YOUTH AND ORGANIZED CRIMINALITY IN INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS: THE CASE OF HURUMA-MATHARE INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS, NAIROBI COUNTY

BY:

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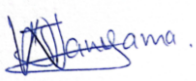
Declaration

I declare that this research proposal is my original work and has not been presented for a degree or certificate in any other university

Signature:  Date: 10th November 2022

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Dedication

I dedicate this project to my loving husband, Evans Barasa Makokha, and children, Sarah-Linsey Nekesa Barasa, Joy Mutonyi Burasa, and Mary Glory, for their moral support and encouragement during the entire period of this study.

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

OCGs -Organized Criminal Groups

OC -Organized Crime

OCS -Officer Commanding Station

UNOCD - United Nations of Office on Drugs and Crime

NCTOC - United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime

SPSS -Statistical Package for Social Sciences

K.IIS -Key Informant Interviews

FGDs -Focus Group Discussions

Abstract

The persistent increase in the number of organized criminal groups (OCGs) worldwide poses a significant threat to societal cohesion and is therefore a national, regional, and transnational problem that has caught the attention of security experts all over the world. The rate of unemployment is particularly high in Informal settlements making them a hotspot of OCs that include but are not limited to *Mungiki*. The OCGs engage in drug trafficking, robberies, extortion, firearms, prostitution, among other social vices. The overall study objective is to establish factors that predispose youths in urban Informal settlements and more specifically in Huruma-Mathare Informal settlements to organized criminality. The specific objectives involve establishing the demographic attributes of OCGs members; to examine the relationship between a gang member's socio-economic status and level of attachment to organized criminality; to identify counter measures that may discourage the formation of organized criminal gangs in Informal Settlements and to assess the relationship between a youth's level of exposure to an anti-social environment the level of risk of enrollment into an organized crime gang. The study used the social learning theory (SLT), General Strain Theory (GST) and Relative Deprivation Theory. The study used a cross-sectional descriptive research design. The method was adopted since it facilitates the collection of comprehensive research information on multiple variables at a specific point of time. The target population is the universe of elements of interest in the study. The target population comprised of respondents and key informants who were knowledgeable about organized criminality in Huruma-Mathare settlements. The primary respondents targeted were 96 Reformed OCG members that were identified by one of the reformed members that was a friend to one of the police officers in Huruma Police Post that volunteered to bring more numbers to 96 in total. The key informants in the study were randomly picked from each group consisting of 60 respondents that consisted of 4 Religious and Community Members, 5 from Huruma and 6 from Mathare; 11 Police Officers, 3 from Huruma and 8 from Mathare; 5 local Administrators, 3 from Huruma and 2 from Mathare; 3 community policing officials, 10 from Huruma and 7 from Mathare; 17 CBO officials, 4 from Huruma and 5 from Mathare were selected to form the sample of key informants. Therefore, the total number of key informants (KII) in the study was 60 and the primary respondents were 96. The study found that majority of the respondents (73%) agreed that being in a gang creates a sense of belonging; nevertheless 14% disagreed with the statement. While gang members are condemned in the society, they feel proud of being associated by the gang and also develop a feeling of being arrogant. Besides, gang members proudly wear gang symbols, such as tattoos, and use the signs without fear. Hence, joining a gang increases' the youths' feelings of pride and sense of belonging. The study concluded that Youths have a high level of attachment to OCGs due to several factors, such as achieving a sense of belonging**,** developing long-term friendships, and enforcement of strict rules that ensure their safety. However, the study found that these gangs' brotherhood can be broken through different interventions, such as prayer, counseling, death of some members, or arrest. The study recommends that Furthermore, the government should create new job opportunities in the Juakali informal sector to help the lowly educated youths in the community to make a living, thus discouraging them from enrolling in OCGs as an avenue recognition security and means to a livelihood.

CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

The United Nations of Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) (2004) defines an organized criminal group as a structured group comprising of three or more persons, who have been in existence and usually act “for a period of time in concert with the aim of committing one or more serious crimes in order to directly or indirectly” obtain a financial or any other material benefit. In the context of this study, organized crime refers to crimes committed by gangs that move together as a block, have a leadership system, and coordinate activities for purposes of economic gains. On the other hand, organized criminal groups refer to perpetrators of organized crimes.

The persistent increase in the number of organized criminal groups (OCG) worldwide poses a significant threat to societal cohesion and is therefore a national, regional, and transnational problem that has caught the attention of security experts all over the world (Bjelopera, 2012). Attempts by the international community to address the threat of OCG have resulted in the ratification of the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (NCTOC) by more than 40 countries in the year 2004 (UNODC, 2004). The Convention’s key objectives were to increase awareness and international cooperation in the war against organized crime through the prevention of human trafficking, smuggling of immigrants, and illegal firearms manufacturing (UNODC, 2004).

Organized crimes are characterized by a clear hierarchy of authority and division of tasks, that engage in profit-oriented illegal activities (Savona, Dugato, & Garofalo, 2012). Rostami (2016) points out that OC are carried out by coordinated groups of people, who may or may not publicize their achievements to the general public. Their key attributes include exclusive

membership, hierarchical leadership, strict rules and regulations, use of illegal violence, monopolistic, and unique culture.

Organized crime is a global phenemonon encompassing over 5000 OCGs. The approximate value of revenue generated by OCGs annually range from $1.6 billion to $2.2 trillion. These monetary proceeds are shared among members and used to faciliatte more crimes (Kar & Spanjers, 2017). The most common engagement of OCG's is drug trafficking, which earens them between $426 to $652 billion annually (Kar & Spanjers, 2017).OCG's also undertake numerous criminal activities e.g. drug trafficking, burglary, rape, prostitution, protection racket, extortion, counterfeiting, smuggling, corruption, human trafficking, and arms trafficking, among others (Smith, Rush, & Burton, 2013). For example, *Mungiki*, Kenya's better known OCG charges people for access to basic services, namely water, housing, electricity, transport, and sanitation (Gastrow, 2011).

Globally, OCG activities have serious adverse socio-economic and security issues. It fuels national insecurity, thus scaring away investors resulting in business losses. This creates a shadow economy, where billions worth of illegal goods are traded denying governments essential tax revenues, and loss of income to citizens (UNODC, 2010). The social costs of OCGs are equally devastating, for example, rape victims go through psychological and mental health problems like depression and anxiety. Drug trafficking affects the quality of life as the users develop addiction to the illicit substances resulting in school dropouts, high crimes rates, and drug-induced violence (UNODC, 2010). Some OCG activities are a threat to the wildlife and the environment, for example, illegal logging, burning of settlements, poaching, among others (Theisen, 2012).

According to Peterson (2013), evaluating the factors influencing youth's participation in crime is essential to comprehending the social-demographics and economic status of offenders. Generally, OCGs are on the rise and knowing the profiles of these groupings is essential in tracking their operations. Besides, OCGs have significantly increased the risk of insecurity in the most populous parts of the city particularly Huruma-Mathare settlements (Rahaman, 2018). Hence, controlling operations of OCGs is critical in promoting a suitable environment for the country's economic growth. Understandably various institutional measures and strategies can be used to reduce youths' vulnerability to organized criminality. According to Higginson et al. (2016), the strategies can be divided into two, namely prevention and suppression strategies.

The suppression strategies encompass legislative and policing methods for reducing gang membership, such as imposing harsh punishment for gang members (NCIC, 2018). Prevention strategies are widely used to prevent gang membership in Kenya, including community policing initiatives that promote desirable values, social welfare schemes that increase youths' employment rate, school monitoring and prevention programs that create positive awareness about the effects of gang membership (NCIC, 2018). Moreover, the prevention programs are used to identify youths at a high risk of pursuing criminal activities and developing interventions aligned to their needs. However, the implementation of these interventions, a significant portion of youths in Informal Settlements continue to join organized criminal groups. This study therefore seeks to identify factors that predispose them to organized criminality, with a view to controlling and/ or eradicating the vice.

1.2 Problem Statement

Kenya's rapid urbanization is linked to the fast growth of Informal Settlements in the country. According to UN-HABITAT (2007), approximately 50% of Nairobi's urban population lived in

Informal Settlements by 2015. Youths consist of 30% of Kenyan population and represent 78% of the unemployed population (Muiya, 2014). The unemployment rate is particularly high in Informal Settlements making them a hotspot of OCs that include but are not limited to *Mungiki*. The OCGs engage in drug trafficking, robberies, extortion, firearm, trafficking and prostitution, among other social vices (Smith, Rush, & Burton, 2013). Unfortunately, the majority of perpetrators of OCs in these Informal Settlements are youths aged between 15-30 years (Omboto et al., 2013).Granted the Kenyan government has implemented various strategies to reduce organized crime in Informal Settlements , namely increasing police presence in the area, collaborating with local communities, upgrading the Informal Settlements , and rehabilitating convicted offenders,however,organized criminality remains a limbering slum problem, thus posing as a major security, political and socio-economic risk to the entire country.

Gilman, Hill, and Hawkins (2014) identify the negative consequences of gang membership on youths, including incarceration, drug abuse and addiction, poor health, low esteem, and dropping out of schools. In the long-term, gang membership significantly reduces youths' ability to hold employment; thus, they continue their criminal behaviour as they depend on illegal income. Thus, the efforts of multiple stakeholders, such as the government, community-based organizations, and schools to reduce the rate of gang membership among the youth to protect their future and promote national security. Identifying factors predisposing youths to criminality is integral in reducing their membership in organized criminal gangs.

However, to date few studies have been conducted on factors influencing youth's involvement in criminality, especially in Huruma-Mathare Informal Settlements. Omboto et al., (2013) study on the causes of crime among imprisoned youths in Kamiti Youth Correctional Training Center (YCTC) found peer pressure, drug abuse, poverty, family breakups, low educational levels, and

residence in high crime neighborhoods as the primary driving factors of youth delinquency in the center. However, there is no evidence that the delinquent youths were OCG members.

Community violence exposure is another big problem facing youths dwelling in Informal Settlements like the case of Huruma Mathare Informal Settlements as the study's main target area. Youths may grow up in an environment where criminals are chased, hurt, killed by the mob, or even in exchange for gunshots by the police who cause a change in behaviour or psychological torture. In addition to that, people exposed to violence at a tender age are more likely to employ antisocial behaviour and hold beliefs similar to aggression (Dragone et al., 2020). These results in the likelihood of being involved in injustice and the social service system due to exposure to violence. Furthermore, analysis of the socio-demographic attributes of OCG members may provide criminal investigators with critical data and information for constructing the profiles of criminal group members. Such profiles enable law enforcement agencies to identify active and potential members of organized criminal groupings, thus aiding their investigation mandate.

As a result, the Police Department may effectively identify and crackdown on organized criminal elements. Over and above, the research findings are critical to the identification of policy inputs for the formulation of law enforcement strategies for eradicating criminal gangs from Informal Settlements. Moreover, greater insight on the predisposing factors may empower the security agencies to create a more favorable environment for business growth and employment opportunities in slum neighborhoods. Therefore, there is a need to establish demographic attributes of OCGs members and examine the relationship between a gang member’s socioeconomic status and level of attachment to organized criminality to identify counter

measures that may discourage the formation of organized criminal gangs in Mathare-Huruma Informal Settlements. This study thus seeks to bridge this gap by investigating factors that predispose youths in Huruma-Mathare Informal Settlements to organized criminality.

1.2.1 Key Research Questions

a. What are the demographic attributes of OCG members?
b. What is the relationship between a gang member's socio-economic status and level of attachment to organized criminality?
c. What counter measures may discourage the formation of organized criminal gangs in Informal Settlements?
d. What is the relationship between a youth's level of exposure to an anti-social environment and level of risk of enrollment into an organized crime gang?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1.3.1 General Objective

The overall study objective is to establish factors that predispose youths in urban Informal settlements and more specifically in Huruma-Mathare Informal settlements to organized criminality.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

a. To establish the demographic attributes of OCGs members.
b. To examine the relationship between a gang member's socio-economic status and level of attachment to organized criminality.

c. To identify counter measures that may discourage the formation of organized criminal gangs in Informal Settlements.
d. To assess the relationship between a youth's level of exposure to an anti-social environment the level of risk of enrollment into an organized crime gang.

1.4 Significance of the Study

The results of the study may augment the death knowledge and improve the understanding of factors influencing youths to join OCGs in Kenya. The predisposing factors are likely to revolve around social, community, environment, and economic issues. Hopefully, the research findings will help community-based organizations in Informal Settlements in curbing the risks of their children joining criminal gangs which may range from arrest, conviction, lynching, and/or summary execution by law enforcement agents.

Furthermore, analysis of the socio-demographic attributes of OCG members may provide criminal investigators with critical data and information for constructing the profiles of criminal group members. Such profiles enable law enforcement agencies to identify active and potential members of organized criminal groupings, thus aiding their investigation mandate. As a result, the Police Department may effectively identify and crackdown on organized criminal elements. Over and above, the research findings are critical to the identification of policy inputs for the formulation of law enforcement strategies for eradicating criminal gangs from Informal Settlements. Moreover, greater insight on the predisposing factors may empower the security agencies to create a more favorable environment for business growth and employment opportunities in slum neighborhoods. Furthermore, the study will be a reference point to other researches on organized criminal syndicates.

