

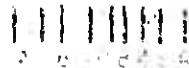
UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK

**CARJACKING IN NAIROBI CITY COUNTY: AN INVESTIGATION OF THE
TRENDS AND PATTERNS.**

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**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF
ARTS IN SOCIOLOGY (CRIMINOLOGY), UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**

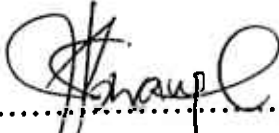
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DECLARATION

I confirm that this research project is my original work and has not been submitted for examination in any other university for the award of a degree.


Sign.....

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This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University Supervisor.

Sign.....

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DEDICATION

I wish to dedicate this project to my family that has been my source of inspiration throughout the period of conducting and compiling this work.

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ABBREVIATIONS

GoK	-	Government of Kenya
LoK	-	Laws of Kenya
NCVS	-	National Crime Victimization Survey
UNODC	-	United Nations Office for Drugs and Crime

ABSTRACT

Carjacking is a form of organized crime which is serious and potentially life-threatening as criminals are heavily armed and use force or threat to rob victims of their vehicles. Globally, carjacking has become popular as it made stealing cars and people's money and other personal belongings a lot easier. The focus of this study was to investigate the emerging trends and patterns of carjacking. Further, the study explored the experiences of the victims and police officers, the factors that account for the recent upsurge and the existing conduits. Most of the academic research existing in Kenya focuses on issues tangential to carjacking such as robbery and theft of motor vehicles. Increasing recorded cases of carjacking has made the crime to be a source of concern in Kenya. However, knowledge of the subject is based on incomplete data derived from popular magazines and practitioner-oriented journals. The study utilized the Social Control theory and the Routine Activities theory. The site of the study was Nairobi County and involved police officers and victims of carjacking incidents. The study found that commonly carjacked vehicles were Toyota saloon cars and four by four while places vulnerable to carjacking incidents included traffic lights, intersection or at junctions. Areas vulnerable to carjacking were Embakasi area followed by Lavington, Langata Parklands and Westlands. Carjacking incidents occur in heavily populated areas and in the evenings while most carjackers are young men who are violent, armed and prefer to attack their victims on Friday and weekends. The police officers possessed some skills but needed more skills including data collection and analysis procedures for evaluation of crime. Most of the police officers had on average received between 20-30 reported carjacking incidents per month. Majority of the victims of carjacking incidents were held for several hours, shocked by the incidents, threatened with dire consequences, forced to give money and were traumatized. The factors that account for the upsurge in carjacking included ready market for stolen cars, sale of used car parts and unemployment. The leading conduits and networks in the carjacking industry include operations of organized criminal gangs or organizations, porous borders with ample routes for smuggling illicit goods, extension of networks of carjacking across international boundaries due to globalization and participation of car dealers. The precautions adopted by the police and motorists in prevention of carjacking incidents in Nairobi County include increased awareness, alertness by drivers when exiting and entering cars, attention to the surrounding and good knowledge of neighborhood. Other precautions include use of situational crime prevention strategies, increased victim awareness programs, and installation of alarms, engine immobilizers and tracking systems. Recommendations include government to offer training to police officers in data collection and analysis procedures for evaluation of crime, community policing and enhance collaboration with other law enforcement agencies. The government should put in place strategies for mopping up illegal firearms in the country, securing national borders, dismantling of organized criminal gangs and networks and increasing victim awareness programs. Other strategies include public education to victims on how to avoid being victims, stronger vetting of vehicles driven out of the country making garages clearly visible from the outside. Further studies are recommended in other counties and for the entire country in order to get a broader picture of dynamic phenomenon of carjacking.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Carjacking has a long history in western cities where it was associated with auto theft. However, carjacking was officially recognized in USA the 1980s after the media published stories of bizarre situations of auto theft and the violence associated with the new crime (McGoey, 2017a). The crime of auto theft then took a new identity and the media coined the phrase “carjacking” to identify the new crime of robbery of motor vehicles (McGoey, 2017a). The crime became more frequent after a rush of media publicity as many criminals took to it. Carjacking is a form of organized crime which is serious and potentially life-threatening as criminals are heavily armed and use force or threat to rob victims of their vehicles (McGoey, 2017a).

Carjackings are highly concentrated in space and time, and occur in particular areas at particular hours (Jacobs *et al.*, 2003). Carjackings often occur when a driver is stopped at a light or intersection, with carjackers laying in wait in another nearby vehicle. Most carjackings happen in as little as 15 seconds when armed robbers suddenly appear and demand the driver surrender the car. Carjackings occur more frequently at night, most likely due to it being much easier for criminals to use the night as a cover while waiting for a victim. The highest incidents of carjackings occur in large, heavily populated cities (Global Security Experts, 2016). This pattern can be attributed to a variety of factors that might include population, economic conditions, and the quality of law enforcement (Adler *et al.*, 2013).

The only accurate data on carjacking was provided in a 10-year National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) conducted by the US Department of Justice which estimated that an average of 38,000 carjackings occurred each year between 1993 and 2002 (Klaus, 2004). The study found that the weapon of choice was a handgun followed by a knife while males were responsible for 97% of the carjackings (McGoey, 2017a). According to the European Commission’s Database of Statistics, there were more than 100,000 cases of carjacking in England and Wales between 1998 and 2001 (Imhonopi, Urim, & Kasumu, 2014). In South Africa, carjacking increased by 14.3% between 2014

and 2015 (News24, 2016). There were more than 9,000 carjacking incidents reported annually to South African police (Chadley, 2015).

The NCVS study showed that carjackings mostly occur in a busy commercial area where cars were parked and when the owner were entering or exiting the parked vehicle. Most carjacking attempts occurred within 5 miles of the victim's home while most carjacking victims were male or lone motorists. Further, most carjackings and attempts were carried out by either one or two perpetrators. The study also revealed that more carjacking incidents that took place during the day were completed as compared to those that took place at night. All victims of completed carjackings reported to police as compared to 57% who called to report an attempt. Carjackings occur at the point of the driver's entry or exit, in places where the car has slowed down and when the victim stopped after perpetrators bumped from the back (McGoey, 2017a).

The primary motives for carjacking were to secure transportation after robbing the driver and to obtain transportation to commit a crime (Global Security Experts, 2016). Some criminals would carjack if they need a car to pull off another crime like armed robbery or drive-by shooting hence preferred to get the vehicle while intact to avoid detection by police. Carjacking was also easier than stealing a car by breaking a window or prying open the ignition (McGoey, 2017a). In developing nations such as South Africa, in many instances there is a market for certain cars and orders were put in beforehand (Davis, 2003). However, for all of the media attention it has received, carjacking remains an under-researched and poorly understood crime (Jacobs, Topalli, & Wright, 2003). In Kenya carjacking has been on the rise however there is little known on its scale and character hence this study is designed to fill the gap.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The available literature that exists both internationally and in Kenya on carjacking is scarce despite the prevalence of carjacking. The biggest problem of tracking carjacking is police reporting practices since most criminal codes have not adapted the crime nor do

they track it statistically. Most police jurisdictions index a single crime such as robbery or auto theft and ignore the rest such as assault and battery (McGoey, 2017a).

Most of the academic research existing in Kenya focuses on issues tangential to carjacking such as robbery and theft of motor vehicles. There were 36 and 22 recorded cases of carjacking in the years 2014 and 2013 respectively in Nairobi marking an increase of 64% (NPS, 2014). Therefore carjacking is a source of concern in Kenya given its recent upsurge. Existing data on carjacking are mostly found in popular magazines and practitioner-oriented journals. Therefore, most of what we know specifically about carjacking is based on official police reports which are not audited (Imhonopi *et. al.*, 2014). Therefore, our knowledge of the subject is based on incomplete data.

Carjacking creates fear and trauma in victims and like other forms of robbery, it bridges property and violent crimes. Carjacking is manifestly violent, yet it retains elements of planning and calculation usually associated with supposedly more instrumental or rational offences like burglary (Jacobs *et. al.*, 2003). Unlike other forms of robbery, however, carjacking is apparently directed more at an object than a subject (Jacobs *et. al.*, 2003). Victims are in most cases left behind unharmed but other times are kidnapped and taken to another location then released unharmed. In some cases however, victims are subjected to such crimes as assault, rape, and murder (Global Security Experts, 2016).

The perception of carjacking as an increasingly frequent and violent form of crime is common within both law enforcement and in local communities (Young and Borzycki, 2008). Globally, carjacking has become popular as it made stealing cars and people's money and other personal belongings a lot easier. Carjacking also became popular due to the fact that car alarm systems and anti-theft devices have advanced so much and are now more common in cars (Jacobs *et al.*, 2003). Stealing a car the old-fashioned way has become more difficult with attention-getting car alarm systems, engine cutoff devices, locking devices and stolen vehicle locators in place (Jacobs *et al.*, 2003; McGoey, 2017a). Due to this, criminals became violent and may use force to obtain vehicles.

The focus of this study was to investigate the emerging trends and patterns of carjacking. Further, the study explored the experiences of the victims and police officers, the factors that account for the recent upsurge and the existing conduits.

1.3 Research Questions

The research questions for this study were:

1. What are the experiences of Police officers and victims of carjacking incidents in Nairobi County?
2. What are the appropriate and existing strategies in the prevention of carjacking in Nairobi County?
3. What are the factors that account for the upsurge in carjacking in Nairobi County?
4. What are the existing conduits and networks of the carjacking industry in Nairobi County?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

1.4.1 Broad Objective

The aim of this study was to analyse the trends and patterns of carjacking in Nairobi County.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

The specific objectives for the study were;-

1. To investigate the trends and patterns of carjacking in Nairobi County.
2. To describe the experiences of Police officers and victims of carjacking incidents in Nairobi County.
3. To assess the existing strategies in the prevention of carjacking in Nairobi County.
4. To find out the factors that account for the upsurge in carjacking in Nairobi County.
5. To find out the existing conduits and networks of the carjacking industry in Nairobi County.

1.5 Justification of the Study

Prevention of crimes such as carjacking is important in enhancing security which may affect investment and overall economic development in Kenya. Carjacking is a big problem in urban areas as it creates fear and trauma and dispossesses victims of their property. Carjacking is a serious, violent and life-threatening crime where victims may be kidnapped, harmed or subjected to worse crimes such as assault, rape, and murder. The study is important to the Police and other security personnel as the result it may help them to develop appropriate strategies in the prevention of carjacking. Citizens and private entities may use the findings in their efforts to avoid becoming victims of carjacking incidents.

At present, there is little information on the literature both internationally and in Kenya on carjacking. Police statistics have also not tracked carjacking systematically. The study seeks to provide insight and information required by the government by the police to improve the levels of security. The study outcomes may also largely benefit the research and academic realms by providing new insights into the existing knowledge of the carjacking phenomenon based on which academicians and researchers can deduce knowledge from or carry out further research. The study is supposed to inform the police and car owners about this crime and appropriate responses.

1.6 Scope and Limitation

The study was limited to the following scope: trends and patterns of carjacking, experiences of those involved, an analysis of the existing strategies towards the prevention, motivational factors that explain its upsurge and the existing networks in the industry. The limitation of the study were on police experiences and victims experiences of carjacking in Nairobi.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The chapter reviews existing information on the trends and patterns of carjacking, experiences of Police officers and victims of carjacking incidents and existing strategies in the prevention of carjacking. It also examines the motivational factors that account for the upsurge in carjacking and the existing conduits and networks of the carjacking industry. It also presents the theoretical and conceptual frameworks.

2.2 Trends and Patterns of Carjacking

After emerging from auto theft, carjacking had taken the characteristics of violence and organized crime attracting many criminals due to the ease of robbing victims of their vehicles, money and valuables (McGoey, 2017a). Advances in vehicle security which make it difficult to break in, start and steal cars while parked have also led to increased risks to carjackers. The perception of both law enforcement and local communities is that carjacking is an increasingly frequent and violent form of crime (Young & Borzycki, 2008). The use of force by criminals or threat to rob victims of their vehicles has made carjacking to be a serious and potentially life-threatening crime. Despite the use of violence, carjacking also involves planning and calculation making it different from other forms of robbery. In carjacking, the primary target is the vehicle rather than the occupier (Jacobs, Topalli, & Wright, 2003).

Despite the prevalence of carjacking, the literature that is available locally and internationally is limited or old hence popular magazines and selected journals hold most of the data on carjacking. Carjacking is an under-researched and poorly understood crime even in light of the attention it has received from the media (Jacobs *et. al.*, 2003). Most information on carjacking is obtained from official police reports whose statistics may lack accuracy given the way it is collected (Imhonopi *et. al.*, 2014). Such recording practices influence the accuracy of any counts derived from recorded statistics concerning carjacking. Due to the many incidents reported to the police annually, carjacking has become a leading crime in Kenya (NPS 2014). Like in other jurisdictions,

recording practices by the Kenya police on carjacking vary and entail stealing of motor vehicle, robbery and attempted robbery, and assaults.

The Penal Code under Chapter 63 of the Laws of Kenya does not expressly define carjacking but instead offenders are charged by the police under various offences. The first offence is Stealing of a Motor Vehicle or Section 278A entailing fraudulently and without right of claim, taking a motor vehicle or converting it to the use of any person other than the owner. The second offence is Robbery under Section 296 (1) which involves stealing while using or threatening to use violence. In Section 296 (2), the offender is armed with a dangerous or offensive weapon and uses it to steal. Under Section 297 (1), the offender attempts to steal using or threatens to use violence while in Section 297 (2), the offender attempts to steal while armed with a dangerous or offensive weapon. Similarly under Section 298, the law identifies assault perpetrated by the offender who has intent to steal (LoK, 2014).

