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Department Of Sociology (Criminology and Social Order)

The prevalence of crimes against property and their causes in the different trimester periods of the year 2002-2003 in Nairobi.

By

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C/50/P/9216/2001.

A project paper submitted to the department of sociology in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the Master Degree in Sociology.

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DECLARATION

This project paper is my original work and has never been presented for a degree in any other university.

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DEDICATION

In the honour of my late mum Gaudentia T. Adhiambo and to all those innocent people who have to pay heavy prices to protect their property and selves from becoming prey to the marauding criminals.

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ABSTRACT

The main purpose of this study was to examine the prevalence of crimes against property and their causes in the trimester periods of the year 2002-2003 in Nairobi. This is because property crimes have become common problem in Kenya and are as such a destruction to the social fabric. To achieve the above objective, Nairobi city was chosen because crime was increasingly becoming a menace and hence a chronic social and more so economic problem.

A sample size of two hundred was chosen in order to reduce logistical and analytical problems. This sample was derived from two police divisions, namely; Langata and Industrial Area. A sample frame was drawn and proportionate stratified random sampling was employed.

Data collection was done in two successive stages, namely primary data and secondary data. Primary data was collected by the use of questionnaire and interview schedule whereas secondary data was collected from the Kenya police department by the researcher.

The collected data was analyzed using the statistical package for social sciences (SPSS). The package enabled the researcher to tabulate, cross tabulate, and calculate the percentages, the medians, the standard deviation and modes.

Respondents were asked questions on the prevalence and causes of property crimes. Information gathered from the victims reinforced the fact that they do not report all crimes committed against them citing the distance of the police stations from the crime scenes and the level of police response. Police statistics too do not reflect the true figures of crimes committed in their respective stations.

The employed were found to be the main victims of crimes against property. The causes of these crimes were stated as unemployment, population growth, migration, poverty and poor policing.

It was also found that it was mostly electronic equipments that were stolen from respondents' homes because the criminals had ready market for them. It was also established that these items were cheaper from the criminals.

The relationship between police presence and crime commission was equally noted in this study. It was found that as one moved a distance away from a police station one experienced more crimes and vice versa. There is need therefore to curtail the crime problem by improving accessibility to police stations and by solving the problems that affect the economically active segment of the population such as providing job opportunities, reducing rural to urban migration by decentralizing industrial and urban growth, reduction of drug abuse and most importantly by ensuring proper policing in crime prone urban areas.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF STUDY

1. INTRODUCTION

Muga (1975:36) states that crime is the violation or the breaking of law as stipulated by the state or the government. The definition underscores the fact that crime is a contravention of law and therefore punishable by law. Therefore, basing extrapolation on these definitions of crimes and looking at society, there are several behaviors and aberrant activities that can be labeled or described as crimes.

Two categories of offences can be recognized: the first being all those criminal acts committed by an individual or a group of individuals or an individual against another person or group of persons. Included under this category are; assault, rape, robbery with menace, defamation and the like.

Mushanga (1976:10) states that the second category includes offences committed against the state. This comprises tax evasion, possession of illegal firearms conspiracy to charge the government illegally, destruction of public utilities and all harmful acts committed against private citizens and residents who are under the direct protection of the state. There is, in

addition to the two broad categories, yet another type that is known as crimes without victims. These crimes cause harm neither to the individual nor to the state. They include all violations of legal prohibitions that are intended to uphold the moral values of the society, such as those prohibiting the cohabitation between a man and his daughter or mother or sister or with another man. These acts are considered bad in themselves even if when done, no individual is made to suffer.

Offences against property are by far the most numerous of all violation of law in nearly all of Africa. Cases of theft, of armed robbery, of pickpockets, of cattle theft, theft of motor vehicles and motor vehicle spares, of foodstuffs directly from the gardens or from food stores, the malicious destruction of property like fencing wire and so on are just too numerous to enumerate.

Crime and deviance has been part and parcel of human society since the beginning of recorded history, due to the fact, no community in the world can boast of a crime-free population. Crime has been studied extensively and there are numerous attempts to explain why people commit crimes. The rate and degree of crime varies significantly from place to place and from time to time. Long ago in the African community, it was uncommon to experience

many cases of crime. This was because the social control mechanisms operating at that time was effective in maintaining and sustaining normal non-deviant behaviour. The pristine society's social control was governed by norms, values and customs, which acted as sanctions, and taboos as the ordinary penal structure with extra-ordinary results. This differs from the modern crime due to the proliferation of integrated western culture, which is rather based on convenience than on a stable culture with continuity. Also, animate and inanimate properties were most often owned communally hence individual members of the community saw no need, for example, for stealing. However those who deviated from the norms controlling behaviour and action experienced severe and punitive measures.

African social fabric experienced drastic change in the twentieth century with the introduction of western culture, growth and proliferation of urban centers Mushanga (1976:5). The western culture impacted on the Africans behavioral and cognitive system especially in terms of their socio-economic structures. For instance, it was at this time that Africans' appetite for beautiful but expensive western materials, money and culture was stimulated.

Advanced medical techniques and attention brought by the West made the African population to experience an upsurge. The impact of the increase in population on the African continent and large cities in particular cannot be over-emphasized because of the obvious fact that this unprecedented increase of the population in cities and indications of further increase in future has had immediate and tragic social and economic implications concerning crime among other social problems Breese (1969:128). It is because of this that records have consistently shown that there are high rates of crimes in large cities especially metropolitan and cosmopolitan centers.

African cities in general and Kenyan cities in particular were and are viewed by rural Africans as areas of prestige, the home and chosen seat of the rich, the powerful, the highly educated and cultured people. This myth however, has been shattered by the huge influx of migrants from rural and other less developed areas. These migrants have significantly changed the outlook of the city because the majority lack skills and proper education and are not likely to get employment hence form the category of people who foster discontent and constitute a constant threat to social order.

Most of the immigrants are able-bodied men capable of committing crime if only it was the necessary alternative.

Odipo (1996:9) states that the escalation of crime implies that crime affects every segment of the society almost on a daily basis nearly every hour and probably every minute, hence there is ardent need to prevent further escalation. This can only be done if the patterns, prevalence and their causes are studied and adequately understood.

Heidensohn (1989:124) explains that social order is maintained through a combination of social and moral pressures, with power and individual autonomy as key intervening variables. It leads us on to further questioning. Why and under what conditions does order break down? Why especially does crime take place? Why are coercive measures, such as policing, penal policies introduced? Durkheim (1952) believed that criminality was inherent in a healthy society.

Crime in Kenya in general and particularly in large cities is continuously spreading at an alarming rate and has attained such an epidemic proportion

in this country that everyone has increasingly, become not only concerned but also worried. Mushanga (1976:8)

Clifford (1974:16) besides arguing that crime rates are going to increase if proper means and ways of curtailing crime among the youth are not instituted soon and fast enough, also argued that new ways have to be invented in order to check increase in crime.

Nairobi has been known to be in the forefront in terms of social problems especially crime, if only because Nairobi is the capital and primate city, the economic heartbeat of the country, the largest recipient of heterogeneous rural to urban migrants and because of this, crime prevalence is seen to be growing hence the need to study the prevalence, causes and give recommendations that would be considered to correct the situation Okola (1996).

1.1 PROBLEM STATEMENT

The purpose of this study is to find out if there is any relationship between the time of the year and the rate of crimes or offences against property and their causes.

Like other tourists destination cities in the world, Nairobi is marked with insecurity. "Crime is not insignificant in the towns, and tourists should take care, especially in Nairobi and when arriving in the country. The common-sense rules are to keep out of dark back-streets at night, wherever you are, and to avoid Nairobi's sleazier bars and dance halls. Do not carry too much money around, and avoid wearing expensive jewellery, whether you are walking in town or on the beach. Rape and sexual assault are uncommon and, should you be accosted, it is more likely that the villain is after your property than your body. Problem areas of violent crime are deserted beaches and drunken, mixed-company parties. Probably the commonest urban crime in Kenya is car theft, followed by housebreaking. For tourists, expert pickpockets and confidence tricksters are the most common problem. In any threatening situation, the rule is do not panic or make any sudden moves in attack or retreat. Keep quiet and do what you are told (within reason) - basically, apply common sense" (Msafiri magazine 2001).

In a survey launched by UN-HABITAT on "Crime in Nairobi" in March-June 2001 and published by Mrs. Anna Tibaijuka UN-HABITAT Executive Director, reveals a rise in crime in the city. Some of the key findings were that about 37% of all respondents in Nairobi have been victims of robbery and 22% victims of theft at least once during the previous year. About 18% percent of respondents had also been personally physically assaulted. If trends simply remain at current levels, during the course of the following year, one in five residents will be a victim of physical assault, a further one in five residents is likely to fall victim of snatching and two in five residents could be victims of robbery.

The inner city tops the list of areas where snatching is most common, but robberies and physical assaults are most likely to occur in low income areas.

The majority (90%) of the respondents suggest that all personal crimes occur in the open when residents are in transit to and from work or school. In two-thirds of all the cases the respondents were alone when the attack occurred. Physical strength was the most common weapon used against women and knives against men. Nearly 40% of all victims were injured as a result of violence used in the robbery. In 60% of all cases, bystanders watching the

incident chose to ignore it. A fraction over one-half of all victims do not report the incident to the police.

On crime against property the revelations are that a total of 29% of all respondents' homes had fallen victim to burglary. Households located in formal high and low-income suburbs were more likely than those in other areas to fall victims of burglary. Violence was used in four out of every ten burglaries. Two thirds of all burglaries were reported to the police but in only one-quarter of reports were the victims satisfied by the police response to the circumstances.

The UN-Habitat report on 'Crime in Nairobi' in March-June 2001 also reveals that 30% of all respondents in commercial enterprises revealed that they had been victims of burglary during the year preceding the survey. Over three-quarters of the business people said that it was necessary to bribe public sector officials if they needed something to be done. Two-thirds of all respondents felt that crime against the commercial sector had increased during the past year. Firearms were used in almost 80% of all robberies.

On perceptions of safety, the most common causes of crime identified by respondents were unemployment and marginalization, although general idleness and the quick rewards that crime brings were also noted. A very

small minority mentioned the increase in foreigners as the major cause of crime. Just over half of the all the residents of Nairobi worry about crime all the time, whilst a further one-third thinks of it sometimes. About 75% of all respondents feel unsafe in their homes during the night and more than half feels unsafe during the day. The vast majority of residents would not go into the City Center during the evening at all.

The overwhelming majority of respondents attributed one in three crimes either directly or indirectly to police officers. They also suggest that the police institution is one of the major casualties of bribery at the individual level. The issue of street children is an emotional one in Nairobi, and it is not uncommon to find residents attributing a good proportion of crime to this group of Nairobi citizens. Generally, respondents felt that street children are not responsible for more than one-in-ten crimes in the neighbourhood.

Just over one-third felt that complementary measures such as security guards or vigilante groups or simply setting up neighbourhood watches is essential to enhance community - police relations in addressing crime, for the police alone were incapable of dealing with crime.

A survey was conducted by the Intermediate Technology Development Group- East Africa (a member of the Nairobi City Council-based Nairobi

Informal Settlements Co-ordinating Committee) under the supervision of the Safer Cities Programme of the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN HABITAT) and an international consultant who conducted similar surveys in South Africa and Tanzania.

The survey covered the entire city including the Central Business District and the residential areas. It was expected that the data collected when analyzed would complement the existing statistics on crime and facilitate planning for elimination of crimes and victimization in the city to make Nairobi a safer city.

The Victimization Survey, which was carried out in Nairobi, is the most comprehensive undertaken to date, being administered in two discrete phases over a four months period (March to June 2001). Throughout the study over 10,500 ordinary residents of Nairobi contributed opinions and experiences on a number of different issues concerning safety and crime. The focus of the main survey was on 4 components namely individual crimes, household crimes, property crimes, and commercial crimes. The survey was designed to provide an in-depth analysis of certain categories of crime, determine their extent in the city, identify the populations most at

risk, and understand the nature of crimes and measure public perception of those crimes.

In fact, according to Muli et al (1989:170) in the period between 1972 and 1980 indicate an upward trend for all person to person violent and property crimes. Anyway, Muli and others indicate that murder recorded an overall increase of 20.6 percent, other offenses against the person 13.6 percent, robbery and allied offenses 25.5 percent and breaking and entering including burglary 35.6 percent, (1989:170).

According to the statistical abstract of the Republic of Kenya 1989, crimes known to the police in 1979 were 67,786 and in 1986 they were 79,716; similarly in 1979 the number of people committed to prison was 130,731 and in 1987 it was 162,452. These two sets of figures show that there was a general increase of 14.97 and 15.3 respectively.

In addition to these empirical figures, newspapers, audio visual electronic and print media do not hesitate to highlight criminal activities in various parts of the country, most of which are reported to have occurred in large cities. They constantly keep the public in touch with news about violence, robberies, murders, rapes, assaults and many more. Yet, in spite of this

continuous illumination of criminal activities and local police action problem of crime still persists, in fact escalates.