1.5 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study focused on the identification of factors that predispose youths in urban Informal Settlements specifically Huruma-Mathare Informal Settlements to join organized criminal groups. In this regard, the factors that are of interest in this study are the gang members demographic, socio-economic and attachment status. The study adopted a cross-sectional survey research design with the objective of collecting comprehensive data and information on the multiple variables at a specific point in time. A purposive sampling method was used to select 156 respondents to interview and participate in focus group discussions. The mixed data collection methods were used in this research. However, there is a risk that the sampling method will not fully capture the characteristics of the whole population since it is limited to youths living in Huruma-Mathare Informal Settlements. As such, the study findings may not be generalized to all youths living in Nairobi Informal Settlements. Besides, the sensitivity of the study is likely to impact on the reliability and validity of the anticipated data and information, given the anticipated fear by respondents to disclose sensitive information for fear of reprisals from either the gang leadership or law enforcement agencies.

1.6 Definition of Key Terms and Concepts

Reformed Gang Members

Reformed gang member as per this study symbolizes people that were once members of organized criminal groups and later changed, transformed, or even resign from the group. This may be contributed by being into jail and realizing crime doesn't pay or following strict religious norms that prohibits crime.

Organized Criminality

This is a well-planned scheme of robbing someone or something. This is used in this study to show that crime can be organized and planned and not that crime just happens without plan. The people who organize the criminal activities are the so-called organized criminals.

Informal Urban Settlement

Unplanned houses erected by people on illegal land without following the city's planning and building laws. Informal Settlements are characterized by overcrowding, inadequate access to safe water, poor sanitation, poor structural housing, abject poverty, and high insecurity.

Organized Criminal Group

A structured group of three or more persons existing for a period of time and acting in concert with the aim of committing one or more serious crimes or offences in order to obtain directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit. OCG characteristics are a clear hierarchy of authority, strict rules, and willingness to engage in violence for economic gain. In the study, the OCG membership is defined by typology of crimes committed and participation in gang-related activities.

OCG Member

A member of organized criminal group. Indicators of OCG members are participation in gang related activities, such as racketeering, smuggling, extortion, and drug trafficking, and strong attachment to other gang members. In the present study, an OCG member is an individual who participates in gang-related activities and has a high level of attachment to the group.

Youth

People between the ages of 15-24 years. In this study, it refers to young people who are involved in organized criminality.

Predisposing Factors

Risks that increase the youth's vulnerability to join the OCGs. In the present study, it will be used to refer to the demographic attributes, socio-economic status, level of attachment to criminal groups that supports gang membership.

Demographic Factors

Characteristics used to describe a person. In the study, demographic attributes encompassed the gender, age, employment status, type of employment, and gang membership status.

Socio-economic Status

Socio-economic status is the sociological and economic measure of a person that is influenced by income level and class in the society. In the study, socio-economic status refers to the family structure, peer influence, drug abuse, victimization in schools, unemployment, poverty and inadequate housing.

Level of Attachment

The emotional and physical connection to another person in the community that elicits feelings of care and protection. In the study, level of attachment will refer to the factors promoting strong relationship among gang members; include positive perception of gangs in the neighborhood due to the members' social status, familiarizing gang norms, trying to impress gang members, and initiating connection with gangs.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

The chapter summarizes the empirical and theoretical literature on factors predisposing youths in urban Informal Settlements to organized criminality. The write-up spans several thematic names, namely demographic characteristics, social attributes, economic factors, environmental factors, and theoretical framework.

2.2 OCG Trends and Patterns

According to Dininio (2015), OCGs are a structured group of three or more persons that repeatedly participate in criminal behaviour for profit. Fragile states characterized by "corruption, weak or unaccountable security forces, ineffective judicial systems, limited border controls, high levels of unemployment and inequality" have high OC rates (Dininio, 2015). Kenya falls into the category of fragile countries; it was ranked position 22 in the Fragile State Index of 2017 that is 20 points below Somalia (Fund for Peace, 2019).

UNDOC (2018) expounds on the reasons why fragile states like Kenya are more vulnerable to the emergence of OCGs. Failed or fragile states have power vacuums allowing OCGs to operate freely in a region. For example, corrupt officers obtain financial gain by aiding OCGs, while weak borders facilitate movement of criminals. Kenya ranks poorly at the Corruption Perceptions Index, its 2018 position was 144/180 countries, thus it is highly ranked in corruption. Moreover, Kenya has a high unemployment rate at 7.4% and weak borders leading to the infiltration of criminals like the Al-Shabaab militia from Somalia. As a result, Kenya is a hotbed of OCs ran by internal and external OCGs.

The escalation of OCs led to the formation of the Prevention of Organized Crimes Act of 2010 to address the threat of OCGs in Kenya. The Act adopts the UNODC (2004) definition of OCGs

that is a structured group of three or more persons that exist for specific duration with the aim of committing serious crimes to generate material benefits. Being a member of OCG is an offence punishable by law. According to the Act, OCG members refer to persons that:

- Confess to be members of OCGs
- Recruit or aid other people to join OCGs
- Networks with other people to commit serious crimes
- Instructs other people to execute serious crimes
- Helps in the perpetration of violent acts with help from OCGs
- Participates in OCGs illegal activities like extortion and kidnapping
- Invites other people to OCG training
- Aids OCGs in the execution of serious crimes, organizes or attends OCG meetings, and knowingly allows OCG members to use property to pursue their objectives.

OC is a perennial problem in Kenya. According to Masese (2007), the menace of OCGs first came to the limelight in the 1990s with reports regarding the illegal and violent activities of a gang commonly known as the *Mungiki*. The *Mungiki* members took secret oaths, donned dreadlocks, and advocated for traditional way of life; the group generated income through illegal taxation of the transportation industry. The government's efforts to ban *Mungiki* over the years have been unsuccessful as the group continues to operate to date. By 2000 there were approximately twelve OCGs in Kenya t outlawed by the state (Mutahi, 2011). In 2010, the government gazetted the names of 33 OCGs operating in the country including Huruma4, Superpower gangs, Brothers, Tsunami, Taliban, Hapana Tambua Takataka, Usiku Sacco, Jeshi la Embakasi, and Congo by Force to name a few. The Security Research and Information Center

(SRIC) (2012) conducted a comprehensive survey of OCGs in Kenya and identified 42 groups that were spatially distributed through the nation.

Geographically, there is high crime prevalence in urban areas. According to Musoi (2014), Nairobi is a hot spot of organized criminal gangs that are highly concentrated in Informal Settlements commonly known as Informal Settlements. Specific crime hotspots in Nairobi are Dagoretti, Starehe, and Kasarani, where huge populations of youths live in the following Informal Settlements Mathare, Kwangware, Kariokor, Huruma, Mathare, and Kibra. The vulnerability of Informal Settlements to crime is attributable to several factors including unplanned development, poor accessibility to law enforcement officers, lack of fences around houses, and open sewerage tunnels used as escape routes by criminals (Rahaman, 2018). Some Informal Settlements have bushy areas used as criminal hideouts. Besides, social, economic, and community factors propel youths living in Informal Settlements to join organized criminal gangs operating in their neighborhoods.

OCGs in Kenya undertake a range of criminal activities. Gangs are involved in extortion, mugging, extortion, conning, drug trafficking, money laundering, charging protection fees, robbery, pickpocketing, and arms trafficking (Musoi, 2014). OCGs run their activities 24 hours spreading fear among slum residents. Noteworthy is that many OCGs in Kenya restrict their operations within the country's borders and tend to concentrate in specific regions with the exemption of two groups namely Al-Shabaab and Mombasa Republican Council (MRC). The Al-Shabaab gang is associated with Al-Qaeda, the largest terrorist movement in the world; while the MRC is funded by foreign business people that belief in the political motives of the entity (SRIC, 2012).

Youths form the majority of membership in OCGs. According to SRIC (2012) OCGs like Gaza recruit members from the age of 12 years, thus biggest perpetrators of OCs in Nairobi are youths aged 15-35 years. Although the leaders and members of OCGs are known in the community, the government's efforts to eliminate the gangs have been unsuccessful. Undoubtedly, the state's failure to stop the continual growth of OCGs is attributable to the lack of understanding of factors predisposing youths to join organized criminality.

2.3 Informal Settlements and Organized Criminality

Informal Settlements are a haven for organized criminal members. Rural-urban migration has led to a ballooning slum population, as people migrate to urban centers in search of lucrative employment opportunities (Zaidi, 1998). However, finding employment is a daunting task in difficult economic conditions, thus most people end-up in Informal Settlements. Consequently, the slum population is growing at a faster rate than the infrastructural development in Informal Settlements.

Socio-economic inequalities lead to spatial concentration of organized criminal gangs in Informal Settlements. High poverty rates in Informal Settlements caused by unemployment affects individuals' ability to meet minimum basic requirements, including food, health, and education. As a result, slum dwellers live in small shanties, which have no electricity. Moreover, people in Informal Settlements share other essential services, such as latrines, bathrooms, and source of water. As a result of these difficulties, youths enter OCG to meet their needs. In addition, the geographic plan of Informal Settlements creates a favorable hiding place for OCG members. According to Meth (2017), Informal Settlements are constructed without formal architectural plans, thus the houses are close to each other. Moreover, the footpaths are narrow

making the areas inaccessible to law enforcement agencies. As a result, it is easy for criminal gangs to target locals living in Informal Settlements without getting captured by the local police.

2.4 Demographic characteristics of OCG members

Demographic characteristics are critical in criminal profiling. Demographic data reflects population dynamics and changes; it includes gender, ethnic composition, age structure, education status, mortality patterns, unemployment rate, and population growth rate. Establishing the demographic features of youths involved in OC or other crimes helps police identify suspects.

According to Hill, Lui, and Hawkins (2001) majority of youths in the US join gangs during adolescence; 13-18 years age bracket. Males form approximately 90% of gang members, while females form the remaining 10%. There is racial disparity in gang membership as 26.2% of members are African Americans. Moreover, Hill, Lui, and Hawkins (2001) argued that peer influence was the primary motivating factor of youths joining criminal gangs, and it also influenced their duration in the group.

Pyrooz and Sweeten (2015) in a study of gang membership in the USA also identified the demographics of youths joining criminal groups. The study established that people join gangs from the age of five years, but the trend significantly escalates from the age of 14 years. Minorities are the biggest proportion of members in gangs, and most of them are predominantly male. Time spent in the gang varies between members making it difficult to establish a trend of these movements.

A study by the National Crime Research Center in the Kenya also identified demographic factors of OCG members in the country. The study found that men are the dominant gender in OCGs, while women only make-up a small percentage of gang membership. Many criminals in Kenya

join gangs between the ages of 15-20 years and take an active role in the group's activities. The roles in gangs are divided along gender lines, males are responsible for extortion, recruitment, drug trafficking, livestock theft, training, offering security to members, punishing traitors, kidnapping, and collecting illegal taxes (National Crime Research Center, 2012). Females on the other hand perform lighter tasks including identifying potential clients, drug trafficking, criminal agents, transporting guns and stolen merchandise, creating confusion during gang raids, and meeting the sexual needs of male members. The study also pointed out that economic factors are the primary motivations for youths to join gangs, majority of gang members are unemployed school dropouts on the lookout for easy cash.

2.5 Social Attributes of OCG Members

The section focuses on social attributes predisposing youths to organized criminality, including family background, peer influence, school-related factors, drug and substance abuse, and anti-social behaviour.

2.5.1 Family Backgrounds

Family is the first unit of children's socialization that has long-term impact on their lives. Glesmann, Krisberg, and Marchionna (2009) identified the major family risk factors pushing youths to join gangs as broken homes, poverty, criminal family history, low parental attachment to child, parental violence, having a young mother, and child maltreatment. Similarly, Hill, Lui, and Hawkins (2001) found out there was a higher odds ratio for youths from families characterized by single-parenting, low income, sibling antisocial behaviour, low bonding with others, and parental violence to enter OCGs. According to Howell (2011), poverty and weak

family structures reduces the parents' ability to exert effective supervision over their children and develop strong bonds. As a result, youths join gangs with or without parental knowledge.

Young, Fitzgibbon, and Silverstone (2013) conducted a qualitative study that involved interviewing gang members and close family to identify the factors responsible for their gang involvement. Males raised by single mothers face a higher risk of enrolling into local gangs during adolescence as they seek to fill the gap in their lives. When an elder family member is associated with gangs, younger siblings often join the same criminal group. Furthermore, youths from low income households join gangs to supplement family income, and their parents accept the financial help without questioning the source of the money. From these lived experiences, it is evident that family factors have significant influence over gang membership.

Contrastingly, Young, Fitzgibbon, and Silverstone (2014) argued that there is weak relationship between family structure and youth's decision to join gangs. Persons living in the same dysfunctional family units choose different paths in life that is a life of crime or becoming a productive member in the community. Besides, family has minimal influence on young people's decision to leave a gang after years of membership; such decisions are often influenced by personal experiences. For example, many youths exit gangs after witnessing violence against other members like murder by law enforcement officers. Therefore, the impact of family members on gang membership can only be ascertained through primary research.

