COMMUNITY POLICING AS A TOOL FOR COMBATING INSECURITY: A STUDY OF NAIROBI PROVINCE

BY

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DECLARATION

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

Evariste N. Adambo Signature Date: 1/11/05

This dissertation has been submitted for examination with my approval as
University supervisor.

Dr. Musambayi Katumanga Signature Date: 1/11/05
DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to the Permanent Secretary, office of the President Provincial Administration and National Security who is interested in Police Reforms.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am grateful to my wife and children who have been very encouraging and supportive in my work. Without them I would not have accomplished this work. I would also like to extend my deep gratitude to Mr. Festo Fadamula, the chief executive officer of Nairobi Central Business District Association (NCBDA). Special thanks goes to the Commandant, National Defence College (NDC) and the Senior Directing Staff for the support they accorded me during the preparation of this paper.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis seeks to examine how improved partnership between the police and the community can achieve better results in a compacting crime. It examines and analyses social, economic and political factors that underpin the successful working of community policing. Community Policing reflects a marketing approach to serving the community, while those previous efforts constituted selling. What that means is that community-policing attempts to meet the demands made by consumers, in this case the community is the client and Police the service provider. This means that various needs of the clients must be taken into account to enable the rendering of a professional client centered service that is effective, efficient and accountable.

The study also examines and analyses institutional factors critical to successful implementation of community policing. The establishment of partnership structures is the cornerstone of the system and provides an opportunity for the police and the community to analyze persistent problems within the city and identify appropriate solutions. Problem oriented policing does not concentrate on crime, but on information gathering in order to prevent rather than to react to it. In sum, the key to
success is the involvement and consultation of citizens to counter the obstacles raised by crime and feelings of insecurity. The true challenge for many police forces is to engage in active partnership with civil society and in particular with local authorities in sharing responsibility for persistent problems.

The major considerations in Community Policing are, citizens' input into defining problems to be solved, citizens' involvement in planning and implementing problem solving activities and citizens' determining if their felt needs have been met. Efforts towards this end will have to be based on knowledge on the deeper nature of community policing. It will require transformation of society on one hand and police on the other. It will necessarily involve partnerships based on mutual trust, respect, shared ideas and understanding.
ABBREVIATIONS

CBO – Community Based Organisation

CCTV – Closed Circuit Television

CKRC – Constitution of Kenya Review Commission

CPA – Christian Police Association

CPC – Community Policing Centre.

CPF – Community Policing Forum

CPU – Community Policing Unit

CYU – Chem Chem Ya Ukweli


FF – Ford Foundation

GOK – Government of Kenya

KARA – Kenya Alliance of Residents Association

KIPPPRA – Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis

M & E – Monitoring and Evaluation

NCBDA – Nairobi Central Business District Association

NCC – Nairobi City Council

NDC – National Defence College

NGO – Non-Government Organization
OCS – Officer Commanding Station
OCPD – Officer Commanding Police Division
OCPP – Officer Commanding Police Post
PAC – Community Policing Advisory Committee
PIC – Police Information Centre
PPO – Provincial Police Officer
PRSP – Kenya Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
SAPS – South African Police Service
UN – United Nations
UNEP – United Nations Environment Programme
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CHAPTER I

1.0 Introduction

Cesare Beccaric and Jeremy Bentham in their classical theory are of the contention that people choose to commit crime after a cost benefit analysis of their actions. This perspective presupposes rationalization and free will to opt for criminal behavior.

Biological positivism of Cesare Lombroso\(^1\) and others believed that some people have biological and mental traits that make them crime-prone. These traits are inherited and present at birth. Mental and physical degeneracies are the cause of crime. They attempted to relate the Darwinian theories of natural selection to the existence of persistent criminality. Positivism is a branch of social science that uses the scientific method of the natural sciences that suggest that human behaviour is a product of social, biological, psychological or economic forces.

The sociological theory of Emile Durkheim\(^2\) and others holds that a person's place in the social structure determines his or her behaviour. Disorganized urban areas are breeding grounds of crime. Crime originates from social processes involving the offender, the victim and society. In this sense, social institutions and communities in general contribute to the causation of crime. There should be focus on ensuring that the environment in which social interactions occur, minimizes the chances of crime commission and other social misconducts that lead to the

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\(^1\) Siegel L. J Criminology: Theories Patterns and Typologies, 1992 USA. West Publishing Co.

\(^2\) Ibid
breakdown of the moral fabric of society and consequently to violation of law. Lack of legitimate opportunities produces criminal sub cultures. Socialization within family, school, neighbourhood and peer group control behaviour. As such criminal behaviour must be controlled in the process of social interactions and interpersonal learning. All these social groups through which crime is learned should be involved in its control.

The Marxist/conflict theory says that crime is a function of class struggle. The capitalist system’s emphasis on competition and wealth produces an economic and social environmental in which crime is inevitable.³

Thus crime prevention education makes people aware that many crimes are opportunistic in nature and committed through negligence and carelessness of the victims. Crime is prevented if the opportunity is denied or delayed. Crime cannot be eradicated altogether but there is a point at which it can be tolerated. Community policing is a police strategy that emphasizes removing fear of police, community participation in maintenance of order, rather than crime fighting.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

The urban population has been increasing over the last twelve (12) years without a corresponding increase in police numbers. Nairobi’s population is about 3 million. Kenya’s population has increased from 28.6 in 1999 to 32.2 million in

³Ibid
2003; the number of police has not kept the pace. The ratio of police to population declined from 1:850 in 1999 to 1:908 in 2003, well below the UN recommended standard of 1:450.\(^4\) Police chiefs have sought to attribute increasing crime rates to this factor. A 33000 poorly equipped constabulary can hardly be expected to effectively police a population of 32 million people.\(^5\)

For instance, between the period 1992 and 2004, “the security system deteriorated to a point where reported crime averaged 80,000 cases. The number of reported criminal incidence increased from 73,610 in 1998 to 80,000 in 2000. This has resulted in increased banditry, cattle rustling, armed robberies, drug trafficking, theft of property, tourist harassment and car jacking among others”\(^6\). UN Habitat survey on crime in Nairobi found that 37% of all Nairobi residents had been victims of robbery and 22% victims of theft at least once during the previous year. A further 18% had also been physically assaulted during the year preceding the survey. With regards to property crimes, a total of 29% of all homes had fallen victim to burglary.\(^7\) Kenya police Service strategic plan acknowledged this problem and attributed it to “low morale, lack of professionalism, inadequate resources, political interference and endemic corruption in the service.”\(^8\)

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\(^4\) KIPPPRA, Improving the Enabling Environment for Business in Kenya: Reducing the cost of Doing Business 2005, Nairobi p92
\(^5\) Daily Nation, March 1, 2005 p8
\(^7\) UN – Habitat Crime in Nairobi: Results of a Citywide Victim Survey, Safer Cities Series No. 2, Nairobi, September 2002, p 4
\(^8\) The Kenya Police Service Strategic Plan 2003 – 2007 p 8
Apparently, it is also in this period that Kenya’s economy was performing poorly. In the last two decades the economy indicated a declining trend with the level of growth falling steadily from 4.8% in 1995 to 1.8% in 2003. This has been coupled by declining investment rates, domestic investment rate for instance declined from 21% in 1991 to 13% in 2003,\(^9\) pointing to an apparent correlation between crimes and economic performance. It is in a bid to respond to this reality that the search for a policing model/organization that can adequately handle the rapidly increasing urban population, the complexity in crime and the demand by the public for a safer environment, is anchored. While the government has acknowledged the need for “an effective police service that is responsive and proactive and integrates community consultation”,\(^10\) as noted by Murungaru, what form this should take, and operationalization of the same remains constrained.

Core in this is the loss of faith many people have evolved towards the police. “Reporting levels to police are low because victims do not believe that the police can assist them in dealing with the matter – either because there seems to be no chance of resolving the crime, or because they do not believe that the police are competent enough to help them. They suspected the police were colluding with criminals, were corrupt and turned a blind eye to particular crimes”\(^11\)

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\(^9\) Economic surveys – Various issues
\(^10\) The Kenya Police Service Strategic Plan 2003 – 2007 p iii
It is within this context of spiraling insecurity that community policing was initiated as a pilot project. The concept of community policing was initiated in 1994 in Kayole Estate, Buruburu Division. The project collapsed after a short time as people did not seem to have understood the concept. Between 2002 and 2003 five new pilot Community Policing Forums (CPFs) were established. These were Kabiria, Baba Dogo, Ruai, Kariobangi and Ziwani. While there have been some notable success stories in these areas, the outcome is still uncertain. “Before the forum started in Kabiria, residents lived under constant threats of robbery, burglary and muggings. In the period of one year the forum has been operational, incidents of robbery and mugging have gone down by over 50 percent”.

This study is interested in understanding the increasing acceptability of community policing. It is specifically interested in understanding the extent to which community policing is an alternative mode of containing spiraling insecurity. The study is interested in the circumstances under which community policing can operate effectively to complement police efforts. More critically, how can community policing be institutionalized and sustained? What explains the success or failure of community policing? Under what circumstances does community policing succeed? What are the social, economic and political factors that underpin the successful working of community policing?

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12 Kyalo J. Daudi, Community Policing in Nairobi: A Comparative Study Dissertation NDC 2003, p 5
1.2 Objectives of the Study

Broadly stated, this study seeks to examine how improved partnership between the community and the police can achieve better results in combating crime. In specific terms, the study seeks to:

a) Examine and analyze social, economic and political factors that underpin the successful working of community policing.

b) Examine and analyze institutional factors critical to successful implementation of community policing.

c) Proffer suggestions on how community policing can be transformed into complementary process for securitisation.

1.3 Justification

The past has witnessed an increase and intensity of crime in Kenyan urban centers, especially Nairobi. The city has had an upsurge in armed robberies, drug trafficking, cyber crime, carjacking, terrorism, bomb threats, money laundering, anti-social behavior, complex riots, hawker nuisance, harassment by street families, homicide cases, human trafficking and domestic violence among others. War against crime has to be sustained; new methods to match evolving antics of thugs continually sought and vigilance stepped up. The alarming sprawling urban crime and general insecurity has led to loss of public confidence and credibility of the police ability to stem the rising tide in crime.
The police is understaffed and under resourced in dealing with the upsurge of crime. The population is growing but the police force is not growing proportionally. The police force is overstretched. "It is noted that UN recommended police – population ratio is 1: 450. The Kenya police – population ratio has worsened over years from 1:711 in 1991 to 1: 875 in 2001 and 1: 1150 in 2004. Due to rising level of poverty levels only a few Kenyans can afford alternative security services. Although the share of government budget for public safety, law and order has risen from 5% to 7% in 2000s, this is below allocations in other comparable economies. This is compounded by the fact that an average of 70% of the allocation go to personal emoluments and the meager balance to capital development thereby undermining the ability of police service to adequately equip, develop and reform"\textsuperscript{14}. New approaches are required to address insecurity more effectively within limited resources available.

In its quest to improve on crime prevention and reduction, the Government has in the recent past initiated a number of far reaching reforms in the Kenya Police Force. But these reforms are not enough. The overall vision in general is provision of efficient and effective service to its citizens. This includes a radical review of the overall effectiveness of the Force as a primary law enforcement agency for the state. The government is committed to seeing change in the delivery of police service. This is central to the requirements of the Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment creation 2003-2007. This demands that we

evolve policy alternative. We also assume this study will stir interest in community policing and create more knowledge in factors affecting successful implementation of community policing which is at the heart of our police reform programme. This makes the study relevant.

Despite efforts being made, there are no significant positive indicators of resultant decline in crime trends. The policing structure still remains a highly centralized top-heavy organisation not providing an explicit policy or legal framework for community policing and with key legal stakeholders in the provision of security. Currently the police have a lot of discretion thus undermining the possibility of an accountable partnership with the community. Therefore this study aims at contribution towards the on going search for security solutions a "common good" towards which citizens, the police, the state and other stakeholders are working together to achieve security for all. The study attempts to explore the relevance of social, economic and political factors affecting community policing in Kenya.

There is neither a policy nor specific legal framework that spells out the role of communities and/or any other partners in the provision of security. Policy Development is a continuous process. The success of community policing lies fundamentally in successful transformation or reform of both the law enforcement agencies and the citizenry. It is therefore imperative that a policy development
process captures as much as possible the views of all to harness goodwill across the board.

This policy should call for a paradigm shift in our style of policing to make it clear that we will move from the traditional law enforcement and reactive style of policing to one that is proactive, community based and service oriented. A style of policing that is democratic. More often than not weight has not been put on community policing. This study aims to contribute to the policy.

Trojanowicz has described community policing as a philosophy of full-service personalized policing where the same officer patrols and works in the same area on a permanent basis, from a decentralized place, working in a proactive partnership with citizens to identify and solve problems. This idea of the same police officer patrolling on permanent basis might not work well in our situation. Trojanowicz has in mind foot patrol; we may not have enough personnel and resources. The gap this study intends to fill in this regard is to highlight social, economic and political factors that determine the success of community policing.

“Different types of communities desire different styles and levels of policing, adding another complexity to these issues of police-community relations. The understanding of this complexity has led to a call for community-oriented policing based upon the characteristics of the particular community and its

15 Trojanowicz C. Robert, Community Policing: A Survey of Police Departments in the United States, 1994, p.6
citizens"\textsuperscript{16} Kenya has a different communities and different neighbourhoods with different capacities.

To Kyalo the reason for the failure of the Kayole project to take off was due to lack of sensitisation. The public was not sensitised on the project and therefore were not sure of what their role was. In case they were sensitised, then they either never understood the concept or those who were sensitising them never drove the point home.\textsuperscript{17} There might have been other factors. He does not look at social, economic and political factors. He does not say how sensitization is to be institutionalized.

A lack of a theoretical foundation has led to a situation in which community policing has become a catchall term and sometimes an empty, buzzword. There is a need for a theory. The practice of Community Policing in Kenya is largely at experimental stages and lacks both legal and institutional framework. It has come about as a response to the capacity gap that exists in the provision of services using current policing mechanisms. “Community policing has gained popularity countrywide as war in crime hots up. It is a people’s wake up call where the concept has become popular lately”.\textsuperscript{18} The study seeks to examine and analyse institutional factors critical to successful implementation of community policing.

\textsuperscript{17} Kyalo J. Daudi, Community Policing in Nairobi: A Comparative Study Dissertation NDC 2003, p 71
\textsuperscript{18} Daily Nation, February, 28, 2005 p11
1.4 Literature Review

Mark R. Miller defines community policing in three ways. The first meaning is a philosophy for conducting law enforcement, a management style, and an organisational strategy that promotes proactive approach. The second is a police community partnership to address the causes of crime and fear as well as other community issues. The third refers to a process of identifying problems and priorities through co-ordinated community-police needs assessment, collecting and analysing information concerning the problem in a thorough, though not necessarily complicated manner, developing or facilitating responses that are innovative and tailor made with the best potential for eliminating or reducing the problem and finally, revaluating the response to determine its effectiveness and modifying it as necessary.¹⁹

To Trojanowicz, community policing is a philosophy of full-service personalized policing where the same officer patrols and works in the same area on a permanent basis, from a decentralized place, working in a proactive partnership with citizens to identify and solve problems.²⁰ It can be seen as a form of police democratization based on community participation, cooperation, accountability, transparency, and mutual responsibility for effective safety management.

Pelser points out that the political popularity of community policing can be attributed to the flexibility or definitional vagueness of the concept itself. It

incorporates a variety of differing or even conflicting definitions, the interpretation of which may be embraced and promoted by role players across the political spectrum.\textsuperscript{21} To Patterson, Community policing is the "most widely used term for a loosely defined set of police philosophies, strategies and tactics known either as problem-oriented or community-oriented policing. However, perhaps post professionalism or neo-traditionalism would be more descriptive labels. \textsuperscript{22} This definition is not clear. It is ambiguous.

Since the Community Policing model recognizes a broader and more flexible police mission it opens up a wider range of legitimate areas of action and accepts that the nature of police work arises from the needs expressed by citizens. There is no set community policing approach, rather, there is a strategic focus on open communication and flexibility in the development of strategies to solve problems and meet local priorities. Successful prevention and detection of crime depends mostly on productive and better relationship between the community and the police. Of course, it is the duty of the police to fight crime and protect people and property but they cannot be everywhere at once. Thus having watchmen can be seen as a form of community policing.

To Carter and Sapp\textsuperscript{23}, community policing is a philosophy of police management for a proactive policing and problem solving to increase efficiency
and effectiveness in addressing crime problems, service needs and improve the quality of life. Gaines\(^24\) argues it is any activity whereby the police develop closer working relations with the community and respond more effectively to citizens' needs and priorities. To Anon\(^25\) at its heart, community policing is about preventing crime. In an area of decreasing resources, crime prevention offers a cost effective way to make communities safer. Community policing engages residents as well as law enforcement agencies in that sizeable task. By making the most of both, communities greatly increase their capacity to resist crime, reduce fear, restore or sustain civic vitality

"Thus community policing means different things to different people. It is the methods by which these entities cooperate and the strategies utilized by the police that form what is known as community policing"\(^26\). The term "community policing" has many definitions and can be devalued by frequent and indiscriminate use. Even in ideal situations the concept has to overcome attitude problems from the public. This could be most important in estates that have slums in their neighbourhoods, where community policing has to involve the residents in the estates and those in those slums. This study aims at looking at social, economic and political conditions that contribute to successful community policing.

\(^{24}\) Ibid p3  
\(^{25}\) Ibid p3  
“Community policing is designed to encourage a public acceptance of responsibility for community safety and coincidentally to improve relationships between police and public in specific localities”.27 Different types of communities desire different styles and levels of policing, adding another complexity to these issues of police-community relations. The understanding of this complexity has led to a call for community-oriented policing based upon the characteristics of the particular community and its citizens”28 Kenya has a different communities and different neighbourhoods with different capacities.

“Community-based policing strategies evolve from the idea that the community is a major source of social integration in our large scale and impersonal society. These “natural areas” as early students of the city called them, provide residents with an alternative means of relating to the larger complex society. Communities provide an important source of informal social control by which individual behaviour is influenced and which usually functions to maintain control of members”.29 The study will look at the structures and institutional arrangements that are necessary for community policing.

Community policing is a strategy to maximize the integration of the formal control system of the police with the informal control system of the community. Emphasis is placed upon building bonds of communication, interaction and mutual

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29 Ibid p11
input between the community and the police, which will develop strong bonds of mutual trust and support.\textsuperscript{30} It means showing their involvement and respect for the communities they serve. In our study we shall be looking at the structures that make this possible.