According to the Kenya Police Annual Crime Report of 2014, Kenya recorded 3011 cases of robbery and 1239 cases of theft of motor vehicles in 2014. Nairobi County led the country with 436 cases of robbery and 340 cases of theft of motor vehicles in 2014. The report also revealed that between the years 2014 and 2013, there was an increase of 64% in the recorded cases of carjacking which rose from 36 from 22 cases between those years (GoK, 2014). Young and Borzycki (2008) suggest that in the absence of a specific carjacking law and difficulties associated with varying recording practices, victimization surveys may be the most appropriate way to gather carjacking statistics.

Large and heavily populated cities usually experience the highest incidents of carjackings which frequently occur at night partly due to darkness offering cover for criminals (Global Security Experts, 2016). Carjackings often occur at a signal or intersection where drivers slow down or stop as carjackers waiting in another vehicle take the opportunity to attack. Carjackings occur when the victim stops and comes out to assess damage after perpetrators bump from the back (McGoey, 2017a). In a study by NCVS revealed that carjacking incidents take place in parking lots of busy commercial areas when the owner

is entering or exiting the parked vehicle. Most carjackings that occurred during the day were completed as compared to those that took place at night in which a lone attacker or a pair of perpetrators were involved in all cases.

Carjacking incidents take a short time where robbers carry out surprise attacks to demand and take control of the car (Jacobs *et al.*, 2003). Most criminals carjack cars in order to get away after robbing the driver, to use them in the commission of other robberies or to carjack other vehicles for sale of the car or its parts to a ready market. Most of carjackers are usually armed with a gun or a knife which increases their chances of success. Such criminals may injure or kill victims when they encounter resistance (Davis, 2003; Fisher, 1995). Previous research has shown that most of the victims of carjacking are abandoned unharmed but in some cases the offence may include other crimes such as murder, rape or assault (Global Security Experts, 2016).

2.3 Experiences of Police Officers and Victims of Carjacking Incidents

Police work is widely considered to be among the most stressful occupations. It is associated with high rates of divorce, alcoholism, suicide and other emotional and health problems (Madu & Poodhun, 2006). The stress and depression may be as a result of the traumatic nature of the work that they do and the fact that it sometimes involves killing or maiming a suspect (Madu & Poodhun, 2006). Most encounters between the police and robbers such as carjackers often result in gun fights as the criminals are often armed and are ready to use the firearms against the police. These encounters place the lives of police officers at risk as they may also be killed or injured thereby causing them stress and depression.

Due to such work related problems or conditions, police officers despair and resort to abuse of alcohol and illicit drugs which may lead to suicide and murder of colleagues, friends or relatives (Kiarie, 2011). Despite the enormous risk that they face in their work, police officers earn low salaries resulting in financial problems and frustration at work. The risk of death and injury that faces police officers may also face victims of carjackings who may unfortunately undergo assault, rape, and murder.

In carjacking incidents, the perpetrator poses a threat to the safety and security of the victim by invading the space of the victim. Janoff-Bulman (1992) defines victimization as the harm and suffering inflicted on an individual through the direct action of another person or persons. The harm or damage that results from victimization may be psychological, physical or financial but the effect of these may be immediate or linger over weeks, months or years (Kirchoff, 2005). Apart from material losses, feelings of safety and security are shattered. The event may cause a crisis from which the victim will experience shock, disbelief, shame, stress, anger, helplessness, isolation and distrust. However, these reactions differ greatly in visibility, intensity and duration (Davis, 2005).

Psychological damage is considered to be the most serious effect for victims (Kirchoff, 2005). Victims suffer from some degree of stress and in severe cases may be diagnosed with Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) (Bisson, 2007). Carjacking is a traumatic event in which victims experience psychological distress and/or physical harm. Prior victimization has been found to be a factor in the level of stress experienced by victims (Cogle, Resnick & Kilpatrick, 2009). It is likely that a person who has been carjacked more than once experiences higher levels of stress than those victimized once. Females maybe at a greater risk of suffering higher levels of stress (Brewin, Andrews & Valentine, 2000). Carjacking victims may feel anger and target it towards the perpetrator or individuals perceived to be responsible for the incident, at institutions who did not prevent the event and anger at one's own vulnerability or one's own behavior to allow the event to happen (Davis, 2005).

Victims of carjacking may also suffer from physical damage which can extend from minor injuries to severe external and internal injuries which may require medical treatment. As perpetrators commit the offence with a potentially lethal weapon, they are always prepared to use any force necessary to acquire the vehicle (Zinn, 2013). Victims who are not fortunate to be left unharmed may be kidnapped and undergo assault, rape, and murder. Lastly, victims may incur financial losses as a result of victimization from carjacking (Kirchoff, 2005). The financial losses may consist of direct or indirect costs. Direct costs are financial resources directly lost as a result of the carjacking such as cost

of replacing the vehicle and other material items. Indirect costs relate to the loss of earnings and productivity from victims taking time off work to either replace their vehicle or recover from injuries (Dolan, Loomes, Peasgood & Tsuchiya, 2005).

In order to deal with fear, victims make behavioral changes like taking precautions in order not to experience the incident again and to regain a sense of safety and security over their lives (Orth & Maecker, 2009). Crimes such as carjacking present challenges by leading to conditions of fear, limits free movement of people and may prevent full citizenship. Fear of the crime may influence the individuals' standard of living and in some cases even preventing individuals from involvement in social life. Some individuals who feel relatively vulnerable try to avoid driving alone especially at night in unfamiliar areas which may increase their risks of carjacking. Women and the elderly tend have higher levels of fear of crime since they feel more vulnerable and are at a disadvantage in case of a possible carjacking (Fisher & Sloane, 2003).

The individuals take precautions through avoidance and defence behaviors and other constrained behaviors (Kirchoff, 2005). Some victims spend years in professional counseling due to continuous nightmares, anxiety and fear. Other victims fail to overcome these fears and abandon driving altogether (Chadley, 2015). Psychological intervention after victimization is important in helping the victims deal with the traumatic experience (Bryant & Ehlers, 2003). However, the lack of trained personnel and access to victim support services is still a major issue that faces most victims.

2.4 Existing Strategies in the Prevention of Carjacking

Strategy can be defined as the balance of actions and choices between internal and external capabilities of an organization. Accordingly, strategy can be seen as a plan, play, pattern, position and perspective (Mintzberg et al., 1999). The crafting of a strategy represents a commitment to pursue a particular set of actions in order to conduct operations and improve the organization's performance (Johnson & Scholes, 2008). An organization's strategy is managements' action plan for running the organization and conducting operations (Thompson et al., 2007). Strategies can therefore be taken to refer

to a particular set of actions for conducting operations so as to improve police performance in the prevention of carjacking incidents. However, strategy is considered useless if it is not implemented. Strategy implementation involves the activities and choices required for the execution of the organization's strategic plan.

According to McGoey (2017a, b), car owners can prevent themselves from becoming victims of carjacking by following a detailed advice schedule. In order to reduce chances of becoming a carjacking victim in parking lots, one should park in well-lit areas with no heavy foliage or near walls where an attacker can hide and wait for a victim. One should always be on alert whenever exiting and entering the car and also pay close attention to the surroundings. One should make it a habit of exiting and entering the car quickly. While returning to the car, the owner should approach with caution, not be on phone and ensure that suspicious persons such as young males are not loitering around, hiding nearby or seated in cars. This enables one to notice potential attackers in advance and give time to change direction and go to a safer area. One should also not turn their backs when loading packages into the car and thus become a target. Once inside the car, the owner should lock it and drive off immediately (McGoey, 2017a; McGoey, 2017b).

McGoey (2017a) also advises that women driving alone should use valet parking or an attended garage while car owners should lock doors and roll up windows when driving in the city. One should leave adequate room to maneuver when stopped at lights or at intersections. A car owner should be suspicious of accidents where the car is bumped from behind or when an offer to assist to repair the car or change a flat tyre is made. If confronted by a carjacker, a driver is advised not resist but to avoid being kidnapped by dropping the car keys and running for help. In addition, a car owner should consider crashing the car or driving erratically when forced to drive to attract the attention of bystanders. Afterwards, the driver should call the police to report the crime and provide information on the incident (McGoey, 2017a).

According to Miethe and Sousa (2010), increased victim awareness programs and situational crime prevention strategies may be used to prevent incidents of carjacking.

Situational crime prevention focuses on the settings for crime rather than on criminals by directing measures at specific forms of crime. This involves making environmental changes for crime to be more difficult, risky, less rewarding or excusable (Chainey & Ratcliffe, 2005). The strategies in situational crime prevention include increasing the risks or making the chance of capture much higher on offenders seeking a less well defended target. Similarly, increasing the effort required to commit a crime through installation of alarms, engine immobilizers and tracking systems and also reducing the rewards of crime will also prevent crime (Chainey & Ratcliffe, 2005).

Other authors recommend the use of problem-oriented and proactive prevention methods such as community policing, Intelligence – led policing and Order Maintenance Policing to prevent crimes instead of police traditional strategies (Shaw & Carli, 2011). The police in Kenya have been using traditional methods of crime management which emphasized rapid response, preventive patrols and criminal investigations. This entailed reacting to crime as it occurred which is an inferior method of policing (Thatcher, 2001). Community policing entails full participation of both the community and the police to address crime. Apart from mobilizing resources to promote security, the strategy includes the public giving information to the police about crime (GoK, 2004).

Intelligence – led policing emphasizes on crime fighting and targeting the criminal while Problem –Oriented Policing entails using data collection and analysis procedures to evaluate crime and disorder problems (Chainey & Ratcliffe, 2005). When crime reaches the level of organized crime such as carjacking, the solution is in integrated policing philosophy which involves all levels of law enforcement working cohesively with each other, exchanging strategic and criminal intelligence, sharing tactical and operational knowledge, planning joint and individual actions and communicating effectively (Sliter, 2006). Carjacking incidents may also be prevented through allocation of adequate financial resources to the police for police cars, communication equipment, training, increasing personnel and general welfare of officers. These lead to efficiency and increased morale of police officers working on carjacking offences (GoK, 2009). In

addition, securing borders to reduce movement of illicit arms into the country may also play a role in the prevention of carjackings.

2.5 Motivational Factors in Carjacking

Mass poverty and inequality, high unemployment and urbanization rates, weak criminal justice systems and ready availability of firearms have been cited as contributing to crime including carjacking incidents (UNODC, 2005). Carjacking results from a pressing need for money to be obtained directly from the sale of a car which is in plain sight and can be seized quickly. It avoids the inconvenience experienced in auto theft such as anti-theft technology which is time consuming and increases the risk of arrest (Jacobs *et. al.*, 2003). Carjacking for vehicle acquisition can be well organized and professionally executed by the use of a carjacking team, backup vehicles, high powered weapons, and using a bump and rob technique (Young & Borzycki, 2008). Carjackers also aim to obtain a getaway vehicle after robbing the driver or for transportation to commit a crime (McGoey, 2017b).

Young and Borzycki (2008) argue that motivating factors in carjacking do not occur as a single set but rather than as a continuum. These include from emotional triggers like revenge which is spontaneous and relatively unplanned and where the vehicle is only instrumental in achieving some other goal Jacobs *et. al.* (2003). On the other hand is pure acquisition which is professional and almost businesslike. Jacobs *et. al.* (2003) explain that offender decision making in carjacking is influenced by deeper commitments and broader pursuits that shape the day-to-day lives of urban street criminals. Carjacking results from street culture pressures, emergent opportunism, offender networks, and perceived attributes of drivers and vehicles Jacobs *et. al.* (2003). Urban street culture places great emphasis on display of wealth, reckless spending and maintenance of honor among peers which drive financial need. It entails partying on alcohol endlessly and purchasing status enhancing items such as expensive clothes and jewelry. A shortage of cash threatens the culture hence social standing or status among peers and exerting pressure on the criminals (Wright & Decker, 1994; Jacobs *et. al.*, 2003).

Secondly, emergent opportunities for carjacking may lead individuals to commit the crime due to the ever present need for more money which is often spent recklessly (Jacobs, 2000). Most of them rarely save or invest well and are always open to more opportunities for carjacking that present themselves. As they go about their business, carjackers know the cars that they want hence seize the opportunity when it presents itself. Offenders do not worry about the potential risks inherent when committing the crime since they have gotten away with carjacking in the past and expect to succeed in the future (Jacobs *et. al.*, 2003).

Thirdly, offender networks in the streets enable criminals to receive inside information on potential targets from acquaintances. This broadens their opportunities for carjacking out of their immediate or usual areas and victims. Tips by informers on location and time when a particular individual appears in a place enables the carjacker to plan and execute the carjacking successfully. However, some offenders may be pulled into carjacking unexpectedly induced by circumstances not of their own making. This happens when keeping company of a carjacker who spots an opportunity and takes it forcing the other individual to participate in the offence (Jacobs *et. al.*, 2003).

Fourthly, perceived attributes of drivers and vehicles may lead offenders to carjack particular types of vehicles driven by particular drivers. The culture in the street is that drivers who show off vehicles might have bought such vehicles from proceeds of crime. Carjacking such drivers therefore serves a double purpose of punishing the driver for showing off and taking the car for acquisition and monetary benefit (Jacobs *et. al.*, 2003). Criminals may be motivated to engage in carjacking due to realization that they can avoid arrest and prosecution by corrupting the police and the judiciary propagated through collusion of criminals with police and manipulation of judiciary in order to escape punishment (UNODC, 2005). Insufficient resources in the Police Service which hinder performance in dealing with carjacking may also motivate criminals to engage in carjacking. Carjackers may therefore be confident that lack of resources and personnel will continue to hinder the police from effectively dealing with carjacking through arrest and prosecution (Mckulka, *et. al.*, 2005).

