THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS INFLUENCING JUVENILE DELINQUENCY: A CASE STUDY OF KABETE APPROVED SCHOOL, GETATHURU RECEPTION CENTRE, NAIROBI JUVENILE REMAND HOME AND THE DANDORA UNDUGU SOCIETY OF KENYA RECEPTION CENTRE

BY

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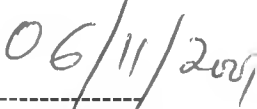
DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university

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This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as a university supervisor.

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DIRECTOR,

INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN STUDIES.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my two daughters, Julie Rebecca Atieno and Ida Lisa Anyango.

The work is also dedicated to the Kenyan Juvenile delinquents, with a hope that, through write-ups like this one their plight will be highlighted and taken up by the policymakers in order to improve their conditions. I hope this will make Kenya a better place for our children to live in, whether their parents are able to provide for them materially or not.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

ABSTRACT

Juvenile delinquency is on the increase in Kenya, especially as the number of juvenile delinquents increase in Nairobi.

This study is a comprehensive study on the juvenile delinquents to find out what factors drive them to commit delinquent acts.

The researcher visited four instutitional homes where the juvenile delinquents are commited and administered questionnaires to them. The researcher also got the views of the social workers as to the main factors causing juvenile delinquency.

The thesis comes up with suggestions as to how to control the problem of juvenile delinquency, through working with the parents of such children as well as with the children themselves.

The interactions, between juvenile delinquency and the cultural socio-economic factors in this study is explained within the context of the subculture theory.

The study used various techniques in the collection of the data. These included the use of standard questionnaires which were administered to 126 randomly sampled respondents, non-participant observation and documentary sources.

The analysis of the data shows that the deprivation of material needs i.e. food, clothes, shelter, school enrolment and poverty are the major causes of juvenile delinquency, however parental neglect also contributes to the children associating with delinquent peers hence causing delinquency.

The findings further point out that most of these delinquents come from single headed households (usually female). Most of these household heads are engaged in smallscale business, which keeps them away from their children for long hours, hence the children either fend or cook for themselves.

The study also indicates that most of the children dropped out of lower primary, due to lack of money to pay for the school requirements. Thus being idle they roam about in town and at time engage in delinquent activities.

The slum environment has also emerged as an environment where the juveniles copy the criminal activities, which they observe around them.

In the conclusion, it is the recommendation of the study that improving the socio-economic status of the parents of these juveniles will go a long way in decreasing the incidences of delinquency, and also that there should be, a return to culture drive, because cultural control would help to reduce instances of children lacking parental care and control.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Kenya, like any other developing country, is undergoing series of cultural, social and economic changes. One of the latter is the migration of people from rural areas to the towns in search of employment. This has caused a population boom in the Urban centers.

The acute shortage of housing has forced the migrants to over crowd in the cheap slum dwellings and similar estates close to Industrial areas. In Nairobi these are Kibera (Laini Saba), Mathare, Ngomongo, Korogocho, and many others. Owing to poverty, high birth rate, and further over-crowding, the children in these estates loiter in different parts of the town including the City Center. While some frequent the City Center, and go back to the slums, others make the City Center their new home (Wambayi, 1984).

This problem of Juvenile delinquency has been addressed by various Scholars, mostly sociologists see(Wambayi, 1984; Wainaina, 1981, Muteti, 1984; Muga, 1974; Onyango, 1989). Some civil servants (Mwendwa, 1986; 55-57) have also tackled the problem. However few anthropologists (if any) have focused their attention to the problem of Juvenile delinquents in Nairobi.

Urban anthropological studies have largely focused on the problem of urbanization, that is the process by which rural emigrants settle in and adjust to urban life, rather than with the way of life in Cities, which is commonly referred to as urbanism (Foster, 1974).

According to the Urbanization approach, Culture grows where a group of people have a common life, problems and enemies. (Hannerz: 1978). Towards this end, therefore the deviant culture of the juvenile delinquents can be viewed as having evolved to help the latter adapt to the tough life of the streets. For, as (Hannerz 1978) states, their culture is a sort of occupational culture, as it helps them attain their basic needs.

Because conformity with basic values and general order is maintained by the power of custom, which is well known to everyone, in order to understand why the juveniles go against these norms, the study looked at their culture, (Clifton, 1968).

need to survive (Jepchirchir, 1982).

The family by it's internal weakness has also been a contributory factor to juvenile delinquency, here the parents may be dead or they may be poverty stricken, here the juvenile is forced to work, steal or engage in illegal activities in order to help feed the siblings, so whereas a crime is committed, the cause is social disorganization while the aim is survival of the family unit. (Jonnerbaum, 1972).

OBJECTIVES

The study had the following objectives;

    1.   To find out why the juveniles engage in delinquent acts;

The specific objectives were

        (1)   To identify the family types and related cultural backgrounds contributory to juvenile delinquency.

        (2)   To establish the relationship (if any) between juvenile delinquency, ethnic group, age, sex and religion.

        (3)   To investigate the causes and nature of the sub-culture formed by the juvenile delinquents.

RATIONALE

In Kenya, the concern for the child is indisputable. This is so because the child is undoubtedly the greatest asset of this country; he/she is the future doctor, engineer and professor. His/her development therefore, should form the center of our plans for sustained growth and development.

Although it is accepted throughout the world that proper physical, mental, temperamental and spiritual development of the child is paramount in any organized society, the evidence available (Wainaina; 1981, Muga, 1974; and Onyango, 1989) suggests that, the number of destitute and juvenile delinquents is on the increase. In Kenya. This emphasis on the proper development of children on the one hand and the increase of juvenile delinquents on the other, was one of the rationale for this study.

In Kenya, the concept of juvenile delinquents is a fairly recent phenomenon, as (Wainaina, 1981) showed, and it has a rapid growth rate. It is therefore apparent that there is a strong force driving these children either from the City slums, and another force attracting them to the life of the city. this (these) force(s) could only be discovered by investigating the problem.

Since the problem of juvenile delinquency in Kenya has been tackled largely by sociologists, it was necessary to carry out this study to give it an Anthropological perspective.

The findings of the study might be applied to many spheres of planning. Thus, it will help in providing data for use in planning of Children's' services, and for use in appropriate placement avenues, like schools, polytechnics, and literacy centers. And finally, to provide information that can be employed in luring the juveniles away from the streets.

There was also need to study the problems affecting the juvenile delinquents, so that the country can abide with the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child which stipulates, " the rights of the child to affection, love and understanding, to adequate nutrition, and medical care, to free education, opportunity, to play and recreation, to a name and useful member of society..." (Mwenda: 1986)

Most of the juvenile delinquents lack the above mentioned. Hence, the need to study them and recommend on how these opportunities can be availed to them.

The choice of an urban setting, in this case Nairobi, was a deliberate strategy designed to examine in a broad perspective the various ethnic groups found on the streets. This gave the study a much more balanced view than would be available in a smaller provincial town.

Since the study was on juvenile delinquency, it was necessary to visit the four institutions where one is likely to find the juveniles.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Among the major cultural and socio-economic factors influencing juvenile delinquency among the juvenile delinquents world-wide are poverty, rapid urbanization and social disintegration. In particular, the break up of families, and certain socio-cultural traditions and customs have played a major role, (GOK/UNICEF, 1992:12).

Three approaches emerge in the literature review on juvenile delinquency from the western world. The first approach is the sub-cultural approach argued by Cohen (1950), Gibbens and Ahrenfeldt (1966), and Banduras and Walters (1959) among others. The second approach is the drift perspective represented by, among others, Matza [1964] Klineberg [1966] and Shaw [1966]. The third approach is the opportunistic approach postulated by Cloward and Ohlin [1960], Merton [1972], among others.

The sub-cultural perspective states that deviance is committed in accordance with deviant values and attitudes. The values and attitudes must come from somewhere, which means delinquent associates.

The sub-culture prediction is that delinquent associates have a tremendous influence in generating delinquent involvement (Johnson, 1979).

According to Cohen [1955], delinquent sub-culture is a way of dealing with the problems of adjustment for the juveniles. The problems are status oriented; hence, the delinquents reject the societal acceptable norms for their own values, encompassed within the delinquent sub-culture.

According to Cohen [1955], a delinquent sub-culture may be defined as a way of life that has somehow become traditional among certain groups. These groups are the boys gangs that flourish in the delinquent neighborhood of large cities. The delinquent sub-culture centers around behaviour which is non-utilitarian, malicious and negativistic.

The sub-cultural deviance is also short-run hedonism, indicated by a lack of long-term goals or planning by the members of the gang. Group autonomy is a hallmark of sub-cultural deviance and delinquent gangs are said to be solidaristic collectivities. Explaining why delinquent sub-culture develops among lower-class boys, Cohen

[1955] asserted that the working-class gang delinquency represents a social movement among juvenile offenders. This sub-culture arose as a solution to shared problems of low status among working-class youths, and it legitimizes aggression.