This escalation of crime implies that crime affects every segment of the society almost on a daily basis, nearly every hour and probably every minute hence there is ardent need to prevent further escalation. This can only be done if the patterns and causes of crime are studied and adequately understood. Studies all over the world have tended to show outstanding patterns based on sex, age, race, ethnic group, nationality, occupation, level of education and many more. Some of these patterns have proven to be transient phenomena affecting certain segments and categories of the society; others have proven to be a reflection of widespread and varied occurrence of crime. But more importantly, these pattern and attributes have, subsequently, contributed to the occurrence of new trends and practices in crime and which have in turn, not only made a difficult and complex social problem to tackle but also an interesting one to study.

In all the surveys, crimes against property in Nairobi in the years 2002-2003 has not been studied with the view to its prevalence, causes and characteristics of criminals hence the need for this study.

Thus in this research, the questions raised include:

- What are the causes of crimes against property in Nairobi?
- Is there significant relationship between the different times of the year and the prevalence of crimes against property?
- Is there significant relationship between the characteristics of criminals and the crime they commit?

1.2 STUDY OBJECTIVES

1. To determine and describe the prevalence of crimes against property in the different trimester periods of the year 2002/2003 in Nairobi as reflected by official crime statistics.
2. To analyze the possible causes of crimes against property, prevalence in the different trimester periods of the year 2002/2003 in Nairobi.
3. To analyze the characteristics of property criminals.

1.3 STUDY JUSTIFICATION

In the recent past, crimes, particularly those against property have become common in our society and are a major social problem especially in urban areas. It is therefore important to carry out a research of this nature and magnitude considering that the least one would like to expect in a

developing economy and society is the escalation of crime. This is because crime itself, even though it is a product of socio-economic development, also hampers the smooth running of the economic wheel.

Crime and any other aberrant behaviour cannot be ignored since they are measurable indicators of the society's health status, especially in relation to social and economic changes. Hence crime having taken a significantly paramount stance in our society need be adequately studied, analyzed and understood properly as asserted by Kariuki (1978: viii) that:-

“Studies of crime in Kenya are therefore needed if one is to prevent an escalation of criminal activities as Kenya continues to develop economically.”

Findings from this study may assist the government and the security agencies, corporate bodies and individual efforts to plan, design and implement effective, preventive, control, reductive, and curative programs of action.

This research tries to explain the prevalence of crimes against property and causes in the different trimester periods of the years 2002 and 2003 in Nairobi. It is also hoped that this study will add something to the already existing knowledge of crime.

1.4 HYPOTHESIS

1. It is likely that periods of the year with high economic activities will experiences a higher rate of crimes.

1.5 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

This study covered specifically Nairobi city. The study focused on the prevalence of crimes against property and their causes in the different trimester periods of the year 2002 and 2003 and gave a comparative analysis of the varied rate of prevalence.

The crimes against property in this study were mainly thefts of properties of all kinds, robberies, robberies with violence, house breaking and stealing, burglary, theft of motor vehicles and any other movable properties.

Theft included theft by persons in the public service, clerks and servants, directors or officers of companies or agents.

The study analyzed what actually causes the prevalence of crimes against property in the different trimester periods of the year. Adolphe Quetelet (1836) states in his thermal theory that, crimes against the person were considered to be induced by hotter climates and crimes against property by colder climates.

This study looked for the possible causes of the prevalence of crimes against property in Nairobi in the years 2002/2003.

1.6 DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

CRIME: Referred to as an act that is forbidden by law, any action that violates the penal code and is punishable by law in the courts is therefore a crime. Crime here constitutes act or acts committed by a person or persons against another person or persons with intent to harm, injure, or deprive him or them of some or all of his or their property or any other thing that may be under his or her or their custody. The various indicators of

crime are those found in the penal code of Kenya and they are:

- 1) Murder and allied offenses.
- 2) Manslaughter.
- 3) Robbery and allied offenses.
- 4) Rape and allied offenses.
- 5) Assaults and allied offenses.
- 6) Burglary.
- 7) Breaking and entering.
- 8) Thefts.

FREQUENCY:

Referred to as the number of times a specific or category of crimes occurs or tend to exist. It also reflects the number of times an individual or individuals experience a certain crime or category of crimes as a victim or criminal.

PROPERTY:

Referred to some tangible thing, an item, a commodity or material that may be owned,

possessed or be under temporary custody of a person or persons.

BURGLARY: In the act of entering a dwelling house at night or in the day time whether the owner is present or absent, whether the owner is aware or not and actually committing a felony.

ROBBERY: It is the illegal act of taking or grabbing another person's property by force.

PICKING POCKETS: The illegal act of stealing money or any other precious item from the pocket or pockets, bags, handbags of a person or persons when the victims are unaware.

ROBBERY WITH VIOLENCE: Referred to as unlawful taking of a persons or persons valuable property by force or threat of force (violence)

PROBABILTY:

Refers to the likelihood that an event or events will occur at one time or another.

EXTENT:

This refers to the degree, magnitude or intensity of an event.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2. INTRODUCTION

Sociologists who have been interested in the rate of violent crimes in the society and researched and written on the subject include B.Shaw (1957), M.Wolfgang (1969), M. Clinard (1957), R.Quinney (1970), E.Durkheim (1956).

As expected, when a large number of individuals research on a subject, they are bound to come up with different theories and ideas that try to explain the phenomena being studied.

B.Shaw (1957) views the problem of crime as greatly but not totally originating from an area he refers to as “delinquency”. He says it is a natural crime area of a city. These are areas like ghettos and china towns. (ghetto according to the Oxford dictionary is a part of city or town in which many people of a particular race, religion or nationality live in isolation from the majority group in the town or city. Slums are defined as an area of a city where the living conditions are very bad and where the conditions are very bad and where the houses are overcrowded). Within it’s confines delinquent or criminal behaviour is a norm of expectation among its inhabitants, they

(residents) develop a hostile attitude towards social agencies and the police and it comes to be a cultural enclave at odds with the rest of the city. The formal characteristics of the slums are physical deterioration of buildings and infrastructure, overcrowding, mobile population and proximity to the areas of industry and commerce.

At a strictly semantic level, delinquency areas ought to be the area where delinquent acts are committed. Shaw (1930) on the other hand considers delinquency areas to be the areas where the delinquents live. It is in fact necessary to distinguish between two types of delinquency areas. The area of crime commission and the areas of delinquency residence.

According to Wolfgang (1969) some criminal-cultures deserve to be called sub-cultures of violence. This is because they are members who see not just law breaking but assault and murder as fairly routine matters. The use of violence is viewed not as illicit but as necessary conduct and the users therefore do not have to deal with feelings of guilt about their aggression. Much criminal behavior is learned through example according to sociologist Edwin Sutherland (1955) in just about the same way other kinds of behavior are learnt by spending enough time at an early age in intimate contact with

experts. In this case, with people who break the law and believe in breaking it have had early and intense contact with people who are engaged in law breaking activities. But simple association with criminals is not enough to teach criminality. According to R. Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin(1960) an apprentice lawbreaker needs to meet the right people if he or she is going to get ahead unless he or she can form this relationships. The possibility of a stable protected criminal style of life is effectively precluded. According to Sutherland(1955), Negroes and urban dwellers and young adults all have comparatively high crime rate. The question asked is what do they have in common that results in this high crime rates? Research studies have shown that behaviour is associated with greater or less degree with the social and personal pathologies such as poverty, bad housing, slum residents, lack of recreational facilities, inadequate and demoralized families, feeble mindedness, and emotional instability and other traits and conditions.

Efforts to explain behaviour as a result of physiological traits of criminals have a long history since the 19th century. Serious attempts have been made to identify such traits. An Italian physician, Ceasare Lombroso (1875) conducted research on soldiers and inmates of Italian military prisons in order to show that the propensity of criminal behaviour was inborn and that

there are physical differences between criminals and law-abiding citizens. Criminals in his view were throwbacks to earlier versions of human species and were often distinguishable by their primitive head shapes, among other stigmatizing features. His research was harshly criticized for not recognizing that the Italian soldiers who were most likely to be involved in criminal activity came from a subset of Italian society in which such activity was acceptable while members of this subset or Sicilians frequently did possess physical features that distinguished them from other Italians. Critics observed that these physiological differences could not be accepted as a cause of crime since important cultural factors could also be responsible. Lombroso later altered his studies to include such factors. Lombroso's explanation was further discredited by research conducted in the early 20th century on English convicts. Charles Goring (1915) compared a group of convicts with a group of Cambridge University students and found no significant physical differences between the two groups. But Goring's research did reveal a high correlation between imprisonment of fathers and imprisonment of sons and a correlation between fathers and sons physical characteristics. Thus he concluded that criminality was inherited. Critics pointed out that Goring has no way of taking into account the full range of environmental influences that might have accounted for his findings.

Efforts to demonstrate physiological basis for crime continued. In the 1940's William Sheldon posted a relationship between body build, personality and delinquent behaviour. Sheldon classified people into three categories. Ectomorphs are thin and fragile with introverted personalities. Endomorphs are soft and fat with submissive personalities and Mesomorphs are muscular and tough with assertive personalities. Sheldon then examined two hundred American youths he claimed were delinquents. He found that sixty percent of them were mesomorphs. From this, he concluded that body build, which has hereditary basis, was connected with criminality. Sheldon was loudly criticized for weaknesses in his research and data. Common sense tells us that policemen, athletes and others with muscular built are not usually prone to crime.

More recently, research has focused on a possible relationship between genetics and criminality. In recent years researchers have claimed that an unusually high proportion of male inmates have an extra Y-Chromosome and that the presence of this extra Y-chromosome causes criminal behaviour. This theory has been highly controversial – especially since no one knows what proportion of non-inmates also possess this extra Y-Chromosome. Nor

does such an explanation help clarify the cause of female criminal behaviour.

Only one conclusion can be drawn about physiological explanations: we have no scientifically acceptable evidence that hereditary –either in terms of inherited bodily features or genetic characteristics plays a role in causing criminal behaviour. Physiological explanations are almost ludicrous when one recalls that self –report studies typically find that almost everyone admits to having committed a criminal act.

The far-reaching effects of the poorly ran and “raped” economy and public companies have devastating effects. Structural adjusted programs introduced by the World Bank and the IMF have emphasized on reduced government spending and the sale of government run co-operatives with harder financial times. Both the private sectors and the public sector had retrenchment programs, employment opportunity were then reduced. This was made even worse by a dismal economic growth rate with the private sector unable to generate new jobs and the public sector downsizing hence no jobs are available. In an article published in the economic review August 4th- 10th 1997 edition, J.H.Mwau writes on the salaries of the police force in Kenya.

He is of the opinion that is shared by many that the police officers are under-compensated.

2.1 CRIME IN GENERAL

Crime is rightfully claimed to be twin born with man if order was. Deviant traits in the society continue to be a permanent possibility of the past and the future. According to Akers (1985), people are first indoctrinated into deviant behavior by differential association with deviant peers. Then, through differential reinforcement, they learn how to reap rewards and avoid punishment by reference to the actual or anticipated consequences of given behaviors. These consequences are the social and nonsocial reinforcements that provide a support system for those with criminal careers or persistent criminality. Structural conditions affect a person's differential reinforcements. Criminal knowledge is gained through reflection over past experience. Potential offenders consider the outcomes of their past experiences, anticipate future rewards and punishments, and then decide which acts will be profitable and which ones will be dangerous. He states that criminal behavior is activated by discriminative cues (norms).

This theory has been tested fairly successfully on teenage deviance such as tobacco, drug, and alcohol use Akers et al. (1979). It tends to explain 50-60% of the differences between users and abstainers using measurement items like: perceptions of actual or anticipated praise or absence of praise; and the total good things felt from deviance minus the total bad things felt. Differential reinforcement theory tends to fit well with rational choice theory because they both explain the decision making process involved in developing the motivation, attitudes, and techniques necessary to commit crime. It can explain solitary offending (since learning is sometimes solitary). Like all learning theories, it claims to be a general theory of crime.

2.2 CRIME IN URBAN CENTRES

Generally, urban areas tend to signify a novel pattern of social economic activity and organization, which involves the alteration, modification of physical and social environment. Urban growth and development is a complex process which influences man's normal conduct and thought processes. The process of urban development posits a town as a concrete entity and an economic artifact, which generates factors that make it become more anonymous than non-urban areas or rural settings. This anonymity

implies less social control, which aggravated by the impact of size, density, heterogeneity of the population on the nature of the city, its culture, social fabric and economic structure. Just like any process of transformation change from pre-urban or non-urban living involves friction, which is translated into social, cultural and personal problems as argued by Mushanga (1988:6).

The changes in the social set up that occur in the urban areas provide another thing, that is, they act as a catalyst by increasing the tempo of friction between an individual's self-conception of life and the society. And in respect to this, the individual experience confusion in behavior since society's conception, which is a constant factor, demands that he changes accordingly.