The police work with citizens to help them identify and solve problems. The establishment of operational priorities under the community policing becomes a joint enterprise. Because different neighbourhoods express different capacities to participate as partners for public safety, there are no single formulae for providing police services. From a community perspective, it is sufficient that a process for establishing priorities and measuring success is ongoing.

A number of police leaders and scholars believe that community policing holds enormous promise for reducing crime and improving neighborhood life, even in disadvantaged neighbourhood where there may be little cohesiveness or public spirit. Thus Community policing recognizes the many complex factors that produce and maintain crime. The role of police officer is characterised as more of a community facilitator than a controller. This conceptualisation is reflected in the remark by an American urban police chief that police administrators are recognising (belatedly) something that was common knowledge two hundred years ago – that crime is a community problem, not just a problem of the police.\textsuperscript{31} 

\textsuperscript{30} Ibid p12
\textsuperscript{31} Ibid p. 349
The definitions of Community Policing show that the field has been littered with well-meaning concepts that imply automatic acceptance. All promised to provide new ways of policing that involve the people. Much confusion remains concerning what the term community policing actually means, and how it fits into the existing police hierarchy, in other words how it can be institutionalized. Miller, Trojanowicz, Pelser, Patterson, Gaines, Anon, Dunham, Hills, Carter and Sapp tell us what community policing is but they do not show how it is institutionalized. They do not show the social economic, political factors that affect its implementation. They look at community policing from the western point of view.

In his study Kyalo argues that the current policing style is unable to address the increases in the rate of crime and requires a new approach. To Kyalo, community policing relationship calls for collaboration between the police and the public in addressing community problems especially crime and social disorders. The two teams would work together in search of solutions for some of the problems affecting the community. To him motivation of the community is important for taking up responsibility of ensuring a safe environment. Kyalo argument does not include examination and analysis of social, economic and political factors that underpin the successful working of community policing. The study intends to fill this gap.

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32 Kyalo J. Daudi, Community Policing in Nairobi: A Comparative Study Dissertation NDC 2003, p1
33 Ibid, p 6
Kyalo argues that the concept of community policing is still at experimental stages here in Kenya despite the fact that in some countries it seems to be working quite well. The long-term effects are yet to be seen and analysed. It would entail a lot of research and civic education in order to sell the idea to the public. There are quite a number of people who seem not to be sure of the concept. Some see community-policing concept as a diversion of police from their crime fighting and prevention duties to that of responding to domestic chores.

Here in Kenya relationship between the police and the public has not been all that cordial. Almost throughout the history, the public has viewed the police as brutal, unreasonable and unrealistic. Others see it as a force for the rich and high-ranking officials in the government. Whenever a high-ranking official or rich person has any problem, the matter is handled swiftly and thoroughly. The colonialists used the police as a tool of oppression and fighting dissent among the African. Despite the attainment of independence and Africanisation of the force, its image is still haunted by the colonial past and as such there is a great need to re-examine the relationship and also the citizens perception.34

The training of the police has not been adequate as pointed out by Kyalo. The public tends to assume that there is a factory where policemen and policewomen are manufactured and programmed to behave in a certain way and that is why at times they are brutal and tend to appear unconcerned when members

34 Ibid p29
of the public complain.\textsuperscript{35} The public feels that the police should operate within the confines of the law. This means that the police have to conform to the rule of law in the performance of their duties. There is no doubt that police are the most visible arm of the state and are constantly being challenged on the legality and constitutionality of their actions.\textsuperscript{36}

According to the media people, the police always want to hide information from them and either tell them what they already know or give them a blank sheet. This turn of events gives the media an opportunity to speculate and give their own versions which is normally a replica of information they have been given by possible witnesses who in most cases are given the information by other witnesses who had witnessed the incident but left. This being the case, there is need to ensure that police-media relations are improved for better working relations and by so doing, it is hoped that each group will see the other as a partner and not as an enemy as the case appears at the moment. It is also evident that if police and the media would have good relations, then may be the police would have a trustworthy partner who would be useful especially in identifying criminals whose photographs they have. Also the media would be a good tool of disseminating information to the public about certain security aspects\textsuperscript{37}.

Despite the many times the public have called upon the police to respond to certain problems and also police have called upon the public to gather information

\textsuperscript{35} Ibid p32  
\textsuperscript{36} Ibid p33  
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid p37
on certain issues, the relationship has remained at its lowest. There is a lot of suspicion between the two groups either due to the colonial legacy or due to other reasons or factors, which are yet to be revealed. Somehow, the public are afraid of associating or revealing anything to the police because they fear that police at times reveal their identity to the criminals and do not adhere to their calling of keeping all information confidential. Again here, when the police keep the names of its informers confidential, the public starts to complain and accuse the police of colluding with criminals. This is a very tricky situation and leaves the police at an awkward position. At times the accusations are justified while at most times they are mere rhetoric.38

This state of affairs was or had gone out of hand until recently when the Nairobi Central Business District Association came into being. The group tried to create awareness to the public about the police role. The group has organised a number of workshops and seminars geared towards improving the police-public relations. The seminars and workshops have been useful, as they have at least improved to a slight extent the relationship between the police and the community. Generally, this group commands a large following from the business community as they try to improve their members’ relationship between the police and the workers of the business community39.

38 Ibid p41
39 Ibid p42
Obviously, resources for crime control are becoming less and less every year while the public demand for police services increase. The citizens’ involvement in community-police programmes is not going to be or has not been the cure for all the problems of crime and social disorder but it is necessary for maintenance of democratic values. No doubt that law enforcement agencies cannot continue to exclude the clients and producers of police service from the policies and decisions affecting the quality of life of the citizens. This is so because of the fact that there is evidence of paradigmatic shift in policing. The shift appears to be moving from the traditional close-mindedness of law enforcement bureaucracies towards a more participatory model of public safety.\textsuperscript{40}

The police booths in the city centre are intended to ease the burden of members of the public walking some long distances to go and report possible crime. This type of working procedure makes it easier for the police to pursue criminals faster than in a situation where someone goes to the station, which might be half a kilometer away to report, crime to the police then takes almost an hour for the police to visit the scene. But these booths have been neglected and have become an eyesore to the public. They are not manned.

Another attempt at crime prevention has been the formation of the vigilante groups. But these groups at times seem to be working for certain parties rather than for the public. Unfortunately also, these groups have no basic training while

\textsuperscript{40} Ibid, p44
those in community policing, have to be trained. The concept has taken long to be realised. Many of the members of the public think and hold it that it is the responsibility of the state to provide security to its citizens and not vice versa. They hold the view that since there is a state organ or institution charged with the provision of security, then that organ or institution should do its work. The members of public feel and think that if they are to work or assist the police in executing their duties, then they should be paid. This notion of payment by the members of the public then negates the whole concept and as such there is a great need to continue sensitising the public on the benefits of community policing.

It has been noted that from the few pilot projects, there has been an increased interaction between the police and the public. This increased interaction has led to the increase in the flow of information on both sides. For this matter, the police are able to advise the public on any wave of crime or any criminal who might be on the run while the public would inform the police the hideouts of the criminals. On the issue of payment many feel that when they work with the policemen, then they need to be paid. This attitude was seen in the first project of Kayole in 1997. After sometime, many people went to the Provincial Police Officer (PPO) demanding to be paid. Some had even taken it to be an employment rather than support for the sake of reducing crime. There is however, a feeling that the public seems to be more possessed with money which has become a set back to

\[41\text{ Ibid p54}\]
the concept.42 This is why this study goes further to look into economic factors that impact on community policing.

Nairobi Central Business District Association (NCBDA) feel that if they can work hand in hand with the police and reduce crime, then the possibility of foreign investors coming to invest in our country will be high. Their interaction with the police is likely to play a major role first in improving the police-public relations and hence increase interaction. Security is crucial and central not only to the business group but also to its customers. The Association took up the challenge due to what they saw as security lapse due to the rising crime in the city, which led to the United Nations officers here in Nairobi to raise some concern. They feel as an organisation, they are closer to the people than the police are and therefore can help to bridge the bad blood or suspicion between the two.43

They see relationships between the police and the public as rather stale based on suspicion between either parties. The public does not trust the police with confidential information while the police do not respond first to members of the public distress calls unless induced. The Association sees Community Policing concept as providing the biggest potential to address crime due to: - being cost-effective. The police will not require a lot equipment or apparatus to reach to the public, as the public will be ready to pass any important information to the police thus reducing the cost of police operations. It helps the police to gather intelligence

42 Ibid p55
43 Ibid p. 57
on suspected criminals or on criminal activities. It seeks harmony and understanding between the police and the public, and finally it provides natural and material support in crime prevention as far as crime is concerned.\textsuperscript{44} Kyalo assumes that with community policing there will be free flow of information. He does not realize that institutionalization is important.

There is need for the police to make deliberate efforts to win public confidence and trust. To achieve this they have to undergo in-service training in public relations and customer care. There is need to train all officers so that they are able to handle all classes of people irrespective of their status in the community. This would enhance the force and also their campaign among the different classes of people as they sell the concept of community policing. Throughout Kyalos argument he stresses on sensitization. While sensitization is important he does not tell us how it is to work. The study is too general.

The station commanders are crucial in advancing the concept of community policing because for everyone project on the ground, the community have to partner and work closely with the local police stations. Unfortunately, it appears most station commanders have been a big let down. It appears that the station commanders do not understand what community policing is all about or if they do, they feel threatened and probably see the move as though it is intended to compromise their powers by sitting with the public to set goals on security.\textsuperscript{45} The

\textsuperscript{44} Ibid p. 58
\textsuperscript{45} Ibid p 61
argument of Kyalo does not include institution factors that are critical to the successful implementation of community policing. This may offer the reason why the station commanders were a big let down. Community policing has not yet been institutionalized.

Eric Pelser looks at the situation in South Africa and states that in his opening address to Parliament on 25th June 1999, South African new President Mbeki committed the government to take measures to “strengthen the community police force to improve their capacity to mobilize the people against crime and to improve cooperation between the people and the law enforcement agencies”. Mbeki is committed to enhancing of Community Police Forums (CPF s). These structures are in almost all police stations in South Africa. They are the most visible, if not the only expression of South Africa’s community policing policy.

Pelser attempts to outline Community Policing challenges by providing a brief analysis of the original of Community Policing in South Africa. He looks at how this influences the conceptualization of the later community policy. He provides descriptive analysis of the development and content of the policy that guides community policing in South Africa and assumptions underlying that policy. He looks at the manner in which the policy has been implemented and its impact. To conclude, an outline of some of the key lessons learned from South African experience of community policing is provided. For Kenya’s case, we have

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not yet formulated a policy framework. We have not yet institutionalized community policing. Factors for the successful implementation of community policing are different in Kenya.

To understand community policing in South Africa, which we could borrow from, it is necessary to look back at the country’s experience. For it is here in the vicious political violence that engulfed the country shortly after the unbanning of the liberation movements in February 1990 that the shape of South Africa’s community policing was set. The first formal reference to community policing as the prescribed approach, style or methodology for policing in South Africa is found in the Interim Constitution Act 200 of 1993. The Constitution directed that an act of parliament provide for the establishment of community-police forums in respect of police stations. The police were to be democratized and legitimized by enhancing oversight and accountability generally, and particularly by enhancing interaction, consultation and accountability at local or police station level.

The emphasis on accountability was continued with the publication of the new government’s first formal policy statement on safety and security in mid 1994. The draft policy document placed particular emphasis on democratic control of the police service and community involvement in safety and security issues “In doing so, the policy statement contextualised the transformation of the police service within the ambit of community policing. As it was put, community policing must
be made to permeate every aspect and level of policing”. 47 These principles were subsequently entrenched in the South African Police Service Act. The Act formally established and detailed the functioning of CPFs. It became the responsibility of the police, and provincial commissioners to establish CPFs. Community consultation and input were therefore structured throughout the command structure of the new South African Police Service (SAPS).

In April 1997 the Department of Safety and Security published its formal policy on community policing — the community policing Police Framework and Guidelines. Developed through a consultative process over a three-year period, the policy framework defined community policing in terms of “a collaborative, partnership based approach to local level problem solving”. 48 Written retroactively in response to developments on the ground, the policy document was mainly intended to provide direction for the police managers. The document provided detailed step-by-step guidelines for establishing CPFs, a guide on change management, guidelines for demographic and local level crime analysis, the development of partnerships and local level problem solving.

The five core elements of community policing in South Africa are service orientation, partnership, problem solving, empowerment and accountability. It has been argued that the five elements correspond with the distinctive features of the

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47 Ibid p 4
48 Ibid p 5
neo-liberal model of community policing as it evolved in Western Europe, particularly in United Kingdom.

The CPFs are responsible for the improvement of police-community relations, the oversight of policing at local level and the mobilization of the community to take joint responsibility in the fight against crime. The challenges this poses for the practical functioning of CPFs have been pointed out as follows: "Is it reasonable to believe, for instance, that given the history of conflict between the police and communities, that a structure that was designed both to improve relations and oversee the police would succeed in other functions. Is it plausible that in communities where police were perceived to be oppressors and where the police believe that the most constructive crime prevention is police-led, that many members of the community would willingly give of their time and resources to assist the police in fighting crime?"49

Given these differing and contradictory functions, the experience of CPFs and therefore, community policing has differed considerably across the South African country. The experience of community policing appears to be determined by basic resources, trust, education, incremental resources and full partnership. In South Africa it seems community policing has not yet been fully institutionalised.

49 Ibid p 12
The implementation of community policing policy, through the establishment and functionary of CPFs has generally facilitated positive contact and engagement between the police and those they serve. This engagement has resulted in an improved and strengthened political legitimacy for the police – a key objective of the policy. However, it seems unlikely that the implementation of the policy in its current form and with its sole focus on CPFs, will facilitate achievement of the policy’s wider goals – improved service delivery and actual reduction in crime.

The foregoing literature deals mainly with the general views of community policing. It does not provide concrete information on the working of community policing in a developing country like Kenya. In Kenya’s case the bigger problem lies in slum areas that are growing fast. These slum areas are characterised by intensive poverty. There is also the issue of ethnicity and vigilantism like Mungiki. This study will attempt to answer, *what explains the success or the failure of community policing? What are the social, economic and political factors that underpin the successful working of community policing?* This study seeks to go further by not only responding to above questions but also proffering the necessary recommendations.

1.5 Conceptual Framework

Community policing is based on the concept of geographical responsibility. This type of policing seeks close contact with citizens while contributing to the
development of local knowledge and expertise. This police model promotes closer relations between the police and community for more effective prevention of crime and insecurity. It is a way of policing a section of a town, where the members of the local community and local police force act together to prevent crime and disorder with policemen on foot patrol, rather than patrol cars.

This approach reflects a set of professional values that sees citizens, not the police, as the first line of defense in the neighborhood. In this new approach, the police and the community collaborate in both defining and executing the police mission. The community is viewed not as a constituency to be placated (or a terrain to be pacified) but as an active, essential partner in fighting crime and fear.

The police work with citizens to help them identify and solve problems. Such priorities under the community policing become a joint enterprise. Because different neighbourhoods express different concerns and ambitions – and have different capacities to participate as partners for public safety – there is no single formula for providing police services. From a community policing perspective, it is sufficient that a process for establishing priorities and measuring success is ongoing.

Under community policing, police officers are deployed in non-traditional ways. Thus, supervision and control must be viewed from a non-traditional perspective. Given the philosophy that strategies for crime control and prevention
are shaped jointly by a community's residents and the local police, not by the top of the police hierarchy, it becomes obvious that the traditional method of deploying officers cannot work here.

A small geographical area is identified and a team of officers is established there. The head of the team functions as a kind of chief of police for this area. The team of officers is held accountable for everything of police interest around the clock. Moreover, police and local citizens decide jointly what is of police interest. To allow the team to have a permanent post where business can be transacted and residents can turn for assistance, a mini station may be created. These officers are given a great deal of autonomy and are to exercise it responsibly.

Community policing is both a philosophy (a way of thinking) and a strategy (a way to carry out the philosophy) that allows the police and the community to work together in new ways to solve problems of crime, disorder and safety issues to improve the quality of life for everyone in that community. The philosophy is built on the belief that people deserve and have a right to have a say in policing in exchange for their participation and support. It also rests on the view that the solutions to community problems require the police and the public to examine innovative ways to address community concerns beyond a narrow focus on individual crime incidents.
The role of the community is therefore that of informed and proactive individuals and representatives, who voice their opinions, offer their expertise and resources and take responsibility for their actions. This philosophy enables a constraint to be placed on a too prescriptive and managerial role by the state and the police in particular.

1.6 Hypotheses

This study will be guided by the following hypotheses:

a) That success of community policing is a function of availability of certain core political, economic and social values.

b) That community policing is a function of availability of organised institutional factors for example Community Policing Forums, partnerships and training.

1.7 Methodology

The study comprised of information and data gathered from various sources. Data was also gathered from past Government reports, policy papers and existing legislation. Library research constituted the dominant source of investigation.

Consequently this study is essentially documentary, mostly relying on secondary sources of information. The secondary sources of information include KIPPRRA publications, NCBDA Magazines, Daily Nation Newspapers, Sunday
1.8 Definition of Concepts

To Trojanowicz, "community policing is a philosophy of full-service personalized policing where the same officer patrols and works in the same area on a permanent basis, from a decentralized place, working in a proactive partnership with citizens to identify and solve problems".\textsuperscript{50} The idea of the same police officer patrolling on permanent basis might not work well in our situation. We may not have enough personnel and resources. Otherwise patrolling on permanent basis contributes to visibility and accessibility of the police.

To Patterson, Community policing is the "most widely used term for a loosely defined set of police philosophies, strategies and tactics known either as problem-oriented or community-oriented policing. However, perhaps post professionalism or neo-traditionalism would be more descriptive labels.\textsuperscript{51} The interpretation of this definition may be difficult. It is vague. Here the focus is on problems solving.

This study is adopting a definition that appeared in Kenya Times that defines Community Policing as "collaborative effort between the police and the

\textsuperscript{50} Trojanowicz C. Robert, \textit{Community Policing: A Survey of Police Departments in the United States}, 1994, p.6
\textsuperscript{51} Jeffery Patterson, \textit{Community Policing} FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin – Nov. 95, Vol, 64 Issue 11
community that identifies problems of crime and disorder and involves all elements of the community in search for the solution to these problems." It is also a function of availability of organised institutional factors.