Bandura & Walters [1959] assert that in the approach to the problem of delinquency, sociologists have emphasized the importance of the social environment as a causative factor. The authors hypothesize that the high delinquency areas are characterized by a state of social disorganization, poverty, economic dependency and an absence of stable neighborhood standards of conduct.

Poverty and poor living conditions led to frustration and discontent, which fosters a hostile attitude to society. These conditions led to the formation of gangs, here the members' behaviour and values run contrary to those of the larger community.

According to this view therefore, the social/cultural environment provides the content of the value system of the delinquent. However, the conditions necessary for internalization of values are to be found in the psychological development of the child. (Bandura and Walters,1959).

Gibbens and Ahrenfeldt [1960:52] define sub-culture as, "a subdivision of a national cultures, composed of a combination of favourable institutions, such as class, status, ethnic background, regional and rural or urban residence, and religious affiliation, but forming in their combination a functioning unity which has an integrate impact on the participating individual". They assert that crime is an integral part of all healthy societies, the members are people who are similarly frustrated and who interact together.

Johnson [1979] states that in the sub-cultural delinquency, the juvenile is drawn or socialized in law violation in an attempt to live up to the perceived expectations of his or her deviant associates. Deviance is seen as adherence to the norms, expectations or definitions of one's associates, which happen to differ from the prevailing norms, expectations and definitions of the dominant society. The delinquents have been socialized within cohesive delinquent groups to hold attitudes and values conducive to illegal behaviour.

Ress and Rhodes [1972] observed that most delinquent behaviour is committed as a group activity, for delinquent behaviour is learnt through association with delinquents within intimate personal groups.

Empey [1972] asserts that delinquent act is typically a group phenomenon, never a solidary enterprise. The members share a common subculture, which is the gang; it causes deviant norms and beliefs and rewards their members for these behaviours.

From the various authors reviewed, it seems clear that delinquent behaviour and delinquent associates or sub-culture go hand in hand. The degree of delinquent involvement of friends conditions the nature of peer influence on delinquent behaviour. Therefore, one cannot ignore the role of delinquent associates, when one is studying the causes of juvenile delinquency.

According to the scholars who support the drift approach, juvenile delinquency is affected by personal commitment to delinquency norms, attitudes, and values.

The major proponent of this approach is Matza [1964:28]. According to him "drift stands midway between freedom and control. It's basis is an area of the social structure in which control has been loosened, coupled with the abortiveness of adolescent endeavor to organize an autonomous subculture".
This presents an independent source of control around illegal action.

The delinquent transiently exists in a limbo between convention and crime, responding in turn to demands of each, flirting now with one, now with the other. Thus he drifts between criminal and conventional action.

Matza's [1964] noted that, many delinquents episodically engage in misconduct, not because they are driven into it, but because their usual attachment to prosocial conduct norms is temporarily broken.

Shaw [1966] is also an exponent of the drift perspective. According to him there are deteriorated and disorganized sections of the city where parental control on children have disintegrated.

The slums are characterized by a high rate of juvenile delinquency and adult crime and corruption. Various forms of stealing and many organized delinquent and criminal gangs are prevalent in these areas.

These groups exercise a powerful influence and tend to create a community spirit which not only tolerates but actually fosters delinquent and criminal practices [Shaw,

1966].

According to Shaw (1966) the delinquents come from families which are usually poverty stricken and which have only one parent. In the absence of effective moral restraints in the family and the community, the development of the juvenile's group relationships and his choice of companions outside the home are undirected.

Hirschi [1972] proposes that the more satisfying the parent-child relationship, the less likely it is presumed that the parents stand for conformity to convention. In such a case the child has a meaningful relationship to lose or damage by deviating from parental expectations.

Giallombardo [1972] asserted that criminal behaviour originates as a part of the random movement of children in a world of adults. Accordingly, the adult criminal is usually the delinquent grown up child. Among the delinquent children, the gang develops from spontaneous play-groups, which become a gang through coming into conflict with some elements in the environment.

The family may be a contributory factor to these gangs, ie. the parents and other siblings may be delinquents, the parents may be separated or the family may be poverty-stricken and so encourage the children to bring in money/food whether earned or stolen [Gialombardo, 1972].

The family may live in such crowded quarters as to force the child into the street to such an extent that street life takes the place of family life. An environment pervaded by criminal activities ie. (Prostitution, drug/alcohol/trafficking) may also influence a child to become a delinquent. He would keep drifting from conventional norms to criminal and back.

Monahan(1972) is of the view that when a child loses a parent through death, desertion, divorce or long separation, some form of deprivation occurs. This child is exposed to a highly emotional ized atmosphere of discontent and discord which can lead to delinquency. The child therefore, lacks stability
coming from the socially broken homes.

Weppner (1977) stated that there are various cultural features of what is expected in juvenile delinquents. Socialization and internalization of the norms are some of these features. If a child is not socialized by the family to obey moral rules and instead

associates with other delinquents who internalize the deviant norm, he will easily drift into delinquency.

Wirth (1975) argued that all people who live in cities are affected by this experience in profound and similar ways, namely, the weakening of kinship bonds, family life and neighborliness and the development of impersonality, superficiality and anonymity in personal relations. The juveniles in this situation are not well controlled by their parents, and so they drift into delinquency.

The Cities generate new ideas and innovation which conflict with values of the old rural culture Redfield: (1956), for, in the city, there are some areas of high mobility and lacking in cultural unity. The various ethnic groups have various and different standards and codes and these are in turn inconsistent with each other. With these conflicting cultures, the juvenile is confused and so respects none as well as assimilating none. He thus develops no respect for the legal order because it respects a culture which finds no support in his cultural world, he therefore becomes a delinquent.

While discussing urbanization and kinship, Epstein (1981) spoke of the family as becoming emancipated from the larger kinship group characteristic of rural society.

Under urban conditions it is the individual members who are now able to follow their own diverging interests. He further states that for those who come to dwell in towns, urbanization involves a process of adaptation to an urban, environment. As people confront their new situation in towns, they seek an order in the urban world that is meaningful in their own terms. It is under these conditions that juvenile delinquency occurs.

Being in a social limbo between childhood and adult status, and constituting a form of "leisure class" adolescents throughout society are especially vulnerable to values and norms favouring adventures, and this can easily lead to delinquency. (Epstein, 1981)

The third perspective is the opportunistic approach. Here the explanation of the problem of juvenile delinquency is the proposition that some adolescents are driven to law violation in response to frustrations of experiencing or anticipating failure. The pressure to deviate from acceptable behaviour norms is created by a discrepancy between culturally induced aspirations and realistic expectations (Cloward and Ohlin: 1960).

The individual internalises the goals of society but must employ illegitimate means to obtain them, when legitimate avenues to success are blocked. The frustrated and deprived individual violate society's rules to obtain the commodities that society has convinced him or her are important to obtain (Johnson, 1979; Cloward and Ohlin, 1960).

The major hypothesis of Cloward and Ohlin (1960) is that, the disparity between what lower-class youth are led to want and what is actually available to them is the source of a major problem of adjustment. Therefore, the adolescents who form delinquent sub-cultures have internalized an emphasis upon conventional goals .

Faced with limitation on legitimate avenues of access to these goals, and unable to revise their aspirations downwards, they experience intense frustration, and the exploration of non- conformist alternative may be the result.

According to Merton (1972), there are some socio-cultural structures which exert a definite pressure upon certain persons in the society to engage in non- conformist rather than conformist conduct.

The first consists of culturally defined goals, purposes and interests. It comprises a frame of aspirational reference. These goals are more or less integrated and involve varying degrees of prestige and sentiments. They constitute a basic design for group living.

The second phase of the social structure defines, regulates and controls the acceptable modes of achieving these goals. Every social group couples its desired ends with moral or institutional regulations of permissible and required procedures for attaining those ends.

However, anti-social behaviour is brought about by certain conventional values of the culture and by the class structure involving differential access to the approved opportunities for legitimate, prestige-bearing pursuits of the culture goals.

Miller (1972) proposed that the dominant component of the motivation of the delinquent behaviour engaged in by members of lower class groups involves a positive effort to achieve status, valued within the actors' most significant cultural milieu.

However, considerable work on the subject has been done by lawyers, sociologists and criminologists. see (Muibui, 1984; Muga, 1974; Onyango, 1989; Wambayi, 1984).

Disruptive social change has been identified as the principal cause of juvenile delinquency in Kenya. Rapid urbanization associated with socio-economic, cultural and political transformation has resulted in numerous negative changes, disrupting the family and its traditional support system and weakening community organizations. (Munene, 1976; Jepchirchir, 1982).

Many parents looking for non-existent jobs in the city end up poorer, with their children condemned to living in over-crowded slums and squalid environment in slums like Kibera, Mathare, Ngomongo, Korogocho, Kangemi, and others. In search of a better environment, children from the slums loiter into the city center where they can easily drift into delinquency. (Wambayi, 1984).

