportional sample of 46% was drawn from each of the five police camps. A total of 35 police officers were interviewed for the study. Key police informants in Kibera were also interviewed by use of interview guides. Police records on reported cases of crime two years before and after the introduction of community policing were also examined.
Table 3.1: The Sampling matrix for police officers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Police Camp</th>
<th>Number of Officers</th>
<th>Sampling Percentage</th>
<th>Sample size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Divisional Headquarters</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarang'ombe</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kibera Location</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magumoini</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laini Saba</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>76</strong></td>
<td><strong>46%</strong></td>
<td><strong>35</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


3.7. The methods and tools of data collection

Data was collected using primary and secondary sources. Primary data was collected using questionnaires that contained both structured and semi-structured questions. According to Kinoti (1998), semi-structured questions elicit useful qualitative data. The questionnaires were administered to the residents and police officers. In addition, the researcher used interview guides to collect data from the selected 5 key informants. The interview guides were appropriate for this category of the population since the researcher intended to get in-depth qualitative information from the interviews.

An introductory letter from University of Nairobi was obtained to enable the researcher to administer questionnaires to the various categories of the study population. Four research assistants were recruited and trained to help in the data
collection exercise. They were also instructed to re-assure the respondents about the confidentiality of their feedback. Field work lasted from 13\textsuperscript{th} to 24\textsuperscript{th} August 2007.

3.8. Data Analysis

After all the questionnaires were adequately checked for data quality, the information was coded and entered into a spreadsheet and analyzed using SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) and Excel. Descriptive statistics namely frequency counts and percentages were generated to capture the distribution of responses on the key issues addressed in the study’s questionnaire. Qualitative data was recorded on the measures put in place by the police in Kibera to manage confidentiality of information and intelligence that accrue from the residents. The findings were presented using tables and pie charts.
CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the data analysis, interpretation, and discussion of the research findings from the two categories of respondents. The chapter examines, categorizes, and tabulates the evidence so as to address the initial objectives of the study. The rest of the chapter is organized as follows: section 4.2 presents the demographic characteristics of the sample; and Section 4.3 presents the challenges facing the implementation of community policing in Kibera. The study targeted a sample of 130 residents from Kibera and 35 police officers. The residents sample received a response rate of 90.8% which represents 118 respondents out of possible 130, since 12 questionnaires were inadequately filled, and were therefore insufficient for the analysis. This was performed to eliminate the effects of missing responses. A response rate of 77% (n=27) was obtained for the questionnaires administered to the police.

4.2. Demographic Characteristics of the Sample

4.2.1. Profile of the Residents’ Sample

Table 4.1 below presents the demographic characteristics of the residents’ sample. The gender of the respondents was fairly split with 58.5% comprising of male respondents and 41.5% comprising of female respondents. The findings indicate that a majority of the responses from the residents were drawn from those aged above 30 years of age (64.9%); while 27.4% were aged between 20 and 30 years. This indicates that the sample was largely drawn from the adult members of the target population. A
majority of the respondents (64.4%) were married while 22.0% reported that they were single; 8.5% were widowed; 4.2% were separated; and 0.8% was divorced. The respondents also comprised of individuals who had attained formal training or education (Primary school – 29.3%; Secondary school – 41.4%; and Tertiary college – 21.6%). Finally, 75% of the residents reported that they had stayed in the city for a period of more than 10 years; with 68.8% of them reporting that they had lived in Kibera slums for a period of more than 10 years. This indicates that the sample was drawn from respondents with vast experience with the socio-demographic characteristics of the study area, hence issues on policing and crime patterns.

Table 4.1: Demographic Characteristics of the Residents’ Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>% of the total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>58.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>41.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>118</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Category</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>% of the total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Below 20 years</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between 20 and 30 years</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>27.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between 30 and 40 years</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>31.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above 40 years</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>117</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>% of the total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>64.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>22.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>118</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Highest level of education attained</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>% of the total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>29.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>41.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary college</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>21.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>116</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Duration of Stay in Nairobi City</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>% of the total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 5 years</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 10 years</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 10 years</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>75.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>112</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Duration of Stay in Kibera

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Duration of Stay in Kibera</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>% of the total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 5 years</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 10 years</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 10 years</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>68.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>112</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 4.2.2. Profile of the Police Officers’ Sample