2.6 Conduits and Networks in the Carjacking Industry

A network is defined as a group of system of interconnected people or things to exchange information and develop profession and social conducts Brennan-Galvin (2002) notes that urbanisation has brought negative changes through organized crimes which have undermined public security in many cities. Urban crime is dominated worldwide by crimes against property such as car theft, burglary and robbery including carjacking. These account for at least half of all offences in the world's cities. By capitalizing on the increased cross border flows of goods, money and people through globalisation, criminal organizations have also expanded their territorial reach, positioning themselves in new markets and expanding their range of illicit activities. Due to porous borders, ample routes for smuggling illicit goods and corruption in the police and security forces, Sub-Saharan Africa has become an increasingly important staging area for international criminals (Brennan-Galvin, 2002). Weaknesses in the security structure form the conduits for carjacking offences and include proliferation of weapons, corruption in the police and security forces, porous borders and ample routes for smuggling.

Kabiru, Mojolam, Beguy and Okigbo (2013) identify the causes of crimes in Nairobi to be high levels of youth unemployment, poverty and indulgence in drugs. Most of the youth engaging in crime in Nairobi are members of criminal gangs some of which are organized gangs that engage in drug trafficking, stealing, selling of stolen goods, vehicle theft and trafficking, money laundering, robbery and carjacking, among other crimes. Carjacking gangs in Nairobi are mainly local but those engaged in vehicle theft and trafficking and carjacking for vehicle acquisition are normally transnational. They spread from Kenya to immediate neighbours like Uganda and Tanzania extending to as far as South Africa and Nigeria (Kabiru *et al.*, 2013). Most networks of carjacking are loose-knit groups and are offenders bound together by desire for profit. They are not necessarily in a hierarchical organizational structure. They only come together when there is need for cooperation as each may be a specialist in a certain area within the carjacking acquisition and sale process (Shane, 2010).

The need for carjacking for vehicle acquisition is due to an urgent desire for money which can be obtained from the sale of an identified vehicle (Jacobs *et al.*, 2003). Unlike other forms of robbery using violence, carjacking additionally also involves planning and calculation. Criminals use force or threaten to use violence when robbing victims of their vehicles. Use of firearms is common in carjackings where the weapons of choice for criminals are handguns while some use knives and other crude weapons (Davis, 2003). The primary target in carjacking is often the vehicle rather than the occupier (Jacobs *et al.*, 2003). Criminals mainly carjack cars in order to get away after robbing the driver, to acquire the cars for sale and to use the cars in the commission of other robberies or to carjack other vehicles for sale of the car or its parts to a ready market (McGoey, 2017).

Trans-boundary and border conduits in carjacking exist between Kenya and other countries in East, Central, South and West Africa, the United Kingdom (UK) and the Americas. However, it is those conduits between Kenya and other East African countries such as Tanzania and Uganda that have more elaborate and frequent or active operations involving car-jacked vehicles. Good transboundary cooperation in crime prevention between Kenya and Uganda has made it easier for the police to track and recover carjacked vehicles. However, in Tanzania it is more difficult to track and recover carjacked vehicles due to weak transboundary cooperation in crime prevention with Kenya. It is more difficult to track and recover carjacked vehicles from Kenya in Tanzania due to poor cooperation between security agencies in the two countries.

In the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and in South Sudan, war and presence of various military factions has made it impossible for trans-boundary cooperation in crime prevention to exist. The chances for recovering vehicles carjacked from elsewhere and taken into these countries are therefore very low. Trans-boundary conduits between Kenya and the UK mainly deal with top of the range four wheel drive vehicles shipped from the UK. The target markets for such vehicles include countries in East, Central, South and West Africa such as Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, DRC, South Sudan, Nigeria and South Africa. Trans-boundary conduits also exist between the United States with neighbouring countries such as Mexico due to organized crime characterised by cross

border trafficking in drugs, women, illegal immigrants and weapons. Such activities undermine both the rule of law and social order itself (World Economy, Ecology and Development WEED, 2004).

Carjackers targeting vehicles for acquisition and for sale mostly operate in a well-organized network. The offence is therefore professionally executed using a carjacking team, backup vehicles and high powered weapons (Young & Borzycki, 2008). Offender networks in the streets give criminals inside information on potential targets. This includes tips about the location and time when a vehicle is available for carjacking to take place. As a result, opportunities for carjacking are broadened since criminals are able to operate even out of their normal areas (Jacobs *et. al.*, 2003). However, most offenders are normally alert to opportunities for carjacking since they know the types of vehicles they need to carjack and supply to the underworld market. It is therefore presumed that carjacking involves some level of organization and networks to complete the cycle of delivery and sale of the vehicles.

2.7 The Role of Organized Crime in Carjacking

Professional armed robbers involved in carjacking are usually specialists and differ from opportunistic criminals because of their precise target selection and crime commission. These offenders often work for organized criminal gangs and criminal organizations to steal mostly expensive luxurious vehicles on order (Levinson, 2002). Organized crime relates to a criminal organization engaged in illegal activities such as illegal goods and services, with a well-defined collective identity and subdivision of work among its members (Paoli, 2002). The United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (UNTOC) under Article 2(a) describes an organized criminal group as a group of three or more persons that was not randomly formed; existing for a period of time; acting in concert with the aim of committing at least one crime punishable by at least four years' incarceration; in order to obtain directly or indirectly a financial or other material benefit (UNODC, 2004).

The external dimension of organized crime include cross border trafficking of drugs, women, illegal immigrants and weapons which account for a large part of the activities of criminal gangs (WEED, 2004). Sullivan (2015) describes a typical organized crime grouping in trade of carjacked vehicles. The organized crime grouping is led by the head who creates a wish list of cars to be stolen by carjackers. The cars once stolen from owners or from car rental facilities are stored in airport parking garages, warehouses and other hidden locations to 'cool off'. They are checked for tracking devices before they are 'fenced' by being given new registration numbers or painted with a different colour. The cars are either driven to buyers by 'wheelmen' or 'shippers' arrange them to be placed in shipping containers at ports and sent abroad.

Organized crime in most countries is underpinned by corruption which is either a facilitating activity or an organized criminal activity in its own right (Hubschle, 2010). Organized crime can permeate government agencies and institutions, infiltrate business and politics, hinder economic and social growth and in extreme cases, dominate the State (WEED, 2004). Organized crime has diversified, gone global and reached macro-economic proportions whereby illicit goods may be sourced from one continent, trafficked across another, and marketed in a third (UNODC, 2012).

Most organized criminal groups that engage in carjacking are often transnational in their operations (UNODC, 2012). Transnational crimes are crimes committed in more than one State; those that take place in one State but are planned or controlled in another; and crimes in one State committed by groups that operate in more than one State. Transnational organized crimes encompass all profit-motivated serious criminal activities with international implications (UNODC, 2012). The transnational nature of organized crimes means that criminal networks forge bonds across networks as well as overcome cultural and linguistic differences. Organized crime adapts as crimes emerge while relationships between criminal networks become more flexible and sophisticated (Hufnagel, 2012).

Organized crime threatens peace and human security and undermines economic and political development of societies (Wilkinson, 2010). This occurs due to exploitation of human mobility and undermining of financial systems through money laundering. Every year, many individuals sustain injuries inflicted by firearms or lose their lives due to criminals involved in organized crime. As such, organized crime causes harm but quantifying this harm is a challenge. Similarly, collecting statistics and mapping trends about organized crime is difficult due to problems in defining and measuring organized crime (Wilkinson, 2010). The amount of statistical and quantitative data on organized crime is limited leading to most studies relying on qualitative methodologies (Hubschle, 2010). According to Milroy (2010), criminals take advantage of borders and jurisdictional barriers but police work is restricted by these barriers.

The United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (UNTOC) is the only international convention which deals with organized crime. It offers State parties a framework for preventing and combating organized crime, and a platform for cooperating in doing so (UNODC, 2012). Through the convention, State parties have committed to establishing the criminal offences of participating in an organized criminal group, money laundering and obstruction of justice in their national legislation. Such States have access to a new framework of mutual legal assistance and extradition as well as a platform for strengthening law enforcement cooperation. In addition, States have committed to training and technical assistance to strengthen capacity of national authorities to address organized crime (UNODC, 2012; Schoenhardt, 2002).

In Kenya, the Prevention of Organised Crimes Act can also be applied in prosecuting conduct related to participation in organised crime. Transnational organized crimes transcends cultural, social, linguistic and geographical borders hence must be met with a concerted response (Hufnagel, 2012). Electronic surveillance in investigation of serious and organized crimes allows gathering of information unattainable through other means (UNODC, 2009). Similarly, situational prevention can be applied to prevent organized crime which involves making crime to be more difficult, risky, less rewarding or excusable (Clarke, Tilley & Bullock, 2010).

2.8 Theoretical Framework

The study utilized the Social Control theory and the Routine Activities theory in order to investigate the analysis of trends and patterns of carjacking in Nairobi County.

2.8.1 Social Control Theory

Social Control Theory posits that crime occurs as a result of an imbalance between impulses towards criminal activity and the social or physical controls that deter it. It is assumed that people act rationally and that, given the opportunity, everyone would engage in deviant acts (Giddens, 2000). Many types of crime are as a result of situational decisions or opportunities motivating persons to act. Travis Hirshi (1969) argued that humans are fundamentally selfish and make calculated decisions about whether or not to engage in criminal activity by weighing the potential benefits and risks. Bonds hold people to society and good behaviour and when strong, they maintain social control by binding people not to commit crimes but if weak, crimes are committed.

The growth of crimes such as carjacking may be an outcome of the increasing number of opportunities and targets. The presence of goods of value such as motor vehicles and absence of strict rules and surveillance by the police offers an opportunity for committing carjackings. Target hardening offers a way of preventing such crimes through taking practical measures to control the criminal's ability to commit the crime. Also related to the Social Control theory is the *theory of broken windows* by Wilson and Kelling (1982) which suggests that there is a direct connection between the appearance of disorder and actual crime. If a single broken window is left unrepaired, it sends a message to potential offenders that neither police nor local residents are committed to the upkeep of the community hence more signs of disorder will occur as time goes by.

Carjacking incidents occur and increase gradually as security agencies and vehicle owners fail to stem the problem. Initial success for criminals leads to subsequent commission of more carjackings until effective measures are put in place. Criminals succeed due to the opportunities that are available and the low risk of arrest and prosecution that they perceive. The absence of effective strategies for policing and

prevention encourages carjackings to be perpetrated more by criminals. This is expected to continue until stakeholders gain adequate capacity to counter the crime.

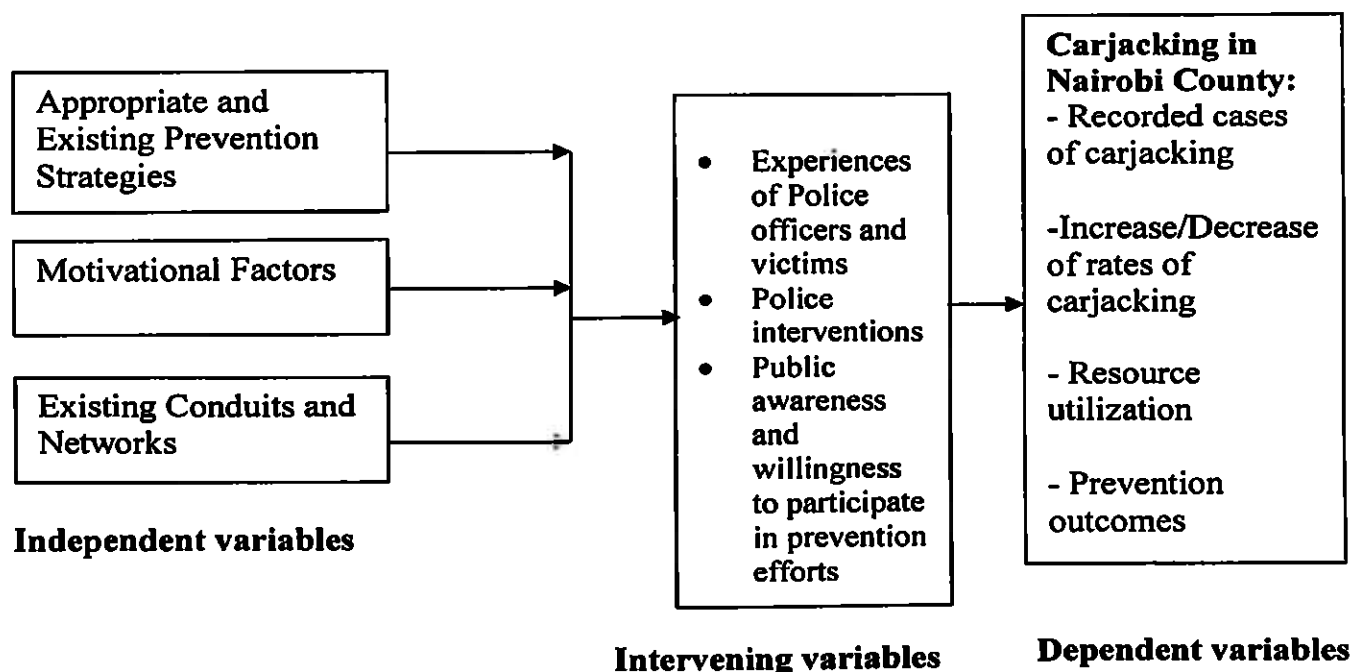
2.8.2 Routine Activities Theory

Routine Activities Theory suggests that crime is more likely to occur, though it is not inevitable when three conditions are satisfied; the presence of a motivated offender, presence of a suitable target and absence of capable guardians (Felson, 1998). The theory presumes that an offender is predisposed to acting on his or her own criminal inclinations. Once an offender is sufficiently motivated, they must find a suitable target which typically exhibit four qualities that structure the offender's choice in selecting it; value, inertia, visibility and access. Value is seen from different perspectives. Carjackers go after cars that have high symbolic value such as sporty, powerful and popular while professional car thieves go after whole cars or car parts that are easily converted to cash. Inertia refers to how easily the target can be disposed off and in the case of a car, it is mobile and can be easily driven around.