Gibbons (1987:108), states that the confusion in the behavior of the concerned individuals and the requirement that they change, suggests that the transition from pre-urban, non-urban, traditional, or pre-scientific mentality to urban is not synchronized (normally called anomie or normlessness), that offers numerous opportunities for social problems in urban areas. Sometimes, though it is not only anomie which enhances social

problems but also cultural lag among certain individuals. In other words social problems are generated by those who are unable to cope with the pace of change.

Nairobi was chosen for the study because of the foregoing. We have seen that due to the various factors, social problems of any kind are more pronounced and prevalent in growing cities. Studies from all countries that keep statistics on social problems particularly crime acknowledge this fact. Theories of contrast help to affirm further the fact that growing cities tend to exhibit less stringent forms of social control, hence members of such communities can easily fall victims to temptations of crime.

Nairobi just like other growing towns cannot be exempted from the experience and ravages of social problems especially crimes. It would therefore not be entirely credible to suggest, assume or hold the fallacious notion that Nairobi is an island of tranquility, which has little or nothing to do with crime. Such a harsh judgment based purely on unempirical data should neither be appreciated nor entertained in the field of science and should be discounted forthwith. This study aims at avoiding falling a victim of such unscientific misconception to confirm or reject this particular

assumption or the report of Nairobi being among the most insecure cities in the world, and then one must avail empirically collected data on crime.

In order to understand social problems in cities such as Nairobi, sociologists have developed quite a number of themes for diagnosing, analyzing and treating these problems. Such theories include inter-alia Reisman's theory of contrast (1970:123), Redfield's Folk Urban continuum (1941) in Baldwin (1976:10), Tonnies, Gessellschaft and Gemmeinschaft (1887:33), Durkheim's Mechanical and Orgarnic Solidarity groups, (1893:297) Becker's Sacred and Secular Society (1950:248), Sorokin's Familistic and Contractual Relationships,(1941:40) and Parson's Pattern Variables,(1951:76) and Cooley's Primary and Secondary Groups (1909:23).

These theories altogether attribute different qualities in the two opposing poles and argue that it is these different qualities that are responsible for the differences in the social status of crime and crime rates in not only rural and urban areas but also in different social environments. For instance they may postulate that crime rates are higher in urban than rural areas because of weak social control systems, contractual (secondary) relationships.

2.3 CRIME AGAINST PROPERTY

Property offenses occur at a considerably higher scale in the society because there is always an ardent need and desire among individuals in the society to acquire what is socially and legally defined as belonging to another person. This desire is nurtured and developed by individuals because culture of the society emphasizes the importance of material wealth but provides very few legitimate means and opportunities for the acquisition of this material wealth and success. Thus those whose means and ways of achieving this material wealth and success are blocked and develop jealous tendencies for the property belonging to others and hence illegally strive to acquire them.

This view tends to derive support from Mushanga,(1976:5)who argues that the impact of abrupt social change with an emphasis on material acquisition without adequate provision for acquisition of non-delinquent social values has, in Africa led to a disproportionate rise in crime rate especially property crimes.

The greatest pressure for deviation therefore arises among members of the low socio-economic status. A status, where the level of education is very low to warrant such opportunities as employment Clinard (1957:23). These

may be the reasons as to why most studies indicate that more property than personal crimes are committed, particularly in urban areas where the opportunities are readily available. Everywhere and under all conditions, the urban population is more exposed to property and material acquisition, thus there is no need to over-emphasise the glaring fact.

Property crimes in brief are those crimes in which some economic harm is committed upon the victim.

2.4 ROBBERY AND ROBBERY WITH VIOLENCE.

In Kenya, this offense is seen in terms of two mutually exclusive offenses, that is robbery and robbery with violence. Because of the fact that this crime is seen in two ways, so are they accorded different punishments. The more serious of the two, robbery with violence is accorded a capital (death) punishment if the offender is proven guilty. (Penal code cap 63 section 296 (2))

2.5 BURGLARY AND HOUSE BREAKING.

This is a criminal act whereby an offender breaks into another person's dwelling house or buildings at night or during the day with the intent of committing a felony and actually commits a felony therein, namely, stealing.

The majority of offenders in this crime are obviously young males who may or may not be professionals.

Burglary and breaking are common offences in urban areas. This is because it is urban areas, which provide opportunities for such crimes. The crime may be committed during the day or night.

Over crimes such as this one, are normally rare among the middle and upper class members since this people are more likely to get involved in white-collar crimes Clinard (1957:22).

2.6 PETTY THEFT

Petty theft or larceny is the stealing of personal goods. There is petty larceny and grand larceny. Larceny is simply theft of petty goods and items. Grand larceny is theft of goods that are more expensive and that cost the victim a great deal of harm economically.

According to Advani (1978:69), it is an act, which violates the personal or social values attached to the private property, which has been defined as belonging to another individual.

In most cases, these acts involve forcible deprivation of a person of his or her property using unorthodox means and methods. Among the several types of larceny, there are also those that are committed upon intoxication or sleeping persons, Recklers (1973:93).

2.7 PICKING POCKETS

In so far as Advani (1978:70) is concerned, this crime can be committed by offenders who must have had specialized training in the art of picking pockets, prior to actually committing the crime. This kind of offence as it were, requires high level of skill, adeptness, courage and cunning speed in order to avoid apprehension which can be easy and speedy whereas administration of mob justice (or injustice) can be immediate and with adverse repercussions such as death to the offender.

Advani (1978:70), states that picking pockets is sometimes practiced in gang environment although most pickpockets prefer to operate individually. However, particularly in the earlier stages of it's offence an apprentice or newcomer has to learn the act within the gang environment, and as an apprentice learns and becomes a professional and adept, he starts operating

alone. But still the whole group maintains some amount of contact especially at the end of the day to take stock of their loot.

According to a study done by Advani in 1978 in Jaipur, India, there were two types of pick-pockets, that is those who were: -

- 1) Ardent: - Eager, zealous and specialized in putting their skills and techniques into the art of picking pockets.

- 2) Disardent: - Less specialized, less energetic and who lack enough courage to pick the pockets of relatively alert travelers in buses, trains, or trams. Thus they only pick the pockets of those who they find sleeping in over-crowded places such as railway platforms, bus stops, alleys and so on.

According to this study pickpockets tended to operate more often in buses, crowded bus stops, banks, buses, post-offices, railway platforms, busy street-ways and markets. The weapons pickpockets used were sharp blades

and other cutting instruments for piercing and tearing women's bags and pockets. They also carry with them any other relevant portable weapon.

Advani observed that picking pockets in particular and crimes in general were not only dominant but also abounded in urban areas.

2.8 URBAN-RURAL CRIME DIFFERENTIALS

Theories that contrast and compare rural and urban areas have been adopted by so many scholars and researchers in criminology to guide their studies and hence understand crime. Christiansen (1970:50), for instance, asserts that the most convenient and convincing way of studying crime problem is by contrasting and comparing crime rates in urban and rural areas. He acknowledges with few exceptions that statistical studies indicate that indeed the frequency of crime is higher in urban than rural areas. This point is also corroborated by Muga (1975:9).

Cressey (1964:61), accepts Sutherland's theory of differential association, in that it can adequately explain the epidemiological differences in rural and urban crime rates. This is because the rural setting according to this theory

has fewer available social and economic definitions favourable to law violations.

Cressey (1964:61) felt able to recognize that statistics from many countries and in many periods of time indicated this difference. He claims that the number of serious crimes per 100,000 populations increases with the size of the population a phenomenon, which is most likely to be observed in most urban areas.

According to Baldwin (1976:4) citing Wilks and Clinard, the uniform crime rates by Federal Bureau of Investigations reported in 1954 indicated that property crimes are more prevalent in urban areas and that crimes against the person are more predominant in rural than urban areas. A similar observation is made in Maclintock and Avison (1968:64-77) in a study in England. The preceding findings indicating that crimes against property are higher in urban than rural areas, may be explained, briefly by the fact that there are very few properties worth stealing in the rural areas as compared to the urban context where there are numerous opportunities for the commission of crimes against the person.

2.9 URBANIZATION, INDUSTRIALIZATION AND CRIME

Christiansen (1970:50) reckons that, albeit with a few exceptions, the larger the city the higher the rate of crime that may be expected. He believes that an analysis of the relationship between industrialization, urbanization, on the one hand, and the rate of crime on the other hand can perhaps shade some light on the factors contributing to the increase of crime. He maintains that an increase in urbanization and industrialization has been concomitant with increase in the long-term trend of crime and delinquency.

The reason as to why Christiansen (1970:50) adopts this argument is, probably, borrowed from the theories of contrasts. These theorists believe that urbanization tends to reduce the possibility of social control, but heightens anonymity and hence, generally assume that an urbanized man or woman can yield more easily to illegal temptations than does his rural counterpart.

2.10 THEORETICAL FRAME WORK

The purpose of this section is to discuss briefly the theoretical framework adopted in this study. A number of scholars such as, Quetelet (1796-1874), Bonger (1876), Marx (1880), Durkheim (1956), Montesquieu (1689-1755),

Sutherland (1970), Glasser (1956) just to mention but a few propounded reasons to explain crime occurrence, its patterns, trends, extent and prevalence.

From the foregoing literature it is evident that several lines of thought as well as schools of thought exist on the nature of crime. The central argument in theories on crime is that there are certain characteristics that lead to the increase or decrease of crime. Some of these theories, such as those propounded by Quetelet as well as others before and after him, argue that there are climatic conditions that lead to the occurrence of crime. Others such as Bonger (1876), Merton (1957), Durkheim (1956) and others argue that it is the social-economic conditions that lead to crime occurrence where as Sutherland (1970) and Glasser (1956) believe that it is psychological factors that determine crime occurrence among certain individuals.

Generally speaking, these theorists believe and agree that crime occurrence is a response to external stimuli. These external stimuli range from class division, areas of residence to such physical attributes as sex, age, weather, days of the month or years and so on.

Therefore even though these schools and lines of thought have generated a great deal of inter and intra-criticisms, this study has decided to adopt both sides of the arguments. That is to say that social-economic and political as well as physical attribute have a lot, to do with the rates and nature of crime.

This study will be guided by the principles of early socialist explanations of crimes, which were also an offshoot of Karl Marx's theories published in the 1880s and social learning theory of Albert Bandura (1973).

According to socialist arguments, exploitation of workers in capitalistic societies leads to endemic poverty and misery. In turn, these conditions produce a variety of criminalistic responses, including alcoholism prostitution and larceny. The systems of criminal justice prevailing in capitalistic societies protect the exploitative interests of the owner class. Thus, prevention of criminality demands social reorganization along socialist lines.

The most eminent contributor to socialist theories was Dutch sociologist Willem Bonger (1876-1940), who argued that the very nature of the

capitalist economic system encourages egoism – that is, the relatively unrestrained pursuit of self-interest. Egoism draws persons from all social ranks into criminality because their moral sensibilities are blunted. Those same individuals are motivated to engage in crime either because of the economic precariousness they experience or because of the economic self interests. Bonger anticipated a host of later sociological analyses of criminality in capitalistic societies, which implicated a variety of social and economic conditions in the genesis of criminality.

Socialists' views of crime have reappeared in dramatic form in the writings of contemporary radical – Marxist criminologists. These observers have advanced a number of claims paralleling those found in Bonger's, writings but often couched in hyperbole and phrased in polemical terms.

Studies of economic influences on crime have been numerous since Bonger's (1876) early works. In their summary of principal findings of such inquiries, Sutherland (1970) and Cressey (1969) noted that one frequent conclusion in that lower class groups have much higher crime rates than upper class groups. Many investigations have been conducted of samples of arrested, convicted or committed adult or juvenile offenders, all of them

show that working class groups are heavily over represented in the population of detected lawbreakers. Ecological studies of the distribution of crime and delinquency rates in cities have repeatedly pointed to the concentration of criminality in lower class neighborhoods. However, Sutherland and Cressey (1970) questioned the validity of the argument that law breaking is peculiarly in the lower class. Although certain juvenile and adult forms of crime, such as gang delinquency, do appear to be disproportionately the activity of working class individuals, the same is not true of all forms of crime. If statistics on white-collar crime and a variety of other forms of under reported criminality are examined, the socio economic picture of illegal conduct becomes quite different.

Studies of fluctuations in crime rates and the business cycle have also been numerous since the days of Bonger (1976). A variety of theoretical and methodological inadequacies have flawed these investigations; however taken as a whole, they appear to show that the rate of serious crime increases during times of depression, but that the general or total crime rate tends not to increase during those same periods of economic decline.

The social learning theory advanced by Albert Bandura (1973) believed that crime is learned through a process he referred to as behaviour modeling. He believed that individuals do not actually inherit violent tendencies, but they modeled them. Bandura (1976:204) argued that individuals, especially children, learn aggressive responses from observing others, either personally or through the media and environment. He stated that many individuals believed that aggression often produced reinforcements. These reinforcements can formulate into reduction of tension, gaining financial rewards, or gaining the praise of others, or building self-esteem, states Siegel (1992:171).