It is estimated that currently there are 25,000 juvenile delinquents in Kenya. The number is estimated to be rising by 10% per year. They range from 3 to 20 years in age and are expected to fend for themselves while others support their families. (GOK/UNICEF, 1992)

There are two types of juvenile delinquents: those who go daily to trade, hawk or beg in the street of town or big cities, and return to their families in the evening; there are also the children who actually live in the streets after running away from their families. These latter children lack the supervision, which would have been provided in the traditional society. Consequently, many get involved in criminal activities, such as peddling of drugs, stealing and hawking. Some of them are used by their parents to beg and end up less useful members of society because the upbringing they have been exposed to is defective. (Onyango, 1989).

Juvenile delinquents face untold hazards. Some get killed by organized gangs or are used for criminal activities. They not only traffic in drugs but start using drugs too. They learn to steal and continue to do so.

Most juvenile delinquents come from very poor single parents, usually female. Most of their parents are unemployed or engage in unstable, unreliable and illegal income-earning activities, like prostitution, unlicensed hawking, or brewing and selling chan'gaa. Because these activities are illegal, mothers are constantly harassed by the authorities, and end up frequently losing their wares and earnings. Occasionally they

end up in prison, thereby leaving their children to fend for themselves. (GOK/UNICEF, 1992).

Like their mothers, juvenile delinquents also undertake illegal activities and suffer constant harassment as they beg, hawk wares, collect paper from garbage bins or `assist' motorists in parking vehicles; hence the reference to them as parking boys and girls. Juvenile delinquents are vulnerable to diseases because life in the streets is unprotected and involves exposure to health hazards such as drug abuse (petrol and gum-sniffing) and sexual abuse (with high exposure to sexually transmitted diseases including AIDS). (GOK/UNICEF, 1992; Onyango, 1989).

Muteti (1984), writing on `The Impact of Family Setting on Juvenile Delinquency', noted that rapid social change has adversely affected the family, resulting in failure to socialize the growing child into a socially acceptable individual.

The two major tenets of her thesis are that, urbanization and modernization processes which have accompanied social change have resulted in the breakdown of traditional cultural patterns of social organization and lack of proper supervision for adolescents.

Secondly, rural-urban migration has destroyed the cohesion within families by taking away the traditional community disciplining of children. This weakening of the family and the society at large has resulted in high rates of juvenile delinquency in Kenya.

Munene (1976) asserts that broken homes, caused by parental desertion or separation, are closely associated with delinquency. This is because the clan ties, which assured that should the parents separate or divorce, the children of the marriage would be brought up and be provided for by the clan members are no longer forceful or observed.

Jepchirchir (1982) stipulates that among the various causes of delinquency in Kenya, four are most notable namely. First, is the economic deprivation or the inability of persons to achieve the economic and desired goals of a society by legitimate means?

Secondly, parents having large families find it hard to feed, clothe and shelter their children. Hence, children from these homes find themselves roaming in towns as vagrants seeking a means of living they cannot get from their poverty stricken families.

The third and fourth causes are industrialization and the development of money economy, which have necessitated the movement to the towns for economic gain. Migrants from the rural areas come from homogeneous communities; however, their new urban environment is a heterogeneous one. It undermines the communal base of rural living without supplying a substitute. The community ceases to be an integrated agency of sentiments, values and social control.

According to Wambayi (1984), most juvenile delinquents come from female-headed house-holds, most of which are very poor. These mothers don't have firm control over their children's behaviour. The children are socialized into the norms of their peers.

Most of these children have no access to formal school since their parents cannot afford to send them there. Majorities either have never enrolled in school or are school dropouts. They are idle and are easily influenced into practices that occur around them like alcoholism, drug abuse, delinquency and loitering, which eventually lead them into the city center. As the city center is more appealing and attractive to these children, they keep frequenting the place or even make it their new home. While in the city center they earn money through begging, parking vehicles or even stealing. (Wambayi, 1984; Muga, 1975).

From the literature review, it can be concluded that the following are the major factors that influence juvenile delinquents in Nairobi city center: Poverty; single parenthood; lack of proper control and socialization of the children; peer influence; large families; the slum environment, and lack of school enrolment.

OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS
CULTURE
It consists of learned models of behaviour that are socially transmitted from one generation to the next and from one society or individual to another. (Steward, 1968; 127)

CULTURAL FACTORS
These are factors like ethnic origin, religion, beliefs, values, family socialization and type of family.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS

These are both social and economic factors that lead to delinquency.

The social ones are single parenthood, age, sex, social class, school achievement, family relationships, environment, emotional stability, relationship with other delinquents and personal aspirations.

The economic factors are the financial income of the father, mother or both.

THE DELINQUENT ACT

This is behaviour that violates basic norms of society and when officially known it evokes a judgment by agents of criminal justice that such norms have violated.

DELINQUENT CHILDREN

Children who are ungovernable, habitually disobedient, who desert their homes or places of abode without consent of parents or guardians, and who associate with other delinquents.

They have, therefore, become a societal concern and are usually found begging or soliciting for alms in public places.

THE DELINQUENT SUB-CULTURE

It is one in which certain forms of delinquent activities are essential requirements for the performance of the dominant roles supported by the sub-culture.

JUVENILE DELINQUENT

A child between the statutory juvenile court age of seven and sixteen years who commits a crime.

CHILD

A person under the age of 14 years

JUVENILE DELINQUENTS

These are the children who roam the streets of the city, either returning to their homes in the evening or staying permanently on the streets.

FAMILY

A group of two or more persons joined by ties of marriage, blood, or adoption, who constitute a single household, and who interact with each other in their respective

familial roles.

The family setting is the family arrangement, for example the father, mother and their children in a household.

PARENTAL NEGLECT

Parents (or other persons legally responsible for a child's care), does not adequately supply the child with food, clothing, shelter, education and medical care.
Abandonment or desertion by parents leading to the child's likelihood suffering from improper guardianship and lack of moral supervision to the extent that the child requires the aid of the court.

CITY

A large, dense and permanent settlement of socio-cultural and ethnic heterogeneous individuals.

URBAN

A population aggregate of a certain size, at a certain level of density, who depend on occupations other than agriculture.

PERSONALITY

The organized system of orientation and motivation of one individual actor.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The study used one theory that has been used by urban anthropologists.

This is the SUB-CULTURE THEORY according to which the juveniles are thought of as forming a community or SUB-CULTURE. The members are able to move from unit to unit and possess a certain amount of knowledge about the various buildings that constitute the community. This community is composed overwhelmingly of poor people who have been destitute for a considerable length of time. (Siegal: 1977)

This concept of community goes hand in hand with the concept of culture, for culture must have some structural or organizational base and this is provided by the community which is therefore, committed to delinquency through membership in a sub-culture that requires the breaking of laws.

It is, therefore, apparent from this theory that in heavily delinquent communities and areas, there are great opportunities for the juveniles to learn delinquent behavior.

This theory helped the study achieve its fourth objective. Nevertheless, it's weakness is that it fails to explain why later on in life some of the delinquents in the community out-grow their delinquency while the rest grow into adult crime.

According to this approach, the pressure to become deviant is provided by legitimate desires, for example, a child desires success as every one tells him he should, but due to the culture of poverty, he cannot attain success by conforming to the rules. Consequently he turns to deviant behaviour or crime(s) as an adaptation devise. (Lewis, 1975; Hirschi, 1972)

If the culture of the larger society views the successful people positively, yet there are very poor who cannot be successful due to this culture of poverty, the poor will take part in anti-social behaviour to acquire success. (Cohen, 1955)

As Gibbens and Ahrenfieldt (1966) argued, when a system of cultural values extol virtually above all else certain common symbols of success for the population at large, while its social structure restricts or completely eliminates access to approved modes of acquiring these symbols for some part of the population, then anti-social behaviour occurs.

According to this theory, therefore, these poor people feel isolated and unable to be successful due to their culture of poverty. Redfield (1956) argued that the isolation and secularization of the urban center together with the culture of poverty leads to the general drift to deviance.

Hannerz (1978) and Short (1965) view the deviant culture as being based on adaptive needs. Deviance here means the breakdown of regulatory norms, which may result in various modes of individual adaptation such as resorting to criminal means (innovation) and drug use (retreatism).

The deviant, like everyone else, regularly does what he has to do to satisfy the demands made upon him by his needs and in the processes organizes his activities into a recognizable daily routine. (Siegel, 1977)

The deviant behaviour should be viewed as vital to the ongoing operation of society. The social system is organized around the movements of persons joined together in a

regular social relation. The only material defining the (social system's) boundary is the behaviour of its participants. In this view, deviance is any behaviour, which is perceived by various persons as threatening the social system.

In this connection, Gibbens (1956:53) observed that deviance is "the fulfillment of the process of desocialization." The deviant has not been well socialized and does not respect social norms.

