THE ROLE OF VIGILANTE GROUPS IN THE MANAGEMENT OF SECURITY IN URBAN CENTRES: A CASE STUDY OF SUNGUSUNGU IN SUNEKA TOWNSHIP, KISII COUNTY

By

DAVID HAGGAI OYAGI

A research project submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in political science and public administration, University of Nairobi.

2016
DECLARATION

I declare that this research project is my original work and has never been submitted for examination in any other University.

Sign:………………………………………………………………...Date…………………………

David Haggai Oyagi

This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as university supervisor.

Sign:………………………………………………………………...Date…………………………

Dr. George Katete
DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my wife; Mary and my children; Omwange, Oyagi and Okenyuri for the all round support they gave me during the period of this study. Their unexplainable and immeasurable support inspired me to realize this dream.

I also wish to dedicate this paper to my father MzeeOyagi and my mother Mama Nyabonyi, they stood by me and ensured my success; being peasants they always reminded me that ‘my farm is education’.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I take this opportunity to thank the almighty God the creator of the universe for the good health, grace and favor that has seen me to this far. I most sincerely extend my gratitude to my supervisor; Dr. Katete for his guidance, encouragement and devotion to read, correct and refine this work.

Finally the Kenya Police fraternity more so the General Service Unit colleagues who kept building up my confidence in this course; they proved to me that I can make it despite the obvious challenges involving an officer attached to this unit.
# TABLE OF CONTENT

DECLARATION ............................................................................................................................................. ii  
DEDICATION .................................................................................................................................................. iii  
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT .............................................................................................................................. iv  
TABLE OF CONTENT ............................................................................................................................... v  
LIST OF TABLES ........................................................................................................................................... ix  
LIST OF FIGURES ....................................................................................................................................... x  
LIST OF ACRONYMS ............................................................................................................................... xi  
ABSTRACT .................................................................................................................................................. xii  
CHAPTER ONE ........................................................................................................................................... 1  
INTRODUCTION ........................................................................................................................................ 1  
1.0 Background to the study ...................................................................................................................... 1  
1.2 The problem Statement ....................................................................................................................... 3  
1.3 Research questions ............................................................................................................................. 5  
1.4 Main objective of the study .................................................................................................................. 5  
1.4.1 Specific objectives .......................................................................................................................... 5  
1.5 Research Hypotheses ......................................................................................................................... 6  
1.6 Justification and significance of the study ......................................................................................... 6  
1.7 Scope and Limitation of the study ...................................................................................................... 6  
1.8 Definition of concepts ....................................................................................................................... 8  
1.9 Research methodology ....................................................................................................................... 9  
1.9.1 Research design .......................................................................................................................... 9  
1.9.2 Study Population ......................................................................................................................... 9  
1.9.3 Target population ....................................................................................................................... 10  
1.9.4 Sample size and Sampling Technique ......................................................................................... 10
3.2.5 Factors which motivated individuals to become members of Sungusungu ................................. 31

3.3 The Thriving of Sungusungu Vigilante Group ........................................................................ 32

3.3.1 Sungusungu vigilante group active .................................................................................. 32

3.3.2 How active was Sungusungu? .......................................................................................... 33

3.3.3 Reasons why Sungusungu had thrived? ............................................................................ 33

3.3.4 Factors contributing to the thriving of the Sungusungu .................................................... 34

3.3.5 Other factors that propelled the Sungusungu activities .................................................... 35

3.4 Illustrations of the effects of Sungusungu operations to the security of Suneka residents .... 36

3.4.1 Impacts of activities of Sungusungu on the security of the residents of Suneka ............. 36

3.4.2 Most outcomes of the Sungusungu operations .................................................................. 37

3.4.3 Recommendations on the effects of involvement of Sungusungu in crime management to
the security of Suneka residents ............................................................................................. 38

3.5 The analysis of key informants’ response .......................................................................... 38

CHAPTER FOUR ......................................................................................................................... 44

THE FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ............................................. 44

4.0 Introduction ............................................................................................................................. 44

4.1 The Findings .......................................................................................................................... 44

4.1.1 Factors that motivated individuals to join the Sungusungu vigilante group .................... 44

4.1.2 The thriving of the Sungusungu vigilante group .............................................................. 44

4.1.3 Illustrations on the effects of Sungusungu operations to the security of Suneka residents ........................................................................................................................................... 45

4.2 Conclusion ............................................................................................................................ 45

4.3 Specific Recommendations .................................................................................................. 46

BIBLIOGRAPHY ......................................................................................................................... 47

APPENDICES .............................................................................................................................. 52

APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE ............................................................................................. 52
APPENDIX 2: SEMI-STRUCTURED QUESTIONS FOR KEY RESPONDENTS ................. 58
APPENDIX 3: CONSENT FORM FOR KEY INFORMANTS ................................................. 60
**LIST OF TABLES**

Table 1: Target population............................................................................................................ 10
Table 2: Sample size ..................................................................................................................... 11
Table 3: Recruitment into Sungusungu; ....................................................................................... 31
Table 4: Factor motivated individual to become members of Sungusungu; ............................ 32
Table 5: Reasons why Sungusungu had thrived ........................................................................... 34
Table 6: Factors contributing to the thriving of the Sungusungu ................................................. 34
Table 7: Impacts of activities of Sungusungu on the security of the residents of Suneka............ 36
Table 8: Most outcomes of the Sungusungu operations ............................................................... 37
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Response rate ............................................................................................................... 24
Figure 2: Gender of the respondents ............................................................................................. 25
Figure 3: Age brackets of the respondents .................................................................................... 26
Figure 4: Level of Education ....................................................................................................... 27
Figure 5: Level of education of Sungusungu members ............................................................... 28
Figure 6: Individuals join Sungusungu to reduce crime ............................................................... 29
Figure 7: Some of the crimes addressed by sungusungu at Suneka ............................................. 30
Figure 8: Sungusungu vigilante group active ............................................................................... 33
Figure 9: How Sungusungu has been active? ............................................................................... 33
Figure 10: Other factors that propelled the Sungusungu activities ............................................. 36
Figure 11: Recommendations on the effects on involvement of Sungusungu in crime management .................................................................................................................................. 38
Figure 12: Key informants ............................................................................................................ 39
Figure 13: Factors that influenced individuals to join the Sungusungu ........................................ 40
Figure 14: Why Sungusungu thrived ............................................................................................ 41
Figure 15: Effects of Sungusungu on crime management ............................................................ 42
Figure 16: Recommendations ....................................................................................................... 43
## LIST OF ACRONYMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CCM</td>
<td>Chama Cha Mapenduzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCTV</td>
<td>Closed Circuit Television</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HRW</td>
<td>Human Right Watch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRC</td>
<td>Immigration and Refuge board of Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KNBS</td>
<td>Kenya National Bureau of Statistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KIM</td>
<td>Kenya Institute of Management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLDF</td>
<td>Sabaot Lands Defence Force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPSS</td>
<td>Statistical Packages for Social Sciences</td>
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ABSTRACT

This research investigates the role of vigilante groups in the management of security to urban centres: a case study of sungusungu in suneka township, Kisii County. The study answers the following research questions; why are some members of the community in Suneka Township motivated to join Sungusungu vigilante group? Why has Sungusungu vigilante group thrived over the years? And finally, how has the Sungusungu vigilante group’s activities affected the security of residents of Suneka Township? The Marxist Theory of Conflict and the Social Institutionalism theory are applied in this study. These theories have been used to give explanations on why the Sungusungu among other vigilante groups are created? And why they continue to operate in the watch of formal security organs of the state. The research targeted the residents of Suneka Township (Judgmental sampling method was used to pick a sample size of 110 respondents), where the members or former members of Sungusungu, the local chief and his assistant and the police officers utilized as key informants. The study utilised Questionnaires collect data which was analyzed by the aid of content analysis method and the use of Statistical Packages for Social Sciences (SPSS). After interpretation the study established that crime was the most prominent factor that motivated individuals to join the Sungusungu vigilante group. On the question why the group thrived? The study established that the residents of Suneka had supported the operations of the Sungusungu. Finally on the effect of Sungusungu operations, the study established that through its operations the security of the area had improved although some section of the population was not comfortable with it.
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background to the study

Crime and insecurity have become common problems that continue to threaten the socio-economic progress of majority of Kenyans, residing both in the rural and urban areas. This trend of insecurity and its negative impacts can be traced back to the 1990s when a new dimension of crime linked to robbery with violence especially in urban areas such as in Nairobi became prevalent. By and large, criminal acts impair the overall development of a nation, undermining its material wellbeing and compromises human development. Fear and a sense of helplessness among citizens, is the result and this negative development affects individual safety including the wearing away the quality of life (Francis P. et al, 2005).