The general principal of social learning theory include the explanations that people can learn by observing the behaviour of others and the outcomes of those behaviours, that learning can occur without a change in behaviour, and that cognition plays a role in learning. This is in agreement with Miller and Dollard (1941:26-42), which argue that the social learning and imitation theory suggests that people obtain competencies and new modes of behaviour through response consequences.

Albert Bandura believed that aggression by family members was the most prominent source of behaviour modeling. He reports that children use the same aggressive tactics that their parents illustrate when dealing with others. Bandura (1976:206)

Bandura (1977:24) also refers to observational learning as imitation or modeling. The components that influence the observers' behaviour include: attention, retention, motor production and motivation.

Bandura (1976:207) explains further that environmental experiences are also an influence of social learning. Albert Bandura reported that individuals who live in high crime rates areas are more likely to act violently than those who dwell in low crime areas. This assumption is similar to Shaw and McKay's theory of social disorganization. They believed that a neighbourhood surrounded by culture, conflict, decay and insufficient social organizations was a major cause of criminality Bartollas (1990:145). To explain environmental experiences, Albert Bandura cited the media, films and television which today illustrate violence graphically. Violence in movies is often expressed as an acceptable behaviour especially for heroes who have never been punished. Since aggression is a prominent feature of many

shows, people who have a high degree of exposure to the media may exhibit a relatively high incidence of hostility themselves in imitation of the aggression they have witnessed Beskowitz (1962:247)

Today, many social learning theorists have indicated that crime is a product of learning the values and aggressive behaviour linked with criminality. Sutherland developed the differential association theory that suggests that individuals learn criminal behaviour while in their adolescents from family members and peers Sutherland (1939:25).

In deviant behaviour, a social learning approach, Akers believed individuals learned aggressive acts through operant conditioning, Akers (1977). In this process, the aggression was acquired through direct conditioning and modeling others actions. He believed that positive rewards and the avoidance of punishment reinforced crime.

Centerwall (1993:70-71) found out that adolescents that watched excessive amounts of television during their childhood became adult criminals.

In Durkheim's (1956) discussion of deviance and criminality, he departed fundamentally from the conventional path. While most criminologists treated crime as a pathological phenomenon and sought psychological causes in the mind of the criminal, Durkheim (1956) saw crime as normal in terms of its occurrence, and even as having positive social functions in terms of its consequences. Crime was normal in that no society could enforce total conformity to its injunctions, and if society could, it would be so repressive to leave no leeway for the social contributions of individuals. Deviance from the norms of society is necessary if society is to remain flexible and open to change and new adaptations he argues. Durkheim states that where crime exists, collective sentiments are sufficiently flexible to take on a new form, and crime sometimes helps to determine the form they will take. How many times, indeed, it is only an anticipation of future morality – a step toward what will be. But in addition to direct consequences of crime, Durkheim identified indirect functions that are no less important. A criminal act, Durkheim reassured, elicits negative sanctions in the community by arousing collective sentiments against the infringement of the norm. Hence it has the anticipation of strengthening normative consensus in the common web. "Crime brings together upright consciences and concentrates them" Durkheim argues.

Montesquieu (1689-1755) who was a French philosopher and author, in his tender age he carried out an experiment in the novel field of natural sciences, later he compiled the results and handed over to the Academy Bordeaux (a research institution). They revealed among other things, his interest in the effect of cold in contracting and heat in expanding animal tissues. Later on, these findings were determinant factors when he concluded that climatic conditions had profound influence on human beings hence upon their social institutions and behaviour patterns.

This study considers each school's arguments as good and contributing to the achievement of the study objectives. In other words the study believes that each one's contribution is vital for an effective understanding of the crime problem. In fact this study considers that the antagonistic arguments propounded by each respective scholar as necessary requisites for a proper description and expectation of crime. Each and every argument is deemed important no matter how little or controversial it is. Hence for this study everybody is important and a lot of what these scholars said has been realized.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3. RESEARCH SITE

The area of the study was Nairobi city. The choice of Nairobi as the site of the study was purposive and influenced by the need for and gap of knowledge that existed at the time of study. There had been records of escalating prevalence of crime against property. Similarly, Nairobi compared to other major towns in Kenya had the highest number of criminal cases. It also emerged that there was no study that had dealt with the subject in respect to the years 2002 and 2003.

Anecdotal information by the newspapers and the mass media in general indicated that crime was becoming a grave socio-economic problem in Nairobi and Kenya in general. There was need therefore to study the crime problem in this city as has been in other towns in the nation.

There is a general consensus among authoritative social scientists that social problems of any kind are more pronounced and prevalent in a growing city, which is situated by the development of small and large-scale industries.

Nairobi is in an area once frequented by the pastoral Masaai. Nairobi was founded in the late 1890s as a British railroad camp on the Mombasa to Uganda railroad. From 1899 to 1905 it served as a British provincial capital. In 1905 the city became the capital of the British East Africa protectorate (called Kenya Colony from 1920 to 1963). In 1963 Nairobi became the capital of independent Kenya and annexed neighboring areas for future growth.

The growth of a city is not only indicated by the development of industries but also by the inhabitant population. If the population increases then the city grows. Nairobi, for that matter, has experienced a tremendous increase in population of all walks of life. Thus, it is not only known to be a multi tribal but also a multi-racial city meaning therefore that it is socially, culturally and economically heterogeneous. This heterogeneity precludes homogeneity, compelling individuals to exhibit less stringent forms of social control. Hence they easily fall victims to temptations of crime.

Nairobi is not only an economically strategic Kenyan city but it is also important politically. Administratively, Nairobi is a provincial headquarter and doubles as the capital city of Kenya.

A look at the land use pattern shows that Nairobi is mainly composed of residential premises, manufacturing and industrial as well as commercial units, local shopping centers, an international airport, railway station, other communication systems and facilities, various social and welfare services plus administrative and official government buildings. Agricultural practice is fairly minimal and is confined to the rural parts of the town. Otherwise most of the parts of the city are predominantly industrial, commercial and residential in nature.

Nairobi is home to 7.5% of Kenya's population most of whom are male and aged between 19 and 37 years. Nationally, Nairobi has the lowest percentage of those aged below 15. Nairobi has a population density of 3079 ways above the national average of 52-people/km sq. The total population is 2,143,254.

Like most modern cities, Nairobi has crowded markets and trading areas, middle class suburbs, and spacious mansions for the rich and powerful. It also has vast overcrowded tenements and slums, exploitation and high unemployment.

Nairobi city has prominent warning signs, patrolling security, and high fences visibly underscore the economic disparity and crime concerns that characterize parts of Nairobi.

3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

For the purpose of answering pertinent questions about the objectives of this study, the researcher chose to use survey design. Gay (1996) describes survey as an attempt to collect data from members of a population to determine the current status of that population concerning a variable or more.

Qualitative and quantitative research methodologies were employed. We obtained a large body of data and performed statistical analysis in order to produce results that can be generalized to the target population. In the research, interviews, document analysis and questionnaires were used.

The research design also involved the use of data collection methods such as interviews and content analysis that resulted in quantification of data.

Since the population of the subject was big, the study narrowed down to sample survey. Contrary to census survey where data is received from all the members of the population, sample survey obtains data from a subject of the population, which is representative of the entire population. Survey was preferred because of the many advantages such as:

- Its appeal to generability within a particular parameter.
- Its economical and efficiency features drawn from its one short data collection strategy and its effectiveness in collecting descriptive data without being present at the site, of course it was very important to this study which used questionnaire to collect data.
- Its ready acceptance of statistical data analysis methods.

3.2 TARGET POPULATION

The target population for this study included police officers in Nairobi, victims of crimes against property and convicts of crimes against property. This population was purposively chosen since they had experienced crime in one way or another.

3.3 SAMPLING DESIGN

Due to the nature of the study the researcher opted to sample police Divisions. These are Langata, Kasarani, Industrial Area, Central, Kilimani, Gigiri and Buruburu. Therefore to determine the number of units (police divisions) and respondents that participated in the study, the researcher engaged into a procedural analysis of cases and computation of case sample sizes. In the first stage, the researcher determined the numbers of divisions (units) to be sampled for the study. Langata women's prison and Industrial area were selected purposively to represent both male and female convicts.

The study determined the number of sample (respondents) from those two units. The study used various statistical operations to compute them.

In the following stage, the researcher determined the number of sample for each division. The following table shows the population size.

Table 3.1: The population sample for Langata and Industrial area

	LANGATA	INDUSTRIAL AREA
Police	150	120
Convicts	200	500
Victims	8000	8000
TOTAL	8350	8620

The grand total was 16,970

Due to time and financial implications, the researcher opted to collect data from 200 respondents. The procedure of selecting a proportionate sample from both units was as follows;

Langata

$$\frac{8350}{16970} \times 200 = 98$$

Industrial area

$$\frac{8620}{16970} \times 200 = 102$$

Therefore the sample size for Langata was 98 subjects and Industrial area was 102 subjects.

After determining the proportional number of subjects for each police division as shown in the preceding paragraph, the next stage was to compute the number of subjects in each category of respondents in each unit. The categories included police, victims and convicts of crime against property. The computation was as follows;

Langata

Police

$$\frac{98}{8350} \times 150 = 2$$

Convicts

$$\frac{98}{8350} \times 200 = 2$$

Victims	<u>98</u>	X	8000 = 94
	8350		

Total = 98

Industrial Area Division

Police	<u>102</u>	X	120 = 2
	8620		

Convicts	<u>102</u>	X	500 = 6
	8620		

Victims	<u>102</u>	X	8000 = 94
	8620		

Total = 102

To ensure representativeness in stratified random sampling, male and female characters were given equal opportunity as illustrated below.

Table 3.2: The population sample for Langata

	Male	Female
Police	108	42
Convicts	-	200
victims	3000	5000

To determine the male and female characters proportionately in Langata Division, the following method was used.

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{Police} \quad 42 \\ \hline 150 \end{array} \times 2 = 0.56 = 1 \text{ female}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 108 \\ \hline 150 \end{array} \times 2 = 1.44 = 1 \text{ male}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{Victims} \quad 3000 \\ \hline 5000 \end{array} \times 94 = 35 \text{ males}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 3000 \\ \hline 5000 \end{array} \times 94 = 59 \text{ females}$$

For the convicts in Langata two female (convicts) respondents were selected.

Table 3.3: The population sample for Industrial area Division

	Male	Female
Police	71	49
Convicts	500	-
Victims	3020	4980

$$\text{Police } \frac{71}{120} \times 2 = 1 \text{ male}$$

$$\frac{49}{120} \times 2 = 1 \text{ female}$$

$$\text{Victims } \frac{3020}{8000} \times 94 = 35 \text{ males}$$

$$\frac{4980}{8000} \times 94 = 59 \text{ females}$$

For industrial area 6 male (convicts) respondents were selected.

3.4 DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS

Three types of research instruments were used namely; questionnaires, interviews and documentary sources.

Questionnaires were administered by the researcher. The questionnaires consisted of both open and closed ended questions. The questionnaires had two parts and were given to professionals and residents of Nairobi city by the researcher. Those who participated were assured of confidentiality of the information given.

As for the residents who did not understand English language, the questionnaires were translated into either mother tongue or the national language. (Kiswahili).

Part one of the questionnaire requested demographic information. The participants provided their age, sex, religion and occupation.

Part two tapped on the knowledge of the participants concerning crimes against property, their comments and recommendations.

An interview guide was used to assist in more fully understanding the causes of prevalence of crimes against property in Nairobi, help gain access to cases and facts about crimes against property, their prevalence in different periods

of the year and causes. The interviews were scheduled at a time and place, which was most convenient for the participant. Interviews provided both quantitative and qualitative data. Information from police departments and other organizations was used to provide secondary information.

Part B consisted of the interview guide and documented reports that provided relevant data.

3.5 DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURE

This was carried out in two parts. Part A consisted of questionnaire that provided quantitative information of the prevalence of crimes against property in the different trimester periods of the year in the year 2002 – 2003 in Nairobi.

Part B consisted of interview schedule and documented reports which provided both qualitative and quantitative information.

3.6 DATA ANALYSIS PROCEDURE

Both quantitative and qualitative data collected was analysed using statistical package for social sciences (SPSS). The data was classified, coded,

transcribed and analysed. The data was summarized using descriptive statistics; frequencies and percentages were presented using the same provision of frequency and percentages, tables and graphs.

In the process of counting, frequenting, percenting and tabulating the data, the researchers used the computer to arrive at means, medians, standard deviations and errors. Subsequently these statistical tools were translated into descriptive data for easier and faster understanding.