In the urban Centers, traditional bonds cannot make sense out of the complex urban scene. They are therefore given up in favour of those that emphasize fluidity and continuity. The result being social disorganization, one of which is deviance. (Wirth, 1975; Redfield, 1956; Glazer, 1975)

Delinquent culture will flourish in urban areas invaded by industry and commerce and inhabited by a heterogeneous poor and highly mobile population who lack solidarity, institutional bonds and effective control of delinquency. (Cohen, 1955; Matza, 1964)

Cloward and Ohlin (1960) noted that delinquency is culturally transmitted, where there is the persistence of criminal culture, the development of internal disorganization and the recruitment and induction of new members.

According to this theory, therefore, deviant behaviour is seen as conforming to a set of standards accepted by a small community but rejected by a larger and more powerful one. There develops some type of culture conflict between the two communities (Hirschi, 1972; Cohen, 1955; Gibbens, 1966).

The delinquents have internalized only the distinctive code of their community, Kaplan (1968). It is more so because a modern nation is an extremely heterogeneous entity and no individuals or group of people carry an entire national pattern, they only participate in very special portions of the entire culture. (White, 1968).

HYPOTHESIS
1) The family environment where the children lack basic necessities (i.e. food, shelter, clothing and education) may lead the children to delinquent acts.

2) Lack of or weak kinship (family) bonds and participation in marginal peer group activities may lead to juvenile delinquency.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY
SITE SELECTION

The study was carried out in three institutions and one reception centre for the juvenile delinquents. These were Getathuru Reception Centre in Kabete, Kabete Approved School, Nairobi Remand Home in Kabete, and the Undugu Society's Dandora Reception Centres.

All the four centres cater for children below eighteen years of age. The three homes in Kabete receive children through parents. guardians, police and social workers. Children taken there are mainly those in need of protection or discipline. The Undugu Centre receives juvenile delinquents from social workers, and parents/guardians. These children have to show an interest in changing their life styles.

The centres were the most convenient places for the study because in and around Nairobi they are the only institutions where juvenile delinquents are committed. The juveniles at the Undugu Reception centre were used as a control group, as they were not police cases and are not institutionalized. It was hoped that they would be more honest and frank.

The four institutions were also chosen because they promised a clear picture of the population, bearing in mind that the city of Nairobi is like a convergence zone for members of all ethnic groups in the country.

The adults interviewed from the four centres and from the city centre streets were to help the study form an opinion about the family background of the juvenile delinquents.

SITE DESCRIPTION
Kabete Approved School

It is located about 15 kilometres west of Nairobi city. It is one of the oldest approved schools in the country, mainly catering for male children who are supposed to have broken the law. At the time of the study (July/August, 1991) it had a population of 200 children of ages 12-16 years. The school provides both academic and vocational training for these children.

Nairobi Juvenile Remand Home (Kabete)

This is a reception centre where the children from the streets, or the ones who have broken the law are kept while they are being assessed. At the time of the study (July/August, 1991) it had a population of 150 children. It caters for both boys and girls and is next to the Approved school.

Getathuru Children Reception Centre

It is located next to the Kabete Approved School and serves as a reception centre for children admitted by courts to various approved schools. It processes and distributes such children to these institutions throughout Kenya. It also caters for a few children who had been assessed at the Nairobi Remand Home and considered as needing protection and care. At the time of the study the centre had a population of 100 children.

Undugu Society of Kenya Reception Centre. Dandora

This is a reception centre set up by the Undugu Society of Kenya at Dandora (Nairobi). The juvenile delinquents go there to be fed and to get help in case they want to stop living on the streets. It caters for boys aged 3-18 years. At the time of the study it had a population of 50 boys. However, only 30 were residents, others came and left as they pleased. Of the residents, some were enrolled in primary and secondary schools, while others were taking artisan courses in mechanics and welding/metal work.

METHOD OF SAMPLING USED

The method of sampling used was random. In the three homes at Kabete, there are registers which indicate the backgrounds of the juvenile delinquents, dates and reason for their arrest. These registers were used in identifying the children arrested from Nairobi City Centre. Within this group the first twenty who arrived in the month of July 1991 were picked for interview. 20 respondents were interviewed at each of the homes.

At the Undugu Reception Centre in Dandora, there were individual files. These files were used to pick the first twenty for interview, who arrived in July 1991, and who came from the city centre.

For the juvenile delinquent administrators at each of the centres visited, three key informants were interviewed. These were principal, social worker, instructor or teacher.

The reason why this method of sampling was chosen was because the researcher wanted to be sure that the juveniles interviewed were qualified to be considered as delinquents.

SAMPLE SIZE
In determining the sample size the study was guided by the following indicators.
1.   Street life
2.   Criminal record
3.   Financial difficulties
4.   Contact with juvenile delinquents.

The research had two samples.
a)   Juvenile delinquents
b)   Administrators of the juvenile homes and centres.

Among the juvenile delinquents, the researcher interviewed a total of 80 respondents, 20 per each centre.

A total of 12 administrators, 3 per each centre, who dealt with the juvenile delinquents were interviewed.
The table below shows the distribution of respondents per institution in the months of July/August 1991. Each institution had a register where the juvenile names were entered.

Table (a)

Institution	Total No.	No. of Respondents
1. Undugu Society of Kenya, Dandora	50	20
2. Nairobi Remand Home	150	20
3. Kabete Approved School	200	20
4. Getathuru Children's Reception Centre	100	20
TOTAL	500	80

The table below shows the distribution of adult respondents in the months of July/August 1991. These were employees of these institutions

Table (b)

Institution	No. Interviewed
1. Undugu Society of Kenya Dandora	3
2. Nairobi Remand Home	4
3. Kabete Approved School	3
4. Getathuru Children's Reception Centre	3
TOTAL	13

METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION

The researcher used various data collection techniques. These included.

1) Library research
2) Interviews using structured and unstructured questionnaires.
3) None-participant observation.

1. Library Research

This was used to collect available data on the cultural and socio-economic factors influencing juvenile delinquency, focusing on the Nairobi juvenile delinquents.

In the library research an attempt was made at reading and consulting books, booklets, pamphlets, journals, daily newspapers, seminar papers and other relevant materials that have been written on juvenile delinquency in Kenya.

This enabled the researcher to have the necessary background knowledge of the problem to be studied. The library research formed the secondary data of the study.

The library research took a period of eight months (8) from November 1990 to June 1991.

2. Questionnaire Method

It was the most widely used way of collecting information during the research.

Three appropriate questionnaires were designed to make possible the collection of required data pertaining to the delinquent children, administrators of the delinquent children and adult beggars.

The data was collected by personal interviews using questionnaires. The researcher administered three (3) different single standard Questionnaires to each of the groups. The Questionnaires covered many topics in order to obtain the required information.

This ensured that all the sample respondents in each category were asked the same questions in the same sequence. Some of the answer categories were structured while others were unstructured (open-ended). This enhanced reliability, allowed efficient use of time and labour, and simplified the coding, computing and tabulation processes.

During the data collection period, the standard questionnaire was flexible to accommodate various views. This helped in gathering comparable information for all the respondents.

Interviewing one respondent took approximately 30 minutes among the juveniles, and also among the adult beggars. It lasted about 15 minutes among the administrators.

This method of data a collection was used for duration of two months (July/August 1991).

3. Non-Participant Observation

This involved paying attention to the details of daily life and unusual happening without taking part in the respondent's community life. The researcher accompanied the Undugu Society social workers on the street work programme on several occasions.

Here the researcher recorded what she observed about the juvenile delinquents. This technique observes some of the basic cultural aspects, which are either vaguely perceived or unnoticed by the respondents.

PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED DURING THE STUDY

Theme were a number of problems encountered during the study period, especially in the three government institutions at Kabete, these children are wary of strangers who they associate with the law. They, therefore, withheld some information concerning them and their parents for fear that it might be used against them. The researcher interviewed each juvenile alone, she requested the Administrators for privacy hence this helped to reduce the suspicion on the part of the juveniles, they were more honest.

Another problem was that some of the juvenile respondents had been away from home for such a long time, in remand or staying on the streets that they hardly recall what situations were prevailing at home before their departure.

Communication was also a big problem as most of the juveniles and the adult beggars did not understand Standard English and Swahili. The researcher had to use either Sheng or a translator who speaks Sheng. The researcher noted that the Sheng terms are not standard; they depend on the speakers residence. Some of these respondents also did not know their exact age, so the researcher had to estimate it.

At the Kabete Approved School and Getathuru Reception Centre, some of the children selected for interview escaped from the institutions before they could be interviewed. So the researcher had to substitute them with others.

Lastly the total population of the children arrested from the city centre were fewer than 50 at each of the centres. The researcher therefore, reduced the sample size to 20 per centre.