Visibility is the degree to which the target can be seen and clearly identified and for cars, they can be easily spotted when parked or being driven around. Offenders must also have access to the cars and since cars are carjacked from outdoor locations, this condition is easily met. The third condition is the absence of capable guardians. According to Hirschi (1969), crime occurs when controls are weak or are absent. In carjacking offences, these are drivers whom offenders regard as easy targets who are unlikely to put up strong resistance. These include drivers who are inattentive to their surroundings or female or elderly car owners. When temptations are high and controls are low, a carjacker will therefore strike more easily with the reduced probability of being caught.

2.9 Conceptual Framework

Figure 1: The Dynamic Phenomenon of Carjacking in Nairobi County



The figure above explains the analysis of trends and patterns of carjacking in Nairobi County. Figure 1 which is the conceptual framework represents the relationship between the dependent variable and the independent variables. The dependent variable, the dynamic phenomenon of carjacking is represented by recorded cases of carjacking, rates of carjacking, levels of resource utilization and prevention outcomes and is affected by independent variables. The independent variables include trends and patterns of carjacking, the existing strategies in the prevention of carjacking, the motivational factors that account for the upsurge in carjacking and the existing conduits and networks of the carjacking industry in Nairobi County.

However, the relationship between the dependent variable and the independent variables is affected by experiences of Police officers and victims of carjacking incidents. It is important that the police and stakeholders understand experiences of Police officers. This will enable formulation of effective policies to overcome carjacking and lead to reduction

of the crime. Similar results are expected when trends and patterns of carjacking are monitored, existing strategies in the prevention of carjacking are improved while the existing conduits and networks of the carjacking industry are dismantled through carefully laid out strategies.

2.9.1 Operationalization of Variables

The Independent Variable was operationalized as follows:-

Prevention Strategies: In this study refer to actions and measures taken by police and other stakeholders directed at preventing or reducing carjacking offences.

Motivational Factors: In this study refer to factors including those from offenders contributing to the increase in carjacking in Nairobi County.

Existing Conduits and Networks: In this study refer to offender relationships that provide information on potential targets and markets of carjacked cars.

The Dependent Variable was operationalised as follows;

Carjacking incidents: In this study refer to recorded cases of carjacking.

Recorded cases of carjacking: In this study refer to Kenya police statistics on carjacking in Nairobi County.

Rates of carjacking: In this study refer to annual changes in the recorded statistics of carjacking in Nairobi County.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the methods that were used to gather data in the study and outlines the research site, research design used, sample design and methods of data collection and analysis which were utilized.

3.2 Site Description

The site of the study was Nairobi County which according to the 2009 population census has a density of 4,515 persons per square km from a population of 3,138,369 persons and an area of 695.1 Km² (GoK, 2010). When considering the movement of migrants and visitors from other areas of Nairobi County, other counties and other countries, Nairobi city itself has a population of 2,143,254 people (GoK, 2010). A good motorized accessibility to most parts of Nairobi County means there are many vehicles on the roads which also attract criminals to commit offences such as carjacking. The cell phone networks are also good thus enabling criminals to communicate in order to commit crimes. Nairobi City is also Kenya's economic hub where both major and small industries are located across most sectors. Nairobi has attracted a large population which has also grown due to rural-urban migration in search of opportunities in business, employment and education. Unemployment, endemic poverty and growth of population in slums have however been cited as causes of crime in Nairobi (Muchai & Jefferson, 2001).

3.3 Research Design

Survey design was used in the study due to the large population and the need to collect both qualitative and quantitative data from police officers and victims of carjacking incidents in Nairobi County. This was also a case study of Nairobi County distinguished for using in-depth investigation of a single unit or bounded system of a current phenomenon (Jupp, 2006).

3.4 Unit of Analysis and Units of Observation

The unit of analysis for this study is the dynamic phenomenon of carjacking in Nairobi County. The unit of analysis is defined as that which the researcher wishes to study, understand or explain (Singleton et al., 1988). The units of observation for this study are police officers and victims of carjacking incidents in Nairobi County. The unit of observation is defined as the element or aggregation of elements from which information is collected (Singleton *et al.*, 1988).

3.5 Target Population

In this study, the primary respondents were police officers who are in charge of auto crime/ violent crime prevention distributed in the police unit such as DCI, traffic, and violent crime prevention (Flying squad).

3.6 Sample Size and Sampling Procedure

A sample is the segment of the population having a common observable characteristic that is selected for research (Jupp, 2006). Sampling enables a researcher to select a sample from a population to undergo investigation based on the study objectives. Nairobi County was purposively selected on the basis of its suitability as an urban area in Kenya affected by most of the incidents of carjacking. Stratified sampling and purposive sampling methods were used to sample police officers and victims of carjacking incidents respectively. According to Bernard (2002), purposive sampling is used to deliberately choose an informant due to his or her potential to give information from knowledge or experience. Other instances when purposive sampling is used is when information is held by only certain groups of people or when time and resources are not adequate for random sampling to be conducted. The samples were selected from police officers working at the flying squad units of the DCI.

3.6.1 Determination of Sample Size

The sampling frame for police officers was obtained from the total number of police officers (100) in the Flying squad unit in Nairobi. A sample of 70 officers was taken. The sample is adequate enough to provide generalization of findings. A total of 8 victims of carjacking were also interviewed as key informants. The victims were identified and

conducted from police records where reported cases of carjacking were made at the police station.

3.6.2 Sampling Procedure

Stratified random sampling was used to select respondents from the flying squad unit best on rank and length of services of the police officers. The respondents were then systematically selected based on rank and length of service, in the process I selected 70 respondents.

3.7 Pilot Study

To ensure the quality of the data collected is adequate enough for the data analysis, the study did a pre-test of the data tools prior to the main study. The pilot study was conducted using questionnaires and interview schedules administered on two police officers and two victims of carjacking incidents respectively. These respondents and data collected from them during the piloting of the research instruments were not included in the main study. The purpose of the pilot study was to ensure validity and reliability of the research instruments and the items in them.

Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) asserted that, the accuracy of data to be collected largely depended on the data collection instruments in terms of validity and reliability. Piloting of the research instruments helped in identifying items in the instruments which could be ambiguous and inappropriate. The researcher then made adjustments to the research instruments. Piloting also enhances the validity of the results by making the items in the research instruments clear to the respondents and comprehensive enough to provide the anticipated data. Piloting also facilitates in establishing, whether the objectives were being fulfilled.

3.8 Methods and Tools of Data Collection

The study used key informant interviews, survey method and document review to collect data. Survey method was used in the study to interview seventy (70) police officers. Key informant interviews were held with fifteen (15) victims of carjacking incidents while desk review assisted in collection of secondary data on carjacking incidents from police

files, Occurrence book (OB) entries and witness statements. The tools used for collecting primary data were questionnaires and interview guides. The questionnaires contained both open and closed ended questions. The questionnaires were distributed among the police officers and collected after filling at a later agreed date. The interview guides which were used to elicit data from the victims of carjacking incidents contained relevant questions and were administered through face to face interviews.

3.9 Data Analysis

The collected data as contained in the completed questionnaires and interview schedules were edited to detect and correct errors and omissions. It was then put in categories or classes through coding, then tabulated and counted. The researcher then used SPSS computer package to organize and analyze the data into descriptive statistical measures namely percentages and frequency distributions. These results were presented in tabular and graphical forms then interpreted. These results were complemented by results from the qualitative data analyzed by content analysis.

3.10 Ethical Considerations

In this study the following ethical issues were considered. The researcher got an introduction letter from the University of Nairobi, Department of Sociology to conduct the study so as to observe the ethical requirement of not conducting research in secrecy. The respondent were assured of confidentiality and that they did not have to provide any personal information or identification if they did not wish to. The researcher ensured informed consent was obtained by ensuring proper introduction of self and the study and also asking the participant for voluntary participation. The researcher explained the study purpose to respondents to ensure that they understood what they were taking part in and how the data was to be used. Information from the target population was treated with the confidentiality.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Introduction

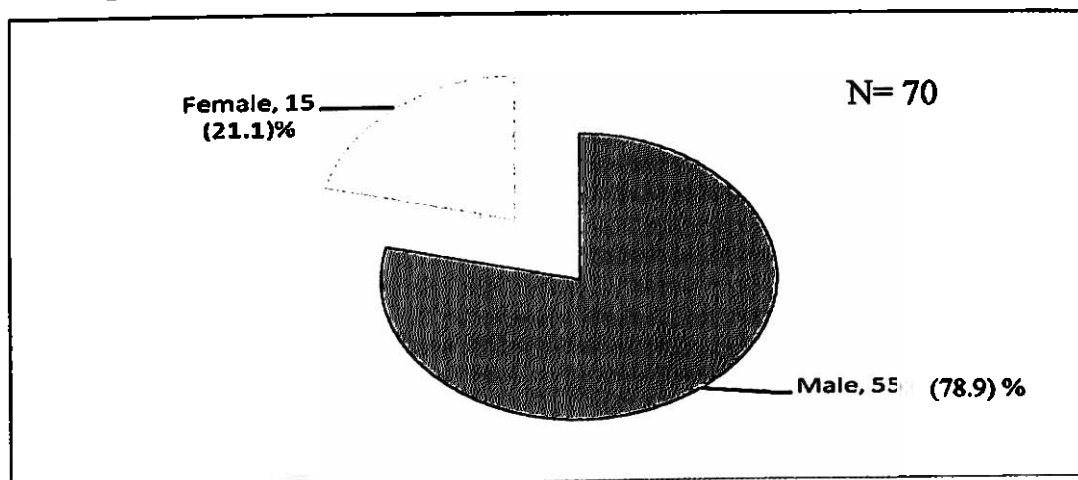
This chapter presents the analysis of data on the background information of respondents, trends and patterns of carjacking and experiences of Police officers and victims of carjacking incidents. The chapter also presents data on existing strategies in the prevention of carjacking, motivational factors that account for the upsurge in carjacking and the existing conduits and networks in the carjacking syndicates in Nairobi County.

4.2 Demographic Characteristics

4.2.1 Gender

The respondents were male 55 (78.9%) and 15 (21.1%) female. The nature of work in the Police service involves risks which tend to be heavily skewed against male officers. As a result of the embedded risks, recruitment is often skewed towards the male gender. Similarly, there were more male than female respondents from the sampled victims of carjacking who participated in this study. The male respondents were also found to be more willing to participate in the study than were the female victims.

Figure 2: Respondents' Gender



4.2.2 Marital Status

Married respondents comprised the largest number of the respondents 63 (89.5%) followed by respondents who were not married, divorced, widowed or separated 7 (10.5%).

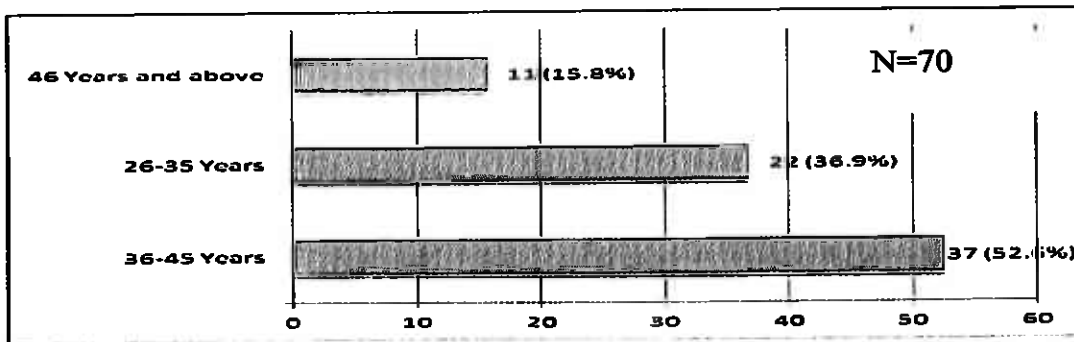
Figure 3: Marital Status of Respondents



4.2.3 Age of Respondents

A large number of the respondents 37 (52.6%) were between 35-45 years, those who were between 26-35 years were 22 (36.9%) while only 11 (15.8 %) of the respondents were 46 years and above as shown in Figure 4. It can be deduced that the unit comprises of mainly officers who have been in the service for extended durations of time owing to the need for experience. Carjacking is a special crime which requires mainly officers with experience, knowledge and expertise to tackle the crime. It is also very risky crime since criminals are usually armed and therefore only experienced officers are involved in operations (McGoey, 2017a).

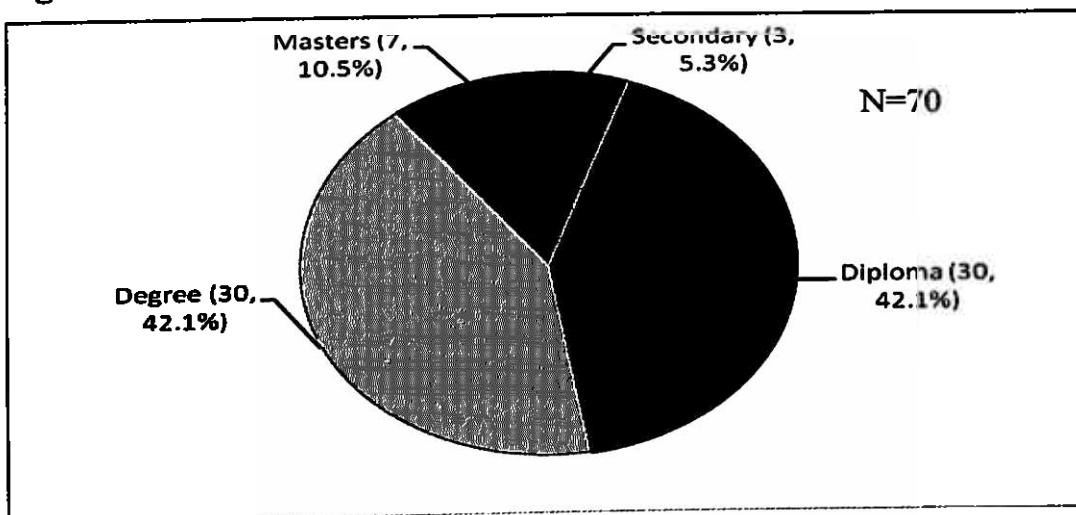
Figure 4: Age of Respondents



4.2.4 Respondents' Level of Education

The respondents' level of education was degree 30 (42.1%), diploma 30 (42.1%) while Masters Holders and those that had only secondary school education were 7 (10.5%) and 3 (5.3%) respectively as shown in Figure 5. These results show that the levels of education in the Police Service have been rising while the nature of work continues to demand more education for officers due to increased sophistication by criminals (Jacobs *et al*, 2003). The Figure 3 below shows these results.