Although insecurity has continued to be on the increase, various response mechanisms from citizens have been created. For instance, the affluent members of the Kenyan society have an option of insulating themselves from the edge of insecurity by barricading themselves with sophisticated security walls, hired private security guards, installed alarms, and advanced Closed Circuit Television (CCTV) camera systems. The poor on the other hand have been left to the mercy of fate since whatever little they possess is not necessarily secure. They are more vulnerable.

The increase in criminal acts and therefore insecurity raise fundamental questions on the capability of the Kenyan state to discharge her duties appropriately. According to Max Weber (2002), the state is a community of human beings that (effectively maintains the domination of lawful utilisation of material force inside a given region. The first duty of any government is to afford protection to its citizens (Simon, 2003). Unfortunately, the Kenyan government has consistently failed in this core responsibility. Just as in the state of nature as described by Thomas Hobbes, life has turned nasty, brutal, and scary. Consequently communities have literally interpreted this situation as an indication of failed state systems. This is because since the late 1990s, Kenya has been experiencing high instances of crime in both urban and rural settings. Observation has it that there is a constant rising graph of insecurity in the country in the watch of the same responsible state machineries.
The ever increasing crime rate has most often been attributed to low police to citizen ratio, inadequate resources for crime detection and prevention and poor public to police relationship (Masese, and Mwenzwa, 2012). Accordingly, the communities have devised self protection mechanisms. This self protection mechanism mainly involves the formation of vigilante groups within the communities affected by crimes.

Vigilante groups are groups of people who take up armaments to protect themselves and their community when they feel that the government has failed to do so. In urban centres these groups are not eternal but slum youths mobilised within a short time and transformed into perilous group associated with a given ethic group or political alignment (HRW, 2012). The agenda of this groups is to deter the ever increasing crime cases in their surrounding snd also to protect political class from likely enemies. Unfortunately beside their political and social responsibilities, some of them, contain economic motive which is connected to individual survival demands (Okoth and Olang’, 2010).

Extra state forcefulness has been customised and gangs like Sungusungu, Mungikiamong the rest penetrating several businesses much reminiscent of the Mafia. This implies that the state is the process of losing its sole ‘monopoly of legitimate usage of force’, (Weber, 2002) with vigilante group members predominantly taking over much of the functions of government. The groups although banned by the government have continued to flourish on the watch of the same government despite the fact that the government has the capacity to destroy them once and for all.

The Sungusungu vigilante group was first founded in Tanzania under the sponsorship of the government to attempt to resolve the problem of cattle rustling (Heald, 2002; Abrahams, 1987). This group was first founded among northern Nyamwesi and surrounding Sukumavillagersat around early 1980s. This was a response to the perceived high rates crime such as robbery with violence targeting livestock and in some areas witchcraft (Bukurura, 1994, and Masanja, 1992).

The government of Tanzania was overwhelmed with the problem that even created confusion and disunity among its departments. And therefore, the political annex of the state had

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1Sungusungu is a Kiwahili word for a species of large biting black ant, mostly found in parts of Tanzania and Kenya’s Kuria land. Among the Nyamwezi and Sukuma ‘sungusungu’ refers to a poison-tipped arrows
backed the movement, although human right activists and lawyers supported the judiciary and the police to oppose the movement as it challenged their competencies in their exclusive field (Heald, 2005).

The Chama Cha Mapenduzi and the critical support of President Julius Nyerere were critical to the growth and partial institutionalisation of the group. The United Nations organizations like the United Nations Habitat supported the movement by lobbying and initiating developmental projects reinforcing urban Sungusungu ideas in Tanzania (UN-Habitat, 2000).

The Sungusungu vigilante group was first introduced in Kenya by the provincial administrators from the Kuria ethnic group and was adopted by the Abagusii people of Western Kenya in 1990s as an organization of controlling high crime rate (Fleisher, 2000). Due to the ineffectiveness of law enforcement agencies, the Abanchari clan (residing about five kilometres west of Kisii Municipality) formed their own (Masese, and Mwenzwa, 2012) “During the early years of the multi-party era in Kenya, the provincial administration introduced the Sungusungu vigilante in Gusii to help stamp out runaway crime wave” (ibid). This group has been in operation since its inception and has been very active in matters of crime and crime management in the acme of community policing.

The Sungusungu as a vigilante group is said to be supported and well-liked by the locals because of assorted reasons. Most of the people in the rural areas embarked on mobilising themselves in effort to counter the upcoming crime threat on the face of increased crime rate due to high unemployment and poverty levels, ineffective government security and judicial system, (ibid). However, it is the isolated or sole role of any government to provide such services to its citizens more so defence and when there is a disparity from this it becomes a colossal problem.

1.2 The problem Statement

Kenyans, just as citizens of any functioning state are taxed to support government programmes including security. In return, citizens expect their security to be guaranteed or at least the state to meet its obligation of protecting life and property as entrenched in Chapter four of the Kenya 2010 Constitution. Paradoxically, the older the Kenyan state grows, the less secure are her citizens. Human Rights Watch (1999) observes that at independence Kenyans were safer
than they are now. One possible explanation of this phenomenon could be due to the weaker political leadership over the years.

The Kenyatta regime is deemed to have had more firm and stern position towards the issues of crime and security of the nation. With the coming in of the Moi regime the status quo remained until the 1982 attempted coup. Thereafter, Moi had a firm grip and was against any groupings going against the state. With the birth of pluralism, the Kenya African National Union (KANU) regime relented and lost grip on security matters. This paved way to the emergence of several groupings committing crime at will. Since then citizens were no longer safe albeit meeting their tax obligation.

Under the watch of the state civil anarchy has continued to thrive leading to fresh rural crimebrandish related to unprecedented height of brutality related to robbery accompanied by killings, rape, and wanton destruction of property. The acts are sometimes not accompanied by theft indicating they are may be driven by frustration, resentment and anger primarily (Francis et al, 2005). This kind of breakdown exists mainly because the state condones or tolerates harmful behaviours against its own citizens or otherwise an indication that the state has failed to offer protection because of some reasons (Whittaker, D. 2006).

The situation has grown complex and people have given up on the state protection mechanisms. Citizens chose the authorities that formed the constitution which anchors the law. This means that citizens are the source of the law and when they note that justice systems have failed they will always take justice back to their hands where it was in beginningof all things (Hine, K. D, 1998).

Kenyans who feel unsafe have instead devised self-defence mechanisms in the name of vigilante groups including the Sungusungu. The genesis of this group is said to have had a hand on the local government officials, but to a larger extent signifies the failure of the state and this vividly is the very same reason that gave birth to Sungusungu in Kisii. The failure of the government to assure their citizens protections from internal threats has led the residents of Suneka in Kisii County to safeguard their lives and property through the formation of the group which patrols at night, systematically ostracizing suspected criminals, and on occasion destroying life and property with total disregard of law (ibid).

The reason as to why this group and other Vigilante groups have been allowed to thrive in Kenya despite the increased allegations of human suffering in their hands still remains a
mystery. More so, their upshot in urban centres is little known. Many media articles continuously highlight the mayhem of these groups, but limited empirical information is available particularly on Sungusungu vigilante faction. This research will fill this looming gap systematically by studying the role of vigilante groups in management of crime to urban centres: a case study of Sungusungu in Suneka Township, Kisii County.

1.3 Research questions

The main research question of this study was; what is the role of vigilante groups in management of crime to urban centres: a case study of Sungusungu in Suneka Township, Kisii County?

The study too endeavoured to answer the following set of specific questions:

i. Why are some members of the community in Suneka Township motivated to join Sungusungu vigilante group?

ii. Why has Sungusungu vigilante group thrived over the years?

iii. How have the operations of Sungusungu affected the security of Suneka residents

1.4 Main objective of the study

The main objective of the study is to investigate the role of vigilante groups in management of crime to urban centres: a case study of Sungusungu in Suneka Township, Kisii County.

1.4.1 Specific objectives

The specific objectives of this study included:

i. To explore the motivations behind recruitment of individuals into Sungusungu vigilante group.

ii. To examine the factors that have made Sungusungu group thrive.

iii. To explore the effects of Sungusungu vigilante group’s activities to the security of Suneka residents.
1.5 Research Hypotheses

This study tests the following hypotheses:

i. Crime is the most prominent factor that motivates individuals in Suneka Township to join Sungusungu vigilante group.

ii. The Sungusungu vigilante group has thrived in Suneka over the years.

iii. The operations of Sungusungu vigilante group have affected the security of residents of Suneka Township.