DATA ANALYSIS FROM THE JUVENILES

This section of the study will present the research findings with regard to the general characteristics of the children. The findings are used to test the hypotheses.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE JUVENILE

(a)   Sex and Age

The sex distribution of the sample was 73.5% male and 26.5% female. The juveniles interviewed were aged between 1 - 20 years. 72.3% of whom were aged 11-15 years. 16.9% were aged 5-10 years, 9.6% were aged 16-20 years. 1.2% were aged 1-4 years.

This might be taken as an indication that there are more male children on the streets than female, hence more cases of juvenile delinquency among the male.

Concerning their age, a possible explanation may be that between age 5-15 the children are able to roam the streets on their own, hence the large percentage found in the ground. The age group 1-4 years are still young and they move around with their parents, while age group 16-20 years are too old to be juvenile delinquents.

Table I
Age Distribution

Age	N	%
1-4 years	1	1.2
5-10 years	14	16.9
11-15 years	60	72.3
16-20 years	8	9.6
Total	83	100.0

(b)   Religion

The majority of the juveniles interviewed reported that they were Catholics 59%, followed by protestants 31.3%, only 9.6% claimed to have no religion.

(c)   Ethnic Background

Central province was reported to be the original home of 47% of the juveniles. Western province had 14.5%, Eastern, Nyanza and Rift Valley provinces each had 8.4%. Nairobi had 6% while 7.2% claimed not to know their original homes.

The large percentage of the Kikuyus in the population might be explained by the geographical proximity of their home area to Nairobi. It may also have been caused by the squatter problem created during colonialism, when many people were made squatters as their land was taken away from them.

Table 2

Ethnic Background

Ethnic Group	N	%
Kikuyu	53	63.9
Kamba	8	9.6
Luo	8	9.6
Luhya	13	15.7
Kalenjin & others	1	1.2
Total	83	100.0

(d)   Parents whereabouts

Most of the juveniles (50.6%) reported having parents in Nairobi. Another 30.1% had parents living is the rural areas, while 15.7% did not know their parents whereabouts. A small 3.6% reported that their parents were dead.

Concerning their parent's marital status, 68.7% reported that their parents were not living together, due either to divorce, separation, desertion, single parenthood or death.

Another 21.7% had parents who were living together while 9.6% did not know their parents whereabouts. A large number of children (37.3%) reported that they were brought up by their mothers. While 24.1% were being brought up by guardians/ relatives. Some 19.3% lived alone on the city streets, while 9.6% lived with both parents, only 6% were being brought up by their fathers, a small 3.6% lived with friends.

Table 3

Distribution of upbringing

Parents	N	%
Mother	31	37.3
Father	5	6.0
Both parents	8	9.6
Alone on street	16	19.3
Guardian/relative	20	24.1
With relatives	3	3.6
Total	83	100.0

We might conclude that most of these children have parents or guardian, though a majority come from female headed households.

(e)   Residence

Majority of the juveniles 55.4% reported that they were living in the city slums. Another 18.1% live on the city streets, while 18.1% live in various parts of the city. The remaining 8.4% come from the rural areas.

Living either in the slums or the city streets they engage in delinquency with the other street criminals.

Table 4

Distribution of Residence

Residence	N	%
Nairobi slum areas	46	55.4
Rural area	7	8.4
City streets	15	18.1
Any other	15	18.1
Total .	83	100.0

(f)   **Siblings**

Majority 86.7% of the juveniles reported that they had brothers and sisters. Only 13.3% had no sibling.

Most of them, 51.8%, had between 1-4 siblings, while 34.9% had between 5-10 siblings. A small percentage 13.3% had no siblings. It is apparent that most of these children come from large families as projected by these findings.

(g)   **Occupation of parents**

The study shows that 39.8% had mothers and 8.4% had fathers who were unemployed.

There are 9.6% whose mothers and 15.7% whose fathers were casual labourers.

Some 24.1% had mothers and 7.2% had fathers who were involved in small-scale business.

Only 7.2% reported that their fathers were employed while 1.2% reported that their mothers were employed.

A major finding of the study is that most of the parents 24.1% are unemployed.

A large percentage 15.7% are involved in small scale business while 12.7% are engaged in casual labour.

The parents, therefore, are involved in occupations where they have a very small income, though they work for long hours.

Table 5

Percentage distribution of parental occupation

Occupation	Father	Mother
Unemployed	8.4	39.8
Small scale business	7.2	24.1
Casual labourer	15.5	9.6
Employed	7.2	1.2
No Mother	25.3	
No Father	61.7	—
Total	83	100.0

SOCIAL CULTURAL CHARACTERISTIC OF THE HOME AND ENVIRONMENT

(a)   Provision of food and clothes as an indicator of child care

Most 50.69% of the juveniles interviewed reported that they bought food and clothes for themselves.   Another 25.3% reported that they were bought the same by their mothers. Only 12.0% reported that their fathers bought them food and clothes. About 6.0% were bought food by their relatives, mostly brothers and sisters; another 6.0% reported that they were bought food and clothes by both parents. The survey results indicate that most of the juvenile delinquents feed and cloth themselves irrespective of whether they have parents or not.

On how many meals they eat per day, 41.0% reported eating one meal per day. Another 32.5% reported eating three meals per day. 25.3% had two meals per day while the rest 1.2% stated that their eating depended on the availability of food. Having to buy food for themselves, juvenile delinquents seem to eat one meal per day depending on the availability.

Asked who cooks the food 53.0% reported that either they bought their food from kiosks or it was cooked by their brothers or sisters.   25.3% reported cooking for themselves, while 21.7% reported that their mothers cooked the food.

On whether they get satisfied after feeding 51.8% claimed that they did not get satisfied, while 48.2% got satisfied.

It seems that these children generally fend for themselves, for they buy their own food and clothes, the majority of them do not get sufficient food.

Table 6
Who buys food and clothes

Childcare	N	%
Mother	21	25.3
Father.	10	12.0
Sister/brother	5	6.0
Nobody self)	42	50.6
Both parents	5	6.0
Total	83	100.0

(b)   PARENTS ABSENCE FROM HOME

Most of the juveniles 53% reported that their parents go away from the home everyday. Some 6% had parents who stay at home the whole day, while 4.8% had parents who leave occasionally.

On the duration of the parents absence from home, most of the juveniles 35% reported that their parents leave their homes very early in the morning, A few 2.4% had parents who leave late in the evening, while 4.8% do not go away from home.

On when their parents get back to their homes, 27.7% reported that their parents came back at night. Another 9.05% reported that their parents come back at mid-day. Some 4.2% reported that their parents do not leave their homes. A few 6% reported that their parents return in the morning.

It seems that for the juveniles in the survey who have parents, most of their parents spend alot of time away from home, leaving very early in the morning and coming back at night.

Table 7
Percentage distribution of parent absence from home

Parents leave	Father	Mother	Parent back	Mother	Father
Very early morning	44.6	25.3	Morning	1.2	—
Late evening	3.6	1.2	Mid day	13.3	4.8
Doesn't leave	8.4	1.2	Night	33.7	21.7
No Mother	3.4		Doesn't leave	8.4	—
No Father	—	72.3	No mother	43.4	—
			No father	—	73.5
Total	100.0	100.0		100.0	

(c)   JUVENILE CONFIDANTS

The juveniles were asked to identify whom they confide in, 53% confide in their peers. Another 24.1% did no confide in anybody, some 13.3% confide in their mothers, while 6% confide in their fathers. Only a few 3.6% confide in both parents.

This might be explained by the fact that the parents spend alot of time away from their children, hence the children have only their peers to confide in.

When asked how they spent their time when their parents are away, 59% reported

that they walk or roam around with their friends. Some 37.3% help in the house, while 1.2% were employed.

Table 8

Time spent when parents are away

Time	N	%
Help in the house	31	37.3
Employed	1	1.2
Walk around	49	59.0
No parents	2	2.4
Total	83	100.0

Table 9

Who do you spend your free time with

Person	N	%
Mother	2	2.4
Peers	79	95.2
Relatives	1	1.2
Alone	1	1.2
Total	83	100.0

Most of the juveniles 95.2% reported that they spend their free time with their peers. Some 2.4% spend time with their mother. Another 1.2% spend time with relatives, while 1.2% spend time alone.

These juveniles seem to spend alot of time with their peers, with whom they have close friendship. This might explain why these friends influence the behaviours of the juveniles.

(d)   JUVENILES FEELINGS TOWARDS THEIR PARENTS

Most of the juveniles 48.2% interviewed reported that they liked their parents. Another 15.7% did not like their parents.

On how their parents treat them, 50.6% are treated kindly. Another 28.9% reported that they were treated cruelly or indifferently.

Considering that these are juvenile delinquents, these results are puzzling. We may say that these juveniles' idea of being treated kindly is relative, i.e depending on their environment; it is the best they know about.