2.5.2 Peer Influence

The impact of peer influence on gang membership has been widely explored in many studies. According to Lenzi et al (2015), relationship with deviant teens increases the risks of gang involvement through the adoption of anti-social behaviour like drug abuse and aggressiveness or violence. Moreover, teens participate in juvenile delinquency like burglary, robbery, and

homicides to validate their position in the group. Besides, engaging with deviant peers reduces prevents youths from associating with prosocial peers that can positively influence their behaviour. For example, prosocial peers like teachers help youths to learn effective stress management and maintain excellent gains to avoid dropping-out of schools (Augustyn, Thornberry, & Krohn, 2014). As the youth's attachment to the gangs increases, they find it more difficult to exit the OCG.

2.5.3 School-Related Risk Factors

The school environment is expected to be a safe harbor especially for youths living in troubled households, but this is not always the case. Students' victimization including rape, bullying, assault, stalking, and battery at the hand of teachers and other students is a significant safety threat for youth. As a result, students join gangs in search of protection services. Students' gang affiliation particularly in unsafe neighborhoods is a common phenomenon. There is a greater risk of negative peer influence among teens living in unsafe environment because gang involvement is the only way to ensure their security.

For example, Gass and Laughter (2015) tell a story about a teacher who unknowingly participated in a gang handshake during a class session leading to his acceptance by the students. Howell (2011) also argued that academic achievement influenced students' gang membership. Fundamentally, poor academic performance destroys students' self-esteem levels, thus they join gangs to exert control over their lives and make a powerful impression to their colleagues. Also, low academic performance causes students to resent the school curriculum and all the programs in their entirety (Lenzi et al., 2015). As a result, they seek the friendship of other students experiencing the same challenges, who are usually organized in gangs.

2.5.4 Drug and Substance Abuse

Drug abuse is another social problem associated with youth's gang membership. Substance addiction refers to individual's dependence on drugs like opioids, marijuana, heroin, and cocaine among others (Dmitrieva et al., 2014). Due to the easy drug accessibility in the society, the youth generally begin abusing the substances at a young age. However, drugs are expensive and people can only sustain the habit by joining gangs to get access to stable sources of high income. Drug abuse is normalized behaviour for criminal gangs. According to Sanders (2012), gang members finding abusing illegal drugs like marijuana a pleasurable activity due to the risk of getting caught by law enforcement officers. Moreover, drug use particularly social drinking is used to create string social bonds among the gang members (Hunt, & Laidler, 2001). By joining gangs, youths with substance abuse problems get unlimited access to resources to support their addictions and become more dependent on the drugs. However, that these resources are obtained through the execution of organized criminal activities like theft and kidnapping.

2.5.5 Anti-social Behaviour

Antisocial behaviour is a predicator of future gang membership among youths. Children exhibiting antisocial behaviours during their childhood have a high risk of joining organized criminal gangs when they reach adolescent age. According to Osho et al. (2016), antisocial behaviours are socially unacceptable, the include impulsiveness, irresponsibleness, substance abuse, and aggression towards other people in the society. Commonly used measures of antisocial behaviour are fighting, irresponsible sexual behaviour, and attacking people with weapons, vandalism, and robbery among others. Antisocial behaviours lead to deviance of social norms, thus youths might make the conscious decision to join criminal groups (Gordon et al.,

2004). Conversely, the impulsiveness associated with antisocial behaviours increases individual's likelihood to attract the wrong company resulting in orientation into the gang.

2.6 Economic Factors

This section focuses on economic factors influencing youths' decision to join criminal gangs, namely, unemployment, land disputes, poverty, inadequate housing, and illiteracy.

2.6.1 Unemployment

Youth unemployment is a key reason of gang membership. The bulging number of youths in the populations requires the creation of enough job opportunities to cater for their employment needs. However, tough economic periods have exacerbated the global unemployment rate that currently stands at 13% (Mayer, Moorti, & McCullum, 2018). According to Hope (2012), Kenya is one of the countries experiencing a significant youth bulge, where more than 20% of the total population comprises of young people. However, the average growth rate of the youth population is greater than the job market growth. As a result, Kenya has a high unemployment rate. World Bank (2006), noted the unemployment rate in Nairobi Informal Settlements was 26%, and the largest number of unemployed persons were between the ages of 15-24 years. For those with jobs, their average income was $4,000-$15,000, thus their living conditions were deplorable (Onyanga, & Tostensen, 2015).

There is a close relationship between unemployment rates and youths involvement in gangs. According to Indris (2016) unemployment affects people's ability to afford basic commodities like food, affordable housing, education, and healthcare services. Besides, unemployment diminishes people's social status in the society and is a constant source of embarrassment, for example unemployed youths are unable to pay dowry and feed their females. When pushed to the

extreme ends, unemployed youths join OCGs for financial gain. Onyango (2013) also notes that hunger drives youth to crime and the prospect that prison time might act as deterrence does not work for this population. Youths earning less than the minimum wage also engage in gang activities to increase their income, and the general attractiveness of crime increases with the promised material gains.

The negative impact of youth unemployment on gang membership is more pronounced among African Americans in the US. Richardson and Vil (2015) found that unemployed youths consider their participation in gang violence as a form of legitimate employment. Blacks consider their violent actions as "putting in work", thus have no constraints about committing illegal activities. The same positive attitude towards crime is also reflected among unemployed youths in the rest of the world as crime is seen as the only outlet from their poverty.

However, there is no agreement about the impact of unemployment on gang membership. Poutvaaara and Priks (2011) argue that reducing the population unemployment rate is no guarantee for lower youth's involvement in crime. Instead, the lower unemployment may lead gangs to substitute their target group from low income earners to higher income earners. Besides, the unemployed youths also join gangs for different purposes like defending their honor or protecting their families.

2.6.2 Land Disputes

Land is an important commodity in Kenya that is associated with economic conflict between communities. Children inherit land from their parents, it is their birthright. However, the ballooning population exerts a lot of pressure on land usage making the resource scarce. As a result, youths form and join criminal gangs to fight other people for land. OCGs involved in land disputes in the country are predominantly found among pastoralists, who regularly fight for over

land and livestock. The Sabaot Land Defense Force (SLDF) is one the OCGs involved in crimes that seek to eject people from other tribes living in the Mt. Elgon region from their homes due to the ingoing land dispute in the community. SLDF's crimes include execution, kidnapping, rape, and collecting taxes from residents

2.6.3 Poverty

Poverty has significant influence on youths' recruitment and loyalty to criminal organizations operating in the Informal Settlements. Omboto et al. (2013) found that approximately 70% of inmates held at the Youth Correctional and Training Center (YCTC) were youths from poor background. The continuous cycle of poverty in Informal Settlements is responsible for the high rate of youth gang memberships. Poverty leads to high rates of school dropout because of financial problems, hunger, depression, social discrimination, and high levels of family mobility as their parents from one locality to another in search of better jobs. The school dropout rate in Kenya is 27% and 40% for primary school and secondary school respectively. Failure to complete education significantly reduces employment opportunities, thus poor youths either end up jobless or working in lowly paying positions. Poverty and unemployment causes the youths to run away from home to the street where they make their living by begging or stealing. The youth also encounter criminal gangs in the streets that offer them an opportunity to make a better living by committing crimes leading to their membership.

2.6.4 Inadequate Housing

Inadequate housing is a significant challenge in Informal Settlements that influences youths to join criminal gangs. There is a high population of people living in Informal Settlements, and it is greater than the available houses. Many houses in Informal Settlements are single rooms measuring 12 ft by 12 ft with a monthly payment of approximately $700. The houses are

overcrowded and often house 5-8 people or more depending on their employment status and financial well-being. Moreover, the housing conditions in Informal Settlements are in deplorable conditions, thus people lack basic services like water, proper sanitation, and good road networks (Bah, Faye, & Geh, 2018). Due to the overcrowding in houses, young people live their homes at an early age and move to the street to try their luck in making a better life giving their parents privacy. Other people decide to love with their friends who may be gang members. As a result, the youth are slowly oriented into gangs by close friends within their new living arrangements, or they come into contact with gangs on the streets.

2.6.5 Illiteracy

The educational status in Informal Settlements is a major economic problem that increases the vulnerability of youths to organized criminality. The literacy level in Informal Settlements is low due to several reasons. One is the high school drop-out rates among children and adolescents in Informal Settlements because of lack of school fees, negative peer pressure, and illnesses. For children living in Informal Settlements, their priority is to help their parents' meet ends meet today and not investing for the future. Two parent's literacy rate and attitude towards education influences the literacy level of today's generation. Parents with a high literacy level help their children to complete assignments leading to greater academic success compared to illiterate parents.

The low literacy rate predisposes youths to criminal gangs. Due to lack of critical education qualifications, youths in Informal Settlements work in low paying jobs as domestic workers, hairdressing, construction work, carpentry, or selling small and cheap items in the market or by the roadside. Noteworthy, the income earned from these jobs is insufficient for family sustenance. Therefore, youths have to look for alternative sources of income to complement their

meagre income. Joining a criminal gang is the easiest way of earning extra income, thus the youth find themselves proliferating organized criminality.

2.7 Environmental Factors

The environmental factors highlighted in this section are the presence of OCGs in the neighborhood, low neighborhood attachment, and deviant cultural norms.

2.7.1 Presence of OCGs in the Neighborhood

Presence of gangs in the neighborhood significantly increases the risk of youth recruitment into the groups. According to Alleyene and Wood (2014) neighborhood gangs increase the risk of young people's affiliation with their members and activities. Gangs create antisocial neighborhood environment; some of the areas known for different illegal activities including drug trafficking, violent crimes, and prostitution (Gilman et al., 2014). Children growing in such neighborhoods are socialized into the gang from an early age through their interaction with gang members. As the kids grow older the gang's influence over their life increases and they find themselves more vulnerable to recruitment. Taylor (2009) stated that gangs take advantage of the adolescence crisis by presenting themselves as attractive groups for confused teens during their time of need. As a result, youths are recruited and socialized into the groups.

Additionally, gangs create a high sense of insecurity in neighborhood forcing youths to join gangs to find protection. However, youths have to subscribe with the gangs values and norms to gain full acceptance into the group (Taylor, 2009). As a result, the youth begin to assume different roles in the gangs and are fully integrated into the life of a crime. However, it is important to note that not all young people living in the neighborhoods with a pronounced gang

presence become members; this implies that OCGs are also selective of their members. Qualities of gang members include loyalty and trustworthiness (Densley, 2013).

2.7.2 Low Neighborhood Attachment

Low neighborhood attachment is another environmental factor predisposing youths to organized criminality. Essentially, neighborhood attachment refers to emotional and physical connection of a person to their community or neighborhood. Poortinga et al., (2017) in a study of tools used to measure neighborhood attachment found out that the rate of neighborhood attachment influenced people's decision to engage in crime. Favorable physical environment features like green areas, lack of incivilities like graffiti, security, and availability of clean space for children to play increases neighborhood attachment. As a result, people were keen on preserving the excellent quality of their surroundings.

On the other hand, poor neighborhood quality such as incivilities, poor housing qualities like broken windows and doors, congestion, and lack of recreational space results in poor neighborhood attachment. According to Mares (2010) the socio-economic status of individuals living in such area is low, and people leave these neighborhoods after attaining a higher social class. Disorganized neighborhoods also attract new disadvantaged immigrants experiencing the same economic and social problems as the community residing in the areas. There is high crime prevalence in socially disadvantaged neighborhood, and youths that are unable to leave the areas join gangs operating in their locality (Mares, 2010). As a result, there is unequal distribution of crimes in countries and cities. Butorac and Marinovic (2017) confirm this argument by arguing that poor infrastructural design in Informal Settlements including the narrow streets, lack of fences, poor accessibility, and lack of good aerial view makes the regions fertile grounds of crime.

2.7.3 Deviant Cultural Norms

Cultural norms supporting gang membership are a strong pull to youths in the society. Attractive presentation of gangs in the media and by other persons creates a positive perception in the mind of adolescents in search of social identity (Wood, 2014). Favorable description of gangs revolves around their contribution to the community, achievement, and glorification of their activities. For example, the illegal activities of African American gangs are described candidly in the community, and the blacks accept their presence as an ordinary thing in their neighborhoods (Sánchez-Jankowski, 2018). Consequently, many African American youths tend to gravitate towards the gangs that provide them with a string sense of identity.

2.8 Assessing the relationship between the level of exposure to an anti-social environment and level of risk enrollment

The section focuses on the relationship experienced between the levels of youth's exposure to anti-social environment and the amount of risk enrollment into a neighborhood organized criminal gang.