Primary data presentation was mainly and deliberately descriptive. Otherwise explanatory variables were alluded when and where necessary.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

4. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the researcher presents and discusses the findings of the study. The statistical package for social science, (SPSS) program was applied in feeding the raw data into the computer, the computer was able to process and generate analyzed data in terms of percentages, tables and transformation of the various variables used in the study, rates, as well as cross-tabulating the variables.

In the process of counting, using frequencies, percentages and tabulating the data, the researcher also used the computer to calculate the means and medians. Subsequently these statistical tools were translated into descriptive data for easier, faster understanding and analysis.

This examination does not in any way mean that Nairobi as such is (or was) leading in these categories of crime but rather the objective was to dispel (or confirm), rumours, (or unscientific allegations) by the official government records that crime occurrence is actually low in the city of Nairobi throughout the year.

Indeed, several studies have time and again revealed that crime as a social problem has been aggravated by several social factors. These include; the nucleation (or atomization), of the family, the social effects of the growth (and enlargement) of the city and the approval by the society of the self-seeking, (individualistic) ideals and accumulation of material wealth. Besides being just social factors, the factors pointed out here are also a consequence of either economic development or decay which in turn creates criminogenic environment and, indeed, these factors have been aptly taken care of in this study. The researcher chose to first analyze and discuss primary data followed by secondary data.

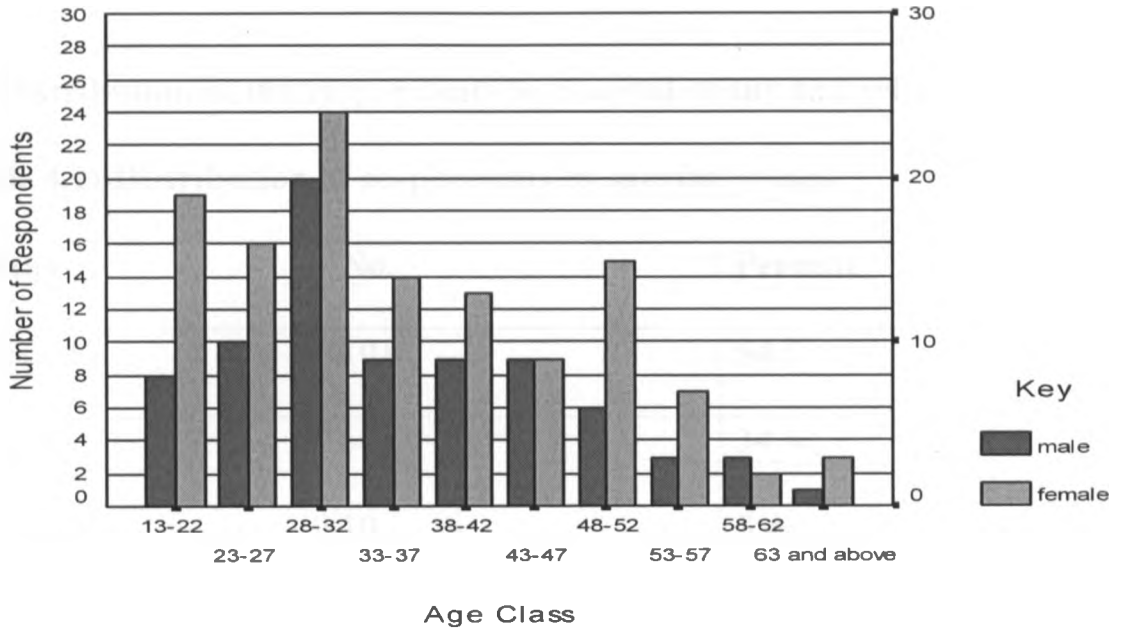
4.1 DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION ABOUT THE RESPONDENTS

(a) DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY SEX.

The figure that follows shows clearly how the respondents were distributed according to their sex. According to figure 4.1, one hundred and eighty eight (188) respondents responded to the mail questionnaire, whereas twelve (12) respondents answered the structured interview. The respondents were distributed as follows; Eight convicts (8) of whom two (2) were females and six (6) were male, four (4) police officers out of which two (2) were females and two (2) males, whereas the victims respondents were one hundred and

eighty eight (188) of whom seventy (70) were males and one hundred and eighteen (118) were females.

Graph 4.1 Distributions of respondents by age.



The study established that respondents categorized by age were distributed across the ages, which is from 13 to 62. Thus, from figure 4.1, the researcher established that the age class of 28 – 32 had the highest number of respondents where forty four (44) respondents represented the cohort. The subsequent age cohort were 13-22 and 23-27, which were represented by twenty seven (27) and twenty six (26) respondents respectively. Twenty

three (23) respondents represented the age group of 33-37, twenty two (22) respondents represented the age group of 38-42. The age cohort of 48-52, 43-47, 53-57, 58-62, and 63 and above were each represented by twenty one (21), eighteen (18) ten (10), five (5) and four (4) respondents respectively.

(b) Distribution of the respondents by marital status and religion.

Table 4.2: Distribution of respondents by marital status

Status	No.	Percent
Married	101	54.3
Single	64	34.4
Divorced	10	5.4
Widowed	11	5.9
Total	186	100.0

The data on the marital status of the respondents shows that thirty four percent (34.4%) were single while fifty four percent (54.3%) were married. The study also showed that five percent of the respondents (5.4%) had divorced while (5.9%) were widowed respondents.

Table 4.3: Distribution of respondents by religion.

Religion	No	%
Christianity	131	70.8
Muslim	24	12.9
Other religion	30	16.3
Total	185	100.0

According to the study the majority of the respondents professed Christianity. Over seventy percent (70.8%) respondents were Christians while over twelve percent (12.9%) respondents represented Muslims and over sixteen percent (16.3%) respondents represented other religions.

(c) Distribution of the respondents by level of education.

Table 4.4: Distribution of respondents by level of education.

Level of education	No.	%
14 years and above	65	32.5
12 years	74	37
8 years and below	61	30.5
Total	200	100.0

According to the data available it was evident that the majority of respondents had attained some level of education. In fact, a majority of respondents had been to school for several years. Evidently, thirty two and a half percent (32.5%) had been to school for 14 years, thirty seven percent (37%) respondents had been to school for 12 years, meaning that they had attained tertiary level of education. Thirty and a half (30.5%) respondents had been to school for eight years.

(d) Duration of stay of respondents in Nairobi.

Table 4.5: Duration of stay in Nairobi by the respondents.

Duration Number of years	Frequency	Percent
1-5	50	25.0
6-10	59	29.0
11-15	16	8.0
16-20	22	11.0
21-25	24	12.0
26-30	14	7.0
31+	15	7.5
Total	200	100.0

Looking at the duration of stay of respondents in Nairobi city is fitting because, since this study is concerned with the occurrence of crime within a time span of two years, it was both prudent and necessary to find out how long the respondents had stayed in Nairobi prior to the interview. This point was considered important because those who had stayed longer (say 4 years or more), had a better understanding of the nature of crime, its commission and possible causes.

The respondents were basically people who had lived in Nairobi for as little as one year and as long as fifty (50) years or more, the majority of the respondents (29%) stayed in Nairobi for between 6-10 years. The category of respondents who had lived longest in Nairobi was of between 26-30 years which was represented by seven percent (7.0%).

Indeed it was found that those who had stayed longer, i.e. more than four years, accounted for more than 50 percent of the respondents. Table 4.5 gives in a nut-shell, the frequency of respondents in terms of duration of stay in Nairobi.

(e) The date when crime was committed.

Table 4.6: The date when crime was committed as reflected by respondents.

Date	Number	Percent	Valid percentage
2-8	7	3.5	12.3
9-13	8	4.0	14.0
14-17	6	3.0	10.5
18-23	9	4.5	16.0
24-27	15	7.5	26.3
28-31	12	6.0	21.0
Cannot tell	143	71.5	-
Total	200	100.0	100.0

In so far as the date when crime was committed is concerned, the study revealed that most crimes occurred between 24th and 31st day of the month. The dates collectively accounted for 47.3% of the crime reported out of the 57 respondents who could remember the exact date

the crime was committed. About 36.8% said that the crime was committed upon them between 2nd and the 17th day of the month.

What emerges from this study is that the majority of the crimes tend to occur around the date when the people have money. In other words, many companies, industries, institutions in urban centre pay wages after every fortnight, or in the middle of the month or monthly salaries. There seems to be a correlation between the date of the month when there is money and increase of criminal activities. It is at this time of the month that there is a lot of mobility by the city residents hence providing opportunity to the criminals. This is particularly so for such crimes as robberies, house breakings and picking pockets which mainly occur between the 18th and 31st day of the month.

(f) Types of weapons used in commission of crimes.

TABLE 4.7: The type of weapons used in committing crimes as reflected by the victims

Weapon	No	%	Valid%
Simi	2	1.0	20.5
Metal Rod	16	8.0	13.1
Knives or any other sharp instrument	34	17.0	28.0
Fist cuffs	28	14.0	23.0
Pistol	3	1.5	2.5
Guns	25	12.5	1.0
Clubs	5	2.5	4.1
Hose pipes	1	0.5	0.8
Wooden stick	1	0.5	0.8
Other weapons	7	3.5	5.7
No weapon used	78	39.0	-
Total	200	100.0	100.0

There are varied weapons which are commonly used in crime commission in different countries. For instance, firearms are frequently used in America. Swords, bayonets, and so on are frequently used in China and the Far East

and in Kenya such weapons as 'simi' are commonly used. The reason for this preference is that such weapons can be easily acquired in these regions or within such specific countries.

In all the occasions of being attacked, the victims confess that their attackers were armed with guns, simi, metal rods, human feaces, bottles or swords. Twenty five (25) respondents (12.5%) reported having been attacked by criminals armed with guns. The respondents who reported having been attacked with simis were represented by over twenty percent (20.5%) respondents while those attacked with metal rods were represented by over thirteen percent (13.1%) of the respondents.

Indeed the foregoing observations were noted in this study. Knives, guns, pistols, and 'simi' were the most frequently used weapons. This was expressed by fifty two percent (52%) of the respondents. This implies that crime in Nairobi is getting so sophisticated as to require the use of such rare, expensive and dangerous weapons.

A more detailed analysis of this data was aimed at discerning what kind of weapons were used as frequently as possible and for which particular crime.

Thus, it was found that guns and pistols were mostly used in robberies and burglaries. This finding is not surprising because these are the kind of weapons that can easily be put into use for such crimes with effective results. These weapons can be carried by the criminals without being easily noticed by their victims and law enforcement officers.

4.2 The relationship between the victims and the criminal

Table 4.8 : The ability of respondents to recognize the criminals.

Recognition	No	Percent
Could recognize the criminal	116	61.5
Could not recognize the criminal	72	38.5
Total	188	100.0

It was found as reflected by table 4.8 that there were certain crime situations where the victims and the criminals had some prior interaction or knowledge of one another. There were also some crime situations in which both the criminals and the victims were complete strangers to one another. Going by

these observations, this study also looked at how this was true in so far as Nairobi was concerned. To find out this, the victims were asked to answer whether or not they recognized the criminals. This was because it was only through recognition that the victims could identify the criminal thus, 61.5% of the victims said that they had recognized the criminal whereas that only 38.5 percent did not recognize the criminals.

It emerges however that the majority of offenders in this crime are obviously young males who may or may not be professionals. Most often than not, the offender does not know the victim or the owner of the dwelling house into which he breaks. Burglars, tend to avoid as much contact as possible with the victim so as to reduce chances of apprehension.

Most homogeneous communities in certain parts of the urban centre, that is, rural enclaves in urban areas, are likely to experience property crimes from criminals they know.

4.3 Characteristics of the criminals as reflected by respondents.

Sex

Table 4.9: Identification of criminals by the respondents

Sex	No.	Percent
Female	116	58
Male	84	42
Total	200	100.0

Out of those victims who were able to recognize the criminals, 58% could discern the criminals as male and 42% could discern the criminals as females. This means that there were generally more males than female criminals. These findings are supported by Mushanga (1976:65) in his study of patterns of crime commission with regards to sex in Uganda. Mushanga (1976:65) states that for example in a sample of 569 criminal homicide offenders, 506 or 88.8% were men. Mushanga (1976:130) further states that women do not participate in robberies because of lack of self-conception. Women are regarded, (as they do themselves) as weak; and since robbery requires strength in the use of force, they are excluded. But Mushanga(1976) agrees that very infrequently a woman may be involved in the crime of

robbery in the company of men or more often she may be charged as an accomplice before or after the fact.

Compared to Mushanga's (1976) findings on the percentage of females involved in criminal activities, the findings in this study are way above his mark by thirty percent (30%). This was attributed to the fact that women have always been regarded as weak hence cannot effectively undertake in criminal activities by the respondents. It further emerges that the females who engage in criminal activities operate in gangs dominated by males.