1.6 Justification and significance of the study

Studies of vigilantes and their activities had not yet considered their role in security management in urban centres. This study assesses the role of Sungusungu vigilante group on the security of Suneka residents. The research explores the motivations behind individuals’ recruitment into the Sungusungu vigilante group; why the Sungusungu has thrived and the effects of the group’s operations on crime rates in the township.

The findings of this study augment the already existing literature on vigilantism and crime management. It expose the predicament of the citizen on the hands of these vigilante groups and this could be important to policy makers especially those entangled with the security and social wellbeing of the citizens in a given political sphere. Bearing in mind that it is the responsibility of the state to collect taxes from the citizens, hire and own instruments of violence and utilize them to protect its people.

Vigilante groups have persisted despite the fact that the state has occasionally been directing bans on them indicating that there could a function that they are playing to the society. The available studies on vigilante groups have not comprehensively tackled the question on their role in management of security in urban centres. Thus, this study fills the looming academic gap, by focusing on the role of Sungusungu operations to the security of Suneka Township.

1.7 Scope and Limitation of the study

The study focuses on explaining the role of the operations of Sungusungu vigilante group on the security of Suneka residents, Kisii County. Thus, the research area was the Suneka Township, Kisii County. The study limited its focus on how the group attempts to address
crimes such as assaults, theft, rape, debt, and land related offences among others. The study covers the period from 2002 to 2014. The Sungusungu vigilante group started its active operations in Suneka Township, Wanjare Constituency in Kisii County as early as the year 2002 (IRBC, 2013).

Under limitation, the researcher faced to some extent reluctance of respondents to give information due to fear of victimisation, but after understanding that it was merely academic and confidential they freely participated. This study consumed a lot of time to identify and analyze the required resourceful materials. It also required some financial resources in the process of locating the materials, purchasing stationeries, typesetting, printing and also reaching the respondents.
1.8 Definition of concepts

**Crime:** According to Oculi and Mwaguri (2006), crime is a violation of criminal law from which formal penalties are applied by some government authority. In this study “crime” will mean; a level of anarchy and disintegration of social order.

**Security:** according to Keriga (2009), security is the freedom from danger and anxiety, freedom of individuals to enjoy rights. In this study the concept security will be utilised to mean protection to life and properties.

**Vigilantes:** the study adopts Newby (2012)’s definition of vigilantes as followers of a volunteer group structured to conquer and penalize criminality instantly, once the procedures of law are realized to be insufficient). In this study ‘Vigilante’ will mean unauthorised individual enforcing the law in society.
1.9 Research methodology

The research methodology is covered in the following subtopics; research design, the study population, target population, sampling techniques and sample size, data collection instruments, data collection procedures and analysis.

1.9.1 Research design

The study adopts a case study descriptive research design. The design enables the researcher to gather data that describe events as appertained to the Sungusungu vigilante group and then organize, tabulate, depict and describe the data. Descriptive design is credited of defining a subject, regularly by forming a structure of a group of persons, problems, or proceedings, through gathering statistics and tabularizing the occurrences on study variable of their contact (Cooper and Schindler, 2003).

According to Babbie (2002), the descriptive studies indicate the variables by answering who, what and how questions, and therefore the study shall depend on these (who, what and how) questions in the endeavour of research process.

The data collected describes the role of vigilante groups in management of crime to urban centres and therefore the use of who, what and how aided in coming up with fact that after tabulation helped meet the objectives of the research. The design permitted the researcher to generalize the findings to the larger population of Suneka Township and allowed for the analysis and relations of variables.

1.9.2 Study Population

The study targeted the population of households found in Suneka Township which contain an approximate of 1504 households with a population of 7425 adults (KNBS, 2009). The regular Police officers, Administration Police officers, members or ex-members of Sungusungu and the local chiefs, were also targeted. These classes of population were selected to reduce biasness as they responded to the research questions from diverse perspectives.
1.9.3 Target population

Target population is the aggregate members of actual or imaginary set of persons, objects or events to which outcome of a study are generalised (KIM, 2009). The study targeted all adults residing in Suneka Township. According to the 2009 population census there are about 7425 adults in Suneka. The adults were the target population as they were affected by the activities of the Sungusungu. The local administration, the policemen and the members or former members of Sungusungu were utilized as key informants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Target Population</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adults</td>
<td>7425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police officers</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Target population

1.9.4 Sampling Technique and Sample size determination

To sample for the residents of Suneka the study employed the Naasiuma (2000)'s sample size determination formulae;

\[ n = \frac{NCV^2}{CV^2 + (N-1)e^2} \]

Where;
- \( n \) = Sample size
- \( N \) = population
- \( CV \) = Coefficient of variation (take 0.5)
- \( e \) = Tolerance at desired level of confidence, take 0.05 at 95% confidence level

The formula has been credited as dependable technique to determine appropriate sample size for study in homogeneous population (ibidi). The population in Suneka is homogeneous and evenly spread and the formula was easily applied.

Therefore the study sample size was determined as follows;

\[ n = \frac{7403(0.5*0.5)}{0.5*0.5 + (7403-1)0.05*0.05} \]
\[ n = \frac{7403*0.25}{0.25+7403*0.0025} \]
\[ n = \frac{1850.75}{18.5075} \]
n= 100 (This meant that the study sample size for the residents of Suneka was 100 samples).

On the administration of questionnaires the study adopted quarta sampling method where the township was divided into four strata. The first two bigger strata were determined by the Suneka– Rongo highway which divides the Township into two equal parts. The two parts are further equally sub-divided by Kirwanda-Suneka- Botoro road which cuts the highway perpendicularly. Suneka township is homogeneously populated therefore out of the 100 questionnaires each strata was allocated a quarter of the total number of questionnaires (approximately 25). The actual administration of questionnaires to the respondents was guided by judgmental sampling technique. The number of questionnaires issued to members of the households (respondents) was also based on size of the household to ensure representativeness (the bigger the household the more the number of questionnaires and vice versa).

For the key informants the study utilized the judgmental sampling technique whereby there were 2 Regular Police officers and 2 Administration Police Officers, (those with a minimum of 3 years in the station; 3 years are sufficient for an officer to acquire knowledge on the Sungusungu operations), 4 members or former members of Sungusungu (known and willing to give information), and finally, 2 administrative leaders (the area chief and his assistant).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories of groups</th>
<th>target population</th>
<th>Sample size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Residents of Suneka town</td>
<td>7403</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Members of Sungusungu vigilante group</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regular and Administration Police</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Administrative leaders</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>7465</strong></td>
<td><strong>110</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Sample size

1.9.5 Data collection Instruments

This research utilized primary data which was collected by the use of questionnaires. Both closed and open ended questions were employed in the quest for the information. The closed questions allowed specific types of answers such as no or yes, while open ended questions allowed respondents to state what they wished. Likert scale was also employed. The use of questionnaires permitted standardization and elimination of biasness and produced quantitative
data that was easier to analyze and tabulate. The study also adopted the use of interview schedules with key informants such as local officials of Suneka.

1.9.6 Pilot study

According to Cooper & Schindler (2003) pre-testing is a small scale trial of a particular component. The researcher subjected 10% the draft questionnaires to a pilot test on the residents of Suneka Township. The purpose of this pilot test was to ensure that the questionnaire was logically organized and all necessary questions have been included. Later, the researcher utilized the data collected from the pilot exercise to fine-tune the questionnaires.

1.9.7 Reliability and validity

Stability, consistence, accuracy, dependability, and predictability determine the reliability of the research instruments. Reliability of research instrument refers to its degree of consistence KIM (2000). To test for reliability the study used Cronbach Alpha (ibid), whereby coefficient test was done to show how varied the responses are. The instrument’s reliability test stood at coefficient of 0.8. The coefficient range between 0-1 and any coefficient more than 0.7 shows that it is reliable (ibid).

Validity refers to the extent to which a research instrument measures what it is designed to measure. The study used content validation which determined that the content that the instrument contained was adequate and the check format of the instrument by the supervisor whether or not it is appropriate to capture the objectives of the study.

1.9.8 Data collection procedures and analysis

The primary data was collected by using questionnaires which were administered personally by the researcher. The researcher helped the respondents filling the questionnaires where required. The questionnaires were thereafter collected for analysis. Content analysis method was employed for the analysis of open-ended questions. Similarly, SPSS (V.17.0) software was used to analyze the closed ended questions (likert scale questions). The Data was presented in tables, figures and charts. After the analysis of the data conclusion and recommendations was stated.
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter is thematically organised in six sections; the overview of the literature review, the motivations behind recruitment of individuals into Sungusungu vigilante group, Vigilante groups; a safe haven for the destitute, effects of vigilante operations in the contemporary society, the theoretical framework and finally the research hypotheses.