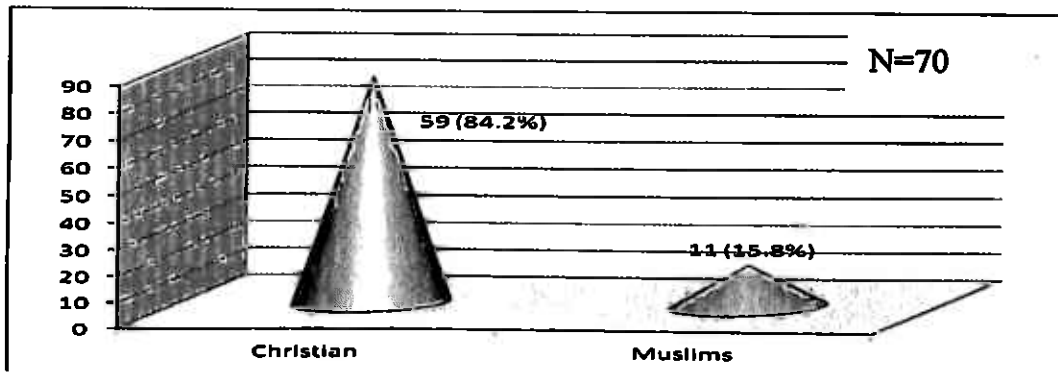
Figure 5: Level of Education



4.2.5 Religious affiliation

The majority of the respondents 59 (84.2%) were Christians while only 11 (15.8%) were Muslims. As depicted in Figure 6.

Figure 6: Religion of Respondents



4.2.6 Rank of Respondents

The study found that most respondents were Police Constables 44 (63.2%), Corporals 11 (15.8%) and Sergeant 7 (10.5%). The others were Inspector 4 (5.3%) and Chief Inspector 4 (5.3%). This pyramid structure of deployment is common in most units within the Police Service whereby the lower cadres have more personnel while numbers reduce as we move up the cadres due to limited vacancies for promotion. Table 4.1 below shows these results.

Table 4.1: Respondents' Rank

Rank	Frequency	Percent
Chief Inspector	4	5.3
Inspector	4	5.3
Sergeant	7	10.5
Corporal	11	15.8
Constable	44	63.2
Total	70	100.0

The Flying Squad Unit which is officially known as the Anti-Motor vehicle Theft Unit is under the Directorate of Criminal Investigations and was formed in 1995 following an increase in carjacking and robberies in Nairobi. Previously, the unit was present in all counties but was disbanded and reconstructed in 2017 following complaints and

suspicious that some officers were linked to armed robberies and carjacking (Mukinda, 2018). Currently the Unit is located in Nairobi Area in Nairobi County but responds to armed robbery and carjacking incidents that occur in the whole of Kenya. It is headed by a commissioner of Police with officers of various ranks working under them. These include Superintendent Chief Inspectors, Inspectors, Sergeants, Corporals and Constables.

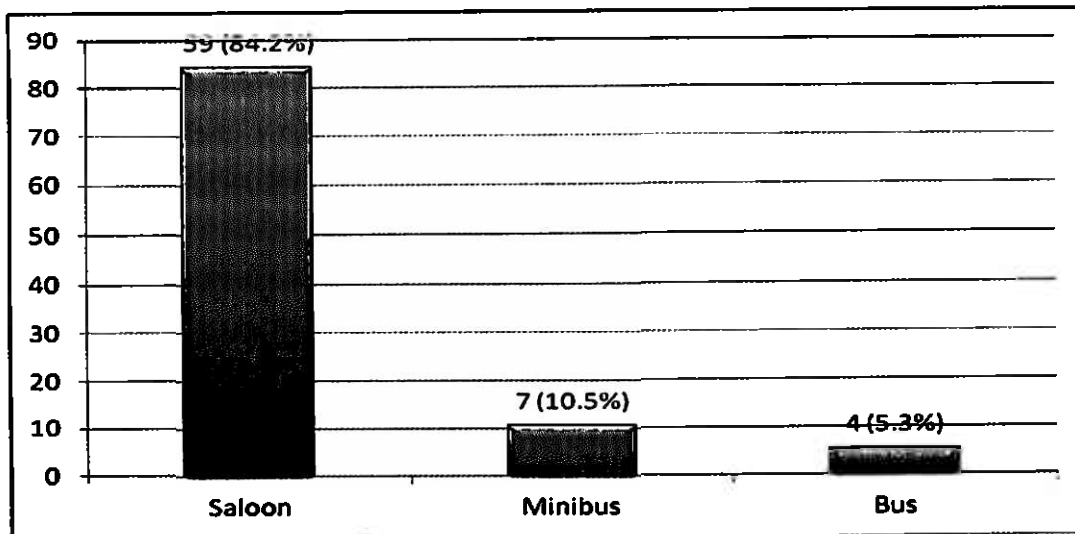
4.3 Trends and Patterns of Carjacking

This section presents findings to survey questions asked with a view to determining the trends and patterns of carjacking. It includes commonly carjacked vehicles, location of carjacking incidents and trends and patterns of carjacking incidents.

4.3.1 Commonly Carjacked Vehicles

In terms of the vehicles commonly carjacked, the findings show that 59 (84.2%) of the respondents indicated that saloon cars were commonly carjacked followed by minibus 7 (10.5%) and bus 4 (5.3%) as illustrated in Figure 7. These results can be attributed to the need for carjackers to supply cars which had a high demand for sale, the high number of saloon cars which are easily concealed by the carjackers in big garages which are covered from the outside by big walls to secure transportation. Figure 7 below shows these results. Police records especially the occurrence book, taken together with victim statements and reports from insurance companies demonstrate the fact that saloon vehicles were the most commonly carjacked in Nairobi.

Figure 7: Carjacked vehicles



4.3.2 Types of Cars Commonly Carjacked

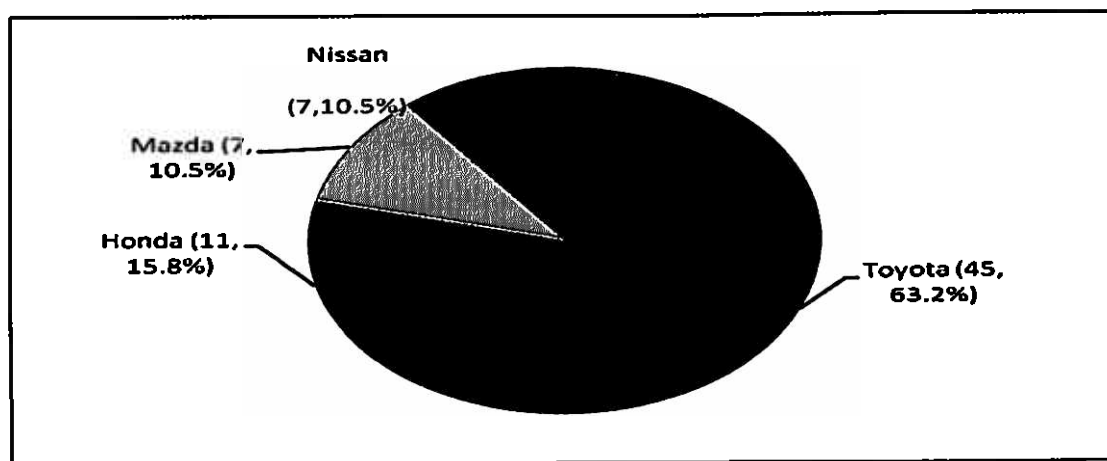
The types of cars commonly carjacked on Kenyan roads are Toyota, Nissan, Honda and Mazda models. The most commonly carjacked models are Toyota as indicated by a large number of respondents 45 (63.2%), *Honda* 11 (15.8%), *Mazda* 7 (10.5%) and *Nissan* 7 (10.5%) as shown in Figure 8. Respondence observed that qualities such as durability, low maintenance costs and affordability have made these cars and especially *Toyota* to be the most popular car make among the public in Kenya and therefore the most susceptible to carjacking. The high number of Toyota vehicles on the roads of Kenya, high demand in the market and ease of sale also made *Toyota* to be the most preferred car make by carjackers. According to most respondents Toyota cars are easy to repair while the spares are affordable and readily available. Thus, *Toyota, Honda, Mazda* and other popular car makes including *Nissan* and *Mitsubishi* are commonly carjacked for sale of the car or its parts to a ready market in East African countries such as Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. In Nairobi, 67% of the cars carjacked in the county between 2015 and 2017 were Toyota followed by Honda at 11% (GoK, 2014). Hence most popular brands are of Asian origin. However, Western made vehicles especially from the UK and Germany were four wheel drive vehicles such as BMW and Mercedes Benz which were also found to be targeted by carjackers. Most respondents showed that Mercedes Benz, BMW, Audi, and Volkswagen

models were not the preference of carjackers due to the difficulty in dismantling them or lack of ready market for these brands.

A police officer made the following comments on the makes of cars that were more likely to be carjacked;

Criminals prefer vehicle makes that are on high demand both in public and in the black market. Such vehicles are easily available due to high occurrence in the heavily populated areas and are on high demand by the criminal networks. Toyotas fit this description since they have the qualities of affordability, low maintenance and durability.

Figure 8: Make of cars most commonly carjacked



4.3.3 Places prone/susceptible to Carjacking

Based on discussions with many respondents, most carjacking incidents occurred when vehicles stopped at traffic lights, intersection or junction 40 (58.0%) followed by at house gate 11 (15.8%), after bumping from the back 7 (10.5%), at accidents 4 (5.3%), at speed bumps 4 (5.3%) and on the intercity highway 4 (5.3%) as shown in Table 4.2. Vehicles stopping at lights, intersections or junctions gave carjackers an opportunity to approach and force drivers out or easily take control of the cars. This was also the case which the vehicles that would be entering homes and required to slow down or stop while the gate was opened. Carjackers took this opportunity to attack drivers and take control of the vehicles. Victims were carjacked when they stopped or come out to assess damage after

their cars were bumped from the back (McGoey, 2017a). These results are shown in Table 4.2 below.

A police officer who had received many reports of carjacking said the following, *Most carjackings in towns take place when the owner is entering their home, when drivers slow down at a light or intersection and when drivers stop and come out after being bumped from the back. In some cases, criminals are assisted by informants on the location and time for carjacking a particular vehicle.*

A victim of carjacking said the following on the places vulnerable to carjacking: *I have been carjacked twice carjacked after slowing down at a junction and at a speed bump. The carjackers took this opportunity to attack me since I could not escape quickly.*

A female victim of carjacking remarked in the following way: *I was carjacked as I approached my home when waiting for the gate to be opened. My brother also told me that the same thing had happened to him a month earlier when he was driving into his compound in the evening.*

Another victim of carjacking made the following comment: *I was blocked by a fast moving car then I was carjacked and the criminals escaped in my car. They managed to escape easily because traffic on the road was not heavy.*

Table 4.2 Places vulnerable to carjacking

Places	Frequency	Percent
Traffic lights, intersection or junction	40	58.0
House gate	11	15.8
Bumping from the back	7	10.5
Accidents	4	5.3
At speed Bumps	4	5.3
On intercity Highway	4	5.3
Total	70	100.0

4.3.4 Areas prone to carjacking in Nairobi County

The respondents indicated that most carjacking incidents occurred in Embakasi area including Umoja, Tena, Tasia, Kariobangi and Kayole followed by Lavington area 15 (21.1%), Kileleshwa 11 (15.8%), Parklands 7 (10.5%) and Westlands 7 (10.5%) as shown in Table 4.3. Lavington and Kileleshwa are upmarket areas where carjackers can get top of the range vehicles while Parklands and Westlands are areas where there are a wide variety of car makes and models that attract carjackers. Some carjackers prefer to carjack vehicles in Embakasi area where the police take relatively long to respond which allows carjackers to easily escape after robbery. In addition, Embakasi area was preferred by carjackers because of its proximity to large poor police and regulated areas including car sheds and garages which are ideal for hiding and vandalizing stolen vehicles. Carjackings mostly occur in large, heavily populated cities due to population, economic conditions, and the quality of law enforcement (Adler *et al.*, 2013). Offender networks provide criminals with information on potential targets including location and time which enable the carjackers to plan and execute the carjacking successfully (Jacobs's *et. al.*, 2003).