2.8.1 Behavioural interventions

Over the years, sociology and behavioural psychologists have explored different theoretical perspectives on the best ways to address delinquent behaviour. In the US, the rise of delinquency among young adolescents poses considerable threats to the social structure balance. While various interventionists' strategies have been proposed on the most effective ways to address the issue, minimal scholarly research outcomes have supported these perspectives. Consequentially, a gap has emerged, especially regarding whether or not applied behavioural therapy could help address the issue. In light of this fact, this paper will undertake a literature review study to

determine the degree of effectiveness of applied behavioural analysis towards improving Youthful criminals

For this paper, youthful criminals refer to inappropriate behavioural tendencies among young adolescents, including increased violence, drug consumption, and anti-social behaviour that expose a subject to unprecedented harm. The broad definition will help to perspective the main issues associated with delinquency, including rebellious character, violence, and high-affinity to criminal behaviour. The paper hypothesizes that applied behavioural therapy and treatment interventions would effectively improve juvenile adolescents' overall behaviour because it helps to stimulate a change in the individual perceptual understanding of the implications of these tendencies. In retrospect, it will show that through a holistic behavioural therapeutic approach, the US juvenile system can successfully alter delinquent juveniles' behaviour during the rehabilitation programs in the correctional facilities. The paradigms of this paper's argument are supported by the various psychological theorists who agree that the adolescent brain is still in its developmental stages. Thus through these interventions, delinquents' behavioural practices may be successfully changed. The transformation process, however, as the subsequent sections will show, will require a holistic approach that ensures the subjects receive treatment plans based on the results of the applied behaviour analysis.

2.8.2 Level of exposure to an anti-social environment

Community violence exposure is another big problem facing youths dwelling in Informal Settlements like the case of Huruma Mathare Informal Settlements as the study's main target area. Youths may grow up in an environment where criminals are chased, hurt, killed by the mob, or even in exchange for gunshots by the police who cause a change in behaviour or psychological torture. In addition to that, people exposed to violence at a tender age are more

likely to employ antisocial behaviour and hold beliefs similar to aggression (Dragone et al., 2020). This results in the likelihood of being involved in injustice and the social service system due to exposure to violence.

A research study conducted by Pederson (2020) concluded that through behavioural interventions therapy sessions of detained juveniles, the correctional facilities could successfully help to rehabilitate the delinquents. However, the outcomes indicated that it was paramount for the intervention treatment plans to consider the young subjects' characteristics objectively. The observations made therein indicated that for an effective alteration of behaviour, it was paramount for the involved parties to undertake a comprehensive study on the involved candidates' character and personalities (Pederson, 2020). These findings help validate this paper's hypothesis, asserting that through evidence-based behavioural intervention treatment plans, it is possible for the successful improvements of the delinquent behaviour among young adolescents. However, as Pederson (2020) notes, what is of paramount importance is to conduct a series of character assessment tests to determine the particular nature of the target candidate's behaviours. Implementing these behavioural interventions requires that a careful assessment and evaluation protocol be applied to ensure the process's successful outcome.

Similarly, Caldwell (2011) posited that the application of various psychopathy treatment approaches among delinquents in Mendota Treatment Centers resulted in a substantial change in the subjects' overall behavioural tendencies, especially in regards to violent behaviour- one of the most common traits of these individuals. In the post-treatment phase, the study examined the test scores of the selected individuals. Results showed a rapid improvement on the scale of affection, improved interpersonal character, and reduced anti-social behaviour (Caldwell, 2011). In more finite terms, the study results provided information supporting this paper's hypothesis that

applied behavioural therapy improves and alters the behaviour of delinquent adolescents. From this point of view, it is accurate to postulate that the changes in these adolescent offenders' behavioural outcomes were very commendable and thus should be considered a practical approach in the treatment process.

2.8.3 Level of risk enrollment

Umbach et al. (2015) takes a completely different approach to studying the behavioural capacities of the analytical methods used to determine individual behaviour's nature. In retrospect, through using brain imaging, the study observed that the process could help identify the particular abnormalities in young offenders' brains and help to anticipate the outcome of various treatment strategies used to treat these behavioural disorders that trigger delinquency (Umbach et al., 2015). This research study's perspectives introduce new paradigms in the whole spectrum because it proposes biological and neurological interventionist strategies to help remedy the behavioural disorders among delinquents. While there is still a need for additional research on brain imaging, the implications of various forms of treatment, including punishment, prediction, and treatment among adolescents, are entirely accurate. Imaging could help to potentially predict and therein validate intervention programs to help avert the occurrence of these issues associated with delinquency. Though inconclusive, it is the view of this paper that the findings therein strongly support the paper's hypothesis that suggests through brain imaging as one of the modern applied behaviour analysis approaches, delinquency could be understood better, predicted, and most importantly, effectively treated before and even after it has started.

According to Yeager et al. (2017), while the psychological intervention plans possess the potential to yield positive results, they often fail because most of them still utilize the traditional institution-based programs that fail to align with the needs and desires of young adolescents

effectively. Precisely, the study suggests that the failure mainly results from the lack of integral elements that motivate young adolescents to change their behaviour with the promise that it will help alleviate their social status among their peers (Yeager et al., 2017). Irrevocably, at this stage, teenagers' main goal and agenda is to protect and advance their social status. Thus, the absence of interventionist strategies that guarantee delinquents that they would maintain their social status and peer respect even after altering their behaviour makes the change process to improve their behaviour very difficult. Subsequently, as the authors avow, it leads to the failure of these interventions. To succeed, the study suggests that the behavioural change process and treatment plans must reduce the negative aspects associated with changes in delinquent behaviour among adolescents.

For long, the principles of applied behaviour analysis among juveniles have mainly ignored behavioural coaching's potential as a potential strategy to help improve delinquency among juveniles. However, Gaines et al. (2008) observed that incorporating this new principle towards the prevention and treatment of delinquency would yield positive outcomes. Conversely, the adolescent stage involves a series of growth patterns and development of one's traits; thus, through behavioural coaching strategies, the individuals with delinquent behaviour would benefit from the approach behaviour because it would help stimulate a change in their perception of behaviour. The new view proposed by Gaines et al. (2008) is founded on the psychological theory that supports the view that the young adolescent mind is in a development phase that may be changed through such behaviour therapies that motivate a shift in the understanding of actions and character. In sum, behavioural coaching introduces new effective ways that juvenile behaviour treatment centers may approach delinquency towards providing successful intervention plans.In conclusion, as the above discussions indicate, the application of various

behavioural analysis approaches effectively improves the outcome of behaviour changes of youthful criminals. The findings of the different research studies reviewed therein provide conclusive evidence that validates this paper's hypothesis, indicating that indeed through the incorporation of behavioural change therapies based on the analysis results, the juvenile system can successfully treat and rehabilitate delinquent behaviour among young adults and adolescents.

2.9 Theoretical Framework

The study used the social learning theory (SLT), General Strain Theory (GST) and Relative Deprivation Theory

2.9.1 Social Learning Theory

The social learning theory (SLT) by Alberta Bandura (1965), explains the source of delinquent behaviour among youths. The theory is based on the premise that youths learn behaviour during their interactions with other people and different environmental settings resulting into different behavioural influences. The probability that persons will commit a crime can be predicted through the examination of the behavioural traits of his/ her close associates as this influences how they acquire behaviour. When adolescents keep the company of persons with delinquent behaviours, they are likely to adopt the same criminal behaviour. Engagement with pro-social persons results into the development of positive behaviour, thus there is a low chance of joining OCGs. This implies that youths join criminal syndicates without making a conscious decision to engage in criminal behaviour.

Differential reinforcement is a central concept of the SLT. Fundamentally, the differential enforcement notion refers to people’s understanding of the expected consequences of their behaviour. Usually, punishment is used a deterrent of criminal behaviour, but engaging in crime

is also associated with material benefits. Positive reinforcement increases the risk of criminal behaviour, while negative reinforcement prevents persons from joining criminal gangs (Akers & Jensen, 2011). Examples of direct positive reinforcement obtained by joining a gang include money and unlimited access to drugs, while indirect reinforcements are acceptance into the group and development of high self-esteem. On the other hand, the negative reinforcements include police arrests, probation, imprisonment, and death. Therefore, people do not blindly enter into OCGs; they also consider the personal consequences of their behaviour. Essentially, the youths weigh the positive features of joining gangs, which include access to easy money, sense of belonging, and access to drugs, against the negative consequence of imprisonment. However, with the under-policing in Informal Settlements, the risk of imprisonment for participating in gang related activities is relatively low. Therefore, gang membership is considered a better alternative to staying out of the criminal lifestyle. This theory directly relates to the study in that it helps in identifying the youth's behaviour during their interactions with other people and different environmental settings resulting into different behavioural influences which helps in reducing organized crimes.

2.9.2 General Strain Theory (GST)

The GST by Robert Agnews (1992), takes a different approach from social learning theory in explaining the cause of organized criminality in communities. The theory argues that the primary reason for participating in criminal activities is strain. Basically, strain occurs when a person feels deprived living in a particular environment or due to the type of treatment received from other people in the community. Specifically, the GST focuses on three types of strains. Firstly, it is individuals' inability to achieve their goals that results into personal disappointment (Agnew et al., 2002). The second type of strain is presentation of negatively valued stimuli, such as the

development of negative relationships with parents and peers. Moreover, the person experiencing the strain can be exposed to undesirable behaviour, such as bullying due to their failed aspirations. The last type of strain is loss of positively valued stimuli, such as romantic relationship and parental love.

Undoubtedly, there are numerous strain factors in Informal Settlements, including limited access to food, health, and sanitation, unemployment, poverty, and victimization that lead to failed goals. The presence of criminal groups leads to the presentation of negative stimuli among the youth, such as bullying from gang members. Eventually, the youth move to the third step of loss of positively valued stimuli by joining organized criminal groups and withdrawing from their families. This theory relates to the study in that it explains deeply on the relationship between participating in criminal activities and straining.

2.9.3 Relative Deprivation Theory

The American sociologist Robert K. Merton is often credited with creating the concept of relative deprivation. Merton's study of American soldiers during World War II revealed that Military Police personnel were significantly less satisfied with their opportunities for advancement than regular GIs. According to social theorists and political scientists, relative deprivation theory contends that people who feel they are being denied something they view as essential in their lives are more likely to feel depressed (Walker & Pettigre,1984). Relative deprivation has occasionally been implicated in the causes of social unrest episodes like riots, looting, terrorism, and civil conflicts. Social movements of this kind and the disorderly behaviors that go along with them are frequently the result of complaints from individuals who believe they are being denied resources to which they are legally entitled.

A contrast between "egoistic" and "fraternalistic" relative deprivation was also made by Runciman. According to Runciman, a person's perception that they are being treated unfairly in comparison to other members of their group is what motivates egoistic relative deprivation (Tomislav & Dinka,2022). A person who believes they should have received a promotion that went to another employee, for instance, may feel egotistically deprive. Fraternalistic relative deprivation is more frequently linked to significant social movements involving large groups of people, as the Civil Rights Movement. The sensation of envy experienced by middle-class people when they see persons on television who are depicted as being middle-class driving nice cars and dressing stylishly is another more prevalent example of brotherly deprivation. Runciman claims that fraternal deprivation has an impact on voting behavior as well, particularly when extreme right-wing political parties or politicians are involved. This theory connects to the study in that Fraternalistic relative deprivation is more frequently linked to significant social movements involving large groups of people like the OCGs.

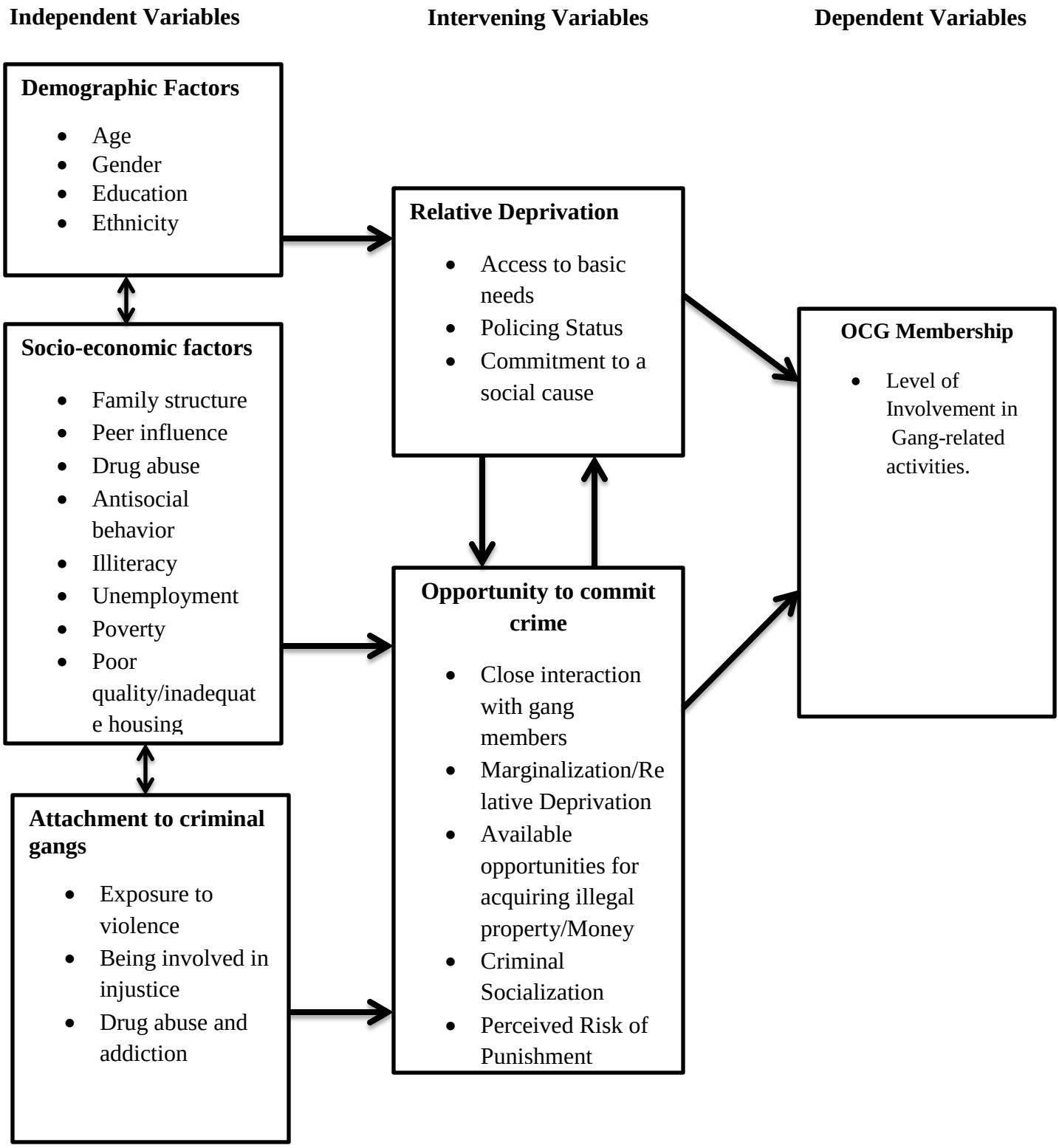
Furthermore, social movements of this kind and the disorderly behaviors that go along with them are frequently the result of complaints from individuals who believe they are being denied resources to which they are legally entitled. This is seen in slum areas where there is police harassment and unnecessary arrest to curb the emerging criminal groups. But for over the years this has bore no fruit as the real offender’s act like a secret cult group were mentioning of others if arrested is breach of secrecy cult. Because of police presence and arrests, people do not blindly enter OCGs; they also consider the personal consequences of their behaviour. Essentially, the youths weigh the positive features of joining gangs, which include access to easy money, sense of belonging, and access to drugs, against the negative consequence of imprisonment. However,