Table 10
Percentage distribution of the juveniles' feelings towards parents

Like	N	%
Yes	67.5	28.9
No	14.5	16.9
No mother	18.1	
No father	—	54.2
Total	100.0	100.0

Table 11
Parents' treatment of the juveniles

Person	N	%
Kindly	42	50.6
Cruelly at times	15	18.1
Always cruelly	2	2.4
Always indifferent	7	8.4
No parents	17	20.5
Total	83	100.0

Asked about the kinds of punishment meted out to them by their parents, 48.2% reported that they were caned. Another 33.7% were not punished at all. Some 16.9% were chased away from home, while 1.2% reported that they were slapped.

When the children were asked to compare the punishment meted out to their siblings, 43.4% reported that their siblings were also punished. Some 25.3% had siblings who were not punished. Another 21.7% had no siblings, the remaining 9.6% reported that their siblings were not punished as much as them.

Although some of the children indicate that they are punished, there are others who are not punished at all.

When the juveniles were questioned on whether their parents quarrel, 21.7% responded positively, the other 8.4% responded negatively. The remaining 69.9% either had no parents or their parents were not staying together.

Quite a few of the juveniles 30.1% reported that their mothers took alcohol. Another 25.3% stated that their parents did not take alcohol. About 18.1% reported that their fathers took alcohol. Only a small number 4.8% reported that both their parents took alcohol. The remaining 21.7% had no parents.

(e)   RELATIVES
Grand parents
When asked about the whereabouts of their grand parents 63.8% said their grandparents lived in the rural areas. Some 19.3% did not know the whereabouts of their grandparents. Another 13.3% reported that their grandparents are dead. A small number 3.6% stated that their grand parents lived in the slums. When asked whether they had relatives whom they can depend on, 47.0% responded positively.

When asked to identify those relatives, 26.5% identified uncles and aunties. Some 12.0% identified grandparents. The other 9.6% identified siblings i.e. brothers and sisters). The rest 51.8% could not identify any relative.

(f)   SCHOOL ATTENDANCE
Most of the juveniles 77.1% reported that they had been to school. Only 22.9% had not been to school.

On class attainment, a majority 81.9% had gone upto class 4 (lower primary). Only 18.1% had reached between class 5-8, (upper primary).

This might be explained by the fact that primary school education used to be free. So anybody could attend, however for upper primary the parents had to purchase books for their children. This puts an additional financial burden on these children's families. The children are therefore forced to leave school.

When asked who paid their school fees, most of the juveniles 49.9% stated that they had benefited from Charity. Another 24.1% had their fees paid by their mothers while 20.5% reported that their fathers paid their fees. Only 6.0% had both parents paying their fees.

On whether they had other siblings in school, 59.1% had other siblings in school. Some 36.1% had no siblings in school, the remaining 4.8% did not know whether their siblings were in school.

It is most likely that most of these juveniles enroll in lower primary but financial constraints force them to drop out of school.

When asked whether they liked school, 54.2% replied in affirmative, while 45.8% replied in negative.

The fact that they dropped out of school should not be taken to mean that they hated school, instead they were forced by circumstance to dropout.

PERSONAL HABITS OF JUVENILES
(a)   HABITS OF FRIENDS
The study attempted to determine the values of the friends that the juveniles moved around with in order to establish whether this caused juvenile delinquency.

The juveniles were asked whether their friends engage in illegal activities 65.0% replied in affirmative; another 31.3% replied in negative, while the remaining 3.6% did not know.

Table 12.

Best friend in illegal activities

Illegal activities	N	%
Never	26	31.3
Seldom	7	8.4
Sometimes	25	30.1
Frequently	22	26.5
Don't know	2	2.4
No best friends	1	1.2
Total	83	100.0

When asked whether daring illegal acts were rewarded by their friends, 67.5% reported that this was the case, while 32.5% denied.

Table 13.

Daring illegal actions rewarded

Action	N	%
Always	16	19.3
Usually	17	20.5
Sometimes	21	25.3
Seldom	2	2.4
Never	27	32.5
Total	83	100.0

When asked whether their friends disapprove of law breaking 65.1% did not disapprove, while 34.9%, disapproved.

It seems that the friend of these juveniles, approve of antisocial behaviour. This might be attributed to their poor socialization on the streets away from their parents.

(b)   PERSONAL HABITS

When the juveniles were asked whether they themselves had stolen, 55.4% said no, while 44.6% said yes.

Asked for the reasons why they stole 43.4% indicated that they needed food or money. A small percentage 1.2% claimed that they were influenced by friends. The remaining 55.4% had not stolen.

When asked whether they had destroyed property purposely 81.9% of the juveniles reported that they had not, while 18.1% reported that they had done so.

On the question on whether or not they had beaten or hurt anyone purposely, 62.7% reported that they had not, while the remaining 37.3% had done so.

As individuals the juveniles are not entirely antisocial.   However, there are some elements of antisocial behaviour among them, when they are in a group.

On the reaction of their parents to stealing 37.3% reported that their parents would be upset about their involvement in stealing while 37.3% stated that their parents would not be bothered. On the other hand 25.3% didn't not know how their parents would react.

Table 14

Percentage distribution of antisocial action

Action	Fight	Stealing	Sneaking intomovie	Hurting Someone
Never	50.6	48.2	36.1	36.1
Seldom	15.7	7.2	4.8	12.0
Sometimes	24.1	19.3	33.7	24.1
Usually	6.0	10.8	10.8	2.4
Always	3.6	14.5	14.5	25.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

As can be seen from the above table, 49.3% of the juveniles approve of fist fights as compared to 50.6% who are opposed to it. Those who approve of stealing form 51.8% while those who are opposed to it constitute 48.2%. On the other hand 63.8% of them approve of sneaking into a movie without paying as opposed to 36.1% who disapprove of it. While 63.8% approve of physically hurting someone 36.1% of them disapprove of it.

It appears that a large proportion of the juveniles tend to favour antisocial behaviour.

When asked whether they thought it in order to get around the law, 78.3% reported that it was all right particularly when one can get away with it. The remaining 21.7% responded that it was wrong to get around the law.

Table 15.

It's alright to get around the law

Opinion	N	%
Strongly agree	6	7.2
Agree	18	21.7
Undecided	41	49.4
Disagree	2	2.4
Strongly disagree	16	19.3
Total	83	100.0

(c)   CAREER AMBITION

On career ambition 69.5% reported their interest being semi-skilled craftsman such as mechanics. But 14.7% wanted to become professionals like drivers etc. Whereas 14.6% wanted to become domestic workers. The rest 1.2% want to be foremen on construction locations.

Having only gone to school upto the lower primary school the career ambitions of these juveniles, though seeming humble, is realistic.

PERCEPTION OF INFLUENCE OF FRIENDS

When the juveniles were asked whether they perceived their friends as a bad influence 74.7% responded positively while only 25.3% stated the reverse.

Table 16.

Do friends influence you to break the law
Whether friends influence the antisocial behaviour

Bad influence	N	%
Frequently	14	16.9
Sometimes	28	33.7
Seldom	20	24.1
Never	21	25.3
Total	83	100.0

On the habits of friends habits, 41.0% reported that their friends sniff glue. Some 33.7% reported that their friends smoke either bhang or cigarettes. Another 24.1% reported that their friends drink and smoke. The remaining 1.2% reported that their friend only drink.

The small number of drunkards may be explained by the fact that alcoholic drinks are very expensive, hence the juveniles resort to taking the things which they can afford such as glue and cigarettes.

Table 17.

Reported habits of friends

Habit	N	%
Alcohol	1	1.2
Sniff gum	34	41.0
Smoke bang/cigarettes	28	33.7
Both alcohol/smoke	20	24.1
Total	83	100.0

On whether the juveniles drink or smoke, 53.0% reported sniffing glue while 32.5% reported either smoking bang or cigarettes. Some 13.3% stated that they both drink and smoke. A small percentage 1.2% claimed that they only drink.

Table 18.
Reported personal habits

Habit	N	%
Drink & smoke	11	13.3
Only drink	1	1.2
Only smoke	27	32.5
Sniff glue	44	53.0
Total	83	100.0

Number of friends arrested by police

Most of the juveniles 59.0% had more than two friends who had been arrested by the police. Another percentage 38.5% either did not know whether their friends had been arrested or had no friends who had been arrested. But 2.4% had between one and two friends who had been arrested.

The big number of the juvenile friends arrested 61.4% may be related to the fact that they approve of anti-social behaviour.

OFFENCE WITH WHICH THE JUVENILES ARE CHARGED

Most of the juveniles in the study 59% were charged with vagrancy and loitering. Some 26.5% were charged with stealing whereas 12% were not charged as they were at Undugu. Only 1.2% were charged with prostitution, while the remaining 1.2% were charged with hawking.

Table 19.
Offence the juvenile is charged with

Offence	N	%
Stealing/burglary	22	26.5
Vagrancy/loitering	49	59.0
Prostitution	1	1.2
Hawking	1	1.2
Not charged/Undugu	10	12.0
Total	83	100.0

Table 20.
The reasons for committing offence

Reason	N	%
Need money/food	38	45.8
Sent by parents	24	28.9
Peer influence	16	19.3
Not charged	5	6.0
Total	83	100.0

WHETHER THE JUVENILE WAS ALONE WHEN COMMITTING CRIME

A majority of the juveniles 60.2% did not commit crimes alone. However, 39.8% reported that they were alone when committing crimes.