Community Policing signaled a new value system in which police would become more involved with the social problems within their neighbourhoods. The common theme running through all of the definitions of community policing remains the desire to improve the quality of life for local residents. To accomplish the goals and objectives of the program, most community policing theories state that an order maintenance component must exist that targets problems specific to each community or environment.

However, coupled with the order maintenance, police also must engage in problem solving designed to deal both with the immediate situation and with the underlying causes of the problems. The general public and law enforcement must partner to identify problems and formulate solutions. The local law enforcement agency and its citizens must arrive at a consensus definition for community policing before they attempt its implementation. The definition needs to be flexible and subject to change as problems in the neighborhood evolve. It is important to harmonise the different definitions and understanding of community policing strategy.

52 Kenya Times, Monday November 22, 2004 p15
Community policing is increasingly being recognized as the most appropriate philosophical foundation for democratic policing. It is also recognized as an approach to policing that meets many of the post–conflict safety and security challenges. Community policing is not a one-off effort, but a long-term strategic approach, and as such it needs to be implemented in a sustainable and systematic way. This approach is based on respect for human rights, accountability, and the need for effective police operations to be conducted in a partnership with the communities who are the recipients of the public service being provided.

1.9 Chapter Outline

Chapter I

Chapter one deals with the introduction, hypothesis, the objectives of the study, the statement of the problem and justification. It also reviews the relevant literature on community policing.

Chapter II

This chapter looks at three case studies that are mostly referred to in our study. These three are among the several existing community policing forums pilot projects. They are Kabiria, Ruai and Baba Dogo Community Policing Forums. These pilot projects are discussed.
Chapter III

This chapter looks at social, economic, political and other factors that affect community Policing. It seeks to argue that the success of community policing is a function of availability of certain core social, economic and political values.

Chapter IV

This chapter seeks to examine and analyze institutional factors critical to successful implementation of community policing. The institutional factors critical to community policing are looked at here.

Chapter V

This chapter gives recommendations and the conclusion. It seeks to demonstrate the extend to which tasks of our objectives have being met.
CHAPTER II
COMMUNITY POLICING – A CASE OF KABIRIA, RUAI AND BABA DOGO COMMUNITY POLICING FORUMS

2.0 Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to operationalize Community Policing; this is done by way of formal structures and informal contacts. We examine three case studies. These are still pilot projects on community policing. “In many parts of the country where the programme has been introduced police have reported a reduction of 30 per cent in crime”.53

Community Policing is about people working with the Police to improve their safety and security in their neighbourhoods. It means the police participating in the community and responding to the needs of that community, and the community participating in its own policing and supporting the police. It is a working partnership between the police and the community who work together in mobilizing resources to resolve problems affecting their safety over the long term.

This chapter is organised around three Units. Unit one looks at Kabiria Community Policing Forum, Unit two look at Ruai Community Policing Forum. Unit three looks at Baba Dogo Community Policing Forum.

53 The Standard, Tuesday, April 26, 2005 pg 31.
2.1 Kabiria Community Policing Forum

Kabiria is located 12 kilometers west of Nairobi city. Though within the Nairobi Provincial boundary, it is a rural setting where most inhabitants live on ancestral land inherited from their forefathers. With the increasing population of Nairobi other people have in the last few years, moved into Kabiria as house renters or small-scale business people in search of cheaper accommodation. The community is, therefore, a mixture of close-knit families related by blood or marriages and strangers living in rented accommodations\textsuperscript{54}.

Kabiria has poor infrastructure. Many have no access to electricity, and some who live near power supply lines cannot afford to use it. The roads are not tarmacked and therefore subject to the vagaries of the weather and very dusty in dry weather. Piped clean water is available to residents who can afford it while others rely on buying water from neighbors who own wells or from a nearby community center borehole\textsuperscript{55}.

Kabiria has a population of about 20,000 people, most belonging to the lower middle class. A typical household consists of a father who works outside the home and a mother who stays home caring for the children. Employment, when it is available, is manual or clerical work, usually obtained in nearby business centers

\textsuperscript{54} Millstones: A quarterly update of the policing and community safety programme. The Nairobi Central Business District Association publication October – December 2002 p4

\textsuperscript{55} Ibid p4
or in the City. The majority of young people between ages 18 and 28 are not gainfully employed\textsuperscript{56}.

Before the forum started, Kabiria residents lived under constant threats of robbery, burglary and mugging. The poor infrastructure coupled with the fact that the nearest police station is located 2.5 kilometers away means that robbers, burglars and muggers had an easy time terrorizing residents. Robbers would come and go as they wished, relying on darkness for cover and knowing that pursuit was almost impossible\textsuperscript{57}.

Residents got together and asked the Government to set up a security arrangement involving the community and the police. After a series of consultations between the Community, the Community Policing Centre (CPC) of NCBDA and the Community Policing Unit (CPU) of the Kenya Police, Kabiria Community Policing Forum was launched on the 20\textsuperscript{th} of August 2002. The Forum includes a panel of men and women who form the Community Policing Forum and 45 men who form the Neighbourhood Watch Group. The forum meets once every month to discuss security and other issues. Representatives from the CPU and the Riruta Police Station also attend. The Neighbourhood Watch Group, headed by a Co-coordinator, operate a night patrol schedule in the company of officers from the Kenya Police\textsuperscript{58}.

\textsuperscript{56} Ibid p4
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid p5
\textsuperscript{58} Ibid p5
In the period of one year, that the forum was operational, incidents of robbery, burglary and mugging went down by over 50 percent\textsuperscript{59}. The biggest challenge facing Kabiria Community Policing forum is ownership of the forum by residents. A majority of residents need to accept their role as key players in the provision of their own security. There are still some people who believe that provision of security is the sole responsibility of the police. In time this perception needs to change. Meanwhile, persistence in education on Community Policing and partnership should have top priority.

2.2 Ruai Community Policing Forum

Ruai is a vast sprawl in the eastern part of the City, Embakasi Constituency in Embakasi Division. It is 27 Kilometers from the city centre along Kangundo Road between Njiru and Tala. Ruai is inhabited by various classes of people but is mostly middle class, 96% of the area’s 23,000 residents are homeowners who have moved in the neighbourhood recently, most still in employment. Ruai has adequate education and medical facilitates. The area has 6,000 households. It is administratively organised into 15 villages or zones. The spirit of community thrives in Ruai, as is manifested by 15 active Community Based Organizations (CBOS) addressing the different needs of residents. They include faith-based organizations, gender associations and academic institutions\textsuperscript{60}.

\textsuperscript{59} Ibid pp5-6
\textsuperscript{60} Ibid p5
The Community Policing Unit and the Christian Police Association (CPA) initially sensitized residents on community policing through an initiative in February 2002. On request of CPA, Community Policing Unit (CPU) visited Ruai in March 2002. After several CPU brokered consultations, Ruai CPF was launched in June 2002. The twin objectives were to improve people police relations and promote community policing. It is the first forum to be established through the auspices of the Policing and Community Safety Programme. It has 15 zonal sub committees and one executive committee.

The forum is by far the most organized and successful. The forum has built a Police Post in a three-acre plot and a dog kennel at the Police Post. The Police Post is to be officially inaugurated by the Commissioner of Police in the near future. Apart from offices and detention cells, the post has accommodation (single quarters) for 10 police officers. An experiment will be made here on joint management of the police post, with civilian volunteers providing certain services such as to collecting information that residents do not wish to submit to police. The Forum is also involved in schools outreach, particularly campaigns against substance abuse and truancy. It has brought together diverse citizens groups, facilitated consensus building on security and assisted in articulating priorities for the community.

\[\text{Ibid p5}\]
Before the forum started, Ruai residents lived under fear, constant threat of robbery, burglary, mugging, illicit brews, illegal road blocks and car jacking. Criminal activities were rampant. "Ruai an area initially associated with high crime rates recorded 1 murder case down from 2 before the strategy was implemented. Rape cases went down from 3 to 1 case while assault dropped from 11 to 9. There was marked drop in the number of robberies from 25 to 15, break-ins from 24 to 6, general stealing from 9 to 2 and miscellaneous cases from 28 to 13". This brings the total cases from before the community policing strategy 102 to 45 after.

2.3 Baba Dogo Community Policing Forum

It is located in North-West of Nairobi in Kasarani Police Division under Ruaraka Police post. It is approximately 10 kms from the city centre. Baba Dogo is a cluster of 15 densely populated villages in Kasarani Constituency with a total population estimated at 38, 500. Residents are mostly low-income earners; some livings in their own homes while the vast majority are tenants in formal and informal settlements. The houses range from storied blocks, semi – permanent to mud slum houses. Several industries located in the constituency employ most of the local residents. Residents rank poor infrastructure, social services and security as the biggest challenges they face.

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62 Daily Nation, Tuesday April 26, 2005 pg 4.
The relations with police and provincial administration have been problematic, underlined by deep mistrust and perception by residents that not enough is being done to meet their security needs. However, residents concede the police do not have adequate resources such as equipment to carry out their work effectively\(^63\).

The Provincial Police Officer launched the Forum on 10\(^{th}\) August 2002 following a series of consultations between residents and law enforcement officers. The Community Policing Centre of NCBDA and the Community Policing Unit brokered the consultations bringing the interests of both community and industries together. These industries are currently mobilizing resources to develop the police posts into fully-fledged police Station\(^64\).

\(^{63}\) Ibid p4
\(^{64}\) Ibid p4
CHAPTER III

THE SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL FACTORS THAT UNDERPIN SUCCESSFUL IMPLEMENTATION OF COMMUNITY POLICING

3.0 Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to examine and analyze social, economic and political factors that underpin the successful working of community policing. It seeks to argue that the success of community policing is a function of availability of certain core political, economic and social values.

It notes that human security conceptually transcends the seemingly narrow state-centric realist consideration. It recognizes security implications rooted in social, economic and political wellbeing of citizens who constitute states. Human security is not only about freedom from armed attack on life and property, but also freedom from socioeconomic want, notably hunger, poverty, disease and malnutrition, illiteracy, indecent living, torture, harassment, and discrimination. It is the totality of the wellbeing of humanity and safety of their institutions, properties and values. It is the inability to address these concerns that result into vulnerabilities, which engender insecurity.

This chapter is organised around three units. Unit one examines and analyses social factors that underpin successful working or failure of community policing.
It will deal with the issues such as domestic violence, crime, corruption, poverty social disintegration, unemployment, trust and teamwork. Unit two examines and analyses economic factors that impact on Community Policing. Unit three examines and analyses political factors such as democracy.

3.1 Social Factors that Underpin Successful implementation of Community Policing

In this unit we examine social factors that underpin the successful implementation of community policing. Kabiria as one of examples of the Community Policing forum that has had some success. "Kabiria is located 12 kilometers west of Nairobi city. It is within Nairobi Province but it has a rural setting given the fact that most inhabitants live on their ancestral land. It has an estimated population of about 20,000 people. With the increasing population of Nairobi other people have in the last few years, moved into Kabiria as house renters in search of cheaper accommodation. The community is, therefore, a mixture of close-knit families related by blood or marriages and strangers living in rented accommodations."66 A typical household consists of a father who works outside the home and a mother who stays home caring for the children. The majority of young people between ages 18 and 28 are not gainfully employed. Employment, when it is available, is manual or clerical work, usually obtained in nearby business centers or in the City.67

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66 Millstones: A quarterly update of the policing and community safety programme. The Nairobi Central Business District Association publication October – December 2002 p4
67 Ibid p4
As we have noted “Kabiria is characterised by poor infrastructure. Most of it inhabitant have no access to electricity, a function of low income. The roads are in poor state. Piped clean water is available to residents who can afford it". Unavailability or inaccessible roads particularly in slum areas hinder rapid response by security agents to victims of crimes. Poor lighting systems also make it difficult to track down criminals. “The poor infrastructure in Kabiria coupled with the fact that the nearest police station is located 2.5 kilometers away means that robbers, burglars and muggers had an easy time terrorizing residents. Robbers would come and go as they wished, maximizing on darkness for cover and knowing that pursuit was almost impossible." In the period of one year the forum has been operational, incidents of robbery and mugging have gone down by over 50 percent".

Before western civilization interfered with our way of life we used to have elaborate security measures to guard against all sorts of threats. The surest way to go about our security is the realization that we must come together as neighbours and establish a road map to a secure environment. Government should be seen as a facilitator and not a provider or dispenser of security. This is what Kabiria community did. “Residents got together and set up a security arrangements that involves both community and police”.
The social conditions, which promote crime, are varied and are further complicated by resource imbalances that are created and entrenched within the system. Substance abuse, street children, inadequate access to education, high levels of victimisation and a depressed job market have been identified as some of the main causes of social conditions which promote the occurrence of crime and violent behaviour. For Kabiria we have noted that the majority of the young people are not in gainful employment. This makes them prone to crime.

Community policing is an aspect of social crime prevention. In this regard while criminal justice system looks at the effects of crime, social crime prevention focuses on its causes as well as the social and economic conditions, which contribute to criminal and violent behaviour. Social conditions, which promote crimes, are varied and further complicated by resource imbalances that were created and entrenched in the country through mismanagement of Kenya economy in the 1980’s and the 1990’s as well as the radical shift in global economic trends over the same period.

This has resulted into a range of vices amongst them, corruption, abject poverty, substance abuse, street families menace, inadequate access to education, social disintegration, child abuse and widespread unemployment. Nowhere is a multi – agency approach found more critical than in dealing with these adverse social conditions. And this multiagency approach is community policing. If community policing has to be successful the adverse social conditions have to be
addressed. The police force remains at the core of state techniques of management of surveillance, control and protection of society. All attempts are made to enhance its efficiency at these tasks; a fact that at times renders it to potential abuse. Yet police can also be used to engender social happiness. This demands that it is equipped, well housed, led and motivated.

3.1.1 Crime Prevention and Community Policing

Effective social crime prevention strategies should be in conformity with overall national agenda in reduction of social, economic and environmental factors that contribute to specific crimes and the improvement of the Criminal Justice System. Effective policing cannot be actualized unless and until salient issues that directly and indirectly affect security are sufficiently addressed. This view is based on the notion that crime is a symptom of a variety of causes, some of which are deeply embedded in society for instance, poverty, unemployment, erosion of traditional social fabric as well as instability in the areas with the attendant repercussions of refugee influx and proliferation of illicit firearms. For Kabiria we have seen that unemployment affects community policing.

The limits of the justice system coincide not only with negative perceptions of the police and justice systems in terms of reduced accessibility due to cost and delays, but also with its reduced ability to act, further aggravated by social exclusion, poverty and a lack of community services. Quality of life and security within communities justify urgent investments in crime prevention for the
sustainable development of human settlements. To develop sustainable solutions that go beyond traditional responses, we must take advantage of all knowledge and expertise, whether local, national or international, and promote the use of prevention strategies aimed at reducing criminal activity and increasing feelings of security, especially in the city, which are the driving force in any economy.

Crime and security in Kenya is multifaceted. It is attributed to various factors including high population growth, poor governance and political instability, weakening of family structures, increased individualism and alienation and weakening of key institutions such as the school and law enforcement systems. Further, crime and insecurity is associated with problems of inequalities characterized by unemployment, poverty and social exclusion, lack of welfare systems in society. Crime has also acquired complex dimensions with the heightened pace of globalization, which has not only compounded existing inequalities but has also enabled crime and insecurity and their impact and consequences to permeate national boarders.

The capacity for community policing to function depends on levels of cohesion and the ability to meet locally; this hinges on personal safety issues. Sustained crime and violence often systematically create fear and reduce trust between neighbours and communities. Fear increases urban fragmentation, resulting in a new urban landscape made up of "fortified fragments", from which the poor and marginalised are excluded. We have seen that Kabiria community
because of personal safety issues decided to come together and form a Community Policing Forum.

Safety and security concerns must extend beyond reacting to the effects of crime and must address the root causes of crime, gender violence, vandalism, and other forms of deviant behaviour. Responses must be found with communities and through mechanisms based on local culture and the resources and capacities of the various stakeholders. The extent that these high levels of crime have come to be accepted as a way of life by the residents of Nairobi suggest that a degree of social 'paralysis' may have set in, which limits society's ability to participate in crime reduction initiatives. Kabiria community has been able to overcome this.

Community policing taps community resources to share crime control efforts. Community policing, on the other hand, is designed to make crime control a collaborative effort. When properly implemented, community policing seeks to enhance crime control by engaging more powerful social control mechanisms. The police are considered as part of the community and not apart from it. The philosophy of Community Policing does not abandon traditional methods of policing. Rather, it gives employees additional tools and latitude to look deeper into the causes of problems, while giving them the authority to make decisions to solve those problems.
Kariobangi was noted for the violent community clashes in early 2002. NCBDA joined forces with chemchem ya ukweli (CYU) and religious leaders in the area to facilitate a series of healing consultations that led to the formation of the community policing forum early 2003. The forum is mostly concerned with healing the community. As officers address problems of social and physical disorder, criminogenic conditions diminish. The cumulative effect of improving quality of life in the community reduces the levels of crime. In the process, the police become more effective crime – fighters. Community policing shifts the role of the Police Officer from incident – driven law enforcer, to problem solver and facilitator. Enforcement tactics are not eliminated; rather the tools available to officers are greatly expanded. At first, people may become more dependants upon their community police officer. That is why it is important for the community police officer to organize support networks. A community police officer cannot do it alone. It is necessary to create an atmosphere where citizens do more for themselves.

The problem-oriented approach and the Broken Window’s theory, as proposed by Goldstein (1979), and Wilson and Kelling (1982) respectively, were considered to be pioneering works in the re-definition of policing. The problem-oriented approach shifted attention away from symptoms of crime towards causes of crime and away from incidents towards the problems causing and fuelling them. The Broken Windows theory suggested that the degradation of a neighbourhood caused feelings of insecurity and that the indicators of such degradation, like
broken windows, were an invitation for disturbances and criminal activities. If the police wanted to tackle crime, they had every interest in bringing together communities and convincing them to invest in the neighbourhood itself. What communities accurately identified was that a deteriorating neighbourhood becomes a magnet for serious crime. Decaying neighbourhood diminishes the quality of life for the majority of citizens because of the constant barrage of so-called petty crime and disorder problems. While community policing deals with serious crimes, both in solving crime that do occur, it also addresses the more immediate and pressing concerns of community decay and disorder that provides the breeding grounds for serious crime. Both theories together created a revolution in the way policing was perceived. They were the starting point for a new paradigm, which afterwards, was named Community Policing.