2.1 Overview of the literature review

There is sufficient literature available on vigilantism and more specifically on the origin and operations of Sungusungu vigilante group. Many of the researchers have deeply illustrated for example the reasons behind the emergence of the vigilante groups. They have spelled out issues such as failed state machineries, deteriorated security, poor community policing, poverty and unemployment among many others to be behind the formation and proliferation of these groups (Okeke, B. 2013).

Some of the studies indicate that politicians have become opportunistic by banking on the joblessness and idleness of youths to employ them as private armies. Some of these groups are identified as Kosovo Boys, Taliban, Jeshi la Mzee, Mungiki, Sungusungu(National Crime Research Centre, 2012) among others whose members are recruited as personal bodyguards to some politicians. The inadequacy of justice system and lack of security have been spelled out as the fertile grounds for the sprouting of vigilante groups. These groups have posed a hard challenge to small and ill-trained; equipped; and remunerated police officers.

The literature also outlines that because of the vulnerability of communities on the exposure of crime and insecurity and the failure of state to protect them have forced them to support the operations of these groups in the hope of getting themselves cushioned off their situation. These community based protection have severely been criticized over their wanton violation of human rights. On the face of these literatures limited studies have been undertaken in relation to the specific role assumed by vigilante groups in crime management in our society. And therefore, this study aims at filling this academic gap by studying the case of Sungusungu vigilante group in Suneka Township.
2.2 The motivations behind recruitment of individuals into Sungusungu vigilante group

The authorities generally condone the excesses of vigilantism and community policing and the foundation of these groups has a hand in the local administration leadership (P. Francis et al, 2005). The communities feel the inadequacy from the side of the institutions of security to provide protection and safety to the masses. This study gives limelight on the reasons for the formation of the vigilantes and that the local administration has taken the giant’s share but it has failed to tackle clearly role of vigilante groups on security.

The expansion of slums and the rapid urbanization has led to slums without basic services for instance lack of police presence. The acuteness of the crime challenge has led to organized criminal groups and gangs filling this vacuum extorting, kidnapping and violently robbing the local population. The ineffective African crime response has also result into public distrust and fear, bleeding state institutions of their legitimacy and undermined economic development of the society.

This has given birth to a culture of impunity. The violent crime is linked to the weakness of police department. The institution of police is unfunded, understaffed and majorities are not well trained. Majority of Africans rarely meet police officers and thus do not view them as a source of protection (L. Steven, 2013). This study critically analyse the position of police force in African setup but inadequate when it comes to explanation on the role of local authority in relation to recruitment of Sungusungu members.

Keriga (2009) outlines that corruption and institutional deficiencies, lack of partnership between law enforcement and communities and historical injustices among other factors have led to the rise of crime and insecurity to Kenya as they broadcast the seed of mistrust, fear and suspicion amongst members of the society.

According to Bard and Andreassen (2012), a serious human rights problem in Kenya and one which has been clearly deposed and demonstrated after the 2007 election is the culture of impunity for human rights violations. They address the context of the vigilante groups, and the state’s ways of handling this pandemic, leading to massive extrajudicial and arbitrary executions. And therefore they note that, ‘in many local communities, notably in Central province, local vigilante (“self defence”) groups were operating in large scale in a response to the failure of state
institutions to uphold law and order’. These authors failed to vividly link Sungusungu Vigilante group to their study as opposed to vigilante groups in the former central province of Kenya and therefore the study on the role of Sungusungu will fill the gap.

Deteriorating security conditions have been associated with the uneven performance of some of the country’s security agencies, which have often been accused of being corrupt, operationally ineffective, and politically pliant. For instance, Kenya’s former president Daniel Arap Moi’s resolution to involve additional state paramilitaries and to employ what Katumanga (2005), calls the ‘privatization of public violence’ had unprecedented consequences. Moi is said to have formed the Jeshi la Mzee to try and fight against any of his opposing forces (Human Right Watch, 2002; Alston, 2009).

According to the Report by Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation Monitoring Project (2009), there have been little logical efforts to counter these gang The state’s authority and the monopoly of legitimate force (Weber, 2002) has been dangerously and daringly eroded by the presence and operations of this gangs. Although, the report has not discussed the positive role assumed by these vigilante groups.

Inadequate state ability to offer protection as well as security has resulted into self-help reactions on the side of people including the formation of vigilantes. In most occasions the public invites politicians’ decisions to institutionalize the position of vigilante assemblage, as the case of famed ‘Bakassi Boys’ in eastern Nigeria (Elrena Van Der Spuy and Ricky Rontsch, 2008).

2.3 Vigilante groups; a safe haven for the destitute

While analyzing the Kenyan democracy situation, the Human Right Watch states that; Vigilante groups have been said to be posing another threat to personal safety and security in Kenyan soil. Some politicians have taken advantage of the joblessness status of the youths and enlisted them into ad hoc bodyguards. Some of these groups include; “Taliban,” “Jeshi la Mzee,” “Baghdad Boys,” and “Kosovo Boys.” These vigilantes are said to be temporary associations of slum youths who are assembled in a short notice into dangerous criminals allied to a given political affiliation (Alston, 2009).

There are many other different types of gangs. These include, gangs engaged in extortion; freelance gangs that come and go; highly organized ethnic militia such as the Kikuyu’s Mungiki

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2 “Banned groups were private armies for hire by politicians,” Daily Nation, March 9, 2002.
and to a lesser extent the Luo Taliban, among others; gangs connected to politicians and the police; gangs that over time have become independent of the forces that initially supported them; and new vigilante groups (Susanne, 2011). Community vigilante groups initially organized to protect themselves from militia now have come to resemble these gangs and ordinary citizens increasingly are being extorted on multiple fronts (Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation Monitoring Project, 2010). The groups have assumed their own free life on the watch of intentionally faded government machineries.

According to the study done by Ogada, high incidences of unemployment and poverty amongst Kenyan youthful population are the main drivers of crime (Ogada, 2010). Vision 2030 and Agenda IV of the National Accord tend to confirm that if unaddressed, the social and economic exclusion of the youths will result to higher rates of crime and violence.

Several powerful politicians have exploited the poverty and boredom of slum youths by recruiting them into ad hoc vigilante gangs to terrorize people at political rallies and spread fear and violence in the slums. These gangs have been officially banned, but the ban has not been enforced (Human Rights Watch, 2002).

Baker (2002), studied non-state policing in South Africa, he asserts that a vigilante group emerges when there is an autonomous citizen response; a faction that operates independently of the state forces and are set to break the law in order to achieve their selfish intent of protection and investigation (or even trials and sentencing). He highlights a number of vigilante groups but asserts that Mapogo a Matamaga was the most formal and the largest vigilante group in South Africa. They also state that naturally as crime is escalating in all places, almost everyone wanted to join the Mapogo. Baker concludes that with a state monopoly of policing being a non-viable option for a country with limited resources like South Africa some other ways must be sought to ensure that a public good like policing becomes accountable, consistent and human. Backer seems to have had a blind eye to the negative effect of the Mapogo a Mataga and other vigilante groups in South Africa.

Kenyans have suffered the wrath of militia and vigilante groups over the whole period of multi-party democracy. The vigilante groups include Jeshi la Mzee, Baghdad boys, Kamjesh, cattle raiders, Mungiki, and the Sabaot Land Defence Force (SLDF) in Mt. Elgon, which is claimed to have emerged owing to a history of the land in contention and the subsequent conflicts among many others. While there is a governmental responsibility to protect citizens
from vigilante group and all other form of security and crime, the Kenyan government has been accused to employ illegal methods of extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary execution in attempts to crack down these groups (Alston, 2009).

An African organization for enhancement of security in Africa known as the Institute of Security Studies (ISS) (2009) did a study on Kenyan security focusing on criminal gangs such as Sungusungu and in the course of its research it realized that police were involved in the collusion with criminals. According to the ISS the police were unable to fight spiralling crime especially correlated with organized militia groups such as Sungusungu.

The mission of the vigilantes is to curtail increased incidents of crime in the estate and to safeguard the political community from potential attacks by opponents’ ethnic militias. But beneath their social and political functions, most the militias have an economic motive which relates to the survival needs of their members (Okoth, Okombo and Olong’ Sana, 2010). Some of these gangs are always taken over by politicians as private armies to molest their opponents while others have turned into pure criminal gangs thus increasing crime level.

Masese and Mwenzwa (2012) in their study on Sungusungu in Kisii region, illustrate that the sungusungu vigilante group in Kisii had later transformed itself into a ready weapon for hire by politicians or business people who utilized it to realise their selfish goals.

Omboto (2013), in his study on social control and crime escalation in Kenya expresses his mistrust to vigilante groups and the response of the state. He asserts that; it is a good start in the fight against rising crimes committed by these groups that the Organized Crimes Act of 2010 outlaws these vigilantes, but the fact is that to date they persist as reported by “Embu vigilantes warned over pay”.