Table 4.2 presents the demographic characteristics of the sample for police officers. The gender of the respondents was split as 81.5% comprising of male respondents and 18.5% comprising of female respondents. The findings indicate that a majority of the police officers (66.7%) were aged between 20 and 30 years; 22.2% were aged between 30 and 40 years; and 11.1% were aged more than 40 years. The skewness of the age distribution of the police officers was attributed to the fact that a majority of them (66.7%) were in the rank of the ‘constable’ [the beginners’ rank of the administration police] while 18.5% were in the rank of the ‘sergeant’ [rank bestowed to officers after subsequent promotions based on experience in the police force]. The similar statistics and rationale were reported for the officers’ duration of stay in the city. The duration of service in the police force varied with equal split of 37% reported for officers that had served the police force for a period of less than 5 years and those that had served for a period of between 6 and 10 years. The remainder proportion (11.1%) had served in the police force for a period of more than 10 years. They comprised of the corporals, AP sergeants, and the Senior Sergeant. The findings indicate that the Kibera community policing pilot project is comprised of police constables under the command of their base commandants and designate senior officers.
Table 4.2: Demographic Characteristics of the Police Officers’ Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>% of the total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>81.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Category</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>% of the total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between 20 and 30 years</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between 30 and 40 years</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above 40 years</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Duration of Stay in Nairobi City</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>% of the total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 5 years</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 10 years</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 10 years</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Duration of Serving in the Police Force</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>% of the total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 5 years</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>37.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 10 years</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>37.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 10 years</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ranking in the Police Force</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>% of the total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constable</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AP sergeant</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior sergeant</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4.1 presents findings on the split of responses regarding the duration that the police officers had served in the Kibera community piloting project. The findings indicate that a majority of the police officers (42.3%) had served in the policing project for a period of 2 years; 11.5% had served for a period of 1 year; 15.4% had served for 3 years; and 30.8% had served for 5 or more years. This indicates that about 90% of the officers interviewed had experience of two or more years in the Kibera community policing site. This implies that the officers have wide exposure and experiences to the policing issues within the Kibera community.
Table 4.3 presents a multiple response analysis to indicate the specific subject areas that the officers had been trained in. They included customer service, public relations, human psychology, social work, and project management. The findings indicate that a majority of the officers had received training in customer service (96.2%), public relations (96.2%) and human psychology (65.4%).

Table 4.3: Key Subject areas of Training by the police officers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Subject Area</th>
<th>Number of responses</th>
<th>% of the total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Customer service (N=26)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>96.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public relations (N=26)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>96.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human psychology (N=26)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>65.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social work (N=26)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>46.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Project management (N=26)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.3. Implementation-Related Challenges to Community Policing

4.3.1. Perceived Relationship between the Police and the Residents

The 117 respondents (arising out of 1 missing response) gave mixed opinions regarding their rating on the nature of relationship between the police and the residents of Kibera. The findings of Table 4.4 indicate that a cumulative majority of the interview sample 62 (53%) rated the nature of relationship between the police and the residents as ‘unfriendly’. On the other hand, 55 (47%) of the interview sample were of the opinion that there exists a friendly relationship between the residents and the police. This was attributed to decrease in cases of police harassment; commitment manifested by the police in their work; and evidence that the performance of the police has improved over the years. The unfriendly nature of the relationship between the police and the residents was attributed to the continued existence of fear of the police by the residents; the police rarely take time to meet with the community; the police terrorize people instead of helping them; and the existence of a wide gap between the police and the community.

These persistence of perceptions hinder the implementation of community in many ways. First, a fearful resident will desist from diverging crucial information to the police for fear of intimidation. Secondly, the rare interaction between the police and the residents leaves the former uniformed on the needs of the latter. Thirdly, the fact that the police unleash terror on the police makes it difficult for the residents and the police to establish a healthy partnership with a common vision to fight the existing vices. It also continues to widen the gap between the residents and the police.
Table 4.4: Nature of Relationship between Police and Residents – A residents’ Perspective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>% of the Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very friendly</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairy friendly</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>28.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendly</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairy unfriendly</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>30.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very unfriendly</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>22.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>117</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unlike the residents, the findings of Table 4.5 indicate that 24 respondents (89.9%, cumulative) of the police officers interview sample agreed that there exists a friendly relationship between the residents and the police officers. The police officers attributed this to the fact that residents are able to report crime without fear; the residents have become co-operative. The officers were of the opinion that even though the residents are friendly there is need for further civic education to ensure that the residents get to understand the importance of sustaining a friendly relationship between the officers and the members of the Kibera community.