Crime and disorder trigger deterioration in the physical and social urban environment, causing community breakdown and aggravating feelings of insecurity, particularly in areas identified as high risk. Public areas are deserted, business activity declines and community services deteriorate, with the resulting increase in residential relocation and a widespread feeling of insecurity. All these factors have an impact on community solidarity and the quality of community life and affect the ability of communities to independently implement social control mechanisms.

The community must accept the responsibility of crime prevention as Kabiria and Ruai community has done in as much as it is a police responsibility and must join hands with the police to make crime prevention effective. The failure of public involvement in crime prevention may be attributed to inadequate knowledge that the publics are partners in the fight against crime. It is the police responsibility to bridge this gap through sustained programme of education that brings about crime prevention awareness throughout the community. Crime prevention education makes people aware that; they are personally responsible for the safety of their property and themselves and for the safety of their neighbourhood. The inadequate knowledge led to the failure of the Kayole community policing project, the reason for failure of Kayole project to take off was due to lack of sensitisation. The public was not sensitised on the project and therefore were not sure of what their role was. In case they were sensitised, then they either never understood the concept or those who were sensitising them never drove the point home.73

Many crimes are opportunistic in nature and are committed through the negligence and carelessness of the victims. Crime is prevented if the opportunity is denied or delayed. Communities can prevent crimes by taking simple and effective measures as their own or on cooperation with their neighbours. Crime prevention measures must be commensurate with the threat. Effective protection will not come from any single measure but from sum total of all practical and

73 Kyalo J. Daudi, Community Policing in Nairobi: A Comparative Study Dissertation NDC 2003, p71
possible measures. The goal is to develop community based mechanisms for reducing crime and incivility. Sustainable prevention through the use of situational measures requires enlisting the responsibility and ability of residents to ensure public safety in their community. It is aimed at reducing opportunities for committing offences and decreasing vulnerability through better-focused protection. Maintenance of Law and Order cannot be exclusively assumed to be the preserve of the police alone.

Crime, violence and fear in urban environments pose considerable challenges to the development of a safe and supportive city. The basic principles of good governance must find a direct application in any urban safety strategies aimed at effectively reducing and preventing common problems of crime and insecurity. Police operations would also reflect common objectives shared by the various institutional and community groups with a view to making the urban setting safer. This action would be seen as being generally legitimate, democratic and in accordance with human rights. The results of this action would be measurable both in terms of a reduction in crime and a greater feeling of security among residents.

The social and economic inequalities that breed crime must be carefully addressed. Without development, growth and economic empowerment, the social conditions leading to crime are likely to persist. Perpetrators are usually male youths with very limited resources coming from deprived urban environments,
which are mostly slum areas. Offering youth a secure environment where constructive activities take place could go a long way towards preventing crime. Corruption, unemployment and security show up as three main worries for the government. People believe, that those big three issues have either got worse under Narc or at best, remained just as bad as ever\textsuperscript{74}. Take an example of Baba Dogo, Community Policing Forum residents are mostly low-income earners; some living in their own homes while the vast majority are tenants in formal and informal settlements. The houses range from storied blocks, semi-permanent to mud slum houses. Several industries located in the constituency employ most of the local residents. Residents rank poor infrastructure, social services and security as the biggest challenges they face.

3.1.2 Urbanization as it Impacts on Community Policing

Over the past twenty-five years, communities in Kenya have increasingly been urbanized. The multiplication of spontaneous zones of urbanization has caused the exclusion, and social and physical marginalization of an increasing portion of the population. On the whole, the urbanization process is characterized by a substantial increase in the size of the city together with elementary infrastructure problems such as the shortage of appropriate housing, with the resulting emergence of urban zones deprived of adequate collective services and a steadily growing concentration of poor citizens living in the streets. The expansion of illegal structures contributes to the growth of slums and over-populated

\textsuperscript{74} Daily Nation December 31, 2004 p4
suburban areas. These waves of immigration contribute to drastic transformations of the city, bringing a flood of individuals who find themselves in the city without adequate housing, resource networks or any legal means of subsistence. In such precarious conditions, problems of crime and insecurity are felt with greater acuity.

The city faces problems of housing and poverty. This poverty is concentrated in the periphery such as Kabiria, which causes a deterioration of living conditions, a loss of potential investment and compromises social improvement and the effective management of security. Over the past 25 years, uncontrolled urbanization has created deplorable living conditions, which have resulted in the progressive deterioration of quality of life and urban social fabric, as well as contributing to a rise in crime in all its forms thus posing a threat to individual security, and the social and economic development of city.

The City occupies a strategic place to positively influence the socio-economic factors contributing to crime, reduce the opportunities for crime and promote civic responsibility and participation. The city must play an active role in integrated urban policies by contributing to the development of effective safety and crime prevention approaches and policies. Rapid rural-urban immigration compounded by unemployment has increased crime levels. Rapid urbanization has also weakened the traditional norms and values and informal social controls.
Crime or violence poses a risk to foreign assets and personnel as do violence by terrorists or riots. State security is inadequate. An inadequate urban environment and exclusion encourage violence and crime. This undermines successful community policing. Violence has many faces. Violence against women and children indicates a particularly alarming situation, although it is difficult to quantify. While it occurs in private rather than in public, the social and human costs of this widespread form of violence are considerable. It also contributes to social dysfunction and the reproduction of violent attitudes, while occurring in an environment made more complex by a whole range of factors directly and indirectly related to economic crises, social exclusion, migratory flow and a breakdown in social relationships.

3.1.3 Corruption

Some cultural/traditional norms and values assign certain activities, which by law are offences, different meaning which may not be deemed to be an offence in the particular setting for example wife beating. A United Nations Habitat survey on violence against women in Nairobi notes that although violence against women occurs in all constituencies and amongst all social economic groups in Nairobi, reporting to the police is low.75

This low reporting level to the police can be attributed partly to corruption, which in turn contributes to a general climate of lawlessness and serves to

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75 UN – Habitat Crime in Nairobi: Results of a Citywide Victim Survey, Safer Cities Series No. 2, Nairobi, September 2002, p6
undermine the legitimacy and effectiveness of the fight against crime. The public lack confidence in Kenya Police Force’s competence and integrity. The public’s perceptions are in many respects justifiable and results to low reporting levels of crime. The public complains about police inaction and giving excuses for doing nothing in the face of crime and victimization. They also complain of police brutality, torture, assault, rape, trigger-happiness, illegitimate arrest, harassment, incivility, disregard for human rights, corruption and extortion among other things. Of course officers are prone to corruption. They have inadequate training in customer care and human rights. Corruption undermines community policing as it creates mistrust between the police and the community. It also erodes the image of the police.

This year’s transparency international indicates that the police department still tops the list of most corrupt institutions. “The sharp focus on corruption in the police force is reflected in the high level of insecurity in the country.” “The report finds a close link between corruption and other burning national issues that have continued to occupy Kenyans. These include unemployment and poverty, inflation, grand corruption especially by politicians, insecurity, violence and terrorism”. “The police department led the pack of the most corrupt.

Eradication of corruption within the society will heal the strained relations between the public and law enforcement agencies, and the training of police in

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76 The Kenya Police Service Strategic Plan 2003 – 2007 p10
77 Daily Nation Nairobi, Friday, December 10, 2004 p1
78 Ibid p4
customer care, public relations and arbitration will bring the police closer to the communities they serve. The public wants anti-social behaviour tackled. Policing needs to be more visible and accessible, and communications between the public and the police improved.

When it comes to police organizations, it is critical to make the initial target “visible”, corruption in everyday life, the kind of corruption that increases mistrust and scorn of the population for the police. This corruption is characterized by illegal actions or abuse of power to obtain monetary or other benefits for police officers and their superiors. In practice, this takes such forms as roadblocks where vehicle checks are a pretext for charging a traffic “tax”, favours granted to individuals detained in police stations, favouritism when seeking identity papers or protection payments from merchants to ensure peace in a district, tolerance of drug dealers in return for bribes or useful information for the police. In many cases, these corruption practices, which may be found at all levels of the organization, have become an integral part of the police culture and are excused on the basis of low police salaries and poor working conditions. Community policing can only work successfully if other aspects of the police reform proposals are tackled. It is not going to be effective with a disgruntled police force and certainly if their welfare is not looked into. If community policing is to succeed then corruption in the police force has to be eradicated.
It is important to acknowledge the difficulty and the necessity of changing the culture of policing in Kenya. Ultimately, the long-term success of any programme of police reform depends to a great extent on the institutional culture that prevails within the service. Where the prevailing culture is one of corruption and impunity, changing the culture must be one of the central goals of police reforms. A transition from a ‘force’ to ‘service’ is a fundamental transformation in the way individual police officer applies oneself to work and conceive relationship to the public.

There is no doubt however, that corruption was largely eradicated in the majority of developed countries by improving the working conditions of police officers establishing ethics mechanisms and developing strong a professional ethic against police corruption. In 18th Century England the public image of the police was one of the depravity than protection. It was unable to counter police corruption, negated the notions of accountability, transparency and effectiveness. It contributed to the image of despotic police contributing to, instead of preventing disorder and crime.

The Kenyan Government has recognized that insecurity; bad governance and corruption are some of the factors that have significantly contributed to increasing poverty levels. Indeed the National Strategic Plan for Wealth Creation highlights the importance of security in ensuring national progress. A well functioning police force is vital for maintenance of peace and security, and enforcement of the rule of
law. In the last two decades, the Kenya public security system deteriorated to the point where the Government was unable to guarantee its citizens personal security, and that of their property.\textsuperscript{79} Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) states that many households have been rendered poor because of countrywide insecurity.\textsuperscript{80} Street crime is closely linked to poverty and social exclusion. It affects citizens who no longer feel safe and who denounce the police as being either absent or powerless.

3.1.4 Poverty

Most of the Community Policing Forums in Nairobi have communities affected by poverty. "Residents of Baba Dogo in Nairobi are mostly low-income earners; some living in their own homes, but the vast majority being tenants in formal and informal settlements."\textsuperscript{81} The houses range from storied blocks, semi - permanent to mud slum houses. Residents rank poor infrastructure, social services and security as the biggest challenges they face. Their forum which is not well off like Ruai where residents are homeowners who have moved in the neighbourhood recently, most still in employment. Ruai has adequate education and medical facilitates.

There are many causes of insecurity. Poverty and unemployment are major contributing factors. "It is estimated that 57 percent of the total population, 18

\textsuperscript{80} Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) p17
\textsuperscript{81} Millstones: A quarterly update of the policing and community safety programme. The Nairobi Central Business District Association publication October – December 2002 p4
million people lives below poverty line". These Kenyans are threatened by absolute poverty, and without adequate jobs many have turned to crime. As an example many people under Kabiria community policing forum have no access to electricity. They cannot afford it. Robbers in this area took the advantage of darkness to harass the community before the forum was formed.

Violence and crime have a devastating impact on the poorest citizens who already being more likely to be victims of crime, are deprived of adequate means to prevent or attenuate their occurrence. Moreover, their access to justice is limited if not non-existent. Any urban development policy must carefully respond to and adequately address issues of poverty, crime, and insecurity in everyday life and try by all means necessary to counter their escalation and chronicity.

Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth Creation, which is the strategy policy document that outlines development policies and strategies, commits the government to developing and implementing a wide variety of strategies aimed at reducing the poverty levels in Kenya. Poverty in Kenya’s communities has created suspicion and social paralysis, which threaten the ability of the communities to participate in their governance and enhancement of their rights. Partnerships between the police and the communities must thus envisage being implemented in an environment where the citizenry have access to livelihood. Poverty in Kenya today is a threat to the right to life itself.

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82 Daily Nation, February 1, 2005 p9.
3.1.5 Unemployment

Apart from poverty urban insecurity has been accentuated by unemployment and influx of illicit small arms. Most of community policing forums like Baba Dogo have unemployed youths. Such youths can be persuaded to turn to crime to make a living. Within Kabiria employment, when it is available, is manual or clerical work, usually the majority of young people are not in gainful employed. Creation of employment opportunities should be given priority. Unemployment has been a contributing factor to criminality, which hampers successful working of community policing. “Lack of investment has lead to a serious unemployment situation. It is estimated that out of the total population of 32 Million only about 1.7 Million people are in formal employment, while about 5 million are in the informal sector”83

Unemployment has also affected police recruitment has previously been plagued by problems of nepotism, favourism and attraction of low calibre candidates. Most tended to head to the force not out of desire to serve, but rather as an opportunity to earn a living. As a result of wrong people finding themselves recruited into the force, most lacked motivation. These ones cannot make good community policing officers. With undue influence on the recruitment process, some officers recruited take police service as a last result in employment opportunity and therefore not as a career

83 Daily Nation: February 1, 2005 p9
Firstly because of wrong recruitment insecurity is affected by an atmosphere of mistrust between citizens and the police. Regardless of the reason, unless we trust the police, and unless the police are themselves trustworthy, security cannot be achieved and this will hamper community policing. In so doing the government must entrench a culture of accountability to the law and the public, the police on the other hand must play their rightful role in promoting security. The prevention of security for all Kenyans is a goal that the government is committed to achieving that all Kenyans must support.

No single agency can solve complex social problems alone. A combined police effort restores the safety of our neighbourhoods and business areas. Policing and problem-solving strategies give us the opportunity to identify problems, to analyze problems, to develop long-term solutions and to monitor progress and adjust solutions as necessary. Establishing and maintaining trust is the central goal of community partnership. Trust will give the police access to valuable information that can lead to prevention of, and control of crimes. It will also engender support for police activities and provide a productive working relationship with the community that will find solutions to local problems. In an opinion poll conducted for the Nation “52 percent of the public had least trust in the police”54.
In many countries, citizens' perceptions of the police are largely negative, and mistrust reigns. There are historical reasons for this situation, especially in the quasi-military role centred on political and social repression exercised by some police forces until very recently, for example, in South Africa. The community does not perceive the police as their protector but rather perceive the police as a force that is extortionist, and one which thrives on intimidation and harassment. However, the community does recognize that the police work under very difficult conditions with poor pay and appalling living conditions and to this extent, they are sympathetic. With the mistrust between the police and the communities, community policing cannot be successful.

Many police officers see the public as antagonists. They are conditioned by traditional police methods that expose officers to a narrow segment of the population – suspects, victims at their worst, victims who contribute to their victimization. "A vast majority of junior police officers may view community involvement as an intrusion in their turf and may not enthusiastic to have civilians involved in the war on war". Community policing allows officers to interact with people in non-crisis situations. Officers meet a variety of other people. They encounter a lot of good people they did not see in the cause of their duty.

Campaigns to inform the public on their roles and responsibilities should continue. The campaigns should strive to achieve attitudal change given the

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85 Daily Nation, February 28, 2005 p11
mistrust that pervades society. Respect for the law and inculcating values of good citizenship should start with children. Community Policing should be proactive, that is helping citizens build their capacity to handle calamities and deviant social behaviour. The Government should also develop and implement a public education programme to build trust between the police force and the public.86 This lack of trust must also have contributed to the collapse of Kayole Community Policing Forum.

3.1.7 Diversity of Culture and Community Policing

Communities exhibit unique and diverse characteristics and cultural set-ups. There is need therefore to appreciate this diversity while developing strategies to meet human security needs and expectations of the communities concerned. Law and order enforcers should familiarize themselves with the cross-cultural practices within the communities with which they work. The police should acknowledge the fact that every community has its own peculiar safety and security problems. By identifying these problems, the police in liaison with the community concerned, will be able to come up with more effective remedial measures.

Problem-oriented policing seeks to professionalise policing by emphasizing a proactive and analytical police response to repetitive and often deep-seated community problems. It significantly widens the role of policing from being purely “law enforcement” to that of addressing the full range of causes and

conditions that create societal safety and security problems. Today’s fast changing society has witnessed a phenomenal increase in the levels, nature and sophistication of crime. However, it is observable that crime is a product of society and addressing it requires a community specific approach. This underscores the importance of involving the community in policing. Conceptions of crime vary so widely from culture to culture and change with the time to such an extent that is extremely difficult to name any specific act universally regarded as criminal. Some crimes disappear with the passage of time as the society changes its views as to what is to be considered criminal. Witchcraft is a good example.

The word ‘Community’ should refer to the community as a whole. In reality, however, the police are often confronted with a diversity of groups within the community having different cultural and social-economic backgrounds. It should be guarded against so that community policing does not “become the mode for the affluent, educated middle class, while traditional reactive policing remained the mode for the poor and undereducated underclass.” Some political leaders have justified and supported the formation of illegal groups and vigilantes who later engage in criminal activities disguised as political agitation. A group like Mungiki is based on ethnic background. It purports to be a vigilant group. The word ‘community’ does not give the police a hint as to which groups to address. Often the police are, because of their own history, only taking care of the intentions and values of the majority and not focus on the minorities.

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3.1.8 Team Work and Community Policing

It is necessary to have teamwork for effective community policing. Performance and productivity in all organizational activities depend on the degree of synergy fostered through teamwork. To ensure cooperation, complementing of strengths, mutual trust and confidence amongst community based policing actors; it is necessary to promote teamwork.

Ruai Community Policing Forum seems to be doing well because of teamwork. "The spirit of community thrives in Ruai, as is manifested by 15 active Community Based Organizations (CBOs) addressing the different needs of residents. They include faith-based organizations, gender associations and academic institutions." The Forum is also involved in schools outreach, particularly campaigns against substance abuse and truancy. It has brought together diverse citizens groups, facilitated consensus building on security and assisted in articulating priorities for the community. "Residents took time to appreciate that it was important that they invest in their security and safety."

3.2 Economic Factors that Underpin Successful Implementation of Community Policing

Economic factors affect the successful implementation of community policing. There are certain economic factors that make community policing more successful. There are also other factors that lead to failure of community policing.