2.4 Effects of vigilante operations in the contemporary society

Human rights activists have developed a lot of concern in regard to the behaviour and the conduct of vigilante-style neighbourhood security groupings. They have accused them of becoming the judge, the prosecutor and the police and disregard the presumption of innocence. They are used of torturing a suspect before asking him/her to prove his/her innocence (Bisimba, 2002; Celestine, Nyamu-Musembi. 2003).

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3 The Star Newspaper of 17th July 2013 p. 11
Kisii town and surrounding villages speak in hushed tones, terrified and scared stiff to narrate the trail of terror unleashed on them by members of an illegal gang operating under the guise of community policing. The Sungusungu squad once a shadowy vigilante group operating in secrecy, has mutated into a structured administration; operating like an alternative government and spreading terror to its victims with impunity. They are a law unto themselves.\(^4\)

As indicated by Omboto (2013), the Sungusungu group has taken the law into their hands many a times by punishing suspected criminals even by killing; for example, the report titled “Sungusungu squad lynch four suspects” highlighted that the dreaded Sungusungu vigilante squad killed four people in Kisii county and dumped their bodies five kilometres away from their homes, this vigilante had killed about thirty suspects in three months.\(^5\)

Among the Abagusii, the Sungusungu vigilante group was embraced as an antidote to the emerging security problems. However, nowadays many scholars have argued that the Sungusungu vigilante has become a security threat to the same community it was supposed to protect, hence insecurity within security. Omboto also emphasizes that for this “protection” the vigilante groups levy illegal taxes on the citizens for which some of the people who refuse to pay have been killed (ibid).

The Sungusungu vigilantes mainly comprised of volunteers who were either unpaid or if any was in kind by the community in recognition of their work in crime control. Largely, the youth who constitute the Sungusungu are unemployed and less educated lot. They undergo no training or induction on how to work amicably with the public. Consequently, manhandling of suspects, assault, violence and extortion is not uncommon with the group, which in essence defeats the essence of community policing. The vigilante group also works as a separate entity from the official security apparatus, hence exhibiting behaviour tantamount to being above the law or in most cases being the law themselves (ibid).

Balwanz (2012) asserts that the political blotting and zoning spirals rising the amount of vigilante sets that are created to safeguard communal welfare. The state apparatus defend

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\(^4\) Sunday Standard Paper, September 22, 2013. Titled; Merchants of terror

specific goals, isolating others thus sluggish efficiency causing food crisis in the nation (Sivi-Njonjo and Mwangola, 2011.)

The Kenya Human Rights Commission (KHRC) (2011) conducted a field fact finding mission on crime in Gusililand and discovered the evidence that human rights were being violated in guise of community policing. The report indicates that there was blurred role difference amid Sungusungu vigilante group activities and government-sponsored community policing. The same report spells out some of the activities undertaken by the Sungusungu which ranged from; arresting and detaining suspects in illegal holding cells and passing judgments in “Kangaroo” courts, enforcement of forceful disappearance, and killing of suspected criminals and sometimes denial of burial rights in their homes. Also exchange of sex in lieu of payments for protection, soliciting of money from members of the community purportedly for protection services costs, and assault causing severe physical injuries to alleged members of community policing among other abuse. Although the study is critical in analysing the negative role of these groups, this study feels that vigilante groups have a positive effect too when it comes security management.

2.5 The Theoretical Framework

The study adopted two theoretical frameworks; the Marxist theory of conflict to give explanation on the reasons why vigilante groups start to operate and the social institutionalism theory to describe why the groups have persisted to the present besides the constant threats of ban from the government.

2.5.1 The Marxist Theory of Conflict

According to the Marxist theorists, the society is an amalgamated class of individuals with antagonistic values, beliefs and concerns. There is the bourgeoisie-comprising of a dominant class with a lot of influence (power and money) and the proletariat-comprised of subordinate class without influence. These two classes are in perpetual conflict as a result of struggle for the limited resources in society. Domination and power maintains social order as the wealthier and the powerful suppresses the poor and the powerless.

The Marxists define the state as a committee of bourgeoisie, which governs for the interest of the superior class (Marx, K. and Engels, F. 1975). Although Weber reflected on the state as human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of force
physical force within a given territory (Weber 2002). But to Lenin the state is a legal order where exploitation does exist (1932). It is an institution with established apparatus purposely and directly meant to defend and uphold class domination and class exploitation.

Conflict emerges when the proletariat class feels marginalized and underrated by the dominant class despite being heavily taxed. This subordinate class too desires to be handled with dignity and furthermore provided with state services. Marxism has also highlighted a given distinct cadre of conflict generated as the upshot of forces of capitalism. To the theory, if the state fails to ensure owners of labour (the sub-ordinate class) benefits from the resources in society, the feeling of marginalization and side alignment may germinate amongst them and might seek for means of ensuring they also benefit in their own special way including a revolution.

These theorists may interpret the vigilante response as the desperate lashing out of the dominant group which sees that it is losing to others its control of the state apparatus (Rosebaum and Sederberg, 1976). Vigilante violence could be analyzed as a normal section of exploitation by the dominant class. The Marxist theorists view this violence as a normal part of politics at least up to the time the proletariat revolution takes place (ibid).

Brown (1994) argues that class conflict involving the American rich cattle tycoons and the deprived famers and herders resulted into the formation of vigilante groupings. The juror emanated from the proletariat class would not penalize one of their own and this let to constant fall short of the elite class in court. In the face of this situation the elite decoded to form rank-and-file gangs related to vigilante groups with an aim to protect their animals. Individual like James Jesse were considered criminals in the face the rich. The poor too considered them as social bandits (Hobsbawn, 1971). Just as it is the case in social difference without a mechanism of diplomatic resolution; usually violence gives dependable deterrent to groups of people in support to the interest of the elite class. Therefore, in relation to the Sungusungu vigilantes, the rich barons created a gang that favoured quick justice through the use of violence. The group would deter and even frighten the lower class threatening their interests. Just as the people of Suneka were unable to trust in the weak Kenyan state protection machineries to safeguard them and their properties, wealthy livestock barons of the American frontline could not use state justice institutions controlled to enough extent by the poor to make them useless.
Lenin draws a picture of what are these vigilante groups by asserting that, “a state is formed, a special power is created in the form of special bodies of armed men and every revolution by shattering the state apparatus, bodies of armed men to create a new organization of its brand capable of serving not the exploiter but the exploited” (ibid).

Although vigilantes have severally been criticized as having steering their own selfish interest; the shared desire of any group of political actors and which motivates their political activity (Bentray, 1967). This vigilante-based self interest creates another level of conflict in our society. Therefore the vigilante groups germinate as a result of this conflict between the dominant and the subordinate classes.

2.5.2 The Social Institutionalism Theory

Institutional Theory is "Policy-making theory that emphasizes the formal and legal aspects of social and political structures" (Kraft's 2007). It considers the processes by which structures, including schemes; rules, norms, and routines, become established as authoritative guidelines for social behaviour (Scott, 2004). Institutions are social structures that have attained a high degree of resilience. They are composed of cultural-cognitive, normative, and regulative elements that, together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life. Institutions are conveyed by a range of carriers, together with relational systems, symbolic systems, artefacts and routines (Scott, 1995; 2001).

In their study, Brian Paciotti and Monique Borgerhoff Mulder (2004) on Sungusungu in Tanzania, they employed successfully the social institutionalism theory. There are number of conceivable social control players available in society and they encompasses informal actors (like community gossip linkages, Sungusungu), and formal actors (like, police institutions including legal systems). Social institutions are set of cultural regulations which inform characters or subjectsof therequiredpersonality and the perceived outcome of violating or upholding them. It is presumed that the said social institutions are the backgrounds of all kinds of organizations. (Turner 1997).

Scott (1995) shows that for order to be maintained, institutions must adhere to the regulations and acceptable systems available in that society. This theory entails on the extreme and more firm features of social structure. It studies the procedures through which compositions, system; customs and practices are transformed into solid tactics for social conduct. (Scott, 2004). The case of Sungusungu for instance, it expanded through philosophy of the customary set of
laws by the elders and was centred on the pre-existed Sukuma organizations (Bukurura, 1994; Paciotti, 2002). Varied parts of the instructional theory defines how such elements are initiated, dispersed, embraced and modified over time and space; and finally how they declined and disused.