A police officer said the following on carjacking prone areas in Nairobi County, *Most carjackers plan the crime to increase their chances of success by obtaining information about targeted vehicles or by learning about the area and how they can easily succeed. In almost all cases, the criminals are often armed with firearms. It is only in a few situations where criminals have used toy guns or knives and other crude weapons. The upmarket areas like Lavington and Kileleshwa are places where criminals can get top of the range expensive vehicles which they identify and plan to carjack.*

A victim of carjacking said the following on the areas of high risk of carjacking: *I live in Muthaiga which is a high market area where I have been carjacked three times. In the first instance, I lost a vehicle but in the other cases I was robbed then recovered the vehicles later. It was because of the tracking gadgets that were placed in the vehicles which helped police locate the vehicles.*

Table 4.3: High risk carjacking Areas in Nairobi County

Areas vulnerable	Frequency	Percent
Embakasi area	30	42.1
Lavington	15	21.1
Kileleshwa	11	15.8
Parklands	7	10.5
Westlands	7	10.5
Total	70	100.0

4.3.5 Modus operandi of carjackers in Nairobi County

The respondents identified the ways by which carjacking incidents occurred in Nairobi County and indicated that carjacking in Nairobi County take to place in different ways as shown in Table 3. The recorded cases of carjacking in Kenya have been increasing at rates above 55% in the recent the years (GoK, 2014). Most carjackings occur in heavily populated areas of Nairobi as indicated by 66 (94.7%) of the respondents, at traffic lights 63 (89.5%), intersections 63 (89.5%) and in the evenings 63 (89.5%) as illustrated in Table 4.4. In all these cases, carjackers used the element of surprise in carjackings to encounter the least resistance from the victims. Carjackers also preferred to attack stationary vehicles as compared to those in motion as it lowered the chances of victims escaping. The respondents also indicated that most carjackers were young men who were violent 59 (84.2%) or are armed 59 (84.2%). When asked what carjackers did with victims, 52 (73.7%) of the respondents indicated that most carjackers drove away with their victim or abandoned the victims in isolated areas 52 (73.7%). In some cases victims were subjected to other terrible crimes such as assault, rape, and murder (Global Security Experts, 2016). However, according to key informant interviews, women often were a part of the gang of carjackers in the most recent incidents of carjacking.

A number of respondents 48 (68.4%) indicated that most carjacking incidence occurred in Embakasi West and Embakasi Central where the police took relatively long to respond to calls while others 44 (63.2%) revealed that most carjackers attacked their victims on

particular days of the week especially on Fridays and weekends. On these days, most individuals use their personal vehicles thus providing the carjackers with a variety of potential cars for carjacking. Late evening provide a wide selection of cars as drivers rushed home in relatively low traffic while providing darkness as a cover for committing the crime (Global Security Experts, 2016). Finally, only 15 (21.1%) of the respondents reported that carjacking gangs included women.

Table 4.4: Ways by which Carjacking occurs in Nairobi County

Ways of Carjacking	Yes		No		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
Most car jackings occur at heavily populated areas of Nairobi	66	94.7	4	5.3	70	100
Most car jackings occur at traffic lights	63	89.5	7	10.5	70	100
Most car jackings occur at intersections	63	89.5	7	10.5	70	100
Most car jackings occur in the evening	63	89.5	7	(0.5	70	100
Most carjackers are young men	59	84.2	11	15.8	70	100
Most carjackers are violent	59	84.2	11	15.8	70	100
Most carjackers are armed	59	84.2	11	15.8	70	100
Most carjackers prefer private cars	55	78.9	15	21.1	70	100
Most carjackers prefer cars that sell fast	55	78.9	15	21.1	70	100
Most carjackers drive away with their victim	52	73.7	18	26.3	70	100
Most carjackers abandon victims in isolated areas	52	73.7	18	26.3	70	100
Most carjackers like to carjack in Embakasi West and Embakasi Central where the police take relatively long to respond	48	68.4	22	31.6	70	100
Most carjackers attack their victims on particular days of the week	44	63.2	26	36.8	70	100
Tinting of cars has reduced carjacking	37	52.6	33	47.4	70	100
Most carjacking gangs include women	15	21.1	55	78.9	70	100

A police officer made the following comment regarding carjacking, *Carjackers do some planning before executing their mission but are ready to use firearms or other weapons if they encounter resistance. They operate in heavily populated areas especially in early evenings and strike when vehicles stop or slow down. Once in control of the vehicle, they rob victims then abandon them and proceed to commit other planned crimes. These incidents may also end up in fatalities, where the occupants are shot dead by the carjackers. This once happened in an incident where Kabete MP Hon George Muchai was murdered in Nairobi city along Kenyatta Avenue on 7th February 2015. The victims of this carjacking incident were four and were all shot dead by the attackers. With the help of installation of CCTV along our streets, the incident was captured on camera where the car used by the carjackers was identified and the carjackers were tracked and arrested and the killer weapon a G3 rifle recovered from the suspects. The case was handled by the flying squad officers and it is pending before Milimani court (GoK, 2015).*

Another police officer had this to say on carjacking;

Carjacking incidents are gradually increasing in the country due to the use of security features in modern cars which make it difficult for criminals to steal parked cars. The technology used has made it difficult to break in and get the car started. It is easier for criminals to target the driver and gain possession of the vehicle. In many instances, carjacking is most prevalent in heavily populated and commercially busy areas. Most carjackings occur to enable criminals secure transportation before or after a crime. In some instances, criminals already have orders and a market for certain cars.

A victim of carjacking revealed the following details on trends and patterns of carjacking; *When I was carjacked, I did not know where the criminal had emerged from as I was waiting for the gate to my house to be opened. I did not expect that I could be attacked right at my own gate. I was not able to resist since they had a gun. They took the car and later abandoned it in another part of the city. However, I found that the car had been vandalized.*

Another victim of carjacking made the following observation regarding trends and patterns of carjacking;

I was carjacked in the early evening at around 7 pm at traffic lights. I had forgotten to lock my window so he pointed the gun at me and I had to obey his orders.

4.4 Experiences of Police officers and Victims of Carjacking

This section covers findings on the experiences of Police officers and victims of carjacking in Nairobi County.

4.4.1 Duration at Current Station

The study found that the respondents had worked at Flying Squad Unit for various periods of time including between 1 and 4 years 52 (73.7%), between 5 and 9 years 11 (15.8%) and 10 years and above 7 (10.5%) as shown in Table 4.5. These results show that officers at Flying Squad Unit have not worked at their current station for long periods of time in line with the general policy in the Public service and the Police Service in particular not to allow officers to serve at one station for long periods of time. This is done to prevent officers from over familiarizing themselves with criminals and other parties which may negatively affect their performance (GoK, 2012). In spite of the short stay, they had considerable experience dealing with vehicle theft/ crimes in Nairobi.

Table 4.5: Duration at current station

Duration	Frequency	Percent
1-4 years	52	73.7
5-9 years	11	15.8
10 years and over	7	10.5
Total	70	100.0

4.4.2 Number of Years worked in the Service

The study found that a large number of the respondents had worked in the Police Service for between 11 and 14 years 30 (42.1%), between 15 and 18 years 18 (26.3%), between 19 and 22 years 15 (21.1%) and 23 years and above 7 (10.5%) as illustrated in Table 4.6.

These results show that officers at Flying Squad Unit had worked in the Police Service for long periods of time and were therefore experienced therefore fulfilling one vital criterion for posting to the unit. Experience was needed for duties related to prevention of carjacking which was regarded as more risky than other law enforcement duties.

Table 4.6 Number of years worked in the Service

Duration	Frequency	Percent
11-14 years	30	42.1
15-18 years	18	26.3
19 and 22 years	15	21.1
23 years and over	7	10.5
Total	70	100.0

4.4.3 Capacity of Flying Squad Officers

All of the police officers mentioned that they possessed the skills that were required to counter the crime of carjacking. These skills in terms of respondents' competitiveness include intelligence gathering 66 (94.7%), handling of firearms 70 (100%), statement recording 63 (89.5%), investigation skills 55 (78.9%) and interrogation 59 (84.2%) as shown in Table 4.7. It can be deduced that there is still need for more training in these skills as shown by the respondents. However, these crime management skills have been found to be inadequate as they only emphasize reacting to crime as it occurred through rapid response, preventive patrols and criminal investigations (Thatcher, 2001).

Table 4.7 Capacity of Officers

Skills	Yes		No		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
Intelligence gathering	66	94.7	4	5.3	70	100
Handling of firearms	70	100	0	0	70	100
Statement recording	63	89.5	7	10.5	70	100
Investigation skills	55	78.9	15	21.1	70	100
Interrogation skills	59	84.2	11	15.8	70	100

A police officer made the following remarks on their skills;

We are able to counter a good number of the carjacking cases that occur in the country since we are all trained during initial recruit course. Most of us have also attended further training to acquire investigation skills. However, with newly emerging crimes that go beyond our national borders and involving organized gangs, further training is required. Comparing to the number of vehicles in the city in the year 2018 and year 1990, many Kenyans have acquired vehicles hence making it easier for carjackers to strike. This has made it very difficult to mobilize our small number of officers to be able to safeguard all the Kenyans with vehicles. In this regard if we are provided with efficient police cars and CCTV cameras are installed on Nairobi streets to cover the entire city then this can help police officers keep track of law breakers especially carjackers.

4.4.4 Capacity Limitations of the Flying Squad Officers

Majority of the police officers indicated that they needed more training and new skills in order to be effective in countering carjacking. These skills included data collection and analysis procedures for prevention of crime 63 (89.5%), community policing 52 (73.7%) and collaboration with other law enforcement agencies 66 (94.8%) as depicted in Table 4.8. Organized criminal gangs and rapidly evolving technologies have led to new methods of committing crimes. Increased cross border flows of goods, money and people through globalization have enabled criminal organizations to expand their territorial reach and engage in a range of illicit activities including carjacking (Brennan-Galvin, 2002).

A police officer pointed out the following issues on the skills needed;

We need to be able to fight crime in a modern way by using technology, sharing of information with other countries and working as a team among all the law enforcement agencies. This can only be achieved if we are provided with capacity building opportunities such as training, resources and equipment.

Table 4.8 Capacity Limitations

Skills	Yes		No		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
Data collection and analysis procedures	63	89.5	7	10.5	70	100
Community policing	52	73.7	18	26.3	70	100
Collaboration with other law enforcement agencies	66	94.7	4	5.3	70	100

4.4.5 Number of Reported Carjacking Incidents

Most of the police officers 37 (52.6%) indicated that on average between years 2016-2018 they had received between 20-30 reported carjacking incidents per month followed by between 10-20 incidents 18 (26.3%), and over 30 incidents in a month 15 (21.1%). It can be deduced that due to the increasing incidents of carjacking, officers were kept busy responding to these carjacking incidents.

A police officer made the following comment on number of carjacking incidents;

We have been experiencing increases in the crime of carjacking which has resulted in a lot of work on our part. These cases are also increasing in sophistication as criminals use organized gangs to facilitate carjacking and delivery of those vehicles to ready markets. We are sure that many other cases of carjacking are not reported to us in some cases because victims recover their vehicles or are robbed but released with their vehicles.

The number of stolen vehicles in the year 2016 was 1355, in 2017 was 1412 while 993 vehicles were stolen in the period up to June 2018. The types of vehicles stolen were Toyota, Honda, Mazda and Nissan. Table 4.9 shows the findings from the analysis of stolen vehicles. Cases of carjacking have been on the increase over the years as revealed by official police reports and entail a range of crimes including stealing of motor vehicle, robbery and attempted robbery, and assaults (Imhonopi *et. al.*, 2014; GoK, 2014).

Table 4.9 Annual number of stolen in Nairobi

Year reported	Number of stolen vehicles	Number of vehicles recovered
2016	1355	32
2017	1412	41
2018	993	20

(Source: Flying Squad, 2018)

4.4.6 Perceptions of Police Officers about Carjacking

All the police officers who participated in the study revealed that carjacking was a major crime problem which required attention due to the nature of public interest involved. Various opinions were given by police officers about their experiences with carjacking incidents. High unemployment rates and ready availability of firearms were identified as some of the causes of carjacking which was often well organized and professionally executed (Young & Borzycki, 2008).

A police officer pointed out the following on experience with carjacking incidents;

Criminal's carjack to get away after robbery, to use the cars in the commission of other robberies or for sale of the car or its parts to a ready market. We have come to realize that carjacking gangs in Nairobi are mainly local but recently they have been engaging in vehicle trafficking with the help of transnational gangs in Uganda, Tanzania, South Africa and Nigeria. Carjackers in most cases use violence but also plan and gather information before execution of the crime. However, we have been able to fight the crime through transboundary cooperation with other countries such as Uganda.

Another police officer made the following remarks on experience in carjacking incidents; *Drivers can minimize the risk of carjacking by being alert when exiting, entering the car, at lights or intersections and locking doors and rolling up windows when driving. Drivers should also look out for suspicious accidents like bumping from behind and always call the police to report the crime.*

A police officer made the following remarks on experience in carjacking incidents; *The rate of tracking and recovery for vehicles that are carjacked and trafficked to Uganda has been very good due to trans-boundary cooperation. It is more difficult to track and recover carjacked vehicles in Tanzania due to weak trans-boundary cooperation and almost impossible in DRC and South Sudan.*

A police officer made the following remarks on experience in carjacking incidents; *Despite the rising incidents of carjacking, the number of police officers attached to the Flying squad unit has not been sufficient. Training of officers in the unit has also not received adequate attention while equipment and vehicles have been inadequate. As a result, performance of the unit has not been satisfactory especially to members of the public and has come under criticism for unsatisfactory response to carjacking activities, including arrest and prosecution of suspects. There has also been limited cooperation with members of the public due to suspicion and fear of the police. The law has also not been clear on the crime of carjacking which has led to acquittal in some carjacking cases.*

Another police officer in Flying Squad recounted the following regarding carjacking incidents; *Our work is risky especially when we encounter carjackers which places our lives in danger. We need to be assured through life insurance cover and a generous health insurance cover.*

Another police officer made the following comment;

The police work very hard and are always professional in their work. We do not participate in carjacking, that is, we do not motivate carjacking incidents through any acts of commission or omission. Therefore those who say that we are compromised to abet carjacking are mistaken.