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89 Daily Nation, February 28, 2005 p11
Ruai Community Policing Forum seems to be doing well as compared to Kabiria because the community is mostly middle class. The majority of “residents are homeowners who have moved in the neighbourhood recently,”90 most still in employment. Ruai has adequate education and medical facilitates. “Kabiria has poor infrastructure. Many have no access to electricity, and some who live near power supply lines cannot afford to use it. The roads are not tarmacked and therefore subject to the vagaries of the weather and very dusty in dry weather. Piped clean water is available to residents who can afford it while others rely on buying water from neighbors who own wells or from a nearby community center borehole.”91 So because of being prosperous Ruai Community Policing Forums is more successful

Internationally, crime and violence are increasingly becoming recognised as a development problem, particularly in urban areas. The incidence of crime, robbery and gang violence, as well as gender-based domestic violence, undermines both macro- and micro-economic growth and productivity of a country’s development, as well as societal and individual well being. This undermines prosperity. Urban crime and violence are not a spontaneous occurrence, but above all the product of the society characterised by inequality in wealth distribution and social exclusion. “Kenya is one of the countries where the gap between the rich and the poor is very wide and growing wider.”92 Measures that protect urban

91 Ibid p4
92 Daily Nation February 1, 2005 p9
communities from deprivation, unemployment, homelessness, illiteracy and social disintegration will ultimately also protect them from crime. Therefore, at the urban level, issues of inequality, poverty and exclusion are critical. This affects the successful working of community policing and in turn increase insecurity

Kenya’s transition, and the prospects of prosperity, hinge to a great extent on the country’s ability to guarantee security within its borders. “In the period between 2002 and 2003, the private sector ranked insecurity (in form of crime and theft, official corruption and smuggling) as a major obstacle to doing business in Kenya.”93 Maintenance of law and order is critical to socio-economic development. Policing as a means of law enforcement, maintenance of order, protection of life and property should be community responsive. The formation of community policing will provide complementary and supplementary resources that will assist an already overstretched police service. It can also play a stimulating role to development.

Whereas Kenya’s population has increased from 28.6 million in 1999 to 32.2 million in 2003, the number of police has not kept the pace. The ratio of police to population declined from 1:850 in 1999 to 1:908 in 2003, well below the United Nations recommended standard of 1:450. There is also inconsistency in distribution of police stations to the population. In Nairobi, for example, Gigiri Police Division, covering an area with less than one per cent of the total population

in the city, has an equal number of police stations with Buruburu Police Division, which has 13 per cent of the city’s population.\textsuperscript{94}

It is estimated that rising insecurity in the country is already costing the economy about Shs. 32 billion annually in payments to security firms for protection. Furthermore, taxpayers contribute 4.6 billion to the police budget. Besides employing more security guards, business people are also committing substantial resources in capital expenditure that include installation of closed circuit televisions (CCTV’s), frisking apparatus, automatic barriers to parking bay entrances and improved intercom facilities. And owners of residential houses are not spared either, as they are spending large sums of money putting up perimeter walls and electric fences topped with razor wire, to enhance security in the buildings.\textsuperscript{95}

The police are constrained by limited resources. The delivery of quality police service requires creation of partnerships in pooling resources to cater for the ever-increasing demands on police as Ruai residents have done. The forum is by far the most organized and successful. The forum has built a Police Post in a three-acre plot and a dog kennel at the Police Post. Apart from offices and detention cells, the post has accommodation (single quarters) for 10 police officers. Therefore there is need to adopt a strategic approach to the planning and management of these resources for sustainability. Plans, programmes and projects,

\textsuperscript{94} Ibid p95  
\textsuperscript{95} Daily Nation, Business Week, February 1 2005 p6
such as those envisaged, require different levels of resources for their implementation. The financial resources in particular require special attention. The management and disposition of assets acquired is important given the high propensity for abuse in their procurement processes, costs of acquisition, control and administration.

The successful completion of projects depends on the execution of all planned activities. The Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) of such activities throughout the project cycle is an essential function of project management. In a community-policing project, M&E will take stock of project results and yield important information for decision-making on continuous and periodic basis. Where the community is involved they will be keen to see the completion of the project.

President Kibaki must have realised the apprehension by Kenyans on the rising insecurity in the country when he noted that, “when the country has sufficient security, investments are guaranteed as both local and foreign investors go about their daily chores without the fear of losing their returns to thugs. This is a perfect recipe for economic growth and development. On the same basis, security is a right of every Kenyan and when it is compromised, it amounts to infringement of human rights”. Successful community policing will assist in
prosperity as for the case of Ruai. These factors will also contribute to the success of community policing.

Most firms in Kenya view insecurity as a major threat to their business, a new report by Government think tank revealed last week. The survey by the Kenya Institute for Policy Analysis (KIPPRA) indicates that 41 per cent of companies sampled face security problems in distributing goods or services. Up to 94 per cent lost goods in transit through thefts or robbery, 90 per cent lost them through attacks on personnel in distribution, and 80 per cent lost goods caused by delays due to security checks. The study further suggests that a 1 per cent increase in robberies reduces tourism by 0.7 per cent.97

As a consequence of insecurity, business firms are spending 7% of their total sales or 11% of their total cost on security, infrastructure and personnel. In addition business firms are spending 4% of their total sales on insuring property and 2% on neigbourhood security initiatives. Such spending increases the cost of doing business and constrains growth of private sector.98 The cost of security needs to be controlled.

The level of insecurity has not only affected the quality of life but has directly and indirectly led to capital flight and decline in investment by both local and foreign investors. Whereas the country has experienced drastic transformation

97 Daily Nation, Business Week, Tuesday February 1, 2005 p6
in various spheres of society, that include rapid population growth, disintegration of social fabric and sophistication of urban crime, there has not been corresponding change of policing style and structures to address the emerging security demands. Effective performance of the Kenya Police is thus key to improving Kenya’s supremacy, popularity and attractiveness as a first choice investment and tourist destination. In the past two decades, many residents experienced devastating effects of varying forms of crime. This caused fear, rising insecurity, uncertainty on investment and poor police and national image. The effect has been a vicious cycle of low economic development, exacerbation of poverty and ever more increase in crime.

The police are poorly remunerated and there is a very big disparity in pay and allowances. For example, a constable earns a net average salary of Kshs. 10,000 per month. In order to bridge the gap for the poor remuneration, which has imposed a heavy socio-economic burden on the police, they are forced under these circumstances to resort to extortion to supplement their income. Mutoro, “the chief Executive of Kenya Alliance of Residents Associations (KARA) says there are still any corrupt police officers who eat with criminals and could trade the information and putting the informers at risk”.

This affects successful implementation of community policing.
Despite various measures taken to contain crime since Narc took the reins, insecurity still prevails. In Nairobi, the dramatic increase in the number of rape cases casts a long shadow over police work. Rape, along with murder and robbery, has been on the decline nationally. In the capital city, however, the trend has been reversed. Police say socio-economic factors are to blame for the situation. These include a weak firearms policy and legislation that allow convicts to serve shorter jail terms, while some guns in the hands of the security forces have been used illegally. Other factors that have fuelled crime are economic recession, causing unemployment and poverty; the mass movement of the people from the countryside into towns; inequality in wealth; rapid population growth; the mushrooming of militiagangs and an uncontrolled influx of refugees. The proliferation of illicit small arms and light weapons and an ineffective criminal justice system were the major factors that fuelled crime in the country. With the declining economic performance, the rising crime has meant additional economic costs to firms and households for provision of security services.

Though a critical contributor to sustained economic development, the security sector has not performed well owing to a myriad of problems, some beyond the sector’s control. The decline in service delivery in this sector is manifest in increasing incidences of cattle rustling, drug trafficking, ethnic tension, general crimes, domestic violence and other forms of violence against women and children, discriminatory practices in law enforcement, corruption and mal-

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101 The Standard, Friday, December 31, 2004
administration of justice. The general deterioration of service delivery in this sector contributed significantly to the decline in economic activity and investment and consequently increased the incidence of poverty.\textsuperscript{102}

The National Development Plan points out that Public safety; law and order is key to providing tranquility, a peaceful and enabling environment necessary for economic growth. It is also fundamental for instilling confidence to both local and foreign investors leading to increased investment, creation of employment opportunities, enhanced foreign exchange earnings and increased incomes.\textsuperscript{103}

Crime is a major factor that defines the investment climate or enabling environment for business to thrive. A favourable investment climate is crucial for private sector growth as it reduces the cost of doing business. A good investment climate attracts private investment by assuring business security.

The contribution of the efficient enforcement of law, the maintenance of public safety, and the guaranteeing of law and order to economic growth, and the improvement of quality of life cannot be over-emphasized. This sector is crucial in creating an enabling environment for private sector-led growth and development. The failure of the sector to deal effectively with the pervasive governance issues, the existence of unacceptably high level of crime and delays in determination of cases in court have all served to reduce the competitiveness of Kenya as a

\textsuperscript{102} Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper pp58 – 61
\textsuperscript{103} National Development Plan 2002 – 2008, pp 101-102
destination for investment. From the foregoing it can be seen that economic growth leading to prosperity is a contributing factor to successful community policing. Security is vital precondition for enhanced investment and reduced cost of doing business and improved quality of life.

3.3 Political Factors that Underpin Successful Implementation of Community Policing

Community policing is both a philosophy (a way of thinking) and an organizational strategy (a way to carry out the philosophy) that allows the police and the community to work closely together in creative ways to solve the problems of crime, illicit drugs, fear of crime, physical and social disorder, neighborhood decay, and the overall quality of life in the community. The philosophy rests on the belief that people deserve input into the police process, in exchange for their participation and support. It also rests on the belief that solutions to today’s community problems demand freeing both people and the police to explore creative, new ways to address neighborhood concerns beyond a narrow focus on individual crime incidents. This is what community policing is all about. If it has to be successful it has to be backed by political leadership.

Community recognizes that the police cannot impose order on the community from the outside. The police must be ‘part of the community’ not ‘apart from it’. The public must be encouraged to think of the police as a resource

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that they can use to help solve contemporary community concerns. It is not a strategy or tactic to be applied then abandoned but rather a new philosophy and strategy that provides the flexibility to meet local needs and priorities. It is also focused on the principle of ‘local policing meeting local needs’. It therefore implies that the police must act in a manner that is not only accountable to the law but also to the citizens.

The ongoing reforms within the Police Department are aimed at putting in place a friendly and professional Police Service to meet the expectations of the public. As a result of this, the Police Service will operate on principles of democratic policing hence pulling the community on board as equal partners to solve safety and security challenges within their areas of concern. In this way, it will be possible to win the war on crime and insecurity. “More Kenyans are devoting their own time and money to do what professional law enforcers are paid to do – going on patrols and gather intelligence on criminal activity in their areas. They are playing the role of the governments ear on the ground”.\textsuperscript{105} This role needs to be formalized and regulated in government policy documents. This should be in form of community policing.

There is a move towards a more people-centred approach to management today. Policing initiatives should therefore be supported by democratic principles that allows for the involvement of all the stakeholders in arriving at decisions that

\textsuperscript{105} Daily Nation, February 28, 2005 p11
improve the delivery of police services. For community policing to be sustainable, it must be recognized, first of all by the government and the police as a way of policing, rather than as way to get the community to like you and give you information. Community policing is a democratic style of policing through which the police and the communities work in partnership, in consultation, networks consensus and teamwork. “One of the major incentives being noted is the growing willingness by the public to fight crime and many people have agreed to endure personal inconvenience for the purpose”\textsuperscript{106}. What is needed is to formalize this arrangement. It will add value to policing.

Regime policing in Kenya tainted police image in the past because police were answerable to the political order at the detriment of their profession. This led to suspicion and lack of respect between police and public. The culture of “Orders form above” made it virtually impossible for the communities to collaborate with the police. Further, in responding to the political whims and patronage on most occasions, the police acted against the interests of the communities. There is still the perception in Kenya that the police are controlled by the powers of the day.

The increasing competition over scarce resources and opportunities makes conflict not only endemic but also inevitable. Today’s police personnel have to deal with dissent, competition and open conflicts within and outside their
organization in a positive and constructive manner. Citizens are becoming more involved in government and want a say in how resources are applied. The police officer(s) should be impartial and objective, while dealing with matters related to political issues. Subsequently, they should treat all people from all types and walks of life equally, regardless of their political affiliations or opinions. Protection of life of all persons, as well as their property, in a non-discriminatory manner is the core function of the police officers.

A community is not a homogenous entity. It comprises different groups and sub-groups hence the need for multi-faceted approach or responses through a multiplicity of agencies (Multi-agency setting). A community is involved in an informal social control. The Police should reflect the society they serve (be representatives of the community to improve communication, confidence in Police and ease tension). The Community Policing policy would stipulate community policing issues and concerns currently affecting the lives of citizens and propose strategies and actions that need to be taken to address these issues and concerns. Community members and the police would need to agree on goals and objectives, definition of community policing, role of community policing, role of police and selling the policy to stakeholders.

It is important to note that this process is prescriptive and descriptive or behavioural in approach. Community is an aggregative process to extremely complex and dynamic interrelationships between many societal institutions,
organizations, units and individuals, who discuss, argue about and finally find common ground for solving public problems. Its boundaries are dynamic, multi-disciplinary and multi-sectoral in nature. It involves discussions and bargaining between and within agencies. Series of related activities are undertaken rather than single discrete decisions until binding action is taken. Thereafter, an evaluation and feedback is required. This also assists in reducing bureaucracy.
CHAPTER IV

INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS CRITICAL TO COMMUNITY POLICING

4.0 Introduction

This chapter seeks to examine and analyze institutional factors critical to successful implementation of community policing. For Community Policing to work effectively, several institutional variables must be put in place. It is undergirded by the assumption that success is a function of availability of organised institutional factors. Core to these are constitutional, legal, policy framework, Police community partnership and community Policing forums. There are also other stakeholders involved in community Policing such as private security firms, Nairobi Central Business District Association and City Council of Nairobi.

The Chapter is also intended to analyse the existing legal framework with a view to identifying any gaps and making proposals that would enhance community policing. It will discuss the role of community participation as a means of supplementing existing efforts and creating partnerships to make Community Policing initiatives homegrown. It will also discuss the problems posed by the proliferation of illicit small arms and light weapons.

Community policing demands that the police involve other security service delivery agencies to form strategic partnerships that pool resources and expertise. Its adoption is in recognition of the limited resources at the disposal of police. This partnership response introduces other hitherto non-official players into the
security industry. Among them are private security firms that provide alternative avenues for security service to the public. This means that the police should appreciate the complimentary role of other agencies.

To this extent the chapter is organised around four units. Unit one examines constitutional, legal and policy framework of community policing. Unit two discusses Community Policing and National Police; this includes leadership, coordination, training, information and communication. Unit three discusses Community Policing Forums. Unit four looks at Institutional variables, which include private security firms and Nairobi Central Business District Association (NCBDA).

4.1 Constitutional, Legal and Policy Framework

The practice of community policing lacks both legal and institutional framework. "The programme lacks a legal framework to guide and regulate it and is largely dependent on the goodwill of the police commissioner and officers in various stations."\(^{107}\) It has come about in response to the capacity gap that exists in the provision of services using current policing mechanisms. In South Africa, for example, there is a national willingness to support exchanges between local police forces and communities. The national Police Act provides for the creation of police community forums in each police district throughout the country. Thus community policing aims at forging a mutually closer collaboration and

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\(^{107}\) Daily Nation, February 28, 2005 p11
information sharing between the police and the public in the management of security and safety.

Community Policing requires well-managed and competent personnel operating within an effective institutional framework. Without it police will have a lot of discretion thus undermining the possibility of an accountable partnership with the community. The philosophy, under which Community policing will work in Kenya within this policy framework, is to bring about professional and democratic policing services and a responsible community to work together in an open and accountable partnership. The role of the community is that of informed and proactive individuals and representatives, who voice their opinions, offer their expertise and resources and take responsibility for their actions. This philosophy enables a constraint to be placed on a too prescriptive and managerial role by the state and the police in particular.

Section 108 of the constitution of Kenya does not elaborate on the devolution of police powers at different levels. However, it provides for delegation of police powers by the Commissioner of Police as and when the office holder deems necessary. Both the constitution and the police act do not provide for policing that is supported by and based on partnership and community participation. This leads to the public perception whereby policing is seen as the business of the state in which the society has no role to play. Indeed one of the core functions of governments is the provision of security and maintenance of law.
However, chapter 10 of the draft constitution of Kenya emphasizes Devolution of powers as a key principle in the management of public affairs.\(^{108}\) Hence drawing on this principle, there is a need for a radical review of the overall police reporting systems so as to devolve responsibilities to various levels with appropriate institutional and legal framework. Reporting crime in the city is cumbersome and expensive because of adherence to old routines, rigid boundaries and areas of jurisdiction at various levels.

The alarming spiraling urban crime and general insecurity has led to loss of public confidence and credibility of the police ability to stem the rising tide in crime. The public generally perceives provision of security, as the sole responsibility of the Government despite the latter’s recent appeals for public support. However, there is neither a policy nor specific legal framework that spells out the role of communities and/or any other partners in the provision of security. This situation explains the prevalent negative public attitude and tendency to blame the Government security agents without focusing on the role of public support in policing. Consequently, the police continue to be perceived by the public as oppressive state machinery that is not people friendly.

The Kenya Police Force is an important body in the maintenance of peace and order in the country. The policing which is sometimes thought to be the hallmark of the executive authority of the state is therefore of fundamental

\(^{108}\) Draft Constitution of Kenya 2004
importance to the constitutional order. The police force duty is to ensure that people in the country feel protected and assured of their rights as well as their security. This should be demonstrated in the police force duties and its functions. The constitution of Kenya establishes the Kenya Police Force under Section 86 (1), as one of the disciplined forces of the Republic. Subsequently, the police department is formed under Chapter 84 of the Laws of Kenya, and charged with responsibilities to undertake the following functions: maintenance of law and order, preservation of peace, the protection of life and property, the prevention and detection of crime, to apprehend offenders, and enforce all laws and regulations with which it is charged, as set out in the Police Act. Thus the Operations of Kenya Police Force are governed by the Police Act, which came into force in 1961.

From the above, it is observed that policing can safely be said to be synonymous with law and order enforcement. In line with this, policing is not merely based on law but is integral to and representative of the law itself i.e. policing in action and in decision making must not only conform but also be seen to conform with the law. This gives legitimacy to the enforcement of law and order. Policing should be determined by and accountable to the law rather than to any other process i.e. it should be immunized from external influences or control. Policing should be exercised on the basis of legally defensible criteria i.e. there has to be a balance between maintenance of order and respect for law. Policing has no

109 The Constitution of Kenya, p 61
110 The Police Act, Chapter 84, p6
limits or constraints implied on the work itself especially when both protecting and serving the community.