Most 58.5% were involved in delinquency when they were in a group of more then 5 people. Some 40% reported that they were alone while 1.3% had not committed any crime.

OVERVIEW OF THE JUVENILES

According to the findings, the juvenile delinquents were within the age range between 5 and 15 years. Among them there were more males than females.

Most of the juvenile delinquents interviewed were of the Kikuyu ethnic group, from central province. Majority of these children were illiterate, with a large number of them having dropped out of lower primary school. They cited lack of money as their reason for dropping out of school.

The majority of these children reported that they resided in the slum areas of Nairobi. Most of them were staying with their mothers, who were single parents. A considerably large number of them belong to the catholic faith.

Most of these children confided in and roamed around with their peers. A large number of them sniffed glue together with these friends.

The majority of them were frequently charged with either vagrancy/loitering or stealing/burglary. These offences were committed either due to lack of basic necessities like food, clothing, shelter and money or the delinquents were sent by their parents. They committed crime in the company of their peers.

VIEWS FROM THE ADMINISTRATORS
FAMILY BACKGROUND

According to the administrators dealing with the juvenile delinquents, most of the children come from very poor families, which are poverty stricken. Most of the families are female-headed household; the mothers are usually single woman, (unmarried mothers).

According to their view most of these children 92.3% have attended school for a number of 1-5 years only a small number 7.7% have gone upto upper primary that is class 6-8.

The administrators reported that a large proportion of these children come from the Kikuyu ethnic group.

Concerning their ages, it was reported that the majority 84.6% are aged between 11-15 years. The age group 6-10 years constituted 15.4%.

Table 21.

School attendance as reported by the Administrators

Age Group	N	%
6 - 10 years	2	15.4
11 - 15 years	11	84.6
Total	13	100.0

According to the administrators, most of the parents 38.5% of these juveniles were engaged in hawking. 15.4% were farmers, while 15.4% were prostitutes. Some 7.7% were beggars.

Table 22.

Parent occupation

Occupation	N	%
Farmers	2	15.4
Hawkers	5	38.5
Prostitutes	2	15.4
Beggars	1	7.7
Unknown	3	23.1
Total	13	100.0

As far as the parents' residences are concerned, it was reported that 69.2% lived in the Nairobi slums, while the residence of the rest i.e. 30.8% were unknown.

The administrators reported that the juveniles delinquents originate from the urban centres, only 15.4% of the informants were of the opinion that the juveniles originate from rural areas.

Children's Religion

The administrators reported that a majority 61.5% of the juveniles were Catholics, while 38.5% stated that the children had no religious affiliation.

Other relatives

It was reported that most of these juveniles 69.2% had other relatives apart from their parents but 30.8% stated that the children had no relatives.

Gender composition

It was reported that overall there were more male juvenile delinquents than female.

Child Socialization

It was reported that most 84.6% of the children came from socially disorganized families, while 15.4% were socialized into begging and stealing.

Causes of juvenile delinquency

The majority of the administrators 53.8% pointed at parental neglect as a major cause of juvenile delinquency, 30.8% picked out peer/gang pressure, while 15.4% picked out poverty.

Solutions to delinquency

The administrators felt that there was need for a national approach to this problem. Also that the NGO and government should counsel parents on the need for responsible parenthood.

Types of crimes

Most of the administrators 53.8% identified stealing as the crime committed by most delinquents. This was followed by vagrancy 15.4%.

Table 23.
Types of crimes

Crimes	N	%
Stealing	7	53.8
Vagrancy	2	15.4
None	4	30.8
Total	13	100.0

The administrators indicated that juvenile delinquents are increasing in number. The increase was attributed to poverty, parental neglect and peer pressure.

LACK OF BASIC NECESSITIES
Family Income

Most of the families 46.2% were reported as having an income of between Ksh400-500/=. Another 30.8% stated that the family monthly income was between Ksh.0-100/-, while a small 23.1% reported that these families had an income of over Ksh.500/- per month.

Why the children are on the streets

Most administrators 46.2% reported that lack of parental care led the children to the streets. However, 38.5% saw poverty as the main cause of the children being in the streets, while 15.4% reported that peer pressure lead the children to the streets.

The social environment on the streets was noted as having an influence on juvenile delinquents.

Peer group pressure, street socialization and the need to survive were also noted as causes of delinquency.

JUVENILE DELIQUENCY

Most of the administrators 69.2% reported that juvenile delinquency is highly influenced by the gang and the need to survive, others 23.1% were of the opinion that the need for survival is responsible for delinquency. Some 7.7% were not sure about the causes of delinquency.

The gang was seen as a group providing solidarity and support by most of the administrators, 53.8%, while others 46.2% reported that the gang was merely a crime committing group due to the peer pressure.

Most of the administrators 76.9% reported that the juveniles do not respect law and order. Only 23.1% reported that the juveniles respect law and order but 38.5% explained that the juveniles do not respect law and order because of their need to survive. However, 30.8% were of the opinion that peer pressure leads to the committing of crimes.

Table 24.

Reasons for not respecting law and order

Why	N	%
Peer pressure	4	30.8
Need to survive	5	38.4
Fear police	4	30.8
Total	13	100.0

SUMMARY OF THE JUVENILE DELINQUENTS FAMILY ENVIRONMENT

The family environment

The majority of the families where the children came from were headed by women, most of whom had been married but had either divorced or separated. A small number of the mothers had not been married.

Most families had an average of 4 children. A large number of parents reported having low level of education. Most of the parents were either unemployed or worked in the informal sector where they get very low incomes.

The social interaction between the family members was restricted, and the parents hardly talked with their children or took them to church.

The parents were busy making efforts to fend for their families and so they stayed out of their homes for long hours. Left on their own, the children bought their own food and even cooked it themselves. In general the children had to make do with one meal per day.

Although most of the children knew about their relatives, they could not expect any assistance from the latter. Most of the families lived a nuclear type of family, mainly, a parent and the children.

The family background of the children was characterized by lack of basic amenities (food, clothes, school), general insecurity emanating from frequent quarrels by their parents and children's thefts, all resulting from extreme socio-economic deprivation common in these communities.

It is apparent that the culture of poverty, where the parents cannot provide even the basic necessities for their children, is a major cause of juvenile delinquency.

The fact that these children have no other relatives whom they can depend on drives them further into delinquency.

Once the children are in this desperate position, the only solution is to gang up with their peers, who have the same problem. This ganging up now increases the incidence of delinquency.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

General overview

Poverty seems to be the main cause of delinquency. However, it is not always the case that poor parents produce delinquent children. Parental stability, provision of basic necessities like peace, love and affection are all necessary in preventing delinquency, without these the children may go out to fend for themselves and in so doing mix up with delinquent peers.

This research therefore concludes that material and emotion deprivation amongst the streets children is a major cause of juvenile delinquency. The slum environment in which these children are bred also affects them negatively.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The problem of juvenile delinquency emanates from poverty within the family. To solve it both the government and the NGO's should help the parents of these children to start income generating activities. These should be near their houses, so that they can supervise and feed their children well. The profits realized from these ventures can help in uplifting their standards of life.

Another source of delinquency is parental neglect, whereby the parents have no time for their children, or in other cases the parents encourage their children to roam the city streets begging and stealing in order to supplement the family income. This problem should be tackled by the social workers, who should counsel these parents on the need for responsible parenthood. The family counseling should also educate parents on how to cope with their frustrations and how to improve the relationship between themselves and their children, as well as the relationship between spouses.

Family planning should also be encouraged and taught to these parents. The reduction in the number of children born per family, will help to reduce the economic burden.

When these children are arrested, their parents should not be charged for abandoning their children but the social workers should find the root cause of the children's being on the streets. If this happens and the condition at home is improved the child might stay away from the streets.

Another problem that tends to perpetuate delinquency amongst the juveniles is early drop-out from school, which render them idle. They are, therefore, more easily influenced by the peers and other criminals into sniffing glue, smoking, drinking and stealing. A large number of these juveniles have been unable to attend school due to their parents' inability to buy school uniform, pay school fees and building funds. The government should assign social workers to schools to assess which children cannot afford these payments, so that they are given bursaries to enable them continue with their education.

Both the slum and street environment are a major contributory factor to the problem of delinquency. The government should deploy civilian policemen to help reduce or eradicate the crimes (e.g. alcoholism, drug abuse, theft vagrancy etc) in these areas. In that way the children will grow up under a healthy atmosphere without copying criminal behaviour.

The members of the public also need to be informed that they should not give money to the juvenile delinquents, as this encourages the children to keep frequenting the city centre with the hope of getting the money, which they use for buying glue/drugs. Instead the money/donation should be channeled to agencies or institutions which can improve the lives of several of these children, by educating, feeding and generally rehabilitating them. A good example of such institutions is the Undugu society of Kenya. The government should also support these agencies to enable them serve a large number of juvenile delinquents.