with the under-policing in Informal Settlements, the risk of imprisonment for participating in gang related activities is relatively low.

2.10 Conceptual Framework

Developing a conceptual framework is essential in determining the primary variables in the study. The study includes three types of variables. The independent variables are the socioeconomic factors and demographic characteristics that increase the risk of youths joining OCGs. However, these factors influence gang membership through several intervening variables. The demographic factors of education, age, and gender lead to gang membership due to the feelings of deprivation and lack of basic needs, such as housing and food. On the other hand, family structure, bad poor influence, illiteracy, and drug abuses increases leads to the development of close interactions between youths and gang members. Furthermore, unemployment, poverty, and poor-quality housing is associated with lack of access to quality housing and limited access to healthcare services, consequently youths join gangs to meet these needs. Consequently, youths become OCG members and this is characterized by the typology of crimes committed, participation in gang-related activities, level of attachment to OCGs, and member of gangs.

Figure **2.1: Conceptual Framework**



CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This section focuses on the key elements of the research methodology including Site selection and description, research design, units of analysis and observation, target population, sampling procedure, data collection methods and tools, validity and reliability of research instruments, data analysis, and ethical considerations.

3.2 Site Description

The study was conducted in the Huruma-Mathare settlements located in Nairobi County. The settlement is located in the North-Eastern side of Nairobi city measuring 73.7 hectares of land. The approximate distance between the study area and the Central Business District is 5 kilometers. Due to the proximity between the Huruma-Mathare settlements and the city, it is the second most populous Informal Settlements in Nairobi with 500,000 people and beyond as of 2021, after Kibra with. 600,000-800,000 inhabitants living in small *Mabati* shacks measuring approximately 10 ft *12 ft,typical of persons living in Kenya's urban centers, Huruma-Mathare inhabitants are a disadvantaged lot due to the high levels of poverty, unemployment, under-policing, and a host of other social problems like drug abuse. Cumulatively, these factors create a favorable environment for the emergence of OCGs that engage in numerous criminal activities including drug trafficking, smuggling, robbery, extortion, prostitution, counterfeiting, and racketeering among others. Huruma-Mathare settlements were chosen as the study area since it is one of Nairobi's oldest Informal Settlements with a high concentration of youths in OCGs. Specific OCG's operating in the area is *Mavado Base, Kismayu, West Rotego, Mayakuza, Choma Zone, Homeboys, AK47, Matheva, Chuma Moto, Gaza, Shantiiti, and Mahora,* among others.

3.3 Research Design

The study used a cross-sectional descriptive research design. The method was adopted since it facilitates the collection of comprehensive research information on multiple variables at a specific point of time. The key study variables are social, economic, community, and level of attachment to organized criminality. The adoption of a descriptive research approach helped to ensure collection of accurate information on peer influence, drug abuse, and unemployment among other factors that predispose youths in Informal Settlements to join OCGs. The fundamental question addressed using descriptive research design revolves around factors that predispose male youths in Huruma-Mathare settlements to adopt OCG as a way of life.

3.4 Unit of Analysis and Observation

The unit of analysis in this study is organized criminality in an informal urban settlement. The units of observation are reformed-OCG members, Local Public Administrators, Police Officers, Community Policing Officials and Officials of Community Based Organizations (CBOs) in the Huruma-Mathare settlements.

3.5 Target Population

The target population is the universe of elements of interest in the study. The target population comprised of respondents and key informants who were knowledgeable about organized criminality in Huruma-Mathare settlements. The primary respondents targeted were 96 Reformed OCG members that were identified by one of the reformed members that was a friend to one of the police officers in Huruma Police Post that volunteered to bring more numbers to 96 in total. Out of all the 96-members in total a record check was also done to counter check if in real all of them were reformed and they were assured of safety and confidentiality by the

researcher. The respondents were assured that the details they will give will only be used for academic purposes only and only pseudo names will be used for security reasons. The inclusion of reformed OCG members was vital in the study because of their previous involvement with criminal gangs. They were therefore perceived to possess intimate information on factors predisposing the youths to organized criminality. Besides, the target population included key informants, comprising of individuals who were found to be knowledgeable about gang membership in the community. The key informants in the study were randomly picked from each group consisting of 60 respondents that consisted of 4 Religious and Community Members, 5 from Huruma and 6 from Mathare; 11 Police Officers, 3 from Huruma and 8 from Mathare; 5 local Administrators, 3 from Huruma and 2 from Mathare; 3 community policing officials, 10 from Huruma and 7 from Mathare; 17 CBO officials, 4 from Huruma and 5 from Mathare were selected to form the sample of key informants. Therefore, the total number of key informants (KII) in the study was 60 and the primary respondents were 96.

3.6 Sampling Procedure

Sampling refers to selection of a smaller representative from the target study population with the purpose of completing the study. A preliminary baseline survey will be conducted to establish the number of key respondents in the Huruma-Mathare Informal Settlements and measure the status of the target population before the commencement of the study. The baseline survey focused on 200 primary respondents, namely reformed OCG members. According to Mugenda and Mugenda, (2003), when the total population is less than 10,000 a sample of 10%-30% is adequate representation. The survey established a sampling frame of 200 potential primary respondents from whom an interview sample of 60 (30%) respondents was randomly selected for purposes of this study.

Table 3:1: Sampling Frame

Primary Respondents	Mathare	Huruma	TargetPopulation	Interview Sample
Reformed OCG members	68	132	200	60

Each of the respondents was identified and numbered for purposes of facilitating easier sampling. A systematic sampling method was used to randomly select individuals from the sampling frame. The kth object of the sampling frame was picked from the primary respondents.

K=N/n

Where N is the population size

n is the sample size

K is the random number

Reformed OCG members Kth element was 200/60=3

Therefore, the study picked every 3rd respondent from the population of reformed OCG members until a sample size of 156 respondents was attained.

As for the key informants, the study adopted a purposive sampling method. This is a non-probability sampling technique that facilitated the identification of individuals with rare characteristics. The researcher identified identify key informants in Huruma and Mathare areas through a baseline survey and assessed their respective informed by subjecting them to a preliminary interview to establish their personal level of awareness on organized criminal activities in the Informal Settlements, and their involvement in fighting the vice. The key informants in the study were randomly picked from each group consisting of 60 respondents that

consisted of 4 Religious and Community Members, 5 from Huruma and 6 from Mathare; 11 Police Officers, 3 from Huruma and 8 from Mathare; 5 local Administrators, 3 from Huruma and 2 from Mathare; 3 community policing officials, 10 from Huruma and 7 from Mathare; 17 CBO officials, 4 from Huruma and 5 from Mathare were selected to form the sample of key informants. Therefore, the total number of key informants (KII) in the study was 60 and the primary respondents were 96. Therefore, the total number of key informants in the study was 60 and the primary respondents were 96. This makes N=156 as the study sample size.

3.7 Data Collection Methods and Tools

3.7.1 Interview Schedule

Qualitative and quantitative data was collected from 156 primary respondents using an interview schedule. An interview schedule is a list of highly structured questions that are posed to the respondents by the researcher. The researcher included specific options for each question were read them out to the respondents. The questions were divided into three themes, namely socioeconomic attributes of gang members and level of attachment to organized criminality, suggestions for combating organized criminality, and demographic characteristics of OCG members. Besides, the interview guide method was used with two main groups of key informants, community policing and CBO officials due to their unique experiences with youths in different wards within the study area.

3.7.2 Focus Group Discussions (FGD) Guide

According to van Eeuwijk and Angehrn, (2017) FGD is a qualitative data collection method where a selected group of people come together to discuss a given topic in-depth. A focus group guide was used to elicit relevant study data from the focus group discussions (FGD). Those that

participated in the KII are the same people that were picked for the FDG. The picking of the 60 FDGs involved random picking as was witnessed in KII from each group consisting of 60 respondents that consisted of 4 Religious and Community Members, 5 from Huruma and 6 from Mathare; 11 Police Officers, 3 from Huruma and 8 from Mathare; 5 local Administrators, 3 from Huruma and 2 from Mathare; 3 community policing officials, 10 from Huruma and 7 from Mathare; 17 CBO officials, 4 from Huruma and 5 from Mathare were selected to form the sample of key informants. Therefore, the 60 KIIs participated in the FGD sessions, where discussions were used to generate useful information on factors predisposing youths in Informal Settlements to organized criminality. A video recorder was used in the FGD to track the responses and individual participating in the sessions and the findings discussed in the analysis section.

3.8 Data Analysis Techniques

The study adopted the content analysis method. Content analysis is suitable for mixed-methods studies; it refers to the systematic and subjective evaluation of verbal and written information to make research inferences. So, the content analysis was used to scrutinize the responses collected using the interview schedules and focus group discussions. The content analysis method was used to identify the major themes within the respondents' responses. Results was presented using frequency tables, graphs, and pie charts to enhance understandability.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

The anonymity of the research respondents was preserved by ensuring that questionnaires do not collect personal information of the respondents like their name and addresses. The researcher briefed the respondents about the study to help them make informed choices regarding their

participation in the research. Respondents will have the freedom to voluntarily participate in the study and that of those declining to participate. Moreover, the researcher respected the respondents' right to privacy by not infringing on their personal space and time.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION, AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter entails study analysis, presentation and interpretation of data beginning with demographic characteristics of respondents. This includes age, education level, employment status, and ethnic identity. Again, it presents the key finding on factors predisposing youths in informal urban settlements to organized criminality. Data was collected using survey and focus group discussions methods. While reformed gang members were the religious community leaders, Police Officers, and Local Administrators and CBO officials were the key informants. This was also followed by analyzing each and every objective: The specific objectives of the study was to establish the demographic attributes of OCGs members; examine the relationship between a gang member's socio-economic status and level of attachment to organized criminality; identify counter measures that may discourage the formation of organized criminal gangs in Informal Settlements and assess the relationship between the level of exposure to an anti-social environment and the level of risk of enrollment into a neighborhood organized crime gang by youth.

4.2 Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

The primary respondents provided basic background information, including age, education level, employment status, and ethnic identity. The information is summarized in the tables below.

Table 4:1 Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Male	97	62%
Female	59	28%
Total	156	100%

Age Bracket	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
15-20	20	13%
21-25	35	22%
26-30	26	17%
31-35	24	15%
36-40	16	10%
41-50	12	8%
51-60	11	7%
Over 60 years	7	5%
Total	156	100%
Education Level	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
None	61	39%
Primary Level	84	54%
Secondary Level	9	6%
University Level	2	1%
Total	156	100%
Ethnic Background	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Luo	27	17%
Luhya	7	4%
Kamba	10	6%
Burji	4	3%
Kalenjin	2	1%
Kikuyu	59	38%
Maasai	5	3%
Others	6	4%
Total	156	100%
Employment Status	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Permanent	30	19%
Self-employed	43	28%
Contractual	15	10%
Casual	68	37%
Others	0	0%
Total	156	100

4.2.1 Gender

The study found that majority of the respondents 97(62%) were males that are more inclined to join criminal gangs compared to females with 59(28%) as shown in the table above. Males join gangs due to parental neglect, bad influence from youth leaders, drug abuse, lack of role models, and relationship pressure as they feel compelled to offer their girlfriends' gifts. Moreover, the

males feel protected by the gang. The findings are consistent with Taylor's (2013) results, which argue that males join gangs due to multiple factors, including safety and protection, friendly recruiter gaining respect enhancing masculinity, money, releasing frustrations, and committing delinquent acts. However, research has also established an increasing number of gang attributable to negative peer pressure and search for protection (Bell, 2009). Upon further inquiry about female gang membership in Huruma-Mathare Informal Settlements, the respondents indicated that their numbers have significantly increased in recent years. Therefore, the dynamics of gender gang membership in the Informal Settlements are expected to change in the future.