Age

Table 5.0: The approximate age of criminals as estimated by the victims

Approximate age	Number	Percent	Valid percent
Below 17	4	2.0	8.0
18-22	18	9.0	35.0 ✓
23-27	14	7.0	27.0
28-32	7	3.5	13.5
33-37	2	1.0	4.0
38-42	4	2.0	8.0
42-47	1	0.5	2.0
48-52	2	1.0	4.0
53+	0	0	0
Could not tell	148	74.5	0
Total	200	100.0	100.0

The victims were required to estimate the age of the offender they were able to recognize. Table 5.0 indicates clearly that the majority, which is 61.5%, were aged between 18-27 years. It also shows that very few criminals were aged 17 years and below and 43 years and above.

What emerges, therefore is that most property crimes are committed by relatively young and able bodied people and that the completely young (below 17 years) and completely old (above 50 years) are rarely, (if any) found to be offenders. This perhaps is due to the insufficient strength and courage exhibited by these categories of people.

The involvement of the youth in crime is attributed to the migration from the rural to urban areas especially those between age 15 and 24 and the in-ability of the parents to care for the youth due to low income, unstable employment, little or no education and living in a subculture that has grievance against society and the police as argued by Mushanga (1976:13)

Clinard (1973:84) concurs with the above findings and states that young males commit most of the crimes throughout the world, and the population of the less developed countries consists primarily of the young. As a country

outgrows its traditionalism and responds to outside influences and forces inherent in modernism, industrialization and urban population concentration, its youth are particularly affected. He states that in African countries south of the Sahara 40% of the total population are under 15 years of age and more than 60% are under 21.

Abbott (1973) states that the urban populations of less developed countries are even younger in composition than the national population, for it is the young who migrate to cities. He further argues that in many cities of Africa few old persons are to be seen; one must go to the villages to see them.

Table 5.1: Residential Area and Crimes

Area	No.	Percent
Slums	140	80
Suburban	21	12
Posh residential areas	15	8
Total	176	100.0

The most important social factor to study was the residence of the criminals. It would suffice to know the homes (or estates) where criminals hail from in

order to appreciate the fact that certain estates or geographic areas have a tendency of producing more criminals than others and therefore need more police attention and vigilance. Hence, in pursuit of fulfilling this requirement the victims identified the residential areas they believed (or through experience) had produced more property criminals. Eighty percent 80% said that most criminals were concentrated in the slums within the city. Here since there are numerous estates, they pointed out that Mukuru, kibera, kuwinda slums among others produced more criminals. Note that these slums experience acute social and economic disorganization.

Clinard (1973:172) states that criminality begins with need and that it can be reduced to the extent that the causes related to underdevelopment can be successfully attacked and the educational and technical levels of the country raised. Crimes are committed by those who cannot afford the simple needs and amenities of life; the basic cause of crime, from an economic point of view is low income and inadequate capital formation. Social inequality and poverty and social disintegration are the main explanations to the slums being seen as the main industry of property criminals.

Police records, victims of crimes against property and prison records indicated that the majority of these criminals were black Africans. Most of these black indigenous were members of ethnic groups from up country.

Table 5.2: Reported ethnic affiliation of criminals.

Tribe	2002		2003	
	No.	%	No.	%
Kamba	8	4	12	6
Kikuyu	92	46	98	49
Luhya	38	19	32	16
Luo	45	22.5	37	18.5
Maasai	2	1	1	0.5
Kisii	15	7.5	20	10
Total	200	100.0	200	100

Table 5.2 presents the ethnic affiliation of criminals as reported by the respondents. According to the respondents, the majority of the criminals were Kikuyu who were identified by forty seven percent 47% of the respondents. Note that the Kikuyu are the majority indigenous up country

tribe residing in Nairobi. They are also numerically superior in Nairobi than any other up country ethnic group because their rural homes are in close proximity to the city. In fact some parts of Kikuyu land borders Nairobi city. The Kikuyu were followed in representation by the Luo who were identified by over twenty percent 20% of the respondents and the Luhya 15.5% respectively. The Kikuyu are known to have been introduced to the cash economy much earlier than the other Kenyan ethnic groups during the colonial period. Stereotypes that the Kikuyu's are born thieves also contributed to the above percentage.

4.4 Causes of crime prevalence in Nairobi

Table 5.3: The reasons for the increase of crime as reflected by the victims.

Reasons	No.	%	Valid %
Unemployment.	75	37.5	43.9
Population increase.	18	9.0	10.5
An ineffective police force.	34	17.0	19.9
Indiscipline and immorality among the members of the society.	7	3.5	4.1
Corruption within police force.	9	4.5	5.3
Poverty	21	10.5	12.3
Offenders are neither adequately nor heavily punished	2	1.0	1.2
Do not why crime is increasing	5	2.5	2.9
Not applicable.	29	14.5	
Total	200	100.0	100.00

The respondents observed that property crimes could be attributed to many factors. Over forty three percent 43% respondents mentioned unemployment as a factor, whereas over ten percent 10.5% respondents each mentioned

population growth and rural-urban migration. Over twelve percent 12.3% of the respondents attributed crime increase to poverty.

The greatest pressure for deviation arises among members of the low socio-economic status. A status where the level of education is very low to warrant such opportunities as employment Clinard (1957:23). Property crimes are rampant particularly in urban areas where the opportunities are readily available. Everywhere and under all conditions the urban population is more exposed to property and material acquisition, thus there is no need to over emphasize this glaring fact

4.5 Prevalence of crime against property.

As pointed out elsewhere in this chapter the study objective was to establish the extent of prevalence of crime against property in the different trimester periods of the years 2002 and 2003 in Nairobi.

Property crimes occur at a considerable higher scale in the society because there is always an ardent need and desire among individuals in the society to acquire what is socially and legally defined as belonging to another person. This desire is nurtured and developed by individuals because culture of the

society emphasizes the importance of material wealth but provides very few legitimate means and opportunities for the acquisition of this material wealth and success. Thus, those whose means and ways of achieving this material wealth and success are blocked develop jealous tendencies for the property belonging to others who happen to be successful and wealthy, and they, lust for these belongings and hence illegally strive to acquire them.

The above view tends to derive support from Mushanga (1976), who argues that the impact of abrupt social change with an emphasis on material acquisition without adequate provision for acquisition of non-delinquent social values, has in Africa led to a disproportionate rise in crime rate especially property crimes.

Table 5.4: Crime data for the year 2002/2003 for Nairobi

Offences	Year	Jan	Feb.	Mar	April	May	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total	Means	Jfm	Jas	
Robbery	2002	286	218	247	250	275	238	264	253	266	305	305	304	3211	267.6	751	783	9
Breaking	2002	166	107	110	197	118	106	109	112	111	105	128	124	1493	124.4	383	332	3
Stock theft	2002	4	5	15	0	1	3	1	1	0	1	2	0	33	2.75	24.0	2.00	
General burglary	2002	188	142	136	113	167	170	144	167	153	144	158	164	1846	153.8	466	464	4
Theft of motor vehicles	2002	65	37	70	36	70	48	58	62	70	48	70	60	694	57.83	172	190	1
Theft of mv parts	2002	21	12	16	10	9	13	14	15	18	11	29	11	179	14.92	49.0	47.0	5
Theft from mv	2002	15	14	11	5	9	10	14	14	15	12	9	13	141	11.75	40.0	43.0	3
Theft of bike	2002	2	4	4	1	4	2	0	0	3	0	0	1	21	1.75	10.0	3.00	1
Theft by servant	2002	51	41	41	56	59	44	52	54	38	54	54	47	591	49.25	133	144	1
Other offences	2002	31	13	24	13	15	14	17	16	18	9	9	15	194	16.17	68.0	51.0	3
Robbery	2003	318	321	328	320	345	279	310	270	232	245	266	291	3525	293.8	967	812	8
Breaking	2003	123	106	93	89	95	103	119	87	105	96	87	118	1221	101.8	322	311	3
Stock theft	2003	4	1	6	1	4	2	0	0	2	0	2	8	30	2.50	11.0	2.00	1
General burglary	2003	189	213	203	116	211	176	208	186	154	197	237	190	2280	190.0	605	548	
Theft of mv	2003	74	42	47	56	59	45	53	40	28	43	37	39	563	46.92	163	121	
Theft of mv parts	2003	22	12	25	21	22	10	15	9	11	15	18	21	201	16.75	59.0	35.0	5
Theft from mv	2003	13	5	6	7	7	12	5	2	9	6	7	12	91	7.58	24.0	16.0	
Theft of bike	2003	1	6	4	5	2	4	2	2	6	2	29	4	67	5.58	11.0	10.0	3
Theft by servant	2003	63	47	54	62	48	46	63	66	51	55	59	65	679	56.58	164	180	
Other offences	2003	25	19	9	18	9	21	13	10	11	23	13	19	190	15.83	53.0	34.0	

The above table 5.4 presents the data on crime collected from the field. The data indicates that the last trimester of the year had the highest crimes against property. Fifty six percent 56% of the two hundred (200) respondents attributed this to the Christmas festivities, where most homes,

institutions and businesses are left un-attended, providing opportunity for criminals and the poor who equally want to celebrate during this period to steal.

Robbery recorded the highest mean of 267.6 (38.2%) compared with other property crimes like house breaking which recorded (17.8%), general stealing (22.0%) and theft of motor vehicles (8.3%) among others. This was attributed to the poverty levels in the city, poor urban planning, social effects of the growth and enlargement of the city and the approval by the society of the self-seeking, individualistic ideals and accumulation of material wealth by the respondents. Bicycle and theft of stock recorded the lowest rates of 1.75 and 2.75 respectively. This was attributed to the fact that most residents of Nairobi do not keep animals and bicycles.

Table 5.5: Places most crimes occurred as reported by the respondents

Place	No.	Percent
In the houses	52	27.7
Along streets	72	38.3
In bars	30	15.9
Open fields	34	18.1
Totals	188	100.0

Most of the respondents who were victims met their fate either along the streets, in the houses, bars or bushes. Over thirty eight percent (38.3%) respondents were attacked along the streets, over twenty seven percent (27.7%) respondents were attacked in the houses, over fifteen percent (15.9%) respondents were attacked in the beer bars, while over eighteen percent (18.1%) respondents were attacked in the open and un-developed fields in many estates in Nairobi. In fact all the male convicts, eight (8) who were part of this study as respondents maintained that they were defending themselves from the criminals who had attacked them in either of the above mentioned places when they were arrested.

TABLE 5.6 (a): Recorded rates of criminal statistics for the year

2002/2003

OFFENCE	2002					2003				
	TOTAL	AVERAGE	JFMA total	MJJA	SOND	TOTAL	AVERAGE	JFMA	MJJA	SOND
Robbery	3211 38.2%	267.58	1001	1030	1180	3525 39.8%	293.75	1287	1204	1034
Breakings	1493 17.8%	124.42	580	445	468	1221 13.8%	101.75	411	404	406
General stealing	1846 22.0%	153.83	24	6	3.00	2280 25.8%	190.00	12	6	12
Theft of motor vehicles	694 8.3%	57.83	579	648	619	565 6.4%	46.92	721	781	778
Stock theft	33 0.4%	2.75	208	238	248	30 0.3%	2.50	219	197	147
Theft of motor vehicle parts	179 2.1%	14.92	59	51	69.0	201 2.2%	16.75	80	56	65
Theft	141 1.7%	11.72	45	47	49.0	91 1.1%	7.58	31	28	34
Theft of bicycles	21 0.2%	1.75	11	6	4.00	67 0.8%	5.58	16	10	41
Theft by servants	591 7.0%	49.25	189	209	193	679 7.7%	56.58	226	223	230
Other offences against property	194 2.3%	16.17	81	62	51.0	190 2.1%	15.83	71	53	66
TOTAL	8403 100.0 %	840.3	2777 (33.1%)	2742 (32.6%)	2884 (34.3%)	8849 100.0%	884.9	3074 (34.7%)	2962 (33.5%)	2813 (31.8%)

Graph 5.6 (b): Rates of property crimes statistics for the year 2002/2003

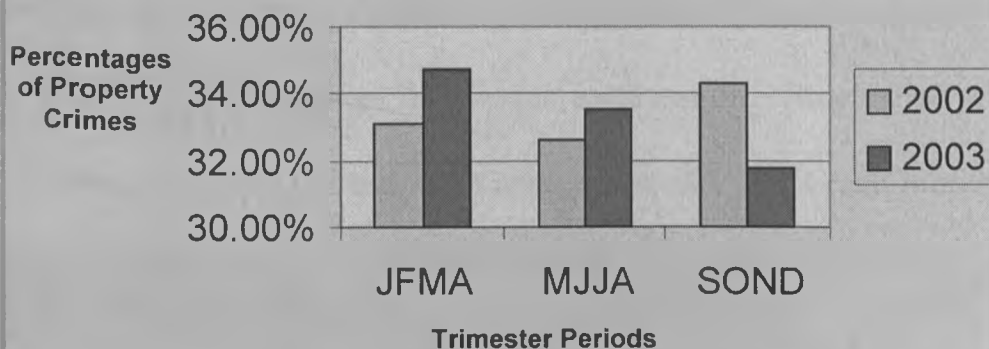


Table 5.6 (a) and 5.6 (b) above show the findings from the analysis of the years 2002/2003 crime statistics in Nairobi.