Table 4.5: Nature of Relationship between Police and Residents – A Police Officers’ Perspective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Number of responses</th>
<th>% of the Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very friendly</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairly friendly</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendly</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>48.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairly unfriendly</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very unfriendly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>27</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The findings presented in Table 4.6 indicate the level of perceived image of the police force by the interviewed residents. The findings indicate that 53 respondents (46.2%, cumulative) agreed that there is a widespread belief that the police officers collude with criminals to commit crime. This indicates that the residents believe that the police officers play a role in propagating crime within Kibera slums. This is further reinforced by the fact that 43 respondents of the residents' interview sample (38%, cumulative) reported to agree that there is a widespread belief that the police officers disguise themselves as criminals to commit crime. Secondly, the findings indicate that 62 respondents (54.9%, cumulative) agreed that the Police force is characterized by poor customer service procedures which discourage the residents from reporting crime. Finally, the findings of Table 4.6 indicate that 64 respondents (56.2%, cumulative) agreed that in the slum areas of the city, crime is a way of living for some people and hence are difficult to eliminate.

The findings therefore reveal that the implementation of community policing in Kibera is faced with the following challenges: First, the poor image of the police. This is attributed to poor customer service manifested by the police officers while serving the residents of Kibera. It is further evidenced by the belief from the residents that the police either play a role in propagation of crime or they disguise themselves as criminals in order to commit crime. Secondly, the beliefs by the residents that crime is an inevitable source of livelihood for some residents within the slum, hence the futility of eliminating it completely. This has over time led to perpetration of crime in Kibera slums.
Table 4.6: Perceived Image of the Policing Towards Policing Initiatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Not sure</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is a widespread belief that the police</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>officers collude with criminals to commit crime</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>39.1%</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N=115)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is a widespread belief that the police</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>officers disguise themselves as criminals to</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>41.7%</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>commit crime (N=113)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police force is characterized by poor customer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>service procedure which discourage residents</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>31.9%</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from reporting crime (N=113)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the slum areas of the city crime is a means</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of earning a livelihood for some people hence,</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it would be difficult to eliminate (N=114)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The findings on Table 4.7 below indicate the responses of the police officers towards the perceived image of the police force in relation to policing initiatives. The findings indicate that a majority of the officers’ interview sample, 14 (51.8%, cumulative) agreed that the police force is characterized by poor customer service procedures which discourage residents from reporting crime. For instance, after a crime is reported, there are delays experienced at the police post in allocating the investigating officers by the base commander. Delays are further experienced before the investigating officers can arrive at the crime scene. In addition, the police further
proceed to harass the residents during their investigation exercises. In addition, 55.5% of the officers further agreed that in the slum areas of the city, crime is a way of living for some people hence; it would be difficult of the police to eliminate it. These findings reinforce the findings of Table 4.6 derived from the residents indicating that the implementation of community policing in Kibera is faced with the challenge of poor image of the police (due to poor customer service and perpetration of crime) and the belief by the police that crime is a source of livelihood for some residents within the slum and therefore it would be difficult to eliminate completely.

Table 4.7: Police Officers’ Views on the Perceived Police-Public Image

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Not sure</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n %</td>
<td>n %</td>
<td>n %</td>
<td>n %</td>
<td>n %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The police force is characterized by poor customer service procedures which discourage residents from reporting crime (N=27)</td>
<td>2 7.4%</td>
<td>11 40.7%</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>13 48.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the slum areas of the city, crime is a way of living for some people and hence it would be difficult to eliminate (N=27)</td>
<td>3 11.1%</td>
<td>6 22.2%</td>
<td>3 11.1%</td>
<td>3 11.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the findings from the key informants’ interviews, the poor public image of the police force has been brought about by persistence of mistrust between Kibera residents and the police; misunderstanding of the concept of community policing by the Kibera residents; lack of goodwill from the citizens to be major partners in community policing; and frequent intrusion into the privacy of the residents by the
police officers especially those on patrols within the slum. The key informants further attributed the mistrust between the police and the residents to factors such as political influence; ignorance; mistreatment of Kibera residents by the police; poor information about the concept of community policing; and corruption whereby the police raid and take people's property by force. According to one of the church leader who was interviewed as a key informant, the police regard the volunteers of information as the primary suspects, hence the would-be volunteer informants choose to avoid the police altogether. The mistrust was also found to come about due to failure by the police to treat confidential information with the desired level of confidence. That is, police officers fail to keep secrets when given information.