In a democratic society, the term ‘Law” stands for the fundamental rights and liberties of all people. The supremacy of the law means that a majority may never suppress a minority, but, on the contrary, have to grant them rights. The term “Order” indicates those major values in society that are based on the (silent) approval of the majority and derive their legitimacy from this approval. In ambiguous or contradictory situations, a democracy owes it to itself to put law above order: guaranteeing the rights of a minority has to prevail over defending of the values of the majority. In other words, maintaining the pact that unites majority and minority has to prevail in all circumstances, even to the detriment of the beliefs or passions of the majority.

On the other hand, the ambiguity of the law provides more autonomy to the police. For this reason, the police, as an organization and the policemen as individuals, have come to look upon public spaces as something akin to their privileged playing fields. Here the police exercise their powers and authority to the fullest. For example, every public gathering is perceived as a potential disturbance of the public order and is considered a threat to the order. Therefore and with this in mind, every police action in this context has only one goal: to control groups that threaten or disturb the order.
The way the police enforces law and order influences how citizens view justice. A Police Service, which fairly protects citizens, and property and assists the people in times of crisis, abides by the rule of law and instills public confidence and support for its role. It also enhances the legitimacy of state and overall government image. The current image of the Kenya Police is not conducive for the vision, aims and objectives of a democratic government. This requires urgent action, as image is critical to corporate success. This calls for a people centred police force that is responsive to the needs of the people, respects human rights and upholds democratic principles.

The policing structure still remains a highly centralized, top-heavy organization not providing an explicit policy or legal framework for community participation and with key stakeholders in the provision of security. It is against this background that Community Policing is being considered as a tool to combat insecurity. The study recommends the strengthening of policy, legal and regulatory framework. It calls for strong institutional mechanisms of ensuring police are accountable to the citizens.

4.2 Community policing and National Police

The notion of policing with the public is a very old concept that has become known as ‘Community Policing’ and is also often referred to as ‘partnership policing’ and democratic policing’. In helping to maintain peace, order and security in communities, police officers exercise the professional side of the
partnership with the community by being responsible – but not exclusively – for the prevention and reduction of crime and the promotion of public order and individual safety. The role of the police is therefore fundamentally that of ‘peace officers’ rather than merely ‘law enforcement officers’. This is best captured by Robert Peel, the founder of the Metropolitan Police in London, who sees role of the police to be maintenance at all times a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and that the public are the police. The police are the only members of the public that are paid to give time and attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the interests of community welfare and existence.\textsuperscript{111}

Traditionally, policing has been seen as the act of protecting, regulating or maintaining order with or as police. This has taken the form of issues like preservation of public order and peace; promotion of public health, safety and morals; prevention, detection and punishment of crimes and ensuring safety of the people and property. Community policing is a concept that, since the 1960s, has received considerable attention within police departments of western democracies. The essence of community policing lies in the integration of the police into society and in cooperation with the community, thus aiming for a safe and harmonious environment.

\textsuperscript{111} Chalom p8
The unpleasant police – community relationship is almost of universal nature, the degree of bitterness vary from community to community and from time to time. The ‘bobby’ the London Metropolitan Police constable, with his image of a friend, philosopher and guide to the common man, is an exception in the police – public relationship. The extent of the apprehension of possible abuse of power by the police can be judged by the fact that Robert Peel, the British Home Minister, faced stiff resistance when he introduced the Metropolitan Police for the first time in the early nineteenth century. The police – community relationship in Kenya has always been far from pleasant.

Apart from the factors, which operate to make the police unpopular anywhere in the world, an additional problem was Kenya is the history of hostility dating back to the Freedom Struggle during the British rule. During this period, the police was used by the colonial government as an instrument for persecuting Africans. Even, long after independence, “the police force has been used by the government to enforce its political mandate and put down dissent”.112 The police, as was expected of them, had the duty to enforce law and order and most visible manifestation of the alien rule and oppression. The police was placed in an unenviable position and was the obvious target of public fury. The scars created due to the conflict remain even to this day and the tarnished image of the police continues unfadingly. It is noted that a number of crimes have had police involvement directly and indirectly. For example, during the year 2001 – 2004 a

112 Goldsmith A, African Nations Keen to Put Their Forces into a More Benign Role. Workshop on police reform held in Nairobi (Flunders Journal No. 10 June 23 – July 2003 - 89 -
total of 312 police Officers were arrested and charged with various offences besides disciplinary action being instituted against them.\textsuperscript{113}

The relations between Baba Dogo Community Policing Forums “with the police and provincial Administrations have been problematic, underlined by deep mistrust and perception by residents that not enough is being done to meet their security needs. However, residents concede the police do not have adequate resources, including equipment to carry out their work effectively”.\textsuperscript{114} The strongest criticism of the police force is that there is lack of rapport between the police and those being policed. For instance, a government cannot function democratically without the consent of the governed, just as a police force cannot be successful without the consent of those being policed. The current policing policy has colonial heritage. Another criticism of the police is police “harassment” which is the main stain on the force. It has been evident that the Kenyan Police have in many occasions failed to enforce these fundamental rights.

Remote to citizens and consequently poorly informed about the communities they serve; police forces can only react to crime and insecurity without tackling the sources of these problems. These problems are located not with the police, but within society. These problems have been attributed to social disintegration, which has led to a collapse in respect for law and order. With the focus on major (organised) crime to the detriment of ongoing community problems and conflicts,
the police have been unable to adapt to the evolving social context, first because they have become less and less representative of the communities they serve, but also because they are unable to achieve reform in a culture too resistant to change or because the training given to officers is absolute and out of touch with current society.

Since the problem lies in a defect in the community, then one of the solutions is the reconstitution of the community around a reinforced morality defined by the police, thus the idea of community policing. Community policing does not imply that police are no longer in authority or that the primary duty of enforcing law and order is subordinated. It is in essence collaboration between the police and the community in reducing crime and disorder by carefully examining the characteristics of problems in neighbourhoods and then applying appropriate problem-solving tactics.

The complexity of crime continues to demand co-operation between the Police and Community. This is a total deviation from traditional approaches to fighting crime, which emphasizes the use of the police. The weakness tends to limit police action to re-action on the basis of a reasonable belief that a breach of the law or the peace has occurred or is imminent. This has meant that the police have too much on their own to be able to do anything about the continuing rise in crime rate and the falling crime detection rates as a result of the changing nature of crimes. This approach is sustainable when the population is small, the police is
equipped and there exists the necessary physical infrastructure such as roads to facilitate movement. The converse is the case as it is now in Kenya where there is a huge population, lack of infrastructure and the police is not well equipped. This is compounded by the existing mistrust between the police and the community. Without human intervention, the police are unable to cope with crime.

How does Community policing make the police more accountable and effective? Crime is a complex social problem that cannot be solved by any single agency. When we recognize the complexity of the crime problem, we also acknowledge that the police are not solely responsible for its solution. We realize it would be unfair to hold an individual officer, or even a police department, responsible for the crime rate. We are then confronted with a dilemma as to where responsibility should be assigned. Unfortunately, the traditional approach to crime control invests all anti-crime efforts in the police. The police embraced the role of crime-fighter but retreated from responsibility for rising crime rates. The police were often quick to take credit for success but shun responsibility for failure.

Thus, the role of community policing in the enforcement of law and order can be seen from its documented potentials and achievements. It seeks to address crime without being overwhelmed by the effort. The crime problem is de-constructed into manageable pieces. Officers become responsible for smaller geographical areas and projects thus enabling efficient service. By narrowing the approach, trouble spots can be identified and problem-solving progress measured.
This is made possible to the optimal positive contact between the police and the community. Officers work with the public. They develop relationships with community members and become accountable to the community, as well as their departments.

4.2.1 Expectations of Community Policing

Community Policing reflects a marketing approach to serving the community, while those previous efforts constituted selling. What that means is that community-policing attempts to meet the demands made by consumers, in this case the agenda of services dictated by community residents. It is also referred to as service orientation. Service orientation is primarily concerned with promoting the concept that the community is the client and Police the service provider. This means that various needs of the clients must be taken into account to enable the rendering of a professional client centered service that is effective, efficient and accountable. The previous efforts failed because they were often perceived as efforts to sell community services without regard for whether the community wanted those services or not.

While police missions can vary from one area to another, depending on particular local problems, public expectations remain the same. They rest primarily on the reduction of crime, the maintenance of peace and order, the improvement of human and territorial safety and the respect of individual rights. The community-policing model, since it recognizes a broader and more flexible police mission,
opens up a wider range of legitimate areas of action and accepts that the nature of police work arises from the needs expressed by citizens. There is no set community policing approach; rather, there is a strategic focus on open communication and flexibility in the development of strategies to solve problems and meet local priorities.

Community policing is not meant to substitute for other forms of policing, but to compliment all efforts. It works best when it is not forced to operate in isolation. It implies a new contract between the police and the citizens they serve, one that offers hope of overcoming widespread apathy while restraining any impulse of vigilantism. This new relationship, based on mutual trust and respect, also suggests that the police can serve as a catalyst, and challenge people to accept their share of responsibility for the overall quality of life in the community. Community policing means that citizens will be asked to handle more of their minor concerns themselves, but in exchange, this will free police to work with people on developing immediate as well as long-term solutions for community concerns in ways that encourage mutual accountability and respect.

Community policing is a philosophy and organisational strategy that encourages a partnership and problem solving relationship between the people and their police. It is based on the idea that both the police and the community must work as equal partners to address issues of crime and disorder. Community policing works to enhance public safety with the goal of improving the quality of
Community policing provides decentralized police service to the community. It recognizes that the police cannot impose order on the community from the outside, but that people must be encouraged to think of the police as a resource that they can use in helping to solve contemporary community concerns. It is not a tactic to be applied and then abandoned, but a new philosophy and organisational strategy that provides the flexibility to meet local needs and priorities as they change over time.

Community Policing should serve to encourage police/citizen partnership for crime prevention, to foster and improve the flow of communication and mutual understanding between the police and the community, to promote inter-professional approaches to the solution of community problems and stress the principle that the response to crime is ultimately a total community responsibility and to enhance participation and cooperation of the public in all levels of criminal justice such as (the police, prosecutors), courts, correctional and rehabilitation institutions. Thus community policing may be seen as a form of police
democratization based on community participation, cooperation, accountability, transparency and mutual responsibility for effective safety management.

The major considerations in Community Policing are, citizens' input into defining of problems to be solved, citizens' involvement in planning and implementing problem solving activities and citizens' determining if their felt needs have been met. Efforts towards this end will have to be based on knowledge on the deeper nature of community policing. It will require transformation of society on one hand and police on the other. It will necessarily involve partnerships based on mutual trust, respect, shared ideas and understanding.

Partnerships may vary from community to community, differences may be communities are diverse demographic or geographical. The issues may also vary. Partnerships must be adaptable to reflect the need, must be customized based on local needs. Community participation and partnership in crime prevention and safety should be provided for in law. Crime reduction projects must encourage people to take responsibility for their own safety to some extent, as well as develop a shared sense of responsibility among government and civil society. Ideally, partnerships must be formed between government and civil society around crime prevention projects. This is particularly true in Nairobi where there is a high level of distrust of official institutions, in particular in the police. Without a partnership approach, it seems unlikely that the authorities alone will be in a position to combat crime effectively. The people know how to approach crime reduction
themselves or alternatively that they believe that it is worth pursuing these objectives.

Partnerships between the police and citizens have brought better responses to the real demands of citizens by focusing on solving real problems. Over the past decade, problem-oriented policing has proven most effective when the police have defined local problems in terms of what citizens want. This approach, derived from a rigorous problem-resolution process (identification, strategic analysis, response and assessment) has been successfully applied to a variety of situations, and these experiences have often become best practice models. Working in partnership with the citizens best placed to identify citywide crime problems and with government agencies, urban managers and municipal representatives, the police can better adept and maintain the quality of services to improve security in local communities.

Community policing model promotes closer relations between the police and the community for more effective prevention of crime and insecurity, and partnerships with the broader community (local councillors, business associations, groups of citizens, trade unions, urban planners) and all other public or private institutions. Community policing is basically a professional police model spanning the continuum between two major poles: the community-based approach and problem-oriented policing. Reducing crime must become everyone’s responsibility and that this can only be achieved through active participation of
citizens, business, NGO’s, the criminal justice system and local government in strong corporative partnership. Local partnerships enable police officers to gain a better understanding of promising and appropriate practices. They make for a broader scope of police action in the area of social prevention, in which the police thus cooperate in creating solutions that can often result in lasting change.

The establishment of partnership structures is the cornerstone of the system and provides an opportunity for the police and the community to analyze persistent problems within the city and identify appropriate solutions. Problem oriented policing does not concentrate on crime, but on information gathering in order to prevent rather than to react to it. In sum, the key to success is the involvement and consultation of citizens to counter the obstacles raised by crime and feelings of insecurity. The true challenge for many police forces is to engage in active partnership with civil society and in particular with local authorities in sharing responsibility for persistent problems.

If police forces are to be effective partners in the emergence of safe, sustainable urban communities, closer attention must be paid to a number of issues, which constitute the challenges of good governance. These issues are related to the qualitative transformation of police organizations, the improvement of their relationship with the public and the recognition of the strategic position of the police in urban development. The Kenya Police Service Strategic Plan, 2004 – 2008 seeks to establish new working practices that resonate democratic practice,
respond to the needs of the public and encourage proactive engagement between the police and communities.

Police forces will always be responsible for maintaining law and order where necessary, even if they operate in a democratic context respectful of human rights. They will always have to track down offenders and place them in the hands of the judiciary authorities, and will retain special responsibility for fighting organized crime both nationally and internationally. What we are looking at is adding to this traditional role of the police a new proactive dimension related to their role as a public service, working in partnership with the community to prevent local problems. This approach forms an integral part in the recognition of security as a public or common good to be co-produced by all concerned and which guarantees the rights and freedoms of all citizens.

The need for community policing in Kenya has been brought about by the search for a policing organisation that can adequately handle the rapidly increasing urban population, complexity in crime and demand by public for safer and secure environment. This is manifested in the response received from a cross-section of the people interviewed. In the past police devoted considerable efforts on symptoms and not causes of crime. They have been more reactive rather than proactive leading to more resources being expanded on “fire – fighting” activities as opposed to systematic preventive measures. The urban population has increased without proportionate increase in the police capacities to handle crime.
In Kenya today, the police force is under close review and critical assessment by a demanding public in far greater measure than at any time in the past. Increasing crime, rising population, growing pressure of living accommodation, particularly in urban areas, violent outbursts in the wake of demonstrations and agitations arising from labour disputes, agrarian unrest, problems and difficulties of students, political activities including the cult of extremists, enforcement of economic and social legislations, etc, have all added new dimensions to police tasks in the country and tended to bring the police in confrontation with the public much more frequently than ever before.

As stated in several policy documents, that include Kenya’s Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRSP) and the Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation 2003 – 2007, viable economic growth and sustainable development are not possible without security. Insecurity increases that cost of doing business and effects strategic investment plans that seek to make Kenya the best investment and tourist destination in the region and beyond. The Kenyan approach to Police reforms encompasses new service delivery approaches that are customer focused in a bid to move away from repressive approach and develop partnerships and community policing in the pursuit of their fundamental mission.

4.2.2 Leadership

Community policing is a vital tool in harnessing joint activities at local level thus ensuring that local community concerns are properly met. It also encourages
partners to assess the root cause of crime rather than simply leaving the consequences as a matter for the police to deal with. Problem oriented policing can be greatly helped by the full support of all agencies concerned with management of crime. Leadership as an intangible variable determines the success or failure of all organizational initiatives. The role of strategic leadership in influencing, guiding, motivating and inspiring human behavior towards achieving desired goals in community policing cannot be overemphasized.

Effective community policing is viewed as an interested part of the government’s wish to see a more responsive police service, with stronger accountability arrangements as part of a wider goal of making public services better to reflect the needs and aspirations of communities. That is why a focus of all work on leadership’s style, which is responsible, and management is on developing sophisticated leadership style which is responsive to these changes to ensure that officers and staff are able to lead and manage effectively. This should help ensure that this work makes a substantial contribution to securing a modern and professional service in which people want to work and in which all sectors of local communities can have confidence. Although decentralized police systems are accountable at local levels they offer enhanced opportunities for initiative and leadership for front-line police officers, which appears essential in a community-policing mission that promotes closer contact and cooperation with local residents.
The current community policing initiatives in the country are haphazard, uncoordinated and accorded peripheral treatment with regard to core police duties. The existence and extent of community policing varies from area to area and is dependent on a number of functions that affect given communities. In many countries increasing numbers of people no longer view the safety of their neighbourhoods as the sole responsibility of the police. Throughout the world, citizens in areas plagued by crime and violence are uniting to work with local government and security agents. Together they have the knowledge and resources to identify and remove the source of crime in their communities. Developing and sustaining these partnerships requires strong leadership from civic leaders, city managers and other elected local authorities. Communities are developing community based policies and programs with the support of national government bodies that promote community safety and security.

4.2.3 Coordination

Public services including policing can no longer be seen as services done unto people but they can only be successful if they are conducted with people. This means integrating policing activity into the daily life of every community. Management of security must transcend traditional notions of policing through cooperation and mutual trust. Community policing has been born out of the realization that the police alone cannot win the fight against crime and disorder. It requires a coordinated response by the community as a whole. Local authorities, schools, health services, voluntary and private sectors and individuals all have to
work in partnerships with the police to develop and implement local crime and disorder reduction strategies. Since one of the main solutions to crime and insecurity depends on the participation of those concerned, the police must adopt the principle of acting for and with local citizens.

Community policing will only work if local communities are empowered to engage in the common endeavour of combating crime and if the idea of citizenship is placed at the centre of reform. Active citizenship means taking a shared responsibility to prevent crime and tackle anti-social behaviours, the community aiding the police and not condoning any form of criminality. Where productive relations between, police and local people exist, lessons can be learnt from them, where they do not exist, mutual trust and engagement can be established. Local crime prevention coalitions, composed of institutional actors and civil society, are increasingly conscious of the necessity to find concrete solutions through innovative approaches and responses. This has led to a re-evaluation of the role of the police within a framework of local partnerships and good urban governance.

The philosophy requires that the police departments develop a new relationship with the law abiding people in the community, allowing them a greater voice in setting local priorities and involving them in efforts to improve the overall quality of life in neighbourhoods. It shifts the focus of police work from handling random calls to solving problems. Security is not the sole responsibility of the police, but is more an issue of good urban governance. In other words, security is a
collective task of all citizens under the co-ordination of local administration. Notwithstanding, the police are a fundamental partner in security issues due to their expertise and mandate. While police work has been affected by limited resource allocation Police performance can be enhanced by improved coordination within and between police formations to attract resources from communities through Community policing.