In the year 2002 alone, the total number of reported robbery and allied offences were 3211, with a mean of 268 cases per month. This was the highest record of all the offences against property this year. General stealing which had 1846 reported cases with an average of 154 cases each month followed. There was a record of 1493 with an average of 124 cases of house breaking in the year 2002. The same year recorded a total of 591 cases of theft of property by servants with an average of 49 cases each month. Offences against property were reportedly committed 194 times, with an average that stood at 17 times each month. Theft of motor vehicles parts, theft of motor vehicles and theft of bicycles followed in same order. Theft of motor vehicle recorded a total of 179 cases with an average of 15 cases each month. Theft from motor vehicles recorded a total of 141 cases with an average of 12 cases each month while thefts of bicycles recorded a total of 21 cases with an average of 2 cases each month. Stock theft on the other hand had recorded 33 cases with an average of 3 cases each month.

The year 2003 had recorded crime statistics in the same order; although there was an increase of four hundred and forty five cases (445) of property crimes. In half the cases, there was an increase in the number of crimes in the year, while half other cases recorded a slight reduction. More specifically, robbery recorded an increase of three hundred fourteen cases in the year 2003; however breakings and theft of motor vehicles declined by two hundred and seventy two (272) and one hundred and twenty nine (129) cases respectively. Notably general thefts increased by four hundred and thirty four cases (434) in the year 2003. 3525 cases of robberies with an average of 294 cases each month were reported; respondents reported a total of 2280 cases of breakings with an average of 190 cases each month. Theft by servants was reported by the respondents to total 679 cases with an average of 57 cases each month. Theft of motor vehicle parts was equally reported by the respondents to total 201 cases with an average of 17 cases each month and with theft of bicycles, respondents reported 67 cases with an average of 6 cases each month. Stock theft recorded a very slight reduction of three (3) cases but still stood at an average of 3 cases each month with a total of 30 cases in the whole year as reported by the respondents.

In the year 2002 the last trimester period of the year, September, October, November and December (sond) reported the highest percentage of crime 34.3% compared to 33.1% for January, February, March and April (jfma) and 32.6% for May, June, July and August (mjja).

The last trimester of the year was reported by the respondents to have had the highest crime rate in the year 2002 mainly because of the general elections and the unpredictable political atmosphere at the time. The political atmosphere that was pro-change gave room to lawlessness and properties were damaged by politically-motivated lawless and outlawed groups like the Mungiki, Jeshi la mzee and Kamjesh.

According to 57% of the respondents the last trimester was associated with high crime rate. The respondents argued that it is during this period that families travel to the rural areas to celebrate Christmas and the New Year. Most of these families leave their houses un-attended providing opportunities for criminals and the poor who are equally looking for financial resources to celebrate the New Year and Christmas. Clinard (1973:188) argues that opportunity stresses access to illegitimate means, and it is this aspect that may represent the key, rather than the blocking of

economic and educational opportunities, to an understanding of criminality in less developed countries. The heterogeneity, complexity, asymmetry, anonymity, impersonality, and individuality of urban life create situations not only for young migrants but for those in positions of economic and political power in regard to motivations, opportunities, rationalizations, and lack of effective legal controls to support the breaking of formal laws. The illegitimate opportunity structures for particular offenses in each class determine the form of deviance. It was also stated that most of the law enforcement officers tend to join the festivities at this period of the year at the expense of preventing crime commission.

The year 2003 had a different pattern and rate of crime occurrence. The highest crimes were recorded in the first semester (jfma) with 34.7% followed by (mjja) with 33.5% and 31.8% for (sond). Respondents gave various reasons to this prevalence: Forty three (43%) of the respondents attributed unemployment, over nineteen percent (19.9%) of the attributed it to an ineffective police force. Over one percent (1.2%) of the respondents indicated that this was all due to the fact that offenders are neither adequately nor heavily punished.

The question one would be interested in asking here is 'why is it that more crimes were committed in the months of April, March and December'? There may not be anything spectacular about this but such a question may perhaps be answered best by the fact that many domestic holiday makers converge into Nairobi within these months specifically April and December.

In April for example, most families from up-country take their folks to the city, this is because unlike August (another school holiday month), April is usually not a busy month, whereas in August most pupils and students engage in revision in preparation for mock examinations (or other important mid year examinations). December on the other hand is usually a festive and merry making month for virtually everybody regardless of one's religious affiliation. It is within these months that the people are relaxed and tend to lose guard, which, in turn, makes the month an opportune moment for crime commission.

The month of March and to a lesser extent July, one would be tempted to argue that they are the months when people are in preparation mood prior to the holidays hence a lot of movements that are likely to provide opportunities for property crimes.

CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this chapter, the researcher presents the summary of the findings, conclusion and recommendations.

5. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The purpose of this study was to look at the prevalence of crimes against property and their causes in the different trimester periods of the year 2002-2003 in Nairobi. Emphasis has been placed on several factors attributed to criminals and victims.

The study found out that the most important factors are those that exert direct influence on the social behaviour of individuals in a society. Indeed, the findings revealed that man is not born a criminal, (as was Lombroso's custom to say), but is made one by the community or society in which he or she lives. Therefore to understand properly the crime phenomenon one has to seek to know and adequately understand those factors signified by the patterns or characteristics in a society that are likely to be associated with crime.

The rate of crime against property was found to be high in this study and more so robbery and robbery with violence. This can be seen as having been

influenced by the fact that society in general emphasizes economic success as the ultimate goal of each and every individual. In fact, poverty is seen in some quarters as a 'crime'. This emphasis on economic success or acquisition of material wealth means that anyone who describes himself or herself as a poor person will seek to achieve this goal through whatever means available, most often than not crime is seen as a most convenient means even though not the safest. According to the foregoing data, we can note that crime which was mostly encountered was robbery with violence, which was mentioned by the highest number of respondents (56 respondents). Most of the victims who had experienced criminal activities did so along the streets, bars and in the houses. They were mainly attacked by thugs who were armed with guns, pistols, knives and simis because these weapons could easily be carried without notice by many and would actually give the criminals effective results. Robbery with violence emerged the crime of the years 2002 and 2003. In the year 2002 it was the highest criminal activities with a record of 3211 cases and an average of 268 each month. There was an increment of 314 more cases for year 2003 with an average of 294 cases each month.

The study further established that victims and criminal had a prior secondary knowledge of each other. This was discerned from the highest number of victims who could recognize their assailants. However, it must be pointed out that this did not imply primary knowledge of the assailants, since as high as 62% victims observed that the assailants were somewhat 'strangers' to them. It also emerged that most of the criminals were males of middle age (that is 17-50 years old); mainly residing in the slums areas like Mukuru, Kibera, and Kuwinda among others. These areas as was seen in the literature review, experience very loose social morals and social disorganization both of which preclude stringent social control mechanisms. Thus they produce more criminals to the chagrin law abiding citizens living in properly socialized and organized city areas. The fact that certain areas produce more crime than other areas was enhanced by the presence of a police station or post.

The increase of crimes against property is usually blamed on the police. But research findings indicate that even though police crime records do not usually indicate the correct amount of crime within a specified region, there are usually other persons to blame notably the victims themselves. The findings in this study revealed that quite a number of victims do not report

either the offence or the offender(s) thus considerably affecting the total amount of crime. The majority of respondents in this study said that they did not either report the offence or the offender(s) because they considered the offence to be a minor incident. They clearly stated that the magnitude of the offence depended on the extent of harm done whether physical or economic. The police force was blamed mainly in terms of the location of the police station in relation to the crime scene. In other words, most people did not report an offence because the police station was far away. The response of the police to cases reported to them also contributed a lot to the failure of offences being reported.

One point to note is that in social interaction people tend to associate with other people who have the same social characteristics such as sex, religion, social class and so on. Therefore, crime is likely to be committed upon people who belong to the same social group. Although in some cases of property crimes, criminal acts might go beyond one's social group and class. For instance when the occupational background of crime was analyzed, the findings showed that those who fell victims to criminals were people engaged in some income generating activities either as employed, business or self-employed people. These people are those who are in a position to

have money or own property hence capable of falling victims to criminals or potential criminals. The educational background and occupation of the victims of property crimes go together. These are the people who are in a position to have money or own property hence capable of losing their property to criminals.

During holidays, ends of month's crime rate are high due to the fact that these periods are associated with lack of alertness. During end of the months people are usually moneyed after earning and so it follows that the cases of mugging, picking pockets and robbery increase. At night criminal cases increase obviously due to the anonymity enhanced by darkness, which also reduces chances of apprehension.

Males were reported by the respondents to be the main perpetrators of property crimes. This is because Nairobi being a big industrial and commercial city, it continues to attract migrants most of whom are males. Females were involved but to a lesser percentage and these were attributed to lack of self-perception. Women are regarded, (as they do themselves) as weak; since most property crimes require strength in the use of force. However an increasing number of females are getting involved in property

crimes in the company of the males capitalizing on the societal perception of females.

Crime emerged to be committed by the youth who were viewed to be able bodied and lacked employment. Rural urban migration for the search of jobs has led to an influx of young people who involve themselves in criminal activities to pay their house rents among other needs.

Majority of criminals were identified as Kikuyu and this was attributed by the respondents to the fact that the Kikuyu are the majority up country tribe residing in Nairobi. They were followed by the Luo and Luhya respectively.

The foregoing factors tend to determine a great deal the nature of crime in terms of whether it is increasing or decreasing. Indeed the respondents asked whether or not there has been a significant increase in crime rates, the majority said that crime had increased. Asked further why they thought that crime had increased, they provided thee following reasons (1) unemployment (2) an ineffective police force and (3) poverty and drug abuse. Asked again what should be done in order to reduce the rate of crime, they suggested the following reasons (1) create more job opportunities (2)

police patrol within the town center and the suburbs be intensified and (3) discipline be instilled and corruption be curbed among policemen and women.

Statistics from the police stations also provided incredible insight into the trends, extent and prevalence of property crimes in Nairobi. Indeed the figures went a step a head to confirm and consolidate our perception about the nature of crime in this city. Take note however, that crime in general is quite prevalent in this city and one should always take precautionary steps.

5.1 CONCLUSION

Property crimes in Africa are a product of many forces. Urbanization with its inherent property of drawing young persons from rural villages; widespread unemployment of school leavers; high cost of living, taxation; greater desire for new things, hunger, frustration, alienation, unequal distribution of national wealth; the breakdown of normative systems of traditional social control through child socialization; social heterogeneity brought about by mixing of different cultural groups; the spread of deviant and delinquent subculture through modern means of communication; all these reinforce

each other and undermine the urban youths' resistance to commit crimes against property.

5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

In this section we shall look at a number of recommendations that need to be taken seriously in order to reduce crime rate in Kenya in general and particularly in cities such as Nairobi.

- The study found out that any form of police presence helps to reduce if not curb crime occurrence. Therefore, there is ardent need for more policemen and women, more police stations and more police patrols in areas that have been found to be crime prone. But those patrols should also be intensified in other areas as well. In addition there is need to encourage communal policing because experience has shown that members of a particular community tend to know criminals or potential criminals living in those areas. This, however, can only be done if there is corporation between members of a community and the police force. In fact, public and Police Corporation should be intensified through the enactment of laws to this effect. Otherwise in the meantime, this can only be done if the police commanded some

public confidence by not engaging in corrupt activities and by working effectively and competently. Police continued training and supply of relevant equipments to the police that would help fight crimes in the country.

- Street lighting in cities and urban areas are usually important in controlling urban crime. Therefore, there is need to do something about labyrinths of dark alleys and lanes which end up to be blind corners thus offering ideal escape routes and opportunities for criminals to hide themselves when lying in wait. Individuals are therefore advised to avoid such areas especially at night or when they are drunk.
- There is also urgent need to construct recreation facilities and other social amenities in cities and urban areas. Studies and experience have shown that it is the lack of such facilities that make the youth idle and engage in criminal activities and abuse drugs.
- Building contractors and local authorities should also discourage haphazard building of bars, hotels, video show halls and kiosks next to residential areas since unplanned structures create conditions conducive to crime. The specific design for homes also matters. Robberies and burglaries can be reduced if houses were constructed in

such away that the sitting room faces both the front and the backsides of the houses. Most people interviewed said that they lost their properties through the backsides. Experience indicates that urban planners seem to prefer high perimeter fences unlike Europe where they are avoided. High perimeter fences help to increase crime because they have the effect of enhancing isolation, reducing interaction among residents hence residents do not have the ability to pick out strangers. This makes the residents not to identify with the victim, the criminal or the property being stolen or vandalized. Therefore, there is need to build houses with perimeter fences about two to three feet high. With such short fences the people inside the houses can see what is going on in front and at the back of the houses. This way the houses seem to have 'eyes'. Therefore, thieves, robbers, burglars and others with ulterior motives would be wary of people who would be watching from behind the curtains. This format can work even better if the sitting rooms, kitchens and master bedrooms are strategically placed since most occupants spend most of their time in these areas. High perimeter fences not only prevent somebody from seeing what is happening inside a homestead but they also prevent neighbours from gaining entry in case of robbery or an attack.