4.3.2. Implementation Approaches

The findings presented in Table 4.8 below indicate the Kibera residents' views on the challenges to implementation of community policing arising out of the implementation approaches used. A cumulative majority of 75 respondents (66.9%) agreed that there is shallow understanding by the residents on the core concepts of community policing. This indicates that the approaches applied have not incorporated sensitization and civic education to the residents on the principles and concepts of community policing. Secondly, 55 respondents (50.5%) were in agreement that the Kenya police lacks adequate capacity to counter crime in a densely populated area such as Kibera. Inadequate capacity is evidenced by the few number of police officers allocated in patrolling the slums; and insufficient vehicles to conduct patrols appropriately besides responding promptly to crime scenes. This shows that the residents of Kibera are in agreement that the government has not factored in enough
resources to enable the police to effectively counter crime through such an approach as community policing. The findings further demonstrate that a majority of the residents' interview sample 61 (56.4%) are always willing to partner with the police in controlling the prevalence of crime in Kibera. However, the existence of mistrust arising out of poor public image of the police was found to be a hindrance in achieving this important collaboration.

Additionally, the findings on Table 4.8 below indicate that 58 respondents (53.7%) from the residents' interview sample were of the view that the area residents are always willing to report suspicious persons or activities to the police. However, this is hampered by lack of confidence in the police by the residents in handling of criminal reports and intelligence information availed to them. Therefore, the failure by the existing implementation approaches to address the issues surrounding effective collaboration of the residents and the police as well as lack of civic education on the concept of community policing are identified by the residents as challenges to effective implementation of community policing in Kibera.
### Table 4.8: Challenges arising out of the approaches of implementation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Not sure</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>There is shallow understanding by the residents on the core concepts of community policing (N=112)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is shallow understanding by the residents on the core concepts of community policing (N=112)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27.7%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Kenya police lacks adequate capacity to counter crime in a densely populated area such as Kibera (N=109)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Kenya police lacks adequate capacity to counter crime in a densely populated area such as Kibera (N=109)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>33.9%</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The residents are always willing to partner with the police in controlling the prevalence of crime in Kibera (N=108)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The residents are always willing to partner with the police in controlling the prevalence of crime in Kibera (N=108)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>27.8%</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The residents are always willing to report suspicious persons or activities to the police (N=108)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The residents are always willing to report suspicious persons or activities to the police (N=108)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The study established that only 41.5% (n=49) of the 118 respondents had reported a suspicious activity or persons to the police in the spirit of community policing. This indicates that a majority of the respondents (58.5%) had never reported such incidents or persons to the police. They attributed this to failure by the police to respond to reported cases at all; failure by the police to respond swiftly; demands for bribes by the police officers before the issue can be attended to; and 'the fear of the unknown', where the residents fear that the police may leak the information to the suspect(s) thus endangering their lives. According to the police, residents are usually afraid to report to the police in order to conceal the identity of the suspects because the suspects are usually comprised of their own relatives.
needs of the residents; and it becomes difficult for the police to identify, arrest and prosecute criminals due to lack of assurance to the would-be volunteer informers.

Figure 4.2: Frequency of consultations to residents on matters of their security (N=116)

![Pie chart showing frequency of police consultations to residents on security matters.]

The findings on Table 4.9 below indicate overwhelming unanimity of responses by Kibera residents on whether or not there had been any civic education programmes organized by government or civil society to create awareness to residents of Kibera on concepts of community policing. The findings indicate that a majority of the respondents 106 (92.2%) reported that no civic education programmes have ever been organized by government or civil society in Kibera to create awareness on the importance of participating in community policing initiatives. This appears to indicate
that the implementation approaches of community policing programme do not incorporate civic education of the residents on the concepts involved in community policing.

Implementation of CP is therefore hindered by failure to equip the residents with the background facts and the principles behind community policing. Civic education would also enlighten the residents on the nature of security environments they are living in besides how they can manage the prevailing insecurity. In order to equip the people with the necessary background and knowledge of what is expected, civic education plays a very central role. As indicated above, currently civic education is highly lacking in the existing implementation approaches. This is further attributed to laxity by the government in providing the resources necessary in provision of civic education.

Table 4.9: Civic Education Programmes on Community Policing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The question posed to the interview sample</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Are there any Civic education programmes organized by government or civil society to create awareness to residents of Kibera on concepts of community policing? (N=115)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.8%</td>
<td>92.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.3. Information Management & Confidentiality of Intelligence Sources

Table 4.10 below presents findings on the extent to which Kibera residents trust the police officers in maintaining confidentiality with the sensitive information they
divulge to them. The findings indicate that a majority of the respondents 81 (72.3%) reported that they cannot trust the police to maintain confidentiality with the sensitive information they divulge to them, hence the high prevalence of mistrust of police officers. The persistence of mistrust of the police officers is attributed to poor image of the police force by Kibera residents. This is further linked to perceptions by the residents that the police officers either collude with criminals to commit crime or they disguise as criminals to commit crime. Implementation of community policing is thus hindered in the sense that the residents opt not to divulge crucial information to the police for fear of the officers being associates or accomplices of criminals.