Donors and well wishers should also set up rehabilitation centres where some of these youths can learn handicraft (i.e. dressmaking, carpentry, shoemaking etc), so that they can earn their living in a honorable manner.

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A.   QUESTIONNAIRES FOR JUVENILE DELIQUENTS

1. Sex Male
       Female
2. How old are your?
    a) 1 - 5 years
    b) 5 - 10 years
    c) 11 - 15 years
    d) 16 - 20 years
    e) over 20 years
3.   What is your religion?_____
4. What is your ethnic group?_____
5. Where is your rural home?_____
6. With whom do you live? _____
    a) Mother
    b) Father
    c) Father and mother
    d) Alone on the streets)
    e) Relative/guardian
    f) With friends
7. Where do you stay?
    a) Urban areas
    b) In the rural area
    c) On the streets
    d) Any other
8. Where are your parents) now?_____
    a) Nairobi
    b) In the rural area
    c) Dead
    d) I don't know
9. Do you have brothers and sisters? Yes/No if yes how many?

    _____

    Where are your grandparents?
    a) In the urban area
    b) In the rural area
    c) Dead

d) I don't know

10. Are your parents living together? Yes/No if no why?

_____

11. a) Separated

    b) Divorced

    c) One is in the rural area

    d) One is dead

12. Do you have any relatives you can depend on? Yes/No

    If yes_____

13. Who are they? _____

14. What does your mother do?

    a) Unemployed specify) _____

    b) Small scale business _____

    c) Casual labourer _____

15. Why does she do the work? _____

16. What does your father do?

    a) Unemployed specify) _____

    b) Small scale business _____

    c) Casual labourer _____

      Why _____

17. How much do they earn if together bring in)

    a) 1 - 400 Kshs.

    b) 500 - 900 Kshs.

    c) 1000 - 1400 Kshs.

    d) 1500 - 2000 Kshs.

    e) Over 2000 Kshs.

18. who buys your food and clothes at home?

    a) Mother

    b) Father

    c) Sister/brother

    d) Others (specify)

19. How many meals do you eat per day?

    a) One

    b) Two

    c) Three

20. Who cooks the food?

    a) Mother

b) Sister

c) Ourselves

d) Relatives

e) Others (specify)

21. Do you get satisfied after eating?

a) Yes

b) No

22. How often does your mother/father go away from home?

a) Everyday

b) Not often

c) Never leaves

23. What time does she leave?

a) Very early in the morning

b) After mid-day

c) Late in the evening

24. What time does he leave?

a) Very early in the morning

b) After mid-day

c) Late in the evening

25. When does she come back?

a) In the morning

b) At mid-day

c) At night

26. Father

27. When you have problems who do you confide in?

a) Mother

b) Father

c) Peer

d) None of the above

28. Do you like you mother?

a) Yes

b) No

29. Do you like your father?

a) Yes

b) No

30. How do they treat you?

a) Kindly

    b) Cruelly at times

    c) Always cruelly

    d) Always indifferent

3   Why do you like or dislike them?

    a) They beat me

    b) Deny what I want

    c) Never punish me

    d) Drink too much

32. What type of punishment are you given?

    a) Caning

    b) Slapping

    c) Chased away from home

    d) Others (specify)

33. Are your brothers and sisters also punished?

    a) Yes

    b) No

    c) Not as much as me

34. How do you spend your time when your parents are away?

    a) Help in the house

    b) Employed

    c) Walk around

35. Do your parents quarrel?

    a) Yes

    b) No

36. Do they take alcohol?

    a) Yes, both

    b) Only father

    c) Only mother

    d) No they don't

37. With whom do you spend your free time?

    a) Mother

    b) Father

    c) Peer

    d) Relative

38. Have you been to school?

    a) Yes

    b) No

39. what class (if answer was yes)
   a) 0 - 4
   b) 4 - 8
   c) Form 1 - 4
   d) Above

40. Who paid your fee?
   a) Mother
   b) Father
   c) Both
   d) None

41. How many children in your family go to school?
   a) One
   b) Two
   c) Three
   d) More than three
   e) None

42. Did you like school?
   a) Yes
   b) No   Why _____

43. As far as you know. have your best friend been involved
   in any illegal activities in the past years?
   a) Never
   b) Seldom
   c) Sometimes
   d) Frequently
   e) Don't know
   f) Don't have any best friends

44. Among your best friends, is doing something that is
   daring but illegal ever rewarded with approval or
   congratulations?
   a) Never
   b) Seldom
   c) Sometimes
   d) Usually
   e) Always

45. Do your best friends disapprove of breaking the law?
   a) Very much

b) Somewhat

c) Hardly

d) Not at all

46. In the past year have you taken a thing of some value
that did not belong to you?

a) Yes _____ Explain _____

b) No

47. Have you banged or destroyed things that did not belong to you on purpose?

_____

48. Not counting fights you may have had with your brother or sister, have you beaten
up or hurt anyone on purpose in the past year?

a) Yes

b) No

49. How would your parents feel if they happened to see you steal?

a) Very upset

b) Somewhat upset

c) Hardly bothered

d) Pound of me if I didn't get caught

e) Don't know

50. Please mark how often each of the following actions seem acceptable to you?
Never Seldom Sometimes Usually Always

a) Fist fighting

b) Taking something of small value from a rich person

c) Sneaking into a movie without paying physically hurting someone

51. It's okay to get around the law if you can get away with
it?

a) Strongly agree

b) Agree

c) Undecided

d) Disagree

e) Strongly disagree

52. Write the number which is in front of the type of job coming closest to describing
the kind of work you realistically expect as your career

_____

a) Domestic - house cleaning, maid, babysitter, day
care work

b) Labourer - construction worker, janitor, helper

c) Semi skilled - machine operator, truck driver assembly line

d) Craftsman - journey carpenter, electrician, plumber, jeweler

e) Foreman - work gang, factory inspector

f) Others (specify)_____

53. Are you ever talked into doing things by your friends

that you readily don't want to do?

a) Never

b) Seldom

c) Sometimes

d) Frequently

54. Do your friends drink or smoke?

a) They drink and smoke

b) They only drink

c) They only smoke

d) They don't practice any of the above

55. Do you drink or smoke?

a) I drink and smoke

b) Only drink

c) Only smoke

d) None of the above

56. How many of your best friends have ever been picked up by the police?

a) None

b) one

c) Two

d) More than two

e) Don't know

57. What offence were you charged with?_____

58. Why did you commit it?_____

59. Were you alone?

a) Yes

b) No

Please explain _____

B.   QUESTIONNAIRES FOR THE SOCIAL WORKERS/ADMINISTRATORS

1. Sex? _____

2. What is your ethnic group? _____

3. What is your religion? _____

4. What is your marital status? _____

5. Where do you reside? _____

6. What is your occupation? _____

7.   How does it put you in contact with the juvenile delinquents?
_____

8. What type of families do these children come from?
    [Single/both parents]

9. In your opinion have they attend school?
    Yes/No_____

10. Which ethnic groups which they come from? _____

11. a) What is the general age group of these delinquents
    _____

    b) Is there a pattern? _____

12. Do you get to know their parents? _____

13. What is the parents occupation? _____

14. Where do their parents reside?_____

15. Are these juveniles origins rural or urban?_____

16. What is the religion of these juveniles?_____

17. Do they have other relatives apart from their parents?
    Yes/No_____

18. Is there a difference in numbers between male and females
    involved in juvenile deliquency? _____

19. What is the income of their families? _____

20. Who feeds/cloth/shelter these children at home? _____

21. What influenced their crime? [Group/Individual need/don't know]

22. What roleis served by the gang among those juvenile delinquents?
    1. Solidarity and support
    2. Peer pressure
    3. Committing crimes

23. Which Purpose?
    1. Yes
    2. No

24. Which purpose?
    1. Solidarity & support in the harsh environment
    2. Peer group pressure
    3. Committing crimes
25. What is the economic status of their family?
    1. Poor
    2. Middleclass
    3. Upper class
26. Do the children respect law and order?
    1. Yes
    2. No
27. What is the reason why these children are on the streets?
    1. Lack parental care
    2. Socio economic needs (poverty)
    3. Peer group pressure
28. How does the environment influence their behaviour?
    1. They have to survive
    2. Socialization/peer group pressure
    3. Idleness
29. a) Are the numbers of juvenile delinquents increasing or decreasing?
    1. Poverty
    2. Parental neglect
    3. Peer group pressure
30 What can be done to reduce the problem of juvenile delinquency?
    1. Should be given a national approach
    2. Children's department to be more aggressive in dealing with the juveniles
    3. More NGO should be involved
    4. The parents should be counseled on need of responsible parenthood/family planning, and they should be assisting in creating income generating estimates.