In other words, high walls and locked gates only lock people in but they also lock out help in some cases.

- Most criminals feel alienated and believe that they are excluded or deprived from the normal benefits which society offers such as education, jobs and full participation in social and political life. Crime is aggravated further by the atomization of the family, the social effect of urbanization and the approbation or self – seeking and wealth accumulation. In brief, therefore, crime and criminal behavior are consequences of criminogenic conditions resultant from social change and development. Thus prevention, control and reduction of crime and criminals are a social responsibility demanding priority consideration in national planning. Usually development of any kind takes place on a foundation of law and order and when crime is present, it's toll is not limited only to the individual victims but also to the society as a whole by hampering economic and social development. It represents substantial and long term cost to the entire community. Therefore, there is danger if planners over-look crime at the expense of social and economic development. The fact that crime only receives adequate attention when it manages to obtrude on public attention should not be the *raison detre* of dire planning focus. We

should all know and always remember that crime does not pay but it certainly costs.

- There is also need for proper documentation of crime records in police stations and prisoners' records in the prison. The records of the characteristics of the criminals and victims were inadequate and kept in their raw form of volumes and volumes of dusty registers which could be avoided if the departments adopted some computerization. Otherwise the current records maintenance system is reminiscent of pre-historic form of documentation.
- Victims and potential victims of offences against property are advised to be alert during holidays and ends of the months and during other festive seasons because most crimes were reported during these periods.
- Effecting programs to alleviate over-crowded housing and density in the population may reduce personal crimes. Property crimes data on the other hand may be reduced if programs whose goals are the improvement in economic and educational well being in cities are not only developed but also implemented.
- There is also need to ensure that all crimes reported in a police station or the police are reflected in their statistics. This is due to the fact that

all officers in –charge of police stations play with the data on crime in their stations so as to make their seniors believe they are working hard and that crime is controlled. In my study this was noted to be a tradition with the police officers in-charge of stations. They actually manipulate data and fail to submit all crimes reported in their stations with outright disregard to their statistical values. This leads to the government not providing resources commensurate to the amount of crime.

- The definition of robbery with violence and the punishment meted out should be re-considered. The definition under section 296(2) of the penal code states that;

“If the offender is armed with any dangerous or offensive weapon or instrument, or is in company of one or more other person or persons, or if, at or immediately before or immediately after the time of the robbery, he wound, beats, strikes or uses any other personal violence to any person, he shall be sentenced to death”.

This definition does not differentiate criminals who use weapons to threaten or keep at bay the victims of their criminal activities from

those who actually plan to kill. More often than not they end up harming or killing their victims because the law is not lenient to those who do not harm or kill. The section should be polished so as to reduce the rate of killings in theft and robberies in the country.

- In the case of car-jacking respondents recommended that cars be branded with security marks on the expensive parts, install car-tracking gadgets, that the records kept at the registrar of motor vehicles be well maintained and that log books kept with insurance companies of written off motor vehicles be followed up to avoid them being acquired by individuals involved in the sale of stolen motor vehicles. Theft from motor vehicles on the other hand may be reduced in the cities and urban areas if motorists are advised not to leave valuables in their locked and unattended motor vehicles that would attract a thief as stealing has a lot to do with every opportunity availed.
- Drug abuse should be fought by the society since this is the genesis of most criminal acts in the cities. Surveillance cameras should also be installed on the streets to help monitor criminal activities in the streets of the cities.

- Security guards should be well trained and possibly armed with guns to compliment police security services.
- Proactive policing should be employed as opposed to reactive policing which is expensive compared with the later. Proactive policing can only be achieved if the responsible partners in fighting crime embrace intelligence led approach rather than the reactive one.
- The researcher recommends that a correlation of the availed data be studied.

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APPENDIX 1

QUESTIONNAIRE

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
P.O.BOX 30197
NAIROBI

MR. OTIENO JAMES FRANCIS
P.O. BOX 13316-00100
NAIROBI. TEL: 0722-393592
E-mail: kotienono@yahoo.co.uk

Dear respondent,

I am Otieno James Francis, a student at the University of Nairobi. I am conducting a research on the prevalence of crime against property and their causes in the different trimester periods of the year 2002-2003 in Nairobi.

I am glad to inform you that you have been chosen to participate in this study. The study is in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the award of a Masters degree in Sociology (Criminology). Your co-operation will be highly appreciated. The information you give will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Instructions

Please tick (✓) where appropriate and fill in the spaces where applicable.

Part 1

BACKGROUND DATA

1)	Sex of respondent	
	Male ()	
	Female ()	✓

2)	Age	
	a) 13-22 ()	
	b) 23-27 ()	
	c) 28-32 ()	
	d) 33-37 ()	
	e) 38-42 ()	

- f) 43-47 ()
- g) 48-52 ()
- h) 53-57 ()
- i) 58-62 ()
- j) 63 and above ()

3) Marital status

- a. Single ()
- b. Married ()
- c. Divorced ()
- d. Widowed ()

4) Religion

- a. Muslim ()
- b. Christian ()
- c. Others (Specify) _____

5) Occupation

- a. Businessman ()
- b. Teacher ()
- c. Housewife ()
- d. Police Officer ()
- e. Others (Specify) _____

6) Level of education

- a. 1-7 Years ()
- b. 1-8 Years ()
- c. 1-12 Years ()
- d. 1-14 Years ()
- e. 1-17 Years ()

f. Nil ()

7) Division of residence

- a. Langata ()
- b. Kilimani ()
- c. Gigiri ()
- d. Kasarani ()
- e. Buru Buru ()
- f. Industrial Area ()
- g. Central Business District ()
- h. Others (Specify) _____

8) How long have you lived in Nairobi.

- a. 1-5 Years ()
- b. 6-10 Years ()
- c. 11-15 Years ()
- d. 16-20 Years ()
- e. 21-25 Years ()
- f. 26 and above ()

PART TWO

9) In the years 2001 and 2003 what criminal activities have you encountered or heard.

- a) Robbery with violence ()
- b) House breaking and stealing ()
- c) Theft of Motor Vehicle ()
- d) Pick pocketing ()
- e) Theft of any movable properties ()

10) In your opinion which one of these criminal activities is most frequent in Nairobi city?

- a) Robbery with violence ()
- b) House breaking ()
- c) Theft of Motor Vehicle ()
- d) Pick pocketing ()
- e) Theft of any movable property ()

11) (i) Have you ever been a victim of any or all of the above crimes listed in 10?

(ii) If yes wich one(s) a) Yes () b) No ()

- a) Robbery with violence ()
- b) House breaking and stealing ()
- c) Theft of Motor Vehicle ()
- d) Pick pocketing ()
- e) Theft of any movable properties ()

12) When was the crime(s) committed?

Year _____

Month _____

Date _____

Day _____

Time _____

13) Where was the crime(s) committed? Was it in the

- a) House ()
- b) Bar ()
- c) Streets ()
- d) Bush ()
- e) Others (Specify) _____

14) What item(s) was stolen from you?

- a) Electronics ()
- b) Furniture ()
- c) Others (specify)

15) What kind of weapon(s) did the criminal(s) use and for which crime(s)

<u>Weapon(s)</u>	<u>Crime(s)</u>
a) Simi ()	_____
b) Gun ()	_____
c) Fists cuffs ()	_____
d) Metal rod ()	_____

16) Did you know or recognize the offenders?

- a) Know Yes () No ()
- b) Recognise Yes () No ()

17) If yes, was the offender

- a) Male ()
- b) Female ()

18) (i) What was the race of the offenders

- a) African ()
- b) Asian ()

- c) Arab ()
- d) European ()
- e) Cannot tell ()

(ii) What tribe was the offender.

- a) Kamba ()
- b) Kikuyu ()
- c) Luo ()
- d) Luhya ()
- e) Specify Any other _____

(iii) What area or estate in Nairobi do you think the criminal hailed from?
Specify _____

19) Was the offender known to the victim personally.

- a) Yes ()
- a) No ()

20) If yes, as who;

- a) Relative ()
- b) Friend ()
- c) Neighbour ()
- d) Others (Specify) _____

21) (i) Did you report the offence or the offender

- a) Offence Yes () No ()
- b) Offender Yes () No ()

(ii) If no why?

22) If no, why?

Offence _____

Offender _____

23) If reported, what action was taken _____

24) What do you generally think about crime(s) trends and prevalence in 2002-2003. Is it on the,

a) Increase _____

b) Decrease _____

25). (i) If on the increase, what are the causes? _____

(ii) If on the decrease, what are the causes? _____

26) What have the security and crime fighting agencies done to control crime?

27) (i) Which months of the Year 2002 had the highest crimes against property?

- January ()
- February ()
- March ()
- April ()
- May ()
- June ()
- July ()
- August ()
- September ()
- October ()
- November ()
- December ()

(ii) Why?

28) (i) Which months of the Year 2003 had the highest crimes against property?

- January ()
- February ()
- March ()
- April ()
- May ()
- June ()
- July ()
- August ()
- September ()
- October ()
- November ()
- December ()

(ii) Why

PART THREE

28) What additional information would you provide in relation to prevalence and causes of crimes against property in Nairobi in the year 2002-2003.

A large rectangular area containing horizontal lines for writing, intended for providing additional information.

Appendix 2
Police crime statistics 2002

Month	Jan	Feb	Mar	April	May	June	July	August	Sept	Oct	Nov	D
Offence												
Murder	18	20	27	16	24	9	28	20	31	18	30	3
Manslaughter	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rape	14	18	16	23	18	10	17	8	20	10	17	9
Assaults	122	116	113	99	152	118	107	102	127	138	99	9
Offences against person	46	34	30	29	50	34	46	42	31	45	19	4
Robbery & allied offences	286	218	247	250	275	238	264	253	266	305	305	3
Breakings	166	107	110	197	118	106	109	112	111	105	128	1
Stock theft	4	5	15	0	1	3	1	1	0	1	2	0
General stealing	188	142	136	113	167	170	144	167	153	144	158	1
Theft of motor vehicles	65	37	70	36	70	48	58	62	70	48	70	6
Theft of m/v parts	21	12	16	10	9	15	14	15	18	11	29	1
Theft from motor vehicles	15	14	11	5	9	10	14	14	15	12	9	1
Theft of bicycles	2	4	4	1	4	2	0	0	3	0	0	1
Theft by servant	51	41	41	56	59	44	52	54	38	54	54	4
Dangerous drugs offences	58	44	48	56	49	41	46	58	37	39	44	4
Handling stolen goods	8	8	4	10	6	0	3	0	4	0	2	3
Corruption	7	11	3	0	2	3	4	4	3	2	1	3
Causing Death by D/Driving	0	3	3	1	2	3	1	3	2	4	3	2
Offences against property	31	13	24	13	15	14	17	16	18	9	18	1
Other penal code offences	208	170	145	180	179	160	193	185	183	172	170	1
TOTAL	1311	1017	1063	1115	1209	1028	1113	1116	1130	1117	1158	1

Appendix 3

Police crime statistics 2003

Month	Jan	Feb	March	April	May	June	July	August	Sept	Oct	Nov
Offence											
Murder	23	23	13	27	15	16	25	21	8	13	22
Manslaughter	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rape	13	20	21	20	14	9	13	19	8	24	38
Assaults	119	146	185	151	124	122	126	120	119	154	111
Offences against person	79	42	68	68	58	56	63	30	52	48	44
Robbery & allied offences	318	321	328	320	345	279	310	270	232	245	266
Breakings	123	106	93	89	95	103	119	87	105	96	87
Stock theft	4	1	6	1	4	2	0	0	2	0	2
General stealing	189	213	203	176	211	176	208	186	154	197	231
Theft of motor vehicles	74	42	47	56	59	45	53	40	28	43	37
Theft of m/v parts	22	12	25	21	22	10	15	9	11	15	18
Theft from motor vehicles	13	5	6	7	7	12	5	2	9	6	7
Theft of bicycles	1	6	4	5	2	4	2	2	6	2	29
Theft by servant	63	47	54	62	48	46	63	66	51	55	59
Dangerous drug offences	68	55	56	69	66	61	76	64	42	75	49
Handling stolen goods	5	11	3	6	4	4	3	4	3	4	1
Corruption	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	4	0	0
Causing death by D/driving	5	1	0	0	0	1	2	1	2	2	1
Offences against property	25	19	9	18	9	21	13	10	11	23	13
Other penal code offences	245	239	269	266	198	179	192	236	157	197	174
TOTAL	1400	1309	1392	1362	1282	1146	1288	1167	1022	1199	1199