The respondents identified the following groups of OCGs Black Ants, Gaza, Kamjesh, Kobil, Mungiki, 42 Brothers, Guli, Ja post, Tsunami, Taliban, J-10, and Superpower. Moreover, the respondents indicated that new criminal gangs had sprouted among bodaboda riders who were strategically located in different parts of the slum but were unaware of their names. According to Howell (1997), a youth gang's features are name, leadership structure, collective actions, geographic territory, and recognizable symbols. Therefore, a name is an essential element of a gang.

4.2.2 Age

The table shows an unequal representation of the respondents across different age brackets. Majority of the study respondents were between 21-25 years at 35(22%), followed by age bracket 26-30 years at 26(17%) with the lowest number of participants spotted between the age bracket over 60 years of age at 7(5%). That means that majority of the respondents were youths, thus they were able to provide relevant information on factors prompting the youths living in the informal settlement to organized crime.

4.2.3 Education Level

On demographic characteristics of the respondents the study revealed that majority of the respondents only had primary education 84(54%), followed by no education at all at 61(39%) and then secondary education 9(6%) and university education scoring the least with 2(1%). This clearly shows that majority of these respondents lack education and those that went to school left at primary level making them illiterate. This can be interpreted to mean that majority of crime offenders have little education or primary education hence have no qualification in doing any professional work to earn a living. This makes them resort to crime as a means of getting rich quickly without having to toil for their genuine cash. Those with primary education can only resort to skill work which also requires experience and finding such chances is hard as it needs a mentor and training. On the other hand, starting a business also is a challenge as it needs cash to do the same. This is one of the main reasons why 51(33%) of crime offenders are having primary education. The findings suggest that education level affects the youths' decisions to get involved in organized criminality. Youths with secondary and university level education level are less likely to pursue criminal activities because they have higher chances of finding employment. The respondents indicated that the majority of youths sold water, collected garbage, operated motorbikes, sold meat, and hawked household items. Some youths have taken-up crop and livestock farming through the support of non-governmental organizations. Youths earn low income from these jobs, hence their motivation to engage in criminal activities.

4.2.4 Ethnic Background

The study sought to capture the ethnic identity of the respondents. Based on the data captured in the table below, most of the respondents were from two ethnic groups Kikuyu 59(38%) and Luo

27 (17%). The findings suggest that Luo and Kikuyu are the dominant ethnic groups living in the Huruma-Mathare Informal Settlements; hence they form the largest number of organized criminal gangs in the area. Nevertheless, the respondents indicated that their ethnic identity did not influence their decision to join criminal gangs. Rather, the OCG members were motivated by their self-interests; hence they paid little attention to their ethnic differences.

4.2.5 Employment Status

The respondents were asked to indicate their employment status. Out of the 156 respondents, 68(37%) were casual employees, 43(28%) were self-employees, 30(18%) permanent employees and 15(10%) were contractual employees. Based on the finding, one can infer that there is a high unemployment rate in Huruma-Mathare Informal Settlements as many of the respondents have temporary employment typically characterized by lack of job security and low wages.

4.3 Socio-economic Attributes and Attachment to Organized Criminal Gangs

One of the research objectives was to examine the relationship between youths' socioeconomic attributes and attachment to OCF. The primary respondents and focus group participants were asked questions regarding gang members' socioeconomic status, and their opinions are analyzed below.

Table 4.2 Socio-economic Attributes of Gang Members

Statement	SA	A	N	DE	SD
Growing up in broken/ single parent home	64(41%)	40(26%)	23(15%)	19(12%)	10(6%)
Strained relationship with parents	54(31%)	50(36%)	23(15%)	19(12%)	10(6%)
Criminal history background	64(41%)	40(26%)	23(15%)	19(12%)	10(6%)
Negative peer pressure from friends	111(71%)	42(27%)	3(2%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Victimization in school	19(12%)	10(6%)	64(41%)	40(26%)	23(15%)
Poor academic performance	54(31%)	50(36%)	23(15%)	19(12%)	10(6%)

Substance abuse	111(71%)	42(27%)	3(2%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Adoption of anti-social behaviour e.g. bullying and aggression	10(6%)	52(38%)	22(14%)	20(13%)	52(29%)
Lack of employment	66(43%)	38(24%)	23(15%)	19(12%)	10(6%)
Low wage rates	110(70%)	43(28%)	3(2%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Poor housing quality	64(41%)	10(6%)	19(12%)	40(26%)	23(15%)
Low education levels making it difficult to secure a job	54(31%)	50(36%)	23(15%)	19(12%)	10(6%)

4.4.1 Family Structure

The majority of respondents 54(31%) strongly agreed that strained relationships with parents caused youths to join gangs, nevertheless 10(6%) disagreed with the assertion. Moreover, 64(41%) of the primary respondents strongly agreed that gang members had a criminal background history, while 10(6%) disagreed with the claim. From the responses, most of the respondents agreed that family structure significantly contributes to youths' decision to join organized crime. The respondents elaborated on their answers by stating that most gang members were raised by single mothers who spent most of their work, hence they did not have adequate time to provide them with critical moral guidance. Besides, the youths often left unsupervised for many hours, thus they had the opportunity to interact with peers, including gang members who recruited them into their organizations. Besides, it was difficult for single mothers to discipline male children because they did not have other adults reinforcing their rules; hence they are the largest group of offenders in the slum.

A religious leader who was a KII said:

"Single mothers have brought up the majority of gang members. Most of these mothers rely on casual work, such as washing clothes, selling vegetables, and mitumba; hence they are often away from home and cannot monitor their children's activities. Besides, male children rarely listen to their mothers; thus, it is challenging to maintain their discipline."

This point shows the high levels of family breakdown in the slum.

Additionally, the majority of reformed gang members indicated that their fathers were not involved in their life. One of the primary respondents stated:

My father divorced my mother and married another woman. I chose to stay with my mother, and my father has been absent from my life since the situation. By the time I was ten years, I saw the differences between my family's situation and my peers who were brought up by two parents. My mother was always broke, and we could not afford food and rent. I felt the pressure to care for my mother and sibling, and I joined a gang by 13 years. Although my mother tried to warn me to stop committing crimes and focus on my education, I did not listen to her. If my father had been involved in my upbringing, I am sure things would have turned out differently.

This point shows that broken or single parent household experience economic deprivation as parents lacked the financial capacity to meet their children's basic needs, such as food, education, and health. As a result, youths choose to join gangs to overcome poverty and improve their standards of living.

Another responded said *"it is true growing up under single parenthood more so a mother without a father figure is the biggest challenge that I am facing because sometimes I experience a lot of pain watching my mum sit whole day waiting for "Kibarua" just to have something for us to eat and this pushes me to steal or even join some of my friends in robbery just to find something to eat"*….He added that some people commit crime just to have food on table but they are not criminals in his own understanding.

4.4.2 Peer Influence

The study found that the majority 111(71%) of the primary respondents strongly agreed that negative peer pressure influenced youths to join organized criminality. This is because the youths

learned deviant behaviour from peers that predisposes them to criminal behaviour. Besides, some of the primary respondents revealed that they committed their first crimes after facing extensive pressure to prove their masculinity to their friends. Therefore, associating with deviant friends stimulated negative behaviour, while relating with disciplined youths leads to positive behaviour. Similarly, the focus group discussions participants indicated that that negative peer pressure was a cause of a high number of youths joining OCGs in the slum. The reformed criminals revealed that they were often introduced to various gangs in the neighborhood by close friends, who also initiated them to substance abuse, another risk factor of gang membership. The religious leaders provided a biblical perspective on the question, arguing that bad company spoils children's characters and morals. Moreover, one of the administrators, a key informant, noted that some parents approached him asking him to speak to their children when they began hanging out with known gang members. These findings show that negative peer pressure causes the youths to adopt bad behaviours, such as drug abuse, and join criminal groups.

4.4.3 School-Related Factors

Respondents were interviewed on school-related factors associated with gang membership, including victimization in school and poor academic performance. The majority 64(41%) of the respondents were undecided that school victimization increased the risk of joining criminal gangs, while 19(12%) agreed with the assertion. The primary respondents noted that they encountered two common forms of victimization in schools namely capital punishment and bullying. Individuals who experienced bullying were more likely to join gangs in their search for protection. However, the majority of respondents disagreed that bullying increased their vulnerability to OCGs since schools made significant effort to create a friendly and bullying-free environment.

There were mixed opinions on the influence of poor academic performance on gang membership. Majority 54(31%) of the primary respondents strongly agreed that poor academic performance increased their vulnerability to OCGs, nevertheless 10(6%) disagreed with the statement. According to the key informants, poor academic performance did not lead to criminal behaviour; instead, youth decided to join gangs. Besides, key informants noted that some of the OCG members were highly intelligent students with excellent academic performance records. However, it is essential to note that some of the respondents felt that low performing children were more vulnerable to gangs since they felt learning did not guarantee them brighter futures. These findings imply that victimization and poor academic performance has a minimal influence on the youths' decisions to join organized criminality.

4.4.4 Drug and Substance Abuse

The study found that majority 111(71%) of the respondents (agreed that substance abuse increased the youths' vulnerability to OCG, and none of the respondents disagreed with the assertion. The respondents identified the commonly used drugs in the Informal Settlements, including heroin, bhang, alcohol, and sedatives which were locally available. Youths living in the slum begin abusing drugs when in primary school and maintain the habit through to adulthood. Drug abuse leads to gang membership as the youth join gangs to get fast money to afford their lifestyle. Noteworthy, substance abuse was identified as part of the gang culture, thus the users of these illicit drugs found comfort in these groups. Besides, gang members committed crimes while under the influence of drugs because they stimulate their nervous system and increase their tendency to indulge in violence. Although the reformed criminals had left their criminal life behind, some of them indicated that they still struggled with a substance abuse

problem. These findings illustrate that drug abuse increases the youths' involvement in criminal behaviour.

4.4.5 Antisocial Behaviour

The study found that the majority of the respondents 52(29%) out of the respondents disagreed that the adoption of anti-social behaviour leads to gang membership, nevertheless 10(6%) agreed with the claim. The key informant and primary respondents identified the type of deviant behaviour among youths as stealing, fighting, illicit drug use, aggressiveness, and bullying. According to the respondents, parental, school, and community efforts helped address deviant behaviour among youths, making them less vulnerable to neighborhood gangs. However, the study found that there were some cases where delinquents began engaging in criminal activities and eventually joined OCGs despite all interventions. These findings elucidate that early intervention helps to curb anti-social behaviour, hence control gang membership. However, the youth must be willing to accept help; otherwise, they are inducted into gangs.

4.4.6 Unemployment

The study found that majority of the respondents 66(43%) out of the respondents agreed that unemployment was a major risk factor of gang membership, while 10(6%) disagreed with the assertion. Unemployment leads to economic deprivation among the youth as they were unable to fulfill their needs. The primary respondents indicated that there was a high unemployment rate in Huruma-Mathare Informal Settlements; majority of the youth are either unemployed or temporarily employed, where they earn less than Ksh. 300 daily. As a result, the majority of youths live with their parents, who can only provide them with the basic needs of shelter and food; hence they join gangs to meet other needs, such as clothes and mobile phones. In single

parent households, the youth, especially males, face excessive pressure to help their parents care for their siblings. One of the primary respondents, a reformed OCG member stated;

"Joining a gang was my only option to help my mom put food on the table and send my younger brother to school"

Another primary respondent outlined his reasons for joining a gang as;

"I was a fresh university graduate but I was unable to secure employment. We created a gang with my friends as a way of making money. By the time I joined the gang, I was at my wits about what to do to live a better life"

These findings elucidate that youths living in the slum perceive criminal behaviour as their answer to unemployment and resulting poverty. Hence, the high OCG membership in Informal Settlements.

4.4.7 Low wage rate

The study found that majority 110(70%) out of the primary respondents agreed that low wage rates positively influence gang membership, while 0(0%) disagreed with the assertion meaning that there was no descending voice. The majority of the youth living in the Informal Settlements do odd jobs, such as washing clothes, bodaboda, and selling mitumbas in the Informal Settlements ; their average daily earnings is less than Kshs. 300 daily. The money is hardly enough to meet all their expenses; hence they supplement their income through crime. For example, a respondent gave the following reasons for joining a gang;

"I bought my motorcycle using a loan, and was expected to pay Kshs. 300 to the lending institution every day or face repossession. Sometimes, I made less than Kshs. 300, which was inadequate to repay the loan. As a result, I started stealing and joined my friend's gang to generate more income"

However, some respondents felt that low wage rate did not necessarily lead to gang membership. Although some youths in the Informal Settlements earn low wages, they have managed to live decent lives through proper budgeting of the income. These findings show a moderate positive relationship between low wage rate and organized criminality in the slum.