4.4.7 Experience of Victims of Carjacking Incidents

The victims of carjacking incidents gave different responses to the questions about their experiences of carjacking incidents in Nairobi County. Table 4.11 below shows the findings from the analysis that majority of the victims of carjacking incidents were held for several hours 66 (94.1%), shocked by the incidents, threatened with dire consequences and forced to give money 64 (90.9% in each case). The victims were also traumatized but were able to call the police 57 (81.8% in each case). However, only 32 or 45.5% of the victims indicated that the police responded promptly upon receiving report on carjacking. A small number of respondents indicated that they had been raped, sodomised or held for ransom or carjackers arrested, charged and convicted 6 (9.1% each). A few respondents revealed that they had been assaulted 19 (27.3%), taken to withdraw money 19 (27.3%) or had their recovered cars vandalized 19 (27.3%) as illustrated in Table 10.

These findings show that apart from the vehicle, carjackers targeted money and valuables which they robbed motorists of using threat of or actual violence. In the process, victims are shocked, humiliated consequences or were also traumatized. They hold the victims in order to minimize chances of victims reporting the incidents to the police. Most criminal's carjacked motorists in order to use them in the commission of other robberies or to sale of the car or its parts. They were often with a gun which they would threaten to use to increase chances of success although most of the victims were often abandoned unharmed (Davis, 2003).

Table 4.10: Experiences of victims of carjacking incidents in Nairobi County

Experiences of victims of carjacking	Yes		No		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
The carjacking incidents shocked you	64	90.9	6	9.1	70	100
I was raped/ sodomised ?	6	9.1	64	90.9	70	100
Did you fear that you could be raped or sodomised?	25	36.4	45	63.6	70	100
I was traumatized?	57	81.8	13	18.2	70	100
I was assaulted physically?	3	27.3	67	72.7	70	100
I was threatened?	64	90.9	6	9.1	70	100
Were you forced to give your money to them?	64	90.9	6	9.1	70	100
I was taken to my ATM to withdraw money?	19	27.3	51	72.7	70	100
I was held for some hours?	66	94.7	4	5.3	70	100
I was held in comunicado from my family?	6	9.1	64	90.9	70	100
I was held for long hours?	25	36.4	45	63.6	70	100
My family was forced to send ransom money?	6	9.1	64	90.9%	70	100
Did you recover your car?	38	54.5	32	45.5	70	100
Was the recovered car vandalized?	19	27.3	51	72.7	70	100
					70	100
I called the police?	57	81.8	13	18.2	70	100
Did they respond?	38	54.5	32	45.5%	70	100
Do you think the police responded on time?	32	45.5	38	54.5%	70	100
Were the carjackers arrested, charged and convicted?	6	9.1	64	90.9%	70	100
Were you generally satisfied with police response in your case?	32	45.5	38	54.5	70	100

A victim of carjacking made the following comments about his experience;

I have been a victim of carjacking in Nairobi so I am always afraid of carjacking while driving due to the many incidents that take place. Driving becomes a source of stress due to the fear of carjacking. I fear to be unfortunate during carjacking and to suffer from kidnapping and physical harm including assault or rape. In the incident, I lost money, mobile phones and other valuables. As a result, I sought psychological help in order to recover from the traumatic experience. The police need to restore public confidence by improving on the time they take to respond to carjacking incidents and follow up by arresting and prosecuting the perpetrators.

Another victim of carjacking also made the following comment on experiences of carjacking incidents,

Carjackers inflicted psychological, physical and financial suffering on me which led to shock, stress, anger and distrust. I also suffered psychological and physical trauma as a result of the incident which has affected my future decisions in driving. The physical trauma I suffered arose from physical injuries. Due to fear, I have made behavioral changes like taking precautions while my movement is now limited especially at night in unfamiliar areas.

A victim of carjacking held the following view about her experiences of carjacking incidents;

The carjacking incident I experienced a year ago really traumatized me to the extent that I have been afraid to drive alone. I attended some counseling sessions to help me but I have not yet recovered fully so I still employ a driver.

Another victim of carjacking made the following comment;

I do not feel safe at all driving in Nairobi streets especially after dark.

4.5 Factors leading to Increased Carjacking in Nairobi

There are several factors that account for the upsurge in carjacking. The following table shows the findings from the analysis. The findings indicate the leading motivational factor in carjacking for Nairobi County was ready market for stolen cars 66 (94.7%). This was followed by sale of used car parts 63 (89.5%) and unemployment 59 (84.2%).

Involvement of professionals in the car industry in the crime of carjacking was identified by 52 (73.7%) of respondents. Other vulnerability factors in carjacking include high spending habits, easy access to firearms and desire for quick money each indicated by 44 (63.2%) as illustrated in Table 4.11 of the respondents. Poverty and opportunities for crime including availability of firearms and carjacking networks influence carjacking in Nairobi County. Local carjacking gangs in Nairobi are motivated by high levels of youth unemployment, poverty and corruption in law enforcement (Kabiru *et al.*, 2013). Motivating factors in carjacking do not occur as a single set but rather as a continuum. Street culture pressures, emergent opportunism, offender networks, and perceived attributes of drivers and vehicles all lead to carjacking (Young & Borzycki, 2008).

Table 4.11: Motivational factors in carjacking for Nairobi County

Motivational factors in carjacking	Yes		No		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
Unemployment motivates carjacking	59	84.2	11	15.8	70	100
High spending habits motivate carjacking	44	63.2	26	36.8	70	100
Easy access to firearms motivates carjacking	44	63.2	26	36.8	70	100
Desire for quick money motivates carjacking	44	63.2	26	36.8	70	100
Ready market for stolen cars motivates carjacking	66	94.7	4	5.3	70	100
The sale of used car parts motivates carjacking	63	89.5	7	10.5	70	100
Carjacking involves the participation of professionals in the car industry	52	73.7	18	26.3%	70	100

These results concur with information obtained from a police officer, who said, *Carjacking for vehicle acquisition is often perpetrated in a well-organized and professional way pointing to the involvement of organized criminals with a ready market for vehicles and professionals in the car industry. This is the reason for carjacking being a problem that goes beyond the carjackers themselves. High demand for used car parts and increasing unemployment rates offer many individuals an opportunity to make quick money. Coupled with easy access to firearms, carjacking offers individuals a way to fund urban lifestyles through committing other related crimes such as robbery, theft and kidnapping. Such lifestyles are characterized by display of wealth, reckless spending and maintenance of honor among peers.*

Another police officer made the following comments about motivational factors involved in carjacking,

Carjacking is an easy way of gaining possession of vehicles since it avoids the inconvenience of anti-theft technology and the risks of arrest. Tips by informers within offender networks inform criminals on potential targets and enable them to plan and succeed in carjacking. Carjacking offers a way to obtain a getaway vehicle after robbing the driver or for transportation to commit other crimes. As in other crimes, criminals are motivated if they can avoid arrest and prosecution with assistance from the police and the judiciary. The realization that police lack resources to pursue them may also motivate carjackers.

A victim made the following observation;

I think a rise in unemployment creates economic problems which increases the motivation of individuals to engage in criminal acts such as carjacking.

Another victim made the following observation;

The proliferation of crude weapons and firearms has contributed too many cases of carjacking since it enables criminals to threaten drivers with harm which enables them to gain possession of the vehicles.

There was general observation among majority of the respondents that the increased number of cars in Nairobi in the recent years has also led to increased cases of carjacking because of the increased targets.

4.6 Conduits and Networks in the Carjacking Industry

According to most respondents, carjacking takes place through several conduits and networks as shown in Table 13 below. The leading conduits and networks in the carjacking industry are operations of organized criminal gangs or organizations as confirmed by 66 (94.7%) of the respondents and porous borders with multiple routes for smuggling illicit goods as identified 63 (89.5%) of the respondents. Other leading conduits and networks of carjacking include extension of networks of carjacking across international boundaries due to globalization 66 (89.5%) and participation of car dealers 55 (78.9%). Participation of insurance staff at 37 (52.6% of the respondents and corruption in the police and security forces at 30 (42.1%) of the respondents are the other conduits and networks of carjacking. These results are illustrated in Table 13 below. Cross border flows have enabled criminal organizations to expand their territorial reach (Brennan-Galvin, 2002). Most networks of carjacking are loose-knit groups driven by desire for profit and only come together for cooperation in the carjacking acquisition and sale process (Shane, 2010).

Trans-boundary and border conduits between Kenya and other East African countries such as Tanzania and Uganda have more elaborate and frequent or active operations to smuggle stolen motor vehicles from the said countries. It is more difficult to track and recover carjacked vehicles in Tanzania due to weak trans-boundary cooperation in crime prevention with Kenya. In DRC and in South Sudan, war and presence of various military factions has made chances for recovering vehicles carjacked from elsewhere very low. Carjacking gangs in Nairobi engaging in vehicle theft, trafficking and carjacking for vehicle acquisition are normally transnational. Vehicles that are carjacked in Nairobi are trafficked to other countries in East, Central, South and West Africa countries especially Uganda, Tanzania, South Africa and Nigeria. Trans boundary and border conduits in carjacking between Kenya, UK and the Americas mainly involve top of the range four wheel drive vehicles shipped into Kenya.

Table 4.12: Conduits and networks in carjacking industry

Conduits and networks in carjacking	Yes		No		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
Organized criminal gangs are networks that engage in motor vehicle theft and carjacking	66	94.7	4	5.3	70	100
Increased border flows of goods and people have increase the territory of carjacking	63	89.5	7	10.5	70	100
Networks of carjacking involves carjacking across international boundaries	63	89.5	7	10.5	70	100
Police are part of the carjacking industry	30	42.1	40	57.9	70	100
Insurance staff conspire with carjackers to steal motor vehicles	37	52.6	33	47.4	70	100
Car dealers play a major role in the theft of motor vehicles by giving details of motor vehicles to carjackers	55	78.9	15	21.1	70	100

These results show that carjacking takes place through several conduits and networks. A new trend has emerged in which basement parking is used to hide stolen vehicles. For this to work, it involves the participation and complicity of guards in charge of the basement parkings. A police officer made the following comment regarding conduits and networks in the carjacking industry,

Carjacking for acquisition and sale is mostly executed professionally by criminals operating in a well-organized network which spreads over new and expanded transnational markets for delivery and sale of the vehicles. Most of these networks exist to achieve success of carjacking and sale of vehicles for profit. Our borders are also

porous which enables free movement of stolen vehicles and guns which are used by criminals. The most common conduits are between Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda while others link Kenya to DRC, South Sudan, Nigeria, South Africa and the UK. In many cases, criminals are able to take advantage of borders and jurisdictional barriers but we as the police are restricted by these barriers.

Another police officer commented in the following way on conduits and networks in the carjacking industry,

Carjackers are linked both locally and internationally through loose networks which come together to facilitate success in the business of carjacking. The criminals are ready to use weapons to gain possession of vehicles then use resources to ensure that the vehicles are safely delivered to the end of the supply chain. Some of the groups involved in carjacking are organized criminal organizations engaging in drug trafficking, vehicle theft and trafficking, human and weapons trafficking, and money laundering.

However, a victim of carjacking was categorical of police collusion in the crime, she said:-

“That I and my husband were carjacked in the city in 2016. We reported the matter to the police who recovered the vehicle and demanded we pay them kshs 70,000. We paid but they never told us where the vehicle was found and nobody was arrested. In my view police are part of carjacking network in Nairobi”

4.7 Precautions to take in Prevention of Carjacking

This section explains the precautions adopted by the police and motorists in prevention of carjacking incidents in Nairobi County. Police and victims both agreed that there was need to increase awareness and application of strategies in order to prevent carjacking incidents. The Table 14 outlines some of these precautions. The results show that 59 (84.2%) of respondents indicated that drivers should be alert when exiting and entering their cars, and should pay attention to the surrounding and know the neighborhood well. It was also indicated by 55 (78.9%) of respondents that situational crime prevention strategies may be used to prevent incidents of carjacking. McGoey (2017a) these to include driving with locked doors and windows, avoiding non- lit up and hotspot areas at

night, taking extra caution when approaching junction and traffic lights, and alerting relatives to open the gate promptly on arrival home at night.

Other precautions to be taken to prevent carjacking incidents include increased victim awareness programs offered by driving schools in collaboration with Traffic department 52 (73.7%), installation of alarms, engine immobilizers and tracking systems 37 (52.6% each). Victim awareness programs sensitize drivers on how to avoid becoming a victim of carjacking. This included alertness when entering and exiting, locking doors and windows while driving, approaching trafficking lights and intersections with caution and knowing how to act when bumped from behind. According to McGoey (2017a, b), car owners could prevent themselves from becoming victims of carjacking or to reduce these chances by following a detailed advice schedule.

Table 4.13: Precautions to prevent carjacking in Nairobi County

Precautions in preventing carjacking	Yes		No		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
Increased victim awareness programs	52	73.7	18	26.3	70	100
Situational crime prevention strategies may be used to prevent incidents of carjacking	55	78.9	15	21.1	70	100
Installation of alarms and engine immobilizers	37	52.6	33	47.4	70	100
Tracking systems installation	37	52.6	33	47.4	70	100
Drivers should be alert when exiting and entering the car	59	84.2	11	15.8	70	100
Drivers to pay attention of the surrounding and know neighborhood well. Don't sit in your car with the doors unlocked or the windows rolled down.	59	84.2	11	15.8	70	100

A police officer made the following observation on precautions to prevent carjacking incidents;

Efforts should be made by the police and the public to ensure that victims of carjacking report cases to the police by providing details of crimes in terms of place and time of commission. This information will empower the public and allow them to assist the police in prevention efforts. Victimization research is important especially for incidents where rape, assault and murder have occurred as a result of carjacking. Another important issue includes individuals who are repeatedly victimized or repeat victims who can provide information about the risk and impact of victimization to inform interventions and policy. Through cooperation, the police and the public can then determine whether there are any successes or not in achieving reduction of carjacking incidents.