Using the social institutionalism theory lenses one could be able to conclude that the Sungusungu vigilante group stands as remarkably successful non-state actor that has infiltrated state machineries in the provision of security. Sungusungu being one of the non-state actors operating while violating formal institutions established under the constitution of Kenya, contain a number of regulations that spells out the kind of substantive actions that are to be controlled; such as theft, debt, adultery among others.
CHAPTER THREE

DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the study findings and discussions on the role of vigilante groups in management of security to urban centres: a case study of Sungusungu in Suneka Township, Kisii County. The objectives of the research are: to explore the motivations behind recruitment of individuals into Sungusungu vigilante group, examine the factors that have made Sungusungu group to thrive and finally to explore the effects of Sungusungu vigilante group’s activities to the security of Suneka residents.

The study population for this study was 7425 adults residing within Suneka Township. Out of this, a sample size of 110 individuals was selected. Although during data collection 90 respondents filled the questionnaires correctly and this represents 82.57% response rate. According to Cooper and Schendler (2003), 50% response rate is adequate for analysis and reporting whereas 70% and above is excellent. Therefore the response rate in this research was satisfactory for inferences and to make conclusions.
3.1 General Information

As part of this section, respondents were asked to indicate their gender, age bracket and the level of education.

3.1.1 Gender of the Respondents

The respondents were requested to indicate their gender. From the findings, 55.60% of the respondents indicated that they were male while 44.40% were female. This shows that most of the respondents were male.

Figure 1: Response rate
3.1.2 Age Bracket of the Respondents

The respondents were also asked to indicate their age bracket. According to the findings, 47.8% of the respondents reported that they were aged between 25 to 35 years, 22.2% were aged between 35 to 45 years, 18.9% were aged 25 years and below, 7.8% were aged between 45 to 55 years and finally 3.3% reported that they were 55 years and above. This indicates that most of the respondents were aged between 25 to 35 years.
3.1.3 Education level

The respondents were further asked to indicate their level of education and from the findings, 44.40% of the respondents indicated that they had attained primary level of education, 35.60% had secondary level of education, 12.20% had middle level and finally 7.80% had university education. This shows that the most of the respondents had attained primary level of education.

Figure 3: Age brackets of the respondents
3.2 Factors that motivate individuals to join Sungusungu vigilante group

The first objective of this study was to explore the motivations behind recruitment of individuals into Sungusungu vigilante group.

3.2.1 Level of education of Sungusungu members

The respondents were asked to indicate the level of education of most of the members of Sungusungu and from the findings, 68.9% indicated that most of the Sungusungu members had only attained primary level of education, 28.9% secondary education while 2.2% had middle level of education. This indicates that most of the respondents indicated that the highest level of most Sungusungu members was primary school education.
3.2.2 Individuals join Sungusungu to in attempt to fight crime

The respondents were asked to indicate whether those who joined Sungusungu did so in attempt to fight crime. From the findings, 63.3% of the respondents agreed that individual join Sungusungu in attempt to reduce crime while 36.7% recorded otherwise. This shows that majority of the respondents were for the idea that individuals just join Sungusungu to fight crime in Suneka.
3.2.3 Some of the crimes attempted to be addressed by Sungusungu

The respondents were asked to state some of the crimes that Sungusungu has attempted to fight at Suneka. From the findings, 40% of the respondents indicated that Sungusungu attempted to fight; theft, 31.1% domestic violence, 16.7% recorded that Sungusungu address none of the crimes, 8.9% said it address land related crimes, 2.2% robbery and finally 1.1% assault cases. This shows that most of the respondents suggested that theft is the most common crime addressed by the Sungusungu.
3.2.4 Extent of agreement to statements in relation to recruitment of Sungusungu members

The respondents of this study were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed with statements in relation to recruitment of Sungusungu members. According to the findings, the respondents agreed with 67.8% that unemployment was a factor leading to recruitment into Sungusungu, they agreed with 73.3% that poverty had contributed to individuals’ joining the group, whether poor relationship between the residents and the police was a factor they disagreed with 52%, they agreed with 57% that local politicians had influenced the recruitment into the group, on the question of local administration’s position they agreed with 66.7% and finally on whether the peer group influence had a role they agreed with 57.8%.
Table 3: Recruitment into Sungusungu;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Agreement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment has contributed to individual joining the Sungusungu</td>
<td>Agreed (67.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty is among the factors that enhance individuals joining Sungusungu to try and earn a living</td>
<td>Agreed (73.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As a result of poor relationship between the residents of Suneka and the police Sungusungu thrived to contain high rates of crime</td>
<td>Disagreed (52.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Politicians have contributed to the increased enlistment of individual into Sungusungu vigilante group.</td>
<td>Agreed (57.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The local administration endorses the operations of the Sungusungu</td>
<td>Agreed (66.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some of the members of the group joined because of peer group influence</td>
<td>Agreed (57.8%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.5 Factors which motivated individuals to become members of Sungusungu

The respondents were further asked to rate the stated factors that motivate individuals to become members of Sungusungu in Suneka Township. From the findings, the respondents agreed that crime was the leading factor that motivated individuals to become members of the group at 68.9%, they rated poverty or unemployment as a factor at 64.4%, illiteracy was rated at 62.2%, they also rated the influence from the local politicians as an important factor at 61.1%, whereas weak justice system was rated important at 58.9%. This illustrates that crime was the most important factor that motivated people to join the vigilante group.
Table 4: Factor motivated individual to become members of Sungusungu;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Crime/ insecurity</td>
<td>68.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Influence from local politicians</td>
<td>61.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty/unemployment</td>
<td>64.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak justice system</td>
<td>58.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illiteracy</td>
<td>62.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3 The Thriving of Sungusungu Vigilante Group

The second objective of this study was to examine the factors that had made sungusungu vigilant group to thrive.

3.3.1 Sungusungu vigilante group active

The respondents were asked to indicate whether the Sungusungu vigilante group was active. From the findings, 66.7% of the respondents agreed that the group was active. Whereas 33.3% declined that the group was active. This shows that the majority of the respondents agreed that the group was active.

Activeness of the Sungusungu

- Active: 66.70%
- Not Active: 33.30%
3.3.2 How active was Sungusungu?

For respondents who had responded yes in the study’s previous question were further asked to indicate how was the group active, and from the study’s findings 55.20% of the respondents indicated that the group had been active in attempts to fight crime, while 44.80% reported that the Sungusungu had been active in increasing crimes. This indicates that most of the respondents had a feeling that the Sungusungu has been active in attempts of reducing crime.

![Pie chart showing how Sungusungu was been active](image)

3.3.3 Reasons why Sungusungu had thrived?

To establish reasons why Sungusungu had thrived, the respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed to the statements on reasons why the group thrived. According to the findings, 67.8% agreed that the residents of Suneka supported the activities of the group, 65.6% did agree that poverty had led to the thriving of this group, 63.4% of the respondents agreed that low compliance with the rule of law and the Sungusungu had taken the advantage of this situation, 63.3% responded by agreeing that unemployed youths form the ready recruitment pool for the group, 60% agreed that the Sungusungu had the backing of the local administration, and finally 57.8% agreed that the local politicians are also to blame for the
thriving of the Sungusungu. This shows that the high number of the respondents were on a common agreement that this group had been thriving because the local people supported it.

Table 5: Reasons why Sungusungu had thrived

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>There is a possibility that there is low compliance with the rule of law and Sungusungu takes advantage of this weakness.</td>
<td>63.4%(agreed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The local politicians are also to blame for supporting the operations of the Sungusungu.</td>
<td>57.8%(agreed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sungusungu has the backing of the local administration</td>
<td>60%(agreed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The residents of Suneka too want the Sungusungu to operate.</td>
<td>67.8(agree)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sungusungu vigilante group gets ready recruitment pool from the many unemployed youths in the locality</td>
<td>63.3%(agreed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High rate of poverty among residents has led to thriving of this group.</td>
<td>65.6%(agreed)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3.4 Factors contributing to the thriving of the Sungusungu

The respondents were further required to rate the stated factors that seemed to have let to the thriving of the Sungusungu vigilante group. From the findings, the respondents rated crime or insecurity at 68.8% as a factor that had contributed to the thriving of the group, poverty was rated as a factor at 66.2%, weak justice system was also rated at 62.2%, illiteracy was rated at 61.1% and finally local politics was rated as a factor contributing to the thriving of this group at 55.6%. This shows that the majority of the respondents were for crime or insecurity as the factor that had led to the thriving of the Sungusungu.