Table 4.10: Extent of residents’ Trust to the police with information (N=112)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Not sure</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residents can confidently trust police with sensitive information they divulge to them (N=112)</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>19.6%</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>52.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to 16 police officers from the interview sample, the police usually strive to treat confidential information with the high level of confidentiality it deserves. To encounter the problem, the police have put in place report drop-in boxes. However, they are located in the police posts hence the residents still find them inaccessible. Secondly, a Public Relations Officer has been trained in the police force to sensitize other officers on the same. The police have also been trained in rapid response, random patrol and conducting investigations and customer care.
From the sample responses of police officers, 24 (88.9%) of the respondents were aware of the presence of police informers within Kibera slums. The informers were cited as of great importance in the implementation of community policing programmes. They have been used to improve the nature of the relation between the public and police; they help in identifying suspects; they have played a role in changing people’s attitude towards police officers; they have easy access to criminals’ hideouts; they aid the police in knowing how to put in place the strategy to fight crimes in volatile areas and in identifying the hide outs of criminals; in addition to enlightening the community on the general aspects of community policing.

4.3.4. Stakeholders' Expectations of Community Policing

Table 4.11 presents findings on the expectations of the residents in regard to community policing during its launch in Kibera. They included eliminating incidents of robberies in the slums (77.1%, n=74); security of lives and properties (47.9%, n=46); good, close and healthy relationship between the police officers and the community (37.5%, n=36), among others. All these expectations were further expected contribute towards crime alleviation; to help in rebuilding a positive image to police force; to enable the police to investigate thoroughly before taking action; to avoid killing of innocent persons; to keep confidential secrets; and to bridge the gap between the community and the police.
Table 4.11: Residents’ Expectations of Community policing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expectations</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage of the total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eliminate incidents of robberies (N=96)</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>77.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secure lives and properties (N=96)</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>47.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Build good, close and healthy relation between the community and the police (N=96)</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>37.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, as indicated in Figure 4.3, 88 (75.2%) of the interviewed residents reported that their expectations had not been met.

Figure 4.3: Expectations of the residents regarding community policing (N=117)

"Are expectations of the residents met?"

The interviewed residents attributed this to the following reasons: there is no recognizable difference (27.4%, n=23); it is still risky to pass over information to the
police (50%, n=42); there is poor communication between the residents and the police (45.2%, n=38); the residents still believe that some police officers have some dealings with criminals (52.4%, n=44); the implementation is very poor (38.1%, n=32); police patrols coverage is very low so more officers are necessary for effective response and to build trust with community (31%, n=26); and the police force in the area is not fully equipped to combat crime (40.5%, n=34).

These issues cited have effect on implementation of community policing in various ways. First, failure to recognize any difference by the residents implies that they have not yet realized any benefits from the roll-out of community policing initiatives and thus, they would be reluctant to actively participate in policing programmes. The continued feeling by the residents that it is risky to disclose information to the police implies that there is persistence of mistrust between Kibera residents and the police officers. Principle number (viii) of community policing (Republic of Kenya, 2006) outlines community policing as a means of sharing information between security agencies and public that result in 'intelligence' policing. However, poor communication between the residents and the police is an indication that there is poor exchange of information between the residents and the police and thus it becomes difficult to achieve the objectives of principle (viii). Poor coverage by the police during patrols further implies that some sections of the slum are not covered in the policing initiatives of the police. Additionally, the failure by the government to fully equip the police with anti-crime combat gear implies that they lack adequate capacity to fight crime besides other vices in Kibera slums.
Table 4.12: Reasons Behind unmet Expectations of Community policing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons cited</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage of the total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No recognizable difference (N=84)</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>27.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is still risky to pass over information to the police (N=84)</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There exists poor communication between the residents and the police (N=84)</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>45.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some residents still believe that some police officers have some dealings with criminals (N=84)</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>52.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The implementation is very poor (N=84)</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>38.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police patrols coverage is very low (N=84)</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>31.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police officers in the area are not fully equipped to combat crime (N=84)</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>40.5%</td>
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</table>

Table 4.13 below depicts the distribution of responses regarding the residents' opinions on the effectiveness of community policing in fighting crime. A majority of the respondents (n= 96, 82.8%) were of the opinion that community policing is an effective way of fighting crime. These respondents reported that community policing would be effective in fighting crime if both the residents and the police can take it seriously; if the police officers are friendly; if it is implemented professionally; and if upright and law abiding citizens are used to pass information for swift action.