Whereas it has been the responsibility of the state to effect criminal justice, there is emerging consensus that effective action for crime prevention and criminal justice requires as partners and actors of governments, national, regional, interregional and international institutions, intergovernmental and non-governmental organisations and various segments of civil society including the Mass Media and the Private sector. There is therefore the need for networking amongst stakeholders in crime prevention. Partnership in responsibility requires that entire community is responsible for public safety – not just the police. Community policing recognizes and encourages that shared responsibility. The success of a Community Policing programme requires the involvement of stakeholders right from inception through the design, implementation and evaluation.

4.2.4 Information and Communication

Community policing allows officers to interact with people in non-crisis situations and can therefore enhance trust between the community and the police.
This allows people to give relevant information and participate in prioritizing their security needs. Officers address problems of social and physical disorders thus reducing crime-bearing conditions. As the levels of crime go down, the fear of crime is reduced and the quality of life is improved, and in the process, the police become more effective crime fighters. Community policing taps community resources to share crime control efforts thus ensuring community partnership and making crime control a collaborative effort. When properly implemented, community policing seeks to enhance crime control by engaging more powerful social control mechanisms. Crime prevention is most effective when it is a partnership between the police and public. At local level, a flow of information between public and police is vital if criminal activity is to be foiled.

It is recognized that sometimes there may be conflicting interests in a community. However, by communicating their views and suggestions the community backs up the efforts of the police. In this way, the whole community participates in the enforcement of order. By living in and working with the community, the police are able to recognize both the conflicts and the commonalities, to the building of the cooperative bonds needed to maintain order, provide a sense of security and control crime. Community policing is crucial to the enforcement of law and order because determining the underlying causes of crime depends, to a great extent, on an in-depth knowledge of community. Therefore, community participation in identifying and setting priorities contribute to effective
problem-solving efforts by the community and the police, thus, enforcing law and order.

The concept of community policing implies a change in philosophy from the traditional policing approach to one that relies on the community for the basic prevention of crime. Implied in this changed philosophy is that the community and the police force enjoy a relationship of mutuality in the understanding of what requires to be done and that communication between the two is constant, regular and effective. Community policing as a process must in our case borrow from and acknowledge what used to be the main stay of operations in the traditional society a self-policing and norms enforcing process that was effective and was respected by all. Moreover, citizens respected this process and were bound by it. The prevention of crime and antisocial behaviour was the moral duty to prevent these or/and report any cases of infringement. The sanctions were mutually agreed and their severity depended on the seriousness in which a particular infringement was perceived to be infusion to the public order or interest. Those responsible for ensuring prevention were socially respected and referred to and it was everybody’s responsibility to assist them to discharge their duties.

The traditional reactive model of policing has failed to reduce crime. With positive interaction with members of the public, reduction of crime will be achieved. Through community oriented policing, resources are more efficiently used when directed towards specific areas to achieve certain objectives. The crime
is more effectively dealt with when it is looked at in terms of the specific place and situation in which it occurs and where victims are involved in crime prevention. Members of the public possess vast knowledge of their local environment. They know virtually everybody; they indeed know the criminal characters in their midst. The information they have should be made useful. Regular interaction between residents and the police builds trust and an increased flow of information. Intelligence gained from the public is an invaluable tool for police. Information gained as a result of community policing can lead police to criminal activity that otherwise would have gone undetected. Although criminal activity may mutate and continue, a successful Community Policing program will help formulate new solutions for new problems.

The fact that many crimes are not reported to the police, whilst in other instances police themselves either do not record the crime or investigate the citizens report to determine whether or not the offence actually occurred, may declare it "unfounded". In order to report a crime, the citizen must decide that reporting the crime to the police would be useful. In addition, members of disempowered groups (poor, women, minorities, aged) may fail to report crimes due to fears that the police will not take their cases seriously or that the police cannot protect them. "Violence against women occurs in all constituencies and amongst all socio-economic groups in Nairobi. However, police reporting is very low. The police are the least likely institution that abused women will turn to only 7% of physical abuse victims and 6% of those sexually abused report the incident."
In addition, the survey revealed that only 12% of reported cases result in actual arrest. Low reporting is the result of lack of confidence from the members of the public. It is notable that because of the general loss of faith in the police, fewer people report crime incidents to them. As a result the statistics the police rely on to analyse crime trends do not reflect the true situation on the ground. The information is but a fraction of the actual crimes committed. A large number of cases of crime go unreported.

The success of community policing will depend on how police and the public work together by sharing information that provides solutions to policing problems at particular station. Community policing is based on the understanding that criminals live in society and are known to members of the society. It enhances intelligence gathering and information sharing that enable the police to become proactive and, enabling them to develop effective problem-oriented policing strategies that address crime and safety concerns and their underlying causes. Community members are therefore in position to play a crucial role in fighting crime by reporting criminals to the police. Successful implementation of Community policing will depend on how well the police personnel operate as information managers who engage in “interactive and investigative policing” by routinely exchanging information on a reciprocal basis with community representatives. It would depend on how well police officers managed confidentiality of information and intelligence volunteered by the public.

115 Sabine Ravetijn Survivors Speak: A Snapshot Survey on Violence Against Women in Nairobi UN Habitat safer cities series No. 3, April 2002 p.14
Through intelligence and information gathering, the police can unearth some of the problems that increase crime levels in Nairobi like proliferation of small arms. Reducing the availability of firearms should be a concern for crime reduction practitioners. The illegal spread and use of small and light weapons adversely affect the lives and livelihood of Kenyans by increasing and compounding crimes and conflicts. This situation necessitates the adoption of measures to control the illegal flow and possession of small arms and light weapons. The biggest challenges facing Ziwani Community policing forum are the youth delinquency consumption drugs and small arms conveyance. There are simply too many illegal weapons in Kenya, which threaten law-abiding citizens and makes the job of the police much more difficult.

The problem of armed robberies has been exacerbated by an influx of small arms into the city’s illicit market. Matters have been further compounded by the use of drugs by the criminals who while under the influence act courageously without much thought to the consequence of engaging in a dangerous activity. This strategy of induced courage is equally disturbing. The availability of arms facilitated by organised crime, multiplies the risks of urban violence and represents a fundamental threat to security. Through information sharing such threat can be addressed. The day both the police and members of the public will realize that they have a role to play in fighting crime in the country by sharing information, community policing will be a success.
4.2.5 Training

The initial training of a police recruit at Kiganjo Police Training College in Nyeri is nine months. During the nine months at the college, most time is dedicated to drill, physical fitness, field craft and less time is dedicated to theory or academic work. The training of a police officer is a continuous process. It should not be considered completed at the end of recruit courses. Retraining and reorientation to create a good image of the police is important. There is need for emphasis being put on more training, retraining and refresher course. The Kenya Police should be educated with regard to the community they serve so as to enable all to play a constructive role in community forums and also improve on their performance.

To deliver the necessary performance improvements, the police service will need to reform so that it is characterized as more customer focused service. The highest possible level of efficiency and effectiveness, integrity, impartiality and respect of all citizens, professionalisms in service delivery, ability to work flexibly across geographical and institutional boundaries and an ability to work in partnership with other agencies in contributing to community and public safety should be encouraged. We should start by supporting the establishment of structures, which support Community Policing Forums at the local levels. This has implications for a training programme aimed at re-orienting police officers on both theoretical and practical aspects of Community Policing. The theoretical framework involves a diagnosis of community studies or of safety to obtain grassroot perception of needs and expectations.
Police training should emphasize a problem-resolution approach and the development of police ability to adapt their action based on specific problem situations and form partnerships with the community. It is only by teaching these new methods to public contact officers that the police can move from an essentially reactive force to a true participant in a cooperative effort to improve public safety.

The change in perception by the Kenyan public regarding the police is contingent upon the institution reengineering the confidence and trust in people through timely delivery of efficient and effective services, upholding the rule of law and institutionalizing professionalism. These virtues should be strengthened and sustained through training and retraining including dissemination by the electronic and print media.

4.3 Community Policing Forums

Nairobi, a city of almost 3 million inhabitants, expanding at 5 per cent per annum, is experiencing high crime rates. The causes of crime are often linked to institutional weaknesses of society. Crime increases where the social control that operates through formal institutions (police, justice, family school etc.) and informal institutions (civil society organisations, solidarity networks etc.) is broken or weakened. In the recent years, there has been a growth in popularity of the more sensible security option of involving the community in collective responsibility for what goes on within its environs. This collective responsibility idea has come to be known by a number of names such as community watch,
neighbourhood watch, but most commonly, community policing. The principles involved are the same around the world. People in some neighbourhood or in some similarly defined area decide to keep an eye on things and report anything unusual to each other and to the local police. This is done through Community Policing Forums.

The establishment of a Community Policing Forum that should be broadly representative of the community is crucial. This should be seen as a cooperative effort to facilitate a process of problem solving. The main objective of this partnership is to determine through consultation; community policing needs, policing priorities and to promote police accountability, transparency and effectiveness. However, Community – Policing Forums are not the only means by which to address problems. Other structures may also be established and used to address certain problems. Such structures should attempt to include all stakeholders.

4.3.1 Setting up a Community Policing Forum.

A community-policing forum (CPF) is a group of people from the police and from a certain community who meet to identify and solve problems in their areas. A community-policing forum has quite a number of functions, but its main aim is to make a community safe. This is part of building a democratic society in which the police are accountable to the community they serve. The police alone cannot form a Community Policing Forum. There is need for involvement of the
community, support from the community, and to hear and understand the problems of the community. Community Policing Forum can be established in residential places, business areas and estates near local Police Stations for easy communication and complementary support.

The Community-Policing Unit (CPU) and Community Policing Centre (CPC) officials meet with residents' representatives, local Police and provisional administration officials to cultivate a working relationship. Community should be careful as some schemes can be transformed into extortionists and witch hunters. Setting up a security-policing scheme anywhere from 20 – 1000 houses can be considered a suitable number of setting up a group scheme. The actual number in any one scheme is usually governed by natural boundaries. Ideally the people on each scheme should know each other either by sight or by name.

A committee is formed consisting of police officers, local administration and residents, again ideally including long-term residents who know more about the area than anybody else. Occasionally meetings are held to discuss procedure and generally keep in touch. Most people find there is plenty to be enthusiastic about when their property and family’s safety is on the line. Even the cagiest people, who are usually concerned about their privacy, can see the benefits of exchanging work and home telephone numbers with neighbours and of letting them know of journey plans or when TV or household appliance is being delivered. You can get
a watch scheme started just by setting things up officially via a public gathering with the involvement of the local police and administration.

There was a time when everybody knew everybody else in the neighbourhood and looked out for each other’s interests, the modern replacement is community policing. All members of the Police of the Kenya Police are responsible for the implementation of Community Policing. O.C.P.D’s and station Commanders are responsible for the establishment of Community Policing Forums in their areas. In addition to provisions contained in the Police Act, the functions and procedures of the community police forum are informed, guided and supported by the general principles of Community Policing.

Community Policing Forums should not be seen as structures to promote personal interest or secondary objectives. While community police forums have no direct executive powers over the police, these are structures that are intended to enhance consultative and participatory decision-making with regard to the needs and priorities of the communities served by the police. Decisions made at CPF’s are therefore to be honoured. A Community Policing Forum is made up of representatives of the community and police. From the community’s side, there should be representatives of all the interested groups. There should be care on who joins Community Policing Forums. Criminals may try to join the Community-policing Forum and use its links to police for their own gains. The CPF will work if it focuses firmly on crime prevention. CPF can be effective by having
knowledge of the crime to be reduced, knowing crime spots (locations), knowing the criminals, knowing other problems of the area and knowing timings of criminal activities. CPF members must not interfere with police operations. Elected members may only be members in CPF.

Community policing forums should have a written constitution to deal with issues such as representation of the community. The constitution must contain a conduct, conflict resolution mechanisms and the general organization and administration of the Community Policing Forum. The constitution must not go against the principles and functions of the Police Act.

The OCS is a member and should attend all meetings. Other station branches i.e. Crime Branch and Traffic are invited to give professional guidance on duties and regulation of free flow of traffic and strategies to prevent escalating crime and road accident. When communities elect representatives to sit on CPF, they should find people who are, hardworking and able to speak for and represent the community. They should be good negotiators and problem solvers, know and understand their community safety needs and be prepared to learn a lot about laws, procedures and policing problems. They should also be creative so that they can find new ways to solve old problems. They should have no criminal record.

Meetings of CPF should be held regularly. Representatives of all interest groups and committees should attend the meetings, which should take place at least
once a month. At these meetings, Community and Police representatives can raise their problems and concerns together; draw a community profile and write guidelines with a clear mission statement. The guidelines describe what the forum wants to achieve in their area.

The CPF needs an Executive Committee that is smaller than the broader Forum. The committee will be responsible for the day-to-day running and administration of the CPF. At least ten people will be elected to represent the Community and the Police. The committee should meet weekly. The OCS will be the secretary of the Executive Committee of a CPF and also the security advisor. He or she will attend all CPF meetings to assist in the vetting process of neighbourhood watch groups, maintain beat integrity and maintain crime statistics, survey and geographical coverage of the area.

Keeping the CPF going means working hard using available resources and finding other resources that will help to solve problems in Community. Involving members of the Community in joint activities with the Police is an important activity of making the partnership between Police and Community work despite limited resources. It is important that CPF members get involved in joint activities to keep the Forum active.

Trust may be built between the Police and the Community as more is learnt about each other and are open to each other about concerns and problems. The
CPF provides a place where all can evaluate and understand the problems in the way of safety and security. CPF’s can strengthen links between Police, Government and Communities by planning crime prevention strategies together and sharing information.

For “Kabiria community policing forum the residents got together and asked the Government to set up a security arrangement involving the community and the police. After a series of consultations between the Community, the Community Policing Centre (CPC) of NCBDA and the Community Policing Unit (CPU) of the Kenya Police, Kabiria Community Policing Forum was launched on the 20th of August 2002. The Forum includes a panel of men and women who form the Community Policing Forum and 45 men who form the Neighbourhood Watch Group. The Forum meets once every month to discuss security and other issues. Representatives from the CPU and the Riruta Police Station also attend. The Neighbourhood Watch Group, headed by a Co-coordinator, operates a night patrol schedule in the company of officers from the Kenya Police.”

And for Ruai, the “Community Policing Unit and the Christian Police Association (CPA) initially sensitized residents on community policing” through an initiative, in February 2002. On request of CPA, Community Policing Unit (CPU) visited Ruai in March 2002. After several CPU brokered consultations, Ruai CPF was launched in June 2002. The twin objectives were to improve people

117 Ibid p5
police relations and promote community policing. "It is the first forum to be established through the auspices of the Policing and Community Safety Programme"\textsuperscript{118}. It has 15 zonal sub committees and one executive committee.

The Provincial Police Officer (PPO) "launched the Baba Dogo Community Policing Forum on 10\textsuperscript{th} August 2002 following a series of consultations between residents and law enforcement officers. The Community Policing Centre and the Community Policing Unit brokered the consultations"\textsuperscript{119} bringing the interests of both community and industries together. These industries are currently mobilizing resources to develop the police posts into fully-fledged police Station.

4.4 Private Sector Participation in Community Policing

As the police force has increasingly degenerated into invisibility, alternative forces have increased and with them insecurity. With proliferation of security service providers, vigilante groups and other rag tag types of groups have also come into being. The responsibility for maintenance of law and order has gradually shifted to such groups, with police only active when dealing with political agendas, determined by those in political leadership. Today, every investor employs 24-hour guards, which adds to the costs of locally produced goods and services. The middle income Kenyans lives in houses, which are

\textsuperscript{118} Ibid p5
\textsuperscript{119} Ibid p4
reinforced to resemble establishments reserved for hardcore criminals and many urban areas are no-go zones after sunset due to criminal thugs.120

With the declining economic performance, the rising crime has meant additional economic cost to firms and households for the provision of security services. There is a strong public concern about relatively minor aspects of disorder. Anti social behaviour and disorder can undermine people’s sense of security. But the police cannot win the fight against crime and disorder without the greater involvement of other agencies, groups and individuals. The survey by Kenya Institute for Policy Analysis (KIPPRA) has established that the police force presence on the ground is thin and the majority of firms sampled ranked this as a major problem. This might explain the low levels of police response when alarm is raised. For instance, the survey shows that while theft-reporting rate per hour is 86 per cent, the police response is 38 per cent.121 A 33, 000 poorly equipped constabulary can hardly be expected to effectively police a population of 32 million people, with an employment well over 50 per cent.122

Lack of security has made some residents of some estates in large urban centers where crimes are prevalent organize themselves into ‘Vigilante Groups’ to patrol at night in shifts. This is due to lack of community policing. Vigilantism is not a legitimate form of community-self protection especially if not regulated. It is a threat to law and order and the rights of the citizenry in any civilised society.

120 Manifesto for the National Rainbow Coalition p13
121 Daily Nation, Business Week, Tuesday February 1, 2005 p6
122 Daily Nation, March 1, 2005 p8
"Care should be taken to ensure that rogue vigilante groups are kept out of community work. In the past, some of these nebulous groupings have hampered, rather than supported the war on crime, by too often taking the law into their own hands"\textsuperscript{123}.

In the recent past there have been calls of arming security guards, drawing on the experience of Uganda as a way of enhancing security. Police have started using private security vehicles in their normal patrols to address crime. They are "using different vehicles including those of guards in Estates" to get rid of criminal activities. Guards are said to be well versed with their areas of operation than the policemen, hence need for them to work together with the police\textsuperscript{124}. Police forces should also coordinate their work with that of auxiliary forces (city askaris, municipal inspectors), which are increasingly being recruited by local administrations with a view to ensuring stricter application of certain local by-laws and greater visibility in public spaces.

4.4.1 Private Security Guards/Firms/Groups

Because of increasing crime, Kenya has seen the proliferation of private security firms. From the mid 1980’s there has been a dramatic increase in the number of security firms in the country in general with the majority of them operating in Nairobi. The security industry has about 100,000 staff. Some are ex

\textsuperscript{123} Daily Nation, March 1, 2005 p8
\textsuperscript{124} The standard, Friday April 22, 2005 (pg 6.)
service men and retired policemen. Performance, management, equipment, recruitment, training and remuneration differ from firm to firm.