Table 6: Factors contributing to the thriving of the Sungusungu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Response rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Crime/ Insecurity</td>
<td>68.8 %(Contribute)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3.5 Other factors that propelled the Sungusungu activities

The respondents of this research were further asked to state or identify other factors they thought could have propelled the activities of the Sungusungu grouping. According to the outcomes, 21.1% of the total respondents indicated that insecurity was a factor that had propelled the activities of the group, 17.8% identified corruption, 16.7% recorded that lack of enough police officers was also responsible for the heightened Sungusungu activities, 14.4% stated illiteracy, 11.1% identified poverty, and 10% stated unemployment, whereas 8.9% failed to identify any factor. This shows that most of the respondents identified insecurity as the factor that has propelled the activities of the vigilante group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Percentage (Contribute)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poverty/Unemployment</td>
<td>66.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak justice system</td>
<td>62.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illiteracy</td>
<td>61.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local politicians</td>
<td>55.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Other factors that propelled Sungusungu**

- Lack of enough policemen: 16.70%
- Corruption: 17.80%
- Poverty: 14.40%
- Unemployment: 11.10%
- Illiteracy: 10%
- Insecurity: 8.90%
- Insecurity: 21.10%
3.4 Illustrations of the effects of Sungusungu operations to the security of Suneka residents

The third objective of this study was to explore the effects of Sungusungu vigilante group’s activities to the security of Suneka residents.

3.4.1 Impacts of activities of Sungusungu on the security of the residents of Suneka

The respondents were also asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed to stated statements in relation to the effects of the Sungusungu on the security of the residents. According to the findings, the respondents indicated that they strongly agreed that the Sungusungu has to a great extent improved status of security in the town with 73.3% rate, they also indicated that economic growth had been enhanced through the peaceful mission of this group with 64.5%, the respondents too agreed there was evidence that social cohesion, better social services due to the presence of Sungusungu with 60% rate they also agreed that in one way or another the Sungusungu has led to peace and cohesion among the residents of Suneka township with 57.8% rate. Although they disagreed that since the inception of the sungusungu vigilante group there had been inherent political stability with 65.6% rate.

Table 7: Impacts of activities of Sungusungu on the security of the residents of Suneka

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Response rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Sungusungu has to great extent improved status of security in the township</td>
<td>73.3%(agreed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In one way or another the Sungusungu has led to peace and cohesion among the residents of Suneka township</td>
<td>57.8%(agreed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Since the inception of the Sungusungu Vigilante group, there has been inherent political stability</td>
<td>34.4%(disagreed)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Economic growth has been enhanced through the peaceful mission of this group 64.5% (agreed)

There evidence that social cohesion, better social services due to the presence of Sungusungu 60% (agreed)

3.4.2 Most outcomes of the Sungusungu operations

The respondents of this study were asked to rate the outlined factor which could be the outcomes activities of the Sungusungu in Suneka. From the findings, the respondents rate crime or insecurity reduction as the most outcome with 72.2% rate, they also rated the improved conflict resolution and an outcome of the group’s activities in Suneka with 62.2% rate, although they indicated that promotion of political agenda and poverty/unemployment were not outcomes or were least outcomes with 55.4% and 51.2% rates respectively. This indicates that crime reduction was the most outcomes of the group’s activities in Suneka Township.

Table 8: Most outcomes of the Sungusungu operations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Response Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Crime/insecurity reduction</td>
<td>72.2% (outcome)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduced Poverty/unemployment</td>
<td>55.4% (least outcome)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promoting local political agenda</td>
<td>51.2% (least outcome)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improved conflict resolution</td>
<td>62.2% (outcome)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.4.3 Recommendations on the effects of involvement of Sungusungu in crime management to the security of Suneka residents

The respondents were also asked to make recommendations in relation to the role of Sungusungu in crime management to the security of Suneka residents. From the findings, 31.1% indicated the members of the group should work with police officers by giving them information about crimes and criminals in Suneka Township, 26.7% of the respondents were supportive of the group and suggested that the members of Sungusungu should be rewarded for their effort of fighting crime in the township, 23.3% did recommend that the members of the group be trained on matters of security and community policing, 18.9% recommended the disbandment of the group. This illustrates that most of the respondents recommended that the Sungusungu members should only work closely with the police.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy recommendations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Be trained</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work with police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disbanded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rewarded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 11: Recommendations on the effects on involvement of Sungusungu in crime management

3.5 The analysis of key informants’ response

The study applied judgmental sampling technique to sample 10 key informants. The informants included; 4 police officers, 4 members of Sungusungu and the two local chiefs. There was 100% response rate as all of the participated in this study.
When asked about the activeness of the group all of them comprising 100% response rate agreed that Sungusungu had been active in Suneka Township and identified; theft, domestic violence and land related crimes as the main crimes that were perceived to be solved by the Sungusungu.

They were asked to name the factors that had motivated individuals to join Sungusungu and from the findings 40% of the respondents noted that poverty has contributed to new recruitment into the group, 40% also indicated that unemployment was responsible to the recruitment into the group whereas 20% mentioned high rate of illiteracy. This indicates that majority of the key respondents mentioned poverty and employment as the major factors contributing to the recruitment into the group.
They were further asked to state why the group had thrived, from the finding 30% of the respondents named poverty, 30% mentioned support from the community, 20% said unemployment had led to the thriving of the group, finally 20% responded by naming high rate of illiteracy. This shows that poverty and local support were major factor that had seen the thriving of this group.
These key informants were further asked to state whether the Sungusungu had effect on the security of the residents of Suneka. From the findings, 60% of them responded that the group had a positive effect on the security of the residents of the region although they suggested that it should operate in conjunction with the police to reduce prevalence of violation of human rights. 40% of the respondents stated that the group had a negative effect on the security of the people of Suneka. This shows that the majority of the key respondents had agreed that the group had positive effect on the security of the Township.
The same respondents were asked to suggest their recommendations on the role of the group in crime management. From the findings 30% recommended more recruitment of police officers, 30% also said that the Sungusungu should work with the police by providing information to the police for action, 20% recommended that the members should be appreciated for their good job and finally 20% recommended disbandment of the group. This shows that the majority of the key informants recommended the recruitment of more police officers and that the sungusungu should only offer information to the police.

**Figure 15: Effects of Sungusungu on crime management**

The same respondents were asked to suggest their recommendations on the role of the group in crime management. From the findings 30% recommended more recruitment of police officers, 30% also said that the Sungusungu should work with the police by providing information to the police for action, 20% recommended that the members should be appreciated for their good job and finally 20% recommended disbandment of the group. This shows that the majority of the key informants recommended the recruitment of more police officers and that the sungusungu should only offer information to the police.
Figure 16: Recommendations

- More police officers: 30%
- Provision of information to authority: 30%
- Disbandment of the sungusungu: 20%
- Reward: 20%
CHAPTER FOUR

THE FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a summary of the research findings, discussions, conclusions and recommendations for practice and further research on the problem. The study aimed at investigating the role of vigilante groups in management of security to urban centres: a case study of Sungusungu in Suneka Township, Kisii County.

4.1. The Findings

Most of the respondents in this research were male. This is because more males were willing to participate and also most members of the Sungusungu were male. Most of the respondents were aged between 25 and 35 years and a high number of them had only attained primary level of education.

4.1.1 Factors that motivated individuals to join the Sungusungu vigilante group

The first objective of this research was to explore the motivation behind recruitment into Sungusungu vigilante group. The study established that crime, poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, local administration and politicians, weak justice system, and peer group influence, in one way or the other influenced the recruitment into the group.

The study ascertained that majority of the people joined Sungusungu vigilante group to augment the effort in attempts of protecting life and property of the community.

4.1.2 The thriving of the Sungusungu vigilante group

The second objective of the study was to examine the factor that had led to the thriving of the Sungusungu. It was established that the residents of Suneka had liked the group to operate and therefore this gave it a milestone to thrive. The high rate of poverty had also catalysed the operations of the Sungusungu, the research also established that the low compliance with the rule of law made the group to thrive in the attempt to bridge the gap of insecurity in the area.
Illiteracy also gave the group a fertile ground to thrive; finally the local administration and politicians also upheld the activities of the group thus making it thrive.

4.1.3 Illustrations on the effects of Sungusungu operations to the security of Suneka residents

The third objective of this research was to explore the effects of Sungusungu vigilante group to the security of the Suneka residents. The study established that the Sungusungu had attempted to the improved status of security within the township and that economic growth had been enhanced through the operations of the group. It was also discovered that there was evidence of social cohesion, better social services due to the presence of the Sungusungu. Despite this, the study discovered that some vigilantes had used their position to perpetuate crime as they championed their personal selfish gain at the expense of the community.

4.2 Conclusion

In relation to what motivates individuals to join Sungusungu, the study found that crime was the most factor that motivated individuals to join the group, followed by; unemployment, illiteracy, and influence from; the local Politicians, administrators and peer groups respectively.

In relation to the factors that had led to the thriving of the Sungusungu, this research established that, some residents of Suneka had supported the group. This could have been due to the desperate situation created by high levels of insecurity in the region which made them think the Sungusungu could salvage them, also the lack of trust on the police and the criminal justice system, and also public frustration. The research also discovered that the high rate of poverty, illiteracy and unemployment formed major grounds that led to the thriving of the group.