Table 4.13: Residents' opinion on effectiveness of community policing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question posed to the residents</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Is community policing is an effective way of fighting crime? (N=116)</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>82.8%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
A majority of the residents (n=73, 62.9%) further acknowledged that since the introduction of community policing, the level of crime within Kibera slums had not reduced. They attributed this to factors such as police releasing back the criminals to the community, due to inadequate evidence to prosecute arising from poor investigations (n=51, 43.9%); lack of commitment by the residents in active participation in policing initiatives (n=42, 36.2%); residents still feel threatened to report criminal activities to the police (n=61, 52.6%); there have been incidents of armed crime despite community policing partnership (n=29, 25.0%); investigations on criminal cases are carried out very slowly (n=38, 32.8%, ); and illegal guns are still in the hands of criminals (n=53, 45.7%). Figure 4.4 indicates that there was increase in reported cases of major crimes namely murder, rape, and armed robberies after the launch of community policing in year 2003. This indicates that there was no significant reduction in the number of reported crimes even after the roll-out of community policing programme. The findings from the secondary data agree with the findings derived from the above sections.
Figure 4.4: Comparative Crime Statistics 2000-2003 and 2004-2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armed Robbery</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Break-in</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stealing</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


4.3.5. Non-participatory Monitoring and Evaluation Frameworks

Table 4.14 indicates that a majority of the police officers interviewed (n=23, 85.2%) acknowledged that there exists monitoring and evaluation measures for community policing activities. The measures include questionnaire-based surveys where the questionnaires are administered to the clients; through the Police customer service desk; by holding seminars; through crime trend analysis; through having time event charts and crime trend analysis (the chart aids in guiding the performance and assessment of the reliability); and through crime incidents trend analysis, loggings and overlays. The main challenge identified was lack of involvement of the residents by the police during evaluation of the progress made.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Are there measures towards monitoring and evaluating progress of community policing programmes amongst the police? (N=27)</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
<td>85.2%</td>
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CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of major findings, conclusions, and recommendations. The study sought to identify implementation-related constraints facing the community policing initiative at the Kibera community policing pilot site, in Nairobi.

5.2. Summary of Key Findings

The study identified the key constraints to implementation of community policing as follows: poor public image of the police force; poor customer service procedures within the police force, which discourage the residents from reporting crime; belief by the residents that crime is a source of livelihood for some people, hence the difficulty of eliminating it; persistence of mistrust between Kibera residents and the police; misunderstanding of Kibera residents of the concept of community policing; unfriendly implementation approaches; failure of the programme to incorporate civic education on the principles and practice of community policing; government laxity in providing civic education resources; equipping the police force adequately; mismanagement of confidential information by the police; and persistence of perceptions by the residents that community policing is not an effective way of fighting crime.
5.3. Conclusions

In the light of the above constraints, implementation of community policing has failed due to its inability to build partnerships between security agencies and communities; failure to protect volunteers of information among the community members; failure to sensitize Kibera residents on the need to uphold the existing laws and procedures of public safety and security; failure to adequately empower the community in public safety and security issues; persistence of mistrust between the security agencies and the community; fear of the residents to share information between them and security agencies for fear of victimization; and performance of the community policing initiatives below the key stakeholders' expectations. Implementation of community policing programme in Kibera has therefore not been in line with the nine core principles of community policing as outlined in The National Community Policing Policy paper (Republic of Kenya, 2006).

5.4. Recommendations

In the light of the implementation-related challenges that were identified from the foregoing findings, various recommendations were derived. To counter the poor public image of the police force, the police should formulate strategies aimed at establishing forums through which the members of the community can express their expectations of the police officers in terms of customer service, integrity, and accountability. The police officers should use friendly approaches while conducting investigations besides responding promptly to community concerns without delay. The government should also engage the services of such agencies as the Department of Culture and Social Services; the NGOs; and the Civil Society in the provision of
civic education to the residents so as to adequately empower them in matters of public safety and security. The civic education will further address the importance of their participation in consultations and decision-making on matters touching on their security. Thirdly, the government should adequately equip the police force in terms of personnel and equipment so as to enhance their capacity to fight crime. This will enhance the efficiency of the police in the implementation of community policing programmes.