It seems increasingly clear that police forces alone cannot eradicate crime and mitigate the breakdown of traditional forms of social control. They are already overburdened with matters for which they are strictly responsible, as the growth of private security demonstrates. In some parts of Nairobi, private security providers are often preferred to local police forces for protection of property. Private agencies are replacing public police forces and are highly visible in the suburbs, business districts, commercial spaces and educational institutions. Those who afford it pay for private security. The growth of parallel security agencies and the emergence of new community forms of social control in many countries seem to be part of a trend of dissatisfaction and lack of public confidence in traditional police systems, which people see as incapable of responding to their safety and protection needs.

In spite of the relative increase in police resources, there is a growing consensus that the traditional police alone cannot be expected to ensure security and safety within cities, as the expansion of the private security sector demonstrates. An increasing number of governments, companies and private individuals rely on private security services to better protect them. Private security personnel are double the number in the public police, and private staff equal or exceed those of the public sector. Supported by major investments, the expansion
of the private security industry raises fundamental questions, particularly regarding the respect of rights and freedoms and control of public spaces, while in several areas, private security agencies perform duties, which are quite similar to those of the police force.

Whereas the security firms play a significant supplementary role in the provision of security there exists no formal legal framework to provide for regulation of security firms. It is observed that civil security guards could be a source of intelligence, if harnessed to supplement government efforts in fighting crime. The necessary legal framework to enable security firms an institutionalized interface with police is lacking. Operations of security firms should be regulated and their roles defined to effectively and efficiently complement the role of the police. The regulations should encompass inter alia criteria for registration, area of operation, services offered (e.g. alarm systems), qualifications of management and staff, security vetting of guards, training, terms and conditions of service (including minimum wage), uniforms and uniform items (including official logos) to avoid having uniforms which are similar to those worn by government disciplined forces. Thus regulation of private security firms for their registration, coordination, vetting of officers and roles should be undertaken.

At the city level, the effective pursuit of the police mandate must involve close cooperation and coordination with private security services that have grown at a phenomenal pace during the past two decades. These cooperative efforts call
for a clear distinction between the public interest, represented by the police as a public service, and private interests represented by private security firms working for businesses and individuals. This distinction also requires that the police be in absolute charge of public space, particularly in urban centres.

4.4.2 Nairobi Central Business District Association

Community Policing was brought to the public attention three years ago when Nairobi Central Business District Association (NCBDA) in concert with the Nairobi police donated a number of police booths and had them erected in various places in the city. Kenya Power and Lighting Company provided power while Telkom provided telephone services. The work of the police was just to provide manpower in a commendable bid to bring their services closer to the people. NCBDA is registered as a society under the Societies Act and is non-profit, non-political, non-racial and non-denomination association. Membership is by invitation and comprises leading companies, professional bodies and individuals in the City. This year, membership stands at 123.

Since its inception, NCBDA has investigated international and local trends in urban renewal and has become the acknowledged Nairobi organization focusing on all aspects of urban renewal through (a) the development of and lobbying for appropriate urban policies and (b) itself directly implementing or acting as a catalyst for a variety of relevant urban interventions. NCBDA has also established
strategic partnerships with other stakeholders both from government and civil society in seeking to achieve its goals.

In December 2001, The Ford Foundation Peace and Social Justice initiative under the Human Rights and Social Justice Program awarded NCBDA a grant of US Dollars 400,000 for project activities that support community policing, local governance, citizen safety and security in the City of Nairobi for a two year period beginning December 1, 2001. The project had three main components, Community Policing Programme, Policing Exchanges and Training, Media and Public Awareness Campaign.

For its part, NCBDA made a commitment to mobilize resources within its membership and elsewhere towards further support to community policing and to addressing some of the governance issues that emerged from recommendations. Three broad objectives, as reflected in the Ford Foundation’s (FF) grant letter are that funds would go towards establishment of a community policing center (CPC), pre-trial services and media publicity. The program aimed at the establishment of a CPC at the NCBDA’s Secretariat that would co-ordinate support for the newly created phase I’s. Community Policing Unit at the Nairobi Provincial Police headquarters. The CPC would be responsible for promoting community forums in the city, establishing pilot projects, promoting outreach to schools and residents associations, co-coordinating technical exchange programmes, establishing Friends of Police and Community Policing Trust Fund among others.
The vision was to develop the center into a technical institution akin to several institutions elsewhere in the World developed with the support of the Foundation’s peace and social Justice Programme. The CPC was established in March 2002. The Center is the clearinghouse for knowledge and other resources. In recognition of the importance to the project of private-public partnerships, the need for effective co-ordination and the imperativeness of the sustainable partnership, NCBDA’s CPC set up the following collaborative mechanisms, Community Policing Advisory Board, Community Policing Advisory Committee (PAC), Community Policing Trust Fund, Community Policing Unit and Community Policing Forums. Community Policing Advisory Board is chaired by the Provincial Police Officer and comprises of two retired Senior Police Officers, the Chairperson of the NCBDA Security committee, a representative of residents and NCBDA Staff member.

Community Policing Advisory Committee (PAC) has played a significant role as a periodic discussion forum at the highest level. It has been effective for relationship building and nurturing, which are fundamental for partnership of this nature. PAC meetings are held monthly.

Community Policing Trust Fund was to mobilize additional resources towards the program. The fund has not yet become operational but trust deeds have been drawn up and potential trustees identified. Progress was hampered in mid 2002 when the Government requested NCBDA to co-ordinate efforts to
develop a conceptual framework for rehabilitation of street families. This eventually led to the formation of the Street Families Rehabilitation Trust Fund later that same year. There were discussions on merging the work of the two funds but following the new political dispensation, these discussions went off course as the incoming Government moved rapidly into the street families rehabilitation and literally took the Trust Fund with them. NCBDA has decided not to explore this project further until the police reform program has been finalized, as there may be no need for the trust if the Government provides the necessary resources.

Following the training course carried out in phase I, the police established a Community Policing Unit (CPU) based at the Nairobi Provincial Police Office Headquarters. The Unit has closely collaborated with the Community Policing Centre (CPC) in setting up the Community policing Forums (CPFS) – by bringing the Police and residents together and taking them through the process of consultations and negotiations. The Unit has deployed two officers to each of the Community Policing Forums to provide technical advice and support and assist in monitoring progress. These Officers also act as the liaison between the forums and the Provincial Police Officer (PPO), who is regularly briefed. This has helped in timely intervention by the top Police Officer in the City in times of need.

Based on these experiences, the unit has compiled some initial guidelines, which are being developed with time. These guidelines are of potential use to the Kenya Police Reform, which envisages Community Policing Forums as part of the
new policing regime. The unit has also sensitized 500 Police Officers from seven (7) police divisions in the City on community policing, preparing the groundwork for establishing forums at all Police Stations.

NCBDA has made recommendations to the Commissioner of Police that the Community Policing Unit is provided with additional resources and training so that it can play a larger role in police reforms. The Unit’s experience and knowledge are of significant value to curriculum at Kiganjo Police College and in re-invigorating the performance of crime prevention officers at police station level.

"The Nairobi Central Business District Association has been in the forefront of making Nairobi City not only attractive to the business community from within and without but has been championing for a safer city. They have had some challenges from the private sector who would wish to see them being more aggressive in pursuing certain facilities so as to encourage the setting of offices and industries not only by the local manufactures but also by the international and multinational companies. To achieve their objective, the crucial institutions such as the Nairobi City Council, which is responsible for infrastructure within the city, and the Kenya Police, which is responsible for law and order, and above all security, have to be involved. Somehow, the Nairobi City Council is greatly to blame for the insecurity due to poor planning and poor state of the roads within the
city. The roads are impassable especially Juja Road within Eastleigh estate and this gives thugs and carjackers an upper hand whenever they commit any crime." \textsuperscript{125}
CHAPTER V

RECAPITULATION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter seeks to demonstrate the extent to which the tasks of our objectives have been fulfilled. It attempts to demonstrate our findings in relation to our objectives and hypothesis. The general conclusion will contribute towards proving our hypothesis. We shall also give recommendations.

5.1 Social, Economic and Political Factors that Underpin the Successful Working Towards Community Policing.

Our first objective sought to examine and analyse social, economic and political factors that underpin the successful working of community policing. We looked at social, economic and political factors. We set out to look at factors such as corruption, poverty, unemployment, trust, teamwork, domestic violence, democracy and deteriorating neighbourhood among other things. These factors either contribute to the success or failure of community policing.

We noted that a deteriorating neighbourhood becomes a magnet for serious crime. Decaying neighbourhood diminishes the quality of life for the majority of citizens because of the constant barrage of so-called petty crime and disorder problems. While community policing deals with serious crimes, both in solving crime that do occur, it also addresses the more immediate and pressing concerns of community decay and disorder that provides the breeding grounds for serious
Crime and disorder trigger deterioration in the physical and social urban environment, causing community breakdown and aggravating feelings of insecurity. This can be curbed through community Policing.

We again noted that establishing and maintaining mutual trust is the central goal of community partnership. Trust will give the police greater access to valuable information that can lead to prevention of, and solution of crimes. It will also engender support for police activities and provide a basis for productive working relationship with the community that will find solution to local problems. In an opinion poll conducted for the Nation “52 percent revealed they had least trust in the police” Trust is a key word within the communities and in their relations with the police.

We also noted that corruption contributes to a general climate of lawlessness and serves to undermine the legitimacy and effectiveness of the fight against crime and so undermines the success of community policing. The public lack confidence in Kenya Police Force’s competence and integrity. The public’s perceptions are in many respects justifiable and results to low reporting levels of crime. The public complains about police inaction and giving excuses for doing nothing in the face of crime and victimization. They also complain of police brutality, torture, assault,

127 Daily Nation December 31, 2004 p4
rape, trigger-happiness, illegitimate arrest, harassment, incivility, disregard for human rights, corruption and extortion among other things.128

5.1.1 Institutional Factors Critical to Successful Implementation of Community Policing.

Our second objective sought to examine and analyse institutional factors critical to successful implementation of community policing. We looked at these critical factors. We looked at the National police, the community policing forums, auxiliary agencies, constitutional, legal and policy framework among other things. We found that Community Policing Forums are very essential to Community policing and that partnership amongst stakeholders is very important. While police work has been affected by limited resource allocation, Police performance can be enhanced by improved coordination within and between police formations to attract resources from communities.

5.2 Hypothesis

The study is undergirded by two-core hypothesis, which are: -

The success of community policing is a function of availability of certain core political, economic and social values. Community policing is a function of availability of organised institutional factors.

128 The Kenya Police Service Strategic Plan 2003 – 2007 p10
5.2.1 The Success of Community Policing is a Function of Availability of Certain Core Political, Economic and Social Values.

The study sought to prove that the success of community policing is a function of availability of certain core social, economic and political values. For example, there has to be trust and teamwork for a successful community policing. Prosperity contributes to the success of community policing. Unless, communities trust the police and unless the police are themselves trustworthy, community policing will be successful. Establishing and maintaining mutual trust is the central role of community policing. Citizens are becoming more involved in government and want a say in how resources are applied. Thus community policing is a democratic style of policing through which the police and the communities work in partnership, in consultation, networks consensus and teamwork.

5.2.2 Community policing is a function of availability of organised institutional factors.

Community Policing Forums are very essential to community policing. For Community policing to succeed, there has to be partnership between various institutions. Police as an institution has to be one of them. There has to be coordination and strong leadership. The involved parties have to be trained. It is also important that there is constitutional, legal and policy framework.
Leadership as an intangible variable determines the success or failure of community policing. Partnerships require strong leadership. The community and the police force have to enjoy a relationship of mutuality in the understanding of what requires to be done and the communication between the two is constant, regular and effective. Information gained through this relationship can lead the police to criminal activity that otherwise would have gone undetected. This community policing enhances intelligence gathering and information sharing. Successful implementation of Community policing will depend on how well the police personnel operate as information managers who engage in “interactive policing” by routinely exchanging information on a reciprocal basis with community representatives. Here community representation that is crucial is a community-policing forum like Kabiria Community Policing Forum.

5.3 Conclusion

Several conclusions with respect to community policing can be made. It can be said that problems should be tackled at the lowest possible level and solutions identified there. Crime should be solved at the lowest level. Community policing is part of the larger concept of decentralization of power. Power needs to be as close to the people it affects as possible. Community policing democratizes the exercise of police power, which is one of the most important state powers. If people police themselves, it becomes easier to argue that they govern themselves – even though this does not follow. Community policing is closely related to
democratic government and a police service that is accountable to the law and not the government.

Community policing appears to be part of the new wave of the future, no matter what its current shortcomings may be. Politically, people feel better if they police themselves and this is the real driving engine of Community Policing. The push for Community Policing in Kenya is growing, surprisingly by the private sector and the local communities themselves at the forefront. Local vigilante groups have been operating in many parts of the country. It is expected that community policing when it picks up momentum will replace them.

The basic concept of Community Policing is that the local people know their communities. They know who does what and who does not do what. They even know who is likely to do what if given the chance. They also know the culture and core values of their communities. So they know not only what should be policed but also how it should be policed by what kind of people. The objective of good policing should be a situation in which there are 1150 Kenyans to support every officer, rather than one police officer for 1150 Kenyans. Every member of the public could be recruited to be an extra member of the police force.

The immediate cause is the perception that central policing controlled from district or Provincial capitals has not worked. More and more frequent and brutal incidents of insecurity have tended to prove this. The reaction then has been to find
Alternatives that can raise the security levels, even if not totally eradicating insecurity. Pilot community policing projects have already been instituted in various Kenyan communities.

Successful implementation of the Community Policing calls for effective coordination and co-operation, availability of resources; training for capacity building, change of attitude of the Police and community members. The strategic aim would be to promote community safety through enhanced partnership with the community and all stakeholders.

Community policing is said to be effective, qualitative, proactive and a problem solver while traditional policing is efficient, quantitative, reactive and incident – driven. The philosophy of community policing does not abandon the strategies of traditional policing. “Police agencies traditionally spend only 20 – 30% of their time responding to actual crime. The remaining 70 – 80% of their time is spent on civil and social issues”129. A focus of community policing is problem solving. Many calls to the police are not police related. They are more effectively handled by other agencies.

No matter how much written policies talk about community policing, if the values, business and systems of the police organisation do not support it, then a community – based style of policing is doomed to failure. Identifying and tackling

129 http://www.scpd.org/community-policing p4.htm
the root causes of crime, disorder and fear, in conjunction with partners in the community, rather than repeatedly and superficially treating the symptoms, is the most effective way of policing. This is community policing.

In conclusion community policing affords the people the opportunity to play a key role in security matters alongside the police. It is an integral part of security maintenance. It removes suspicions that exist between the people and the police and enables communities to actively participate in matters pertaining to their own security. For successful implementation of community policing, the communities needs to be sensitized and educated on how it works through CPFs. Community Policing is highlighted as core a crime prevention strategy that values partnership between policing agency and communities for effective overall policing and improved security. It is policing by consent not coercion. There is evidence of reduced crime in communities where members work hand in hand with the police in identifying criminals.

5.4 Recommendations

The following recommendations are made.

There is a need to increase the number of police on the beat. This will reassure the public of their security. However, increased numbers of officers alone is not all. There is need to make the best use of police officers and ensure that they are deployed to maximum advantage where visibilities can be felt.
Community policing must seek to transform vigilante groups and incorporate them in Community Policing forums. These vigilante groups exist where the law enforcement is minimal. It is an economic activity and if it is to be eradicated, alternative economic lifelines should be involved alongside safety and security for community employing vigilantes.

Community Policing Forums can build strong civil society, build consensus on community values, provide conflict resolution mechanism, coordinate local development planning, provide oversight and provide stewardship in local governance. There should be development of forums for dialogue between the police and communities building on, where appropriate, existing local structures.

There is need to support the sustainability of existing Community policing Forums, promote crime prevention partnership programmes through an intensive civic awareness scheme and design inter-agency approach to crime prevention. The expected output would be public support, their involvement in crime prevention awareness and crime prevention. The general public and police would become aware of human rights.

Police alone cannot win the fight against the crime and disorder. There is a need for networking amongst stakeholders. Increased coordination of existing community policing initiatives is necessary.
Training in community policing should be for both police and community. There should be development of educational programmes to promote understanding and partnership between the police and the community. Training in the community policing should be for all key stakeholders. Police training should cover all levels from leaders, to middle managers to new recruits. The first steps should be to integrate community policing into the curriculum at the police training colleges. Training for civil society should range from national NGOs to grassroots organisations. There should be joint training courses for police and civil society. The police should also be trained to change attitude and ethics. There should be continued sensitization of the police and the community on their role in crime reduction through community policing.

Campaigns to inform the public on their roles and responsibilities should continue. The campaigns should strive to achieve attitudal change given the mistrust that pervades in society. There should be outreach to the media to improve relations with the police and build trust.

There should be development of a comprehensive strategy to tackle the proliferation of small arms as an integral part of community policing. Legal framework that guides access, ownership, use and deposal of firearms should be reviewed.
There should be provision of adequate resources to support Community policing activities from the Kenyan Government, donor organisations and local community fundraising. It is encouraging to note that already there are communities in Kenya mostly the business community and some Resident Associations who not only recognise that the police have limited resources to offer security services, but who are willing to contribute towards empowering the police to undertake their responsibilities.

It is suggested that a National Community policing Centre be established under the office of the President to coordinate the Police Department, the Administration Police; representatives and Civilian experts from private institutions and civil organizations with proven knowledge on community policing.

Reforms at the Office of the President, the police department and other law enforcement agencies be decentralized and horizontal management systems be introduced to accommodate the change in the policing style.

Community policing needs a legislative framework from which to operate. The Commissioner of Police may wish to make community policing an operational procedure through the Force Standing Orders, so that station commanders are under obligation to engage citizens in a structured and accountable manner. The Kenya Police should officially announce the adoption of Community policing and effect amendments in its force’s in standing Orders to accommodate this. The
Police Act standing orders and other regulatory framework should be reviewed to meet societal needs.

Without requisite legislation, the process will not be tied to duties of the station or divisional commanders but to personal priorities of the officers or based on pressure from the community. In this, there would be no uniformity. The development of a national policy, strategy and legal framework for community policing should be prioritized.

Community policing forums must be established at the lowest possible levels. The provincial administration structure is the best to use for this purpose. Community Policing Forums should be organized at the village levels and all stakeholders must be involved in this formation.

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