A police officer commented in the following way regarding precautions to prevent carjacking incidents;

Drivers should exit or enter their cars quickly, lock doors, roll up windows and drive off immediately and not turn their backs when loading packages into the car. Drivers should be suspicious of accidents especially when suddenly bumped from behind. However if confronted by a carjacker, a driver should not resist but run to avoid being kidnapped or attract attention by crashing the car or driving erratically. The police should make use of public participation and cooperation through community policing and utilize methods such as intelligence – led policing, problem – oriented policing and integrated policing. The police should also be able to harness the contribution of neighbourhood associations and private security.

Another police officer made these comments on precautions to prevent carjacking incidents;

I think carjacking incidents can be addressed by prompt response to carjacking incidents, empathy in handling victims of carjacking, prompt arrest of suspects and use of a specific carjacking hotline. In addition, provision of good serviceable vehicles, communication equipment, sophisticated weapons, training on new trends in carjacking, increased

personnel numbers displaced to all areas in city, improved police welfare and securing borders against entry of illicit arms may bring down incidents of carjacking.

A victim offered the following suggestion regarding precautions to prevent carjacking;
After one experience of carjacking, I have learnt to be alert at all times when approaching the car, entering, driving and when stopping or exiting from the car. These precautionary measures enable me to avoid falling victim to carjackers.

Most respondents were categorical that the importation of used motor vehicle spare parts had also contributed to carjacking's because vehicles stolen are easily dismantled and sold as spare parts in formal garages and spare part shops.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary

The findings were made in light of objectives of the study and found that commonly carjacked vehicles were Toyota saloon cars while the places vulnerable to carjacking incidents included traffic lights, intersection or at junctions when vehicles stopped. The study found that the areas vulnerable to carjacking in Nairobi County were the following areas Lavington, Parklands and Westlands. The study revealed that the ways by which carjacking incidents occur in Nairobi County was in heavily populated areas, at traffic lights, at intersections and in the evenings. Most carjackers are young men who are violent or are armed and either go away with the victim or abandon victims in isolated areas. The findings indicated that most carjackers like to carjack in Embakasi area and prefer to attack their victims on certain days of the week especially on Friday and weekends.

The study findings show that most police officers had worked at Flying Squad Unit for between 1 and 4 years but had considerable experience with vehicle theft in Nairobi. Most police officers at Flying Squad Unit had also worked in the Police Service for between 11 and 14 years and possessed skills that included intelligence gathering, handling of firearms, statement recording, investigation skills and interrogation. It was found that a majority of the police officers needed skills including data collection and analysis procedures for prevention of crime, community policing and collaboration with other law enforcement agencies. Most of the police officers had on average received between 20-30 carjacking reports per month. It was found that majority of the victims of carjacking incidents were held for several hours, shocked by the incidents, threatened with dire consequences, forced to give money and were traumatized.

According to the study, the factors that account for the upsurge in carjacking included ready market for stolen cars, sale of used car parts and unemployment of respondents. Other factors leading to an increase in carjacking were involvement of retain in the car industry in the crime of carjacking, high spending habits, easy access to firearms and desire for quick money. The study found that leading conduits and networks in the carjacking industry included operations of organized criminal gangs or organizations, porous borders with numerous routes for smuggling illicit goods, extension of networks of carjacking across international boundaries due to globalization and participation of car dealers. The study findings show that the precautions adopted by the police and motorists in prevention of carjacking incidents in Nairobi County included need for increased awareness, alertness by drivers when exiting and entering cars, attention to the surrounding and good knowledge of neighborhood. Other precautions include use of situational crime prevention strategies, increased victim awareness programs offered by driving schools in collaboration with Traffic department, installation of alarms, engine immobilizers and tracking systems.

5.2 Conclusions

From the above findings, conclusions can be drawn that commonly carjacked vehicles were Toyota saloon cars while places vulnerable to carjacking incidents included traffic lights, intersection or at junctions. Areas vulnerable to carjacking were Embakasi area followed by Lavington, Parklands and Westlands. Carjacking incidents occur in heavily populated areas and in the evenings while most carjackers are young men who are violent, armed and prefer to attack their victims on Friday and weekends. Most police officers had worked for between 1 and 4 years at Flying Squad Unit and in the Police Service for between 11 and 14 years. The police officers possessed some skills but needed more skills including data collection and analysis procedures for evaluation of crime. Most of the police officers had on average received between 20-30 reported carjacking incidents per month. Majority of the victims of carjacking incidents were held for several hours, shocked by the incidents, threatened with dire consequences, forced to give money and were traumatized.

The motivational factors that account for the upsurge in carjacking included ready market for stolen cars, sale of used car parts and unemployment. Other motivational factors were involvement of professionals in the car industry in the crime of carjacking, high spending habits, easy access to firearms and desire for quick money. The leading conduits and networks in the carjacking industry include operations of organized criminal gangs or organizations, porous borders with ample routes for smuggling illicit goods, extension of networks of carjacking across international boundaries due to globalization and participation of car dealers. The precautions adopted by the police and motorists in prevention of carjacking incidents in Nairobi County include increased awareness, alertness by drivers when exiting and entering cars, attention to the surrounding and good knowledge of neighborhood. Other precautions include use of situational crime prevention strategies, increased victim awareness programs, and installation of alarms, engine immobilizers and tracking systems.

5.3 Recommendations

- (i) The government should offer training to police officers in data collection and analysis procedures for evaluation of crime, community policing and enhance collaboration with other law enforcement agencies. Through addressing poverty and unemployment, the government can reduce the number of young men who join crime.
- (ii) The national transport and safety authority (NTSA) should be involved in public education to victims on how to avoid being victims.
- (iii) National police service should put stronger vetting techniques at the boarder for vehicles driven out of the country especially to neighbouring countries that are destination.
- (iv) The national transport and safety authority (NTSA) should put rules to advocate for garages to use visible material when being constructed.
- (v) National police service should encourage training school to incorporate prevention techniques against carjacking in the curriculum.

5.3.1 Recommendations for Further Research

- i.** There is still little information including police statistics on carjacking internationally and especially in Kenya. Further studies are therefore recommended in other counties and for the entire country in order to get a broader picture of dynamic phenomenon of carjacking.
- ii.** A study on carjackers to be undertaken in Kenya.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Questionnaire for Carjacking Victims

I am Chris Mmbwanga Oguso, an M.A. student from University of Nairobi, Department of Sociology. This interview schedule is aimed at collecting information on the dynamic phenomenon of carjacking in Nairobi County. The information you give will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Section A: Personal information

1. Gender: Male
- Female
2. Age Bracket: Below 25 Yrs
- 26 – 35 Yrs
- 36 – 45 Yrs
- 46 – And Above
3. Driving Experience: Less Than 5 Yrs
- 6 Yrs – 10 Yrs
- 11 Yrs – 15 Yrs
- 16 Yrs - 20 Yrs
- 21 Yrs – And above
4. Have You Ever Been Carjacked: Yes
- No
5. If Yes Which Vehicle Were You Driving:
- (i) Salon
- (ii) Pick Up

- (iii) Mini Bus
- (iv) Bus
- (v) Lorry

o. If Salon Car Which Make?

7. Where Were You Carjacked:

- Street
- Highway
- In A Traffic Jam
- At Bank
- At Junction
- At Bumps
- At Accident
- At House Gate
- At Church

Other
Specify.....
.....

Section B: Trends and Patterns of carjackings. Tick (✓) the statement you agree with (Choose from the choices given below).

- a. Strongly Agree (SA)
- b. Agree (A)
- c. No Idea (NI)
- d. Strongly Disagree (SD)
- e. Disagree (D)

	SA	A	NI	SD	D
1. Most car jackings occur at heavily populated areas of Nairobi					
2. Most car jackings occur at traffic lights					
3. Most carjackings occur at intersections					
4. Most carjackings occur during the day					
5. Most carjackers are young men					
6. Most carjackers include women					
7. Most carjackers are violent					
8. Most carjackers are armed					
9. Most carjackers go away with the victim					

10. Most carjackers abandon victims in isolated areas
11. Most carjackers prefer private cars
12. Most carjackers prefer cars that sell fast
13. Most carjackers drive the stolen vehicle towards their areas of residence
14. Tinting of cars has reduced carjacking
15. Most carjackers attack their victims on certain days of the week

Section C: Experience of victims of carjacking

Yes No

1. Did the carjacking incidents shock you?
2. Were you raped or sodomised?
3. Did you fear that you could be raped/sodomised?
4. Were you assaulted?
5. Were you threatened with dire consequences?
6. Were you forced to give your money to them?
7. Were you taken to your ATM to withdraw money?
8. Were you held for days?

9. Were you traumatized?
10. Were you assaulted during the incident?
11. Were you held in comunicado from your family?
12. Were you held for long hours?
13. Was your family forced to send ransom money?
14. Did you recover your car?
15. If yes was it vandalized?
16. Did you call the police?
17. Did they respond?
18. After how long did they respond?
19. Do you think the police responded on time?
20. Were the carjackers arrested?
21. Do you think you received timely service from the police?
22. What would you recommend the police do to offer better service?
23. If arrested were they charged?
24. If charged were they convicted?

25. Were you generally satisfied with police response in your case?

26. If no, what aspects were you not satisfied with?

Section D: Factors that motivate carjacking

	SA	A	NI	SD	D
1. Unemployment motivates carjacking					
2. Urban ways of life motivate carjacking					
3. Easy access to firearms motivates carjacking					
4. Desire for quick money motivates carjacking					
5. Ready market for stolen cars motivates					
6. The sale of used car parts motivates carjacking					
7. Carjacking involves the participation of professional in the car industry					
8. The carjacking problem goes beyond the carjackers themselves					
9. Existence of basement parking has increased Carjacking					

Section E: Conduits and network of carjackings

	SA	A	NI	SD	D
1. Increased border flows of goods and people have extended the territorial reach of carjackings					
2. Organized criminals gangs are conduits that engage iIn motor vehicle and carjacking					
3. Networks of carjacking extend across international boundaries					
4. Carjacking networks have specialized terms among them.					
5. Are you aware of any network/group of people engaging in carjacking					
6. Police are part of the carjacking industry					
7. Insurance staff are part of carjacking					
8. Car dealers are part of carjacking					

Section F: Strategies to prevent carjacking

1. Car owners can prevent becoming victims of carjacking
2. Increased victim awareness programs
3. Situational crime prevention strategies may be used to prevent incidents of carjacking
4. Installation of alarms
5. Installation of engine immobilizers
6. Tracking systems installation
7. Drivers should be alert when exiting and entering the car
8. Drivers to pay attention of the surrounding

SA	A	NI	SD	D

Recommendation

What do you think should be done to address the problem of carjacking?

A. By the Police Yes No

- i. Should the police be equipped with more sophisticated weapons
- ii. Training police officers on new trends in car jacking
- iii. More police officers should be deployed to cover the entire city
- iv. Good serviceable vehicles should be used by officers
- v. Police officers should respond promptly to carjacking cases
- vi. Police officers should empathize with victims of carjacking
- vii. Suspects of carjacking should be arrested as soon as possible and face the law
- viii. Cooperation between the police and the members of the public
- ix. Should police have a specific carjacking hotline?
- x. How should Police Officers deal with carjacking incidences
- xi. Should carjacking be treated as isolated cases or conjunction with other cases?
- xii. What other incidents can arise from car jacking

B. Car owners Yes No

- i. Have you ever been carjacked?
- ii. If Yes, in what circumstances
- iii. Was the case reported

- iv. If it was reported how was the case handled
- v. In the course of carjacking did the suspects commit other crimes
- vi. If YES what type of crimes
- vii. Who was the 1st respondent at the scene?
- viii. After reporting, what transpired?
- ix. If case was not reported why
- x. What challenges were there in reporting the incident
- xi. Should car owners be encouraged to tint their cars?
- xii. Should car owners install alarm system in their cars?
- xiii. Should car owners avoid non- lite up areas
- xiv. Should car owners always be careful when approaching junction, traffic lights
- xv. Should car owners alert family members to open the gate in advance when they arrive at night at their home
- xvi. How would you describe a carjacking incident to the police?
- xvii. Should car owners attend defensive driving courses?
- xviii. Should car owners drive with locked doors and windows?
- xix. Should car owners avoid driving in hotspot areas at night?
- xx. Do you know your neighborhood well?

C. Members of the public Yes No

1. Have you heard of carjacking?
2. Do you know anyone who has been car jacked?
3. If yes how was the case handled?
4. Do you think the police have done enough to curb carjacking?
5. What is the cooperation with the police?
6. What should be done to reduce carjacking?
7. Is public awareness important as concerns carjacking?

Appendix II: Key Informant Interview Guide for Police Officers

- 1. Gender Male
- Female
- 2. Age brackets 18 years and above
- 3. Working experience: Less than 10 years
- 11 – 20 years
- 21 – 30 years
- 31 years and above
- 4. Why do you think carjacking has increased in Nairobi?
- 5. Do you think there are networks of carjackers in Kenya?
- 6. Do they have cross border links? Explain.
- 7. When do you think most carjacking takes place?
- 8. Which are the most common areas?
- 9. What is the gender of the victims attacked by car jackers?
- 10. Do you have enough personnel to tackle carjacking?..
- 11. If not what can be done to help solve the problem?
- 12. How often does carjacking happen in Nairobi?
- 13. Is training of officers in the Flying Squad unit adequate?
- 14. Do the police have enough equipment to tackle the
 crime of carjacking?
- 15. Are you able to successfully arrest and charge the carjackers?
- 16. In the Penal Code we don't have a crime known as carjacking, what should be
 done to our laws since this is a common crime in Nairobi and Kenya?
- 17. Has any cooperation with the members of the public helped curb carjacking?
- 18. Which vehicles are mostly targeted?
- 19. Do victims come and report carjacking incidents?
- 20. How do you treat the victims of carjacking?