5.5. Areas for Further Research

Further research is recommended in the following areas: The policing needs for the residents of Kibera in order to establish the reasons behind the poor and unfriendly relationship between the police and the residents; the core issues to be addressed while conducting civic education on issues of public safety and security; and also to guide in the design of implementation approaches to be applied.
REFERENCES


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APPENDIX I: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR KIBERA RESIDENTS

My Name is Wilson Kiprono, a student in the Faculty of ARTS at the University of Nairobi. In partial fulfillment of the requirement of the Master of Arts (MA), I am conducting a study on the challenges facing the implementation of community policing in Kibera. I would like to ask you some questions and I assure you that the responses you will give will be treated as strictly confidential.

Section A: Background Information.

Village____________________________________

1. Gender
   i. Male □
   ii. Female □

2. Age category
   i. Below 20 years □
   ii. Between 20 and 30 years □
   iii. Between 30 and 40 years □
   iv. Above 40 years □

3. Marital status
   i. Married □
   ii. Single □
   iii. Widowed □
   iv. Separated □
   v. Divorced □
4. What is your highest level of education?
   i. None
   ii. Primary level
   iii. Secondary level
   iv. Tertiary college
   v. University level

5. Duration of living in the city _______________ months/years
6. Duration of stay in Kibera _______________ months/years

Section B: Community Policing Implementation Challenges

7. How would you rate the relationship between the police and Kibera residents?
   a. Very friendly
   b. Fairly friendly
   c. Friendly
   d. Fairly unfriendly
   e. Very unfriendly

   Briefly explain your rating __________________________________________

8. Applying the key provided, indicate your extent of agreement (or disagreement) to the following aspects on community policing (tick in the boxes provided).

   S = strongly agree  4 = Agree  3 = Not sure  2 = Disagree  1 = strongly disagree
a) The residents can confidently trust the police with sensitive information they divulge to them

b) There is a widespread belief that the police officers collude with criminals to commit crime

c) There is a widespread belief that the police officers disguise as criminals to commit crime

d) The police force is characterized by poor customer service procedures which discourage residents from reporting crime

e) In the slum areas of the city, crime is a way of living for some people and hence it would be difficult to eliminate

f) There is shallow understanding by the residents on the core concepts of community policing

g) The Kenya police lacks adequate capacity to counter crime in a densely populated area such as Kibera

h) The residents are always willing to partner with the police in controlling the prevalence of crime in Kibera

i) The residents are always willing to report suspicious persons or activities to the police

9. a). In regards to community policing, have you ever reported a suspicious person or activity to the police recently?
   i. Yes 
   ii. No

   If YES, how long did the police take to respond? ______________________

b). If NO why haven’t you reported?

   ______________________________________________________
   ______________________________________________________
   ______________________________________________________

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10. Briefly describe how the police conduct its investigations on issues raised by the residents.

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

11. What were your expectations on community policing during its launch?

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

12. Do you think your expectations have been met?
   i. Yes □
   ii. No □

Briefly explain your response

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

13. Do you think that community policing is an effective way of fighting crime?
   i. Yes □
   ii. No □

Briefly explain your response

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

14. Do you perceive that the level of crime reduced in Kibera after the introduction of community policing programmes?
   i. Yes □
   ii. No □
15. Are Kibera residents usually consulted by the police on matters touching on their security?
   i. Never □
   ii. Rarely □
   iii. Frequently □
   iv. Always □

16. Are there any civic education programmes organized by the government or the civil society to create awareness to the residents of Kibera on the concepts of community policing?
   i. Yes □
   ii. No □

If YES, how effective are such programmes? ____________________________

17. What recommendations can you make towards enhancement of community policing programmes in Kibera?

   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________

THANK YOU FOR YOUR RESPONSES
APPENDIX II: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR POLICE OFFICERS

My Name is Wilson Kiprono, a student in the Faculty of ARTS at the University of Nairobi. In partial fulfillment of the requirement of the Master of Arts (MA), I am conducting a study on the challenges facing the implementation of community policing in Kibera. I would like to ask you some questions and I assure you that the responses you will give will be treated as strictly confidential.

Section A: Background Information.