4.4.8 Poor Housing Quality

The study found that respondents held diverse opinions about the influence of low housing quality on gang membership. The majority 64(41%) of the respondents agreed that low housing increased youths' vulnerability to OCGs, while 23(15%) disagreed. Majority of people in the slum live in small shanty mabati houses as few individuals can afford the high rent in permanent dwellings. The youth feel hopeless and often compare their living situations to their peers. The pressure to be like their peers causes some of the youth to join organized gangs in the hope of living in better houses. However, the respondents noted that once the youth became OCG members, they continued living in their old neighborhoods. The physical and environmental characteristics of the slum make it good hiding places for gang members. So, low quality housing influences the youths' decision to join OCGs.

4.4.9 Education

Majority of the respondents only had primary education 84(54%), followed by no education at all at 61(39%) and then secondary education 9(6%) and university education scoring the least with 2(1%). This clearly shows that majority of these respondents lack Education levels influence people's qualifications for high paying and lucrative jobs; hence people without adequate education are confined to low-paying jobs. According to the respondents, majority of the youths living in the informal settlement have primary school education and have never attended or dropped out of secondary schools due to a myriad of reasons, including lack of

school fees, peer influence, drug abuse, truancy, expulsion, and lack of parental support. Due to their low education, youths lack essential skills and knowledge to qualify for different jobs; hence they result in criminal activities. Interestingly, the respondents also pointed out that some of the most educated people in society, such as university graduates are involved in criminal activities. Therefore, some of the respondents felt that gang membership was more of a personal choice than a consequence of low education.

4.4.10 Other Factors

Additionally, the study sought to identify other socio-economic factors increasing the youths' vulnerability to organized criminal gangs. The other factors included idleness, impulsivity, excitement, street smartness, and self-esteem needs. According to these responses, some youths enter gangs for the lifestyle and because they are idle. For others, being a gang member is an impulsive decision, and it helps them to meet their esteem needs. Therefore, these findings show that a myriad of factors predispose the youths to organized criminality.

4.5 Level of Attachment to Organized Criminality

Additionally, the study sought to establish the youths' level of attachment to organized criminality. The primary respondents and key informants completed a set of seven questions related to the subject.

Table 4.13: Level of Attachment to Organized Criminality

Statement	SA	A	N	DE	SD
An OCG is a replica of the real family	56(36%)	26(17%)	46(29%)	12(8%)	16(10%)
Being in a gang creates a sense of pride and belonging	80(51%)	50(32%)	20(13%)	0(0%)	6(4%)
A gang is a brotherhood that cannot be broken	18(12%)	43(28%)	19(12%)	59(38%)	17(11%)
Joining a gang leads to the development of long-term friendships	56(36%)	10(6%)	26(17%)	46(29%)	12(8%)
The strict rules of criminal groups are a safety net for individual gang members	56(36%)	46(29%)	15(10%)	27(17%)	12(8%)
Gangs provide protection against bullying and abuse from other Community Members	43(28%)	46(29%)	20(13%)	1(1%)	46(29%)
Gangs offer a coping mechanism for trauma experienced during childhood	12(8%)	10(6%)	26(17%)	46(29%)	56(36%)

The study found that majority 56(36%) of the primary respondents did not see an OCG as a replica of the real family; the majority of the key informants had a similar opinion. Youths form criminal groups to fulfill their diverse need, and go their separate ways once they accomplish their opinions. According to the religious leaders, the gang could not replace a person's real family; the opinion was shared by the administrators and police officers.

One of the primary respondents stated,

"I did not see the gang as my family. I only interacted with them when we had a job. Sometimes we lost some of our members to police shooting or lynching but it did not affect me as they were not my real family members."

However, some of the reformed OCG members felt that the gang was a replica of the real family. They spent a majority of their time together and were willing to do anything for each other. For instance, a CBO officer stated

"For many youths living in the slum, the gang is considered to be the real family. The gang members eat, drink, and have fun together; they also bail out each other in case of any difficulties"

These findings show the nature of the relationship between gang members. Although the gang cannot replace the real family, the members spend a significant amount of time together. However, as long as a person does not see the criminal group as the real family, the level of attachment to organized criminality is low.

Additionally, the study found that most of the respondents 80(51%) agreed that being in a gang creates a sense of belonging; nevertheless 6(4%) disagreed with the statement. While gang members are frowned upon in society, they feel accepted within the gang. The primary respondents noted youths are proud of being in a gang; they become arrogant as other society members fear them. Besides, gang members proudly wear gang symbols, such as tattoos, and use the signs without fear. Hence, joining a gang increases' the youths' feelings of pride and belonging.

However, the study established that majority of the respondents 50(32%) out of 156 did not believe that a gang is a brotherhood that cannot be broken. The respondents indicated that criminal groups are primarily created to serve the members' economic needs and not their social wants. The brotherhood between gang members is broken by different the withdrawal, arrest, and murder of some members. Besides, the police officers noted that the brotherhood is broken when the gang members betray each other to secure shorter sentences. According to religious leaders,

they can use prayers and counseling to break-up criminal gangs. These findings show that gangs are not long-lasting brotherhoods.

Furthermore, the study sought to determine whether joining a gang leads to the development of long-term friendships. The study found that the majority 56(36%) of the primary respondents agreed that joining a gang leads to long-term friendships. The reformed OCG interviews revealed that most of them still maintained strong friendships with their peers, who have also exited the gangs. Besides, some of the males married females operating in the same gang. These relationships developed because gang members spent a substantial amount of time together and shared similar interests. The discussion groups revealed that the strong band between gang members made it difficult for law enforcement to curb their activities. These findings elucidate that youths spend too much time with other gang members, leading to deep and long-term friendships.

The study found out that the majority, 56(36%) agreed that criminal groups' strict rules are a safety net for individual gang members. OCGs have strict rules, such as respect leaders, keep time, avoid speaking to police officers, and not to disclose the group's confidential information to outsiders. Due to these rules, it is difficult for law enforcement officers to penetrate into the gangs' activities. For instance, gang members refuse to give up the identity of their fellow criminals. These rules make it difficult for the community policing officials to enforce the "*nyumba Kumi laws*" in the Informal Settlements. So, there is no doubt that criminal gangs set strict laws to protect themselves against all dangers.

Besides, the study found that the majority of the respondents 46(29%) agreed that gangs protect against bullying and abuse from other community members. Youths living in Informal Settlements are exposed to organized criminal gangs that run their neighborhoods. Youths that

are not members of any OCG become the target of violent attacks from these criminal groups. Consequently, youths join gangs to gain protection from other community members.

Finally, the study found that the majority of the respondents, 46(29%) disagreed that gangs offer a coping mechanism for the trauma experienced during childhood. Youths living in Informal Settlements suffer from different childhood experiences, such as sexual assaults, physical abuse, parental neglect, and social exclusion. According to the respondents, gang members rarely speak about their problems; instead, they spend their time using drugs and planning criminal activities. As a result, criminal gangs do not provide their members with an opportunity to discuss their traumatic childhood experiences.

4.6 Intervention Measures Against the Formation of OCGs

Additionally, the study sought to establish intervention measures against the formation of OCGs. The results of the individual interviews are summarized in the table below.

Table 4.14: Intervention Measures Against the Formation of OCGs

Statement	SA	A	N	DE	SD
Strengthening the relationship between parents and youths through positive socialization	56(36%)	26(17%)	46(29%)	12(8%)	16(10%)
Training teachers and community leaders to detect and address bullying and victimization of children in schools so as to reduce their vulnerability to OCGs.	80(51%)	50(32%)	20(13%)	0(0%)	6(4%)
Building institutions to help youths exhibiting antisocial and disruptive behaviours to learn and integrate acceptable social norms into their lives.	18(12%)	43(28%)	19(12%)	59(38%)	17(11%)
Sensitizing youths on the factors causes and effects of gang membership	56(36%)	10(6%)	26(17%)	46(29%)	12(8%)
Expanding access to education in the settlement, so as to reduce their contact with local gangs	56(36%)	46(29%)	15(10%)	27(17%)	12(8%)
Creating recreational centers for the youth where they can learn acceptable behavior	43(28%)	46(29%)	20(13%)	1(1%)	46(29%)
Arrest and prosecute political leaders funding criminal groupings to reduce their operations and popularity in the settlement.	46(29%)	10(6%)	56(36%)	12(8%)	26(17%)

The study found that it is possible to discourage youths from joining criminal groups by employing various strategies. The research established that the majority of the respondents 56(36%), agreed that strengthening the relationship between parents and youths through positive socialization reduces their vulnerability to organized criminality. This is because parents become the youths' role models and monitor their behaviour; hence they can correct destructive behaviours. 80(51%) of the primary respondents agreed that training teachers and community

leaders to detect and address bullying and victimization of children in schools to reduce their vulnerability to OCGs is an effective strategy. Teachers guide youths and offer early intervention to family and social problems. On the other hand, 18(12%) of the respondents agreed that building institutions to help youths exhibiting antisocial and disruptive behaviours to learn and integrate acceptable social norms into their lives reduces their vulnerability to criminal groups. In comparison, 17(11%) disagreed with the statement, while 19(12%) were neutral. Some of the respondents felt that an institution would no help because antisocial and disruptive behaviours are not the primary cause of youth gang membership. However, 56(36%) of the primary respondents agreed that sensitizing youths on gang membership causes and effects will reduce their susceptibility to organized criminality. Besides, all the respondents agreed that expanding access to education in the settlement so as to reduce their contact with local gangs. According to the respondents, the high illiteracy level in the slum is responsible for the high unemployment level. Therefore, improving access to education will play a significant role in reducing gang membership. Lastly, 46(29%) of the respondents agreed that arrest and prosecution of political leaders funding criminal groupings is vital in reducing their operations and popularity in the settlement.

In comparison, 26(17%) strongly disagreed with the assertion because they only fund these groups during election periods. Other suggested interventions for reducing youth gang membership in Huruma-Mathare Informal Settlements were empowering the youth, training, providing them with job opportunities, arresting drug traffickers, and creating a positive culture in the society. These responses show that the community can put in place mechanisms to reduce gang membership among the youths in collaboration with the people. Similarly, the focus group discussions were asked to identify interventions for reducing gang membership in Informal

Settlements. The suggestions for importance were creating employment opportunities, improving the quality of education, community policing, increasing awareness about gang membership, arresting gang members, and praying for the youths. The findings mirror the primary respondents' opinions on positive interventions.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

The chapter summarizes the research findings on factors that predispose youths in informal urban settlements to organized criminality. The section also focuses on key findings and recommendation of the study.

5.2 Summary of the Findings

This summary of findings will be discussed as per the study objectives. The overall study objective was to establish factors that predispose youths in Huruma-Mathare Informal Settlements to organized criminality. The paper evaluated how socio-economic, demographic, and level of ethno political activism influence gang membership. Moreover, the study assessed the level of attachment to OCGs and identified the recommendations to address the problematic issue.

5.2.1 Demographic Characteristics of OCG Members

The study found that majority of the respondents 97(62%) were males that are more inclined to join criminal gangs compared to females with 59(28%) as shown in the table above. Males join gangs due to parental neglect, bad influence from youth leaders, drug abuse, lack of role models, and relationship pressure as they feel compelled to offer their girlfriends' gifts. Moreover, the males feel protected by the gang. Majority of the study respondents were between 21-25 years at 35(22%), followed by age bracket 26-30 years at 26(17%) with the lowest number of participants spotted between the age bracket over 60 years of age at 7(5%).That means that majority of the respondents were youths, thus they were in a position to provide relevant information on factors prompting the youths living in the informal settlement to organized crime. majority of the respondents only had primary education 84(54%), followed by no education at all at 61(39%)

and then secondary education 9(6%) and university education scoring the least with 2(1%). This clearly shows that majority of these respondents lack Based on the data captured in the table below, most of the respondents were from two ethnic groups Kikuyu 59(38%) and Luo 27 (17%). The findings suggest that Luo and Kikuyu are the dominant ethnic groups living in the Huruma-Mathare Informal Settlements; hence they form the largest number of organized criminal gangs in the area.

The respondents were asked to indicate their employment status. Out of the 156 respondents, 68 (37%) were casual employees, 43(28%) were self-employees, 30(18%) permanent employees and 15(10%) were contractual employees. The study findings were consistent with the general strain theory (GST) that argues that deprivation influences people to participate in delinquent behaviours, such as joining organized criminality. Youths living in Huruma-Mathare experience the three strains identified in the GST, including personal disappointment in their inability to achieve their goals, negative peer pressure, parental relationship, and loss of positively valued stimuli. As a result, males in informal urban settlements are highly vulnerable to gang membership.