In relation to effects of Sungusungu vigilante group’s activities to the security of Suneka residents, the study discovered that despite the fact that this group is illegal and outlawed social group, it had high effect on the security of the Suneka residents. It was noted that the Sungusungu’s activities had led to significant decline of crime rate in the region. Crime such as theft, rape, assault, house breaking, trespassing among others had reduced drastically on the presence of the Sungusungu. Although a section of the respondents were also not comfortable with it claiming that the group had propagated exploitation of individuals.
Based on the above observation the study indicates that the Sungusungu vigilante group to some extent has played a positive role in the management of the security of citizens in urban centres.

4.3 Specific Recommendations

i. The study recommends that the free and compulsory primary and secondary education should be implemented fully to address the high rate of illiteracy in our society.

ii. The study recommends that the government should craft plans to empower youths economically to reduce high unemployment rate, which leads to idleness and crime in society.

iii. The study recommends that the government should employ more police officers to shield life and property and ensure the observation of rule of law.

iv. This study recommends that the justice system should be strengthened so that the aggrieved members of the society could get their justice delivered at the right time. To reduce chances of individuals taking the law unto their hands.

v. The politicians should also be warned by the government against using the vigilante groups to achieve their egotistic goals.

vi. The government should realize the need to sensitize members of the public about their rights, responsibilities and obligations as citizens. This civic education may enable them become more patriotic and brothers’ keeper.

vii. In addition, the government has a responsibility of transforming the general perception of the public to the police officers. This will bond the relationship between the police and the public wooing the public willingness and freedom to give critical information on crime to the police. Thus reducing crime index within our urban centres which will eventually cut short the vigilante groups operation.
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE

I am a student at the University of Nairobi pursuing Masters of Arts Degree in Political Science and Public Administration. For a student to graduate, one is required to undertake an academic research project at his or her final year. Therefore am undertaking a research on the role of vigilante groups in the management of security to urban centres: a case study of Sungusungu in Sunekatownship, Kisii County Consequently am kindly requesting for your assistance in terms of time and responding to the questions below. Your precision and honest response will be important in this research.

Part 1. General information

1. Gender: Male [ ] Female [ ]

2. Age bracket: Below 25 years [ ] 25 to 35 years [ ]
   35 to 45 years [ ] 45 to 55 years [ ]
   Above 55 years [ ]

3. Highest education level attained: (i) Primary [ ] (ii) Secondary [ ]
   (iii) Middle level [ ] (iv) University [ ]

Part 2. Factors that motivates individual to join Sungusungu vigilante groups

4. What is the level of education of most of the Sungusungu members
   1. Primary [ ]
   2. Secondary [ ]
   3. Middle level college [ ]
   4. University [ ]

5. Do individuals join Sungusungu to reduce crime in Suneka Township?
   Yes [ ]
   No [ ]
   If yes, state briefly what are some of the crimes addressed by the group?

........................................................................................................................................
6. To what extent do you agree with the following statements in relation to recruitment of Sungusungu members?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statements</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment has contributed to individual joining the Sungusungu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty is among the factors that enhance individuals joining Sungusungu to try and earn a living</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As a result of poor relationship between the residents of Suneka and the police Sungusungu thrived to contain high rates of crime</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Politicians have contributed to the increased enlistment of individual into Sungusungu vigilante group.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The local administration endorses the operations of the Sungusungu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some of the members of the group joined because of peer group influence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. In a scale of 1-5 rate the following factors that motivate individual to become members of the Sungusungu in Suneka. Where 1 most important and 5 the least important
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Crime/insecurity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Influence from the Local politicians</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty/unemployment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak justice system</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illiteracy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any other factor(state)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Questions regarding why the Sungusungu vigilante group has thrived.

8. In your opinion has the Sungusungu vigilante group been active?

   Yes [ ]                                      No [ ]

9. If Yes, how?

   …………………………………………………………………………………………………
   …………………………………………………………………………………………………
   …………………………………………………………………………………………………
   …………………………………………………………………………………………………

10. To which extent do you agree with the following statements on the reasons why Sungusungu has thrived?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>To greatest extent</th>
<th>Great extent</th>
<th>Moderat e extent</th>
<th>Low extent</th>
<th>No extent at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>There is a possibility that there is low compliance with the rule of law and Sungusungu takes advantage of this weakness.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The local politicians are also to blame for supporting the operations of the Sungusungu.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Sungusungu has the backing of the local administration

The residents of Suneka too want the Sungusungu to operate.

The Sungusungu vigilante group gets ready recruitment pool from the many unemployed youths in the locality

High rate of poverty among residents has led to thriving of this group.

### 11. In a scale of 1-5 rate the following factors in relation to the thriving of Sungusungu in Suneka area, where; 1-represents the factor that contributes most to the thriving of Sungusungu and 5-the least factor that contributes least to the thriving of Sungusungu.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Crime/insecurity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local politics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty/unemployment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak justice system</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illiteracy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12. In your understanding what are other factors that have propelled the activities?

Illustration of the effects of Sungusungu operations to the Security of Suneka Residents
13. To what extent as a resident of Suneka agree with the following observations on the impacts of the activities of the Sungusungu on the Security of the residents?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Sungusungu has to great extent improved status of security in the township</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In one way or another the Sungusungu has led to peace ad cohesion among the residents of Suneka township</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Since the inception of the Sungusungu Vigilante group, there has been inherent political stability</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic growth has been enhanced through the peaceful mission of this group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There evidence that social cohesion, better social services due to the presence of Sungusungu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14. In a scale of 1-5, rate the following outcome activities of the Sungusungu in Suneka, where; 1-represents the most outcome of Sungusungu activity, while 5-the stands for the least outcome activity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Crime/insecurity reduction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduced Poverty/unemployment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promoting local political agenda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improved conflict resolution</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any other(state)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Recommendation on the role of Sungusungu in crime management to the Security of Suneka residents**

15. What policy recommendation can you come up with regarding to the role of Sungusungu in crime management on the security of Suneka residents?

............................................................................................................................................................
............................................................................................................................................................
............................................................................................................................................................
............................................................................................................................................................

Thank you for your participation.
APPENDIX 2: SEMI-STRUCTURED QUESTIONS FOR KEY RESPONDENT

THE ROLE OF VIGILANTE GROUPS IN THE MANAGEMENT OF SECURITY IN URBAN CENTRES: A CASE STUDY OF SUNGUSUNGU IN SUNEKA TOWNSHIP, KISII COUNTY.

1. Where do you work and for long have you been there?

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2. In your opinion, has the Sungusungu been active in crime management?

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3. If yes what some of the crimes that have been addressed by the group?

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4. What do you think has been motivating people to join this group?

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5. Please may you identify reasons why the group has been thriving on matters of security: 

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........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................

6. Do you think this group has had effect on the security of the residents of Suneka?
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................

7. What could you recommend regarding the effects of involvement of Sungusungu in crime management on the security of Suneka resident?
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................

Thank you for participating
APENDIX 3: CONSENT FORM FOR KEY INFORMANTS

THE ROLE OF VIGILANTE GROUPS IN THE MANAGEMENT OF SECURITY TO URBAN CENTRES: A CASE STUDY OF SUNGUSUNGU IN SUNEKA TOWNSHIP, KISII COUNTY

Dear esteemed participant:

My name is David Haggai Oyagi, a student at the University of Nairobi. I am conducting a research on the role of vigilante groups in the management of security to urban centres: a case study of sungusungu in suneka township, Kisii County and it is my pleasure to meet you and appreciate your big heart and acceptance to participate in this inquiry. Kindly sign this form as your confirmation that you understand the terms of my research after which you will also be provided with a copy of this consent letter. For your information the research is conducted as a partial fulfilment of the requirements of graduate student in the university.

In due course of the study you are requested to participate as a key informant in whom we shall be discussing the role of vigilante groups in crime management to the security of urban residents: a case study of Sungusungu in Suneka Township. Note that, no information that could lead to participant’s disclosure will appear in my final report of the study. Your contribution is voluntary and at your convenience you have the right to withdraw from further participation. There is no risk besides the one experienced in daily life.
The research has been recommended by the government of Kenya as the University of Nairobi. In case of any further clarification please contact my instructor, Dr. Katete G. at phone number: +254-702-379-292 or Dr. Lucy Irungu, the Deputy Vice Chancellor of Research, Procurement and Extension (tel. 0231262 Ext 001).

Yours sincerely,

David Haggai Oyagi.

Participant’s signature ___________________________ Date ___________________________

Thank you for your participation.