Police camp ________________________________

1. Gender
   i. Male ☐
   ii. Female ☐

2. Age category
   a) Below 20 years ☐
   b) Between 20 and 30 years ☐
   c) Between 30 and 40 years ☐
   d) Above 40 years ☐

3. How long have you lived in the city? ________________ months/years

4. How long have you worked in the police force? ________ months/years

5. What is your current ranking in the police? ____________________________

6. For how long have you worked in the Kibera community policing pilot project _______________ months/years

7. Which of the following areas have you been trained in? (Tick all that apply)
   a. Customer service ☐
   b. Public relations ☐
   c. Human psychology ☐
   d. Social work ☐
Section B: Community Policing Implementation Challenges

8. How would you rate the relationship between the police and Kibera residents after the introduction of community policing?
   a. Very friendly
   b. Fairly friendly
   c. Friendly
   d. Fairly unfriendly
   e. Very unfriendly

Briefly explain your rating

9. Applying the key provided, indicate your extent of agreement (or disagreement) to the following aspects on community policing (tick in the boxes provided).

5 = strongly agree  4 = Agree  3 = Not sure  2 = Disagree  
1 = strongly disagree

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<td>e)</td>
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a) There is a widespread belief that the police officers collude with criminals to commit crime
b) There is a widespread belief that the police officers disguise as criminals to commit crime
c) The police force is characterized by poor customer service procedures which discourage residents from reporting crime
d) In the slum areas of the city, crime is a way of living for some people and hence it would be difficult to eliminate
e) There is shallow understanding by the residents on the core concepts of community policing
f) The Kenya police lacks adequate capacity to counter crime in a densely populated area such as Kibera

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10. Have you received any training on community policing?

a. Yes [ ]

b. No [ ]

If YES, how has the training been beneficial to your participation in community policing activities?

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

If NO, what challenges do you encounter due to lack of training on community policing?

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

11. In regards to community policing, have you recently received reports from residents on a suspicious person or activity?

a) Yes [ ]

b) No [ ]

If YES, how long did the police take to respond? _______________________

If NO why do you think they don’t report?

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________
12. Briefly describe how the police conduct its investigations on issues raised by the residents.

____________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________

13. What were your expectations on community policing during its launch?

____________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________

14. Do you think your expectations have been met?
   a) Yes □
   b) No □

Briefly explain your response ______________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________

15. Do you think that community policing is an effective way of fighting crime?
   a) Yes □
   b) No □

Briefly explain your response ______________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________

16. Do you perceive that the level of crime reduced in Kibera after the introduction of community policing programmes?
   a) Yes □
   b) No □
17. Are Kibera residents usually consulted by the police on matters touching on their security?
   a) Never □
   b) Rarely □
   c) Frequently □
   d) Always □

18. Are there any civic education programmes organized by the government or the civil society to create awareness to the residents of Kibera on the concepts of community policing?
   a) Yes □
   b) No □
   If YES, how effective are such programmes? ____________________________

19. What measures has the police put in place to manage confidential information and intelligence obtained from the residents?

20. Are there police informers in Kibera?
   a. Yes □
   b. No □
21. Are there any measures towards monitoring and evaluating the progress of community policing programmes amongst the police?
   a) Yes ☐
   b) No ☐

22. What recommendations can you make towards enhancement of community policing programmes in Kibera?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR RESPONSES
APPENDIX III: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR KEY INFORMANTS

My Name is Wilson Kiprono, a student in the Faculty of ARTS at the University of Nairobi. In partial fulfillment of the requirement of the Master of Arts (MA), I am conducting a study on the challenges facing the implementation of community policing in Kibera. I would like to ask you some questions and I assure you that the responses you will give will be treated as strictly confidential.

Category of the informant (DO, Chief, Church leader) Other specify

1. Category of Key informant
   a. Civil Society (specific) ________________________________
   b. Provincial Administration (specific) _____________________
   c. Kenya Police (Specific) _______________________________

2. How long have you been working on welfare/administrative based programmes in Kibera? ____________________ Years.

3. In your view, poor public image of the police force and how has it affected the implementation of community policing in Kibera?
   Yes □
   No □

b) What brings about this poor public image?

   ______________________________________________________
   ______________________________________________________
   ______________________________________________________

4. To what extent are the residents of Kibera informed on the concepts of community policing? Explain

   ______________________________________________________
   ______________________________________________________
   ______________________________________________________
5. Are there any measures towards monitoring and evaluating the progress of community policing programmes in Kibera or within your organization?
   a) Yes ☐
   b) No ☐

   Briefly explain your response ____________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________________________

6. What are the measures put in place by the authorities in Kibera to manage confidentiality of information and intelligence accrued from the residents?
   ____________________________________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________________________

7. What are the causes of mistrust between Kibera residents and the police?
   ____________________________________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________________________

8. What recommendations can you make towards enhancement of community policing programmes in Kibera?
   ____________________________________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________________________

THANK YOU FOR YOUR RESPONSES