5.2.2 Reformed Gang Members' Socio-Economic Attributes

Majority of respondents 54(31%) strongly agreed that strained relationships with parents caused youths to join gangs, nevertheless 10(6%) disagreed with the assertion. Moreover, 64(41%) of the primary respondents strongly agreed that gang members had a criminal background history, while 10(6%) disagreed with the claim. From the responses, the majority of the respondents agreed that family structure significantly contributes to youths' decision to join organized crime. The study found that the majority 111(71%) of the primary respondents strongly agreed that negative peer pressure influenced youths to join organized criminality. The majority 64(41%) of the respondents were undecided that school victimization increased the risk of joining criminal

gangs, while 19(12%) agreed with the assertion. The primary respondents noted that they encountered two common forms of victimization in schools namely capital punishment and bullying. There were mixed opinions on the influence of poor academic performance on gang membership. Majority 54(31%) of the primary respondents strongly agreed that poor academic performance increased their vulnerability to OCGs, nevertheless 10(6%) disagreed with the statement. According to the GST, a negative association with parents and friends lead to strain and consequent development of behavioural problems. The interviews revealed that most OCG members had a strained relationship with their family members; hence their vulnerability to gang membership.

Additionally, the study found that the majority of respondents 111(71%) were of the view that negative peer pressure increased youths' risk of joining criminal gangs. The youths were often initiated into gangs by their friends. The study established that school-related factors in poor academic performance and victimization in schools did not have significant influence over a youths' decision to become an OCG members. Besides, 54(31%) of the primary respondents agreed that substance abuse leads to gang membership. Youths have a strong desire to be accepted by their group of friends from whom they learn delinquent behaviours from their close peers as outlined in the social learning theory. These findings indicate that external environmental factors influence gang membership.

Furthermore, the study established that 52(29%) of the respondents disagreed that antisocial behaviour does not impact gang membership. On the other hand, 10(6%) of the primary respondents agreed that lack of employment was a significant factor that predisposes the youth to organized criminality. Low education was also found to positively influence OCG membership, while low housing quality was not associated with the problem. Based on these findings, it is

plausible to state that majority of the youths living in informal urban settlements suffer from unemployment and low education, leading them to criminal behaviour. However, low-quality housing is minimally associated with the problem.

5.2.3 Level of Attachment to Organized Criminality

The majority of the respondents 56(36%), stated that gang members did not perceive the OCGs as a replica of their real family. The majority of the respondents 80(51%) agreed that gang creates a sense of belonging. Moreover, 18(12%) of the primary respondents agreed that joining a gang leads to the development of long-term relationships, which are maintained even after exiting the group. Further, most respondents agreed that strict rules are a safety net for gang members and the criminal groups are a source of protection against bullying. On the other hand, the respondents disagreed with the assertions that joining a gang helps the youth deal with past traumatic experiences, and the brotherhood bond in the OCG cannot be broken. These findings reveal that the youths have a high level of attachment to organized criminal groups because they meet their need for belonging and friendships, but their bonds with the group can be broken.

5.2.4 Level of Ethno-Political Activism

Furthermore, the study explored how ethno-political activism predisposes the youths to OCGs. The majority of the respondents disagreed with all the assertions regarding ethno-political activism and gang membership, including OCG members strongly identify with their ethnic groups; OCG members do not harm persons from their ethnic group; the majority of OCGs comprise of members of the same ethnic groups; the majority of OCGs members are affiliated with perceived regional political parties; OCG members obey their ethnic political leaders

without questioning their motives; majority OCGs members act as agents of political leaders from their ethnic background; political/ethnic differences often fuel gang wars in the city. The study's findings showed that OCG members have little regard for their ethnic backgrounds; instead, their actions are fueled by common socio-economic objectives.

5.2.5 Intervention Measures against the Formation of OCGs

Finally, the study identified intervention measures against the formation of OCGs. The majority of respondents agreed that the following interventions reduce the youths' vulnerability to organized criminality, including improving access to education for the youths; strengthening relationships between parents and youths; training teachers to identify antisocial behaviour; arresting criminals the neighborhood; youth empowerment; and community policing. Although the respondents prioritized these factors differently, they focused on addressing gang membership's primary factors.

5.3 Conclusion

The major conclusions of the study are done as per study objectives:

1. Males living in informal urban settlements are predisposed to organized criminality. The youth drop out of school early due to many factors, such as lack of school fees, negative peer pressure, and poor parental involvement. As a result, the majority of males living in Huruma-Mathare Informal Settlements are engaged in organized criminal activities.

2. Several socio-economic factors predispose youths in informal urban settlements to organized criminality. Socio-economic factors increasing youths' susceptibility to OCGs are substance abuse, family structure, unemployment, low wages, negative peer pressure, and low

education. However, it was unclear whether victimization in schools, poor academic performance, and antisocial behaviour influence gang membership.

3. Youths have a high level of attachment to OCGs due to several factors. These factors are achieving a sense of belonging in the gangs, developing long-term friendships, and strict rules that ensure the safety of OCG members. However, the study found that these gangs' brotherhood can be broken through different interventions, such as prayer, counseling, death of some members, or arrest.

4. The community should employ different strategies to reduce gang membership in the informal urban settlement. These interventions include educating and providing the youth with lucrative employment opportunities, improving youth-parental relationship, arresting drug dealers, addressing bullying in schools, sensitizing the youth about the impact of gang membership, and employing community policing interventions. Effective implementation of these interventions would reduce the rate of gang membership.

5.4 Recommendations

Based on the above findings, the recommendations were also done as per study objectives:

1. The government should improve access to education in Huruma-Mathare Informal Settlements to improve the populations' literacy level. Consequently, the youth will acquire the skills and knowledge needed to get gainful employment, hence reduce their vulnerability to criminal gangs.

2. Non-governmental organizations, in collaboration with the community, should sensitize the youth about the negative impact of gang membership and help them overcome substance abuse problems. As a result, the youth will be wary of their involvement with criminal gangs.

3. Religious institutions and NGOs should provide community members with counseling services to improve the relationship between the youth and their parents and address negative peer pressure. The intercession will create a positive culture in the slum and help the community to control gang membership. Therefore, the number of youths joining OCGs will significantly reduce.

4. Furthermore, the government should create new job opportunities in the Juakali sector to help the lowly educated youths in the community to make a living.

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Appendix 1: Introduction Letter

I am Juliana Nabalayo, a master's student from the University of Nairobi and I am conducting research on factors that predispose youths in urban Informal Settlements to organized criminality in the Huruma-Mathare settlements in Nairobi. You have been identified as one of the resource persons and would therefore kindly ask you to take a few minutes to help me complete the questionnaire/ participate in a focus group discussion. The information gathered will be used only for the study and will not be disclosed to unauthorized third parties. Participation is voluntary and you have the right to withdraw at any time.

Sincerely,

Signature……..**Date**…….

Juliana Nabalayo

Appendix II: Primary Respondents Interview Schedule

Section1: Demographic Attributes

1.Gender

Male [ ] Female [ ]

2. Age in complete years ……

Education level

Primary level [ ] c. University level [ ]

Secondary level [ ] d. None [ ]

4. Tick respondents category belonged

Reformed OCG member [ ]

Non-Reformed member [ ]

5. If reformed OCG member official, name group and area that you operated on without mentioning your name or any personal details.

…….....

6. Were you an ordinary OCG member or official?

…….....

7. If official, what roles did you play before reforming?

.……

8. How long did your OCG group been in existence when you joined and at the time of reforming?

.....

9. How large is the OCG members group at the time you were a member or as at now if you have the information?

……...

10. What is your ethnic background?

……

11. What ethnic language/languages do you speak?

……

12. Describe your main day to day/usual work/activity

…….

13. What reasons pushed to be a member of the OCGs?

…….

14. What do you think can be done in curbing these cases of crime?

…….

15. Did you get the alert from police officers or any relevant authorities before committing these crimes and if yes what was the channel of communication

…….

16. Do you think crime pays as many youths may think it's a get rich quick way of earning a living?

…….

17. Do you think the Government/Police is doing enough in curbing these cases of crime and yes how?

…….

18. What are the challenges that you have faced or facing as a member or official of OCGs?

…….

19. Are you regretting as a former member/official or a member/official of OCGs?

…….

20. What advice can you give to the people that are interested in crime or still in crime now?

…….

Section 2: Reformed Gang Members' Socio-Economic Attributes

This section identifies the socio-economic attributes influencing youths too join criminal groups. Please tick in the box (✓) the attributes that best describes the reformed gang member's decision to join an OCG:

1=Strongly Agree (SA) 2=Agree (A) 3= Neutral (N) 4=Disagree (D) 5=Strongly Disagree (SD)

Statement	SA	A	N	DE	SD
Growing up in broken/ single parent home					
Strained relationship with parents					
Criminal history background					
Negative peer pressure from friends					
Victimization in school					
Poor academic performance					
Substance abuse					
Adaption of anti-social behaviour e.g. bullying and aggression					
Lack of employment					
Low wage rates					
Poor housing quality					
Low education levels making it difficult to secure a job					

If other explanations, specify……

……..

Section 3: Level of Attachment to Organized Criminality

This section identifies the level of attachment to organized criminality by the concerned youths. Please tick in the box (✓) the extent to which each of the following factors describe a gang member's decision to remain in an OCG:

1=Strongly Agree (SA) 2=Agree (A) 3= Neutral (N) 4=Disagree (D)

5=Strongly Disagree (SD)

Statement	SA	A	N	DE	SD
An OCG is a replica of the real family					
Being in a gang creates a sense of pride and belonging					
A gang is a brotherhood that cannot be broken					
Joining a gang leads to the development of long-term friendships					
The strict rules of criminal groups are a safety net for individual gang members					
Gangs provide protection against bullying and abuse from other Community Members					
Gangs offer a coping mechanisms for trauma experienced during childhood					

If other reason, specify…….

Section 4: Intervention Measures against Formation of OCGs

This section identifies the intervention measures against the decisions by youths to join OCGs. Please tick in the box (✓) intervention measures that best describes the concerned youth's decision not to join an OCG:

1=Strongly Agree (SA) 2=Agree (A) 3= Neutral (N) 4=Disagree (D)

5=Strongly Disagree (SD)

Statement	SA	A	N	DE	SD
Strengthening the relationship between parents and youths through positive socialization					
Training teachers and community leaders to detect and address bullying and victimization of children in schools so as to reduce their vulnerability to OCGs.					
Building institutions to help youths exhibiting antisocial and disruptive behaviours to learn and integrate acceptable social norms into their lives.					
Sensitizing youths' on the factors causes and effects of gang membership					
Expanding access to education in the settlement, so as to reduce their contact with local gangs.					
Creating recreational centers for the youth where they can learn acceptable behavior					
Arrest and prosecute political leaders funding criminal groupings to reduce their operations and popularity in the settlement.					

If other interventions, specify ……...

……..

Appendix III: Focus Group Discussion Guide

Section 1: Demographic Attributes

1. What are the categories of criminals that operate in this area?

……

2. Which gender to do you think is more inclined Why are males more inclined to join OCGs?

……

3. In your opinion do you think youths are more inclined to join OCGs?

……

4. In your opinion what can you say about the ethnic group of majorities of OCG members in this settlement?

……

5. How do youths here earn their livelihood/ preferred income earning opportunities?

……

Section 2: Gang Members Socio-Economic Attributes

1. Does growing up in a broken/ single parent household increase the risk of organized crime? If yes, how …….
2. Does a strained relationship between parents and children predispose the children to organized criminality?

   How exactly? .....

   ……..

   ……..

3. Is there a link between a youth's criminal history/ background and organized criminality?

   If yes, how……

   ……

4. Does negative peer pressure affect the youth's decision to enroll into criminal gangs?

   If yes, how ……..

   …….

5. In your personal opinion, does poor academic performance and bullying in school influence a youth's decision to join gangs?

   Please, elaborate ……

   ……

6. Are youths who display anti-social behaviours like bullying and aggression at a greater risk of joining gangs than their well-behaved peers?

   Explain ……

   ……

7. Is there a link between unemployment and low wage rates and organized criminality?

   What is the relationship, explain? ……

   ……

   ……

8. Would you attribute the problem of poor housing to the youths' decision to join criminal groups? ……..

   ……

9. Is there a relationship between education level, job security, and a youth's decision to join a criminal grouping?

Please, explain …….

……..

Section 3: Level of Attachment to Organized Criminality

1. In your view, why is it difficult for a youth to leave/ renounce a criminal group, once the youth join it? Give as many reasons as possible.

……

……

……

……

2. Do gang members perceive OCG as a replica of the real family?

If ye, how ……..

……

3. In your opinion, does being in a gang create a sense of pride and belonging?

Please, elaborate

……

……

4. Do youths view gangs as a brotherhood that cannot be broken?

Explain

……

……

5. In your opinion, does joining a gang lead to the development of long-term friendships? If yes, how

……

……

……

6. Do the strict rules of criminal groups provide a safety net for youthful gang members?

If yes, how

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7. Do gangs provide protection against bullying and abuse from other community members?

Please, explain.....

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8. In your opinion, do gangs provide their members with coping mechanism for trauma experienced during childhood?

Please, elaborate ……

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Section 4: Suggestions for Reducing Organized Criminality

1. In your view, is it possible to discourage youths from joining criminal groups? Yes/No

2. If yes, suggest ways and means of discouraging the formation of organized criminal groupings in this area?

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