RESEARCH ARTICLE

CRIME CAUSES AND VICTIMIZATION IN NAIROBI CITY SLUMS

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ABSTRACT

This paper compares the types and causes of crime between the four slum areas in the City of Nairobi, and also crime victimization within different demographic characteristics of Nairobi's slum residents. The study was conducted in four major slum areas in the city of Nairobi, namely Kibera, Mukuru, Mathare and Korogocho. The target population for this study was all adults (those aged 18+) living in the four major slums of the City of Nairobi. Secondary data sources from the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS), formerly known as Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS), were availed for sampling purposes. A total of 660 respondents were sampled. The Statistical package for Social Science (SPSS) version 12.0 was used for data analysis and presented in descriptive statistics. The study found that most common crimes in the slum areas constituted those that attracted short to medium term punitive measures, according to the law, and over four in ten slum dwellers claimed that they had been victims of crime the previous year. The most effective method of curbing crime was undoubtedly police patrols and community policing initiatives.

INTRODUCTION

Crime has been defined variously by different scholars. However, no consensus has been reached for the adoption of a universal definition. Mushanga (1985) defines crime as "The act committed or omitted must be harmful either to the state, to an individual or both. The act committed or omitted must be specifically prohibited by the criminal law". Siegel (1995) provides an integrated definition of crime when he says "Crime is a violation of societal rules of behaviour as interpreted and expressed by a criminal legal code created by people holding social and political power. Individuals who violate these rules are subject to sanctions by state authority, social stigma and loss of status." On other hand, Sellin (1970, p. 20), in an article entitled *The Legal Definition of Crime and criminals,* describes crime as "Any act or omission prohibited by public law for the protection of the public and made punishable by state in a judicial proceeding in its own name".

The foregoing study adopted a working definition of crime with regard to the slum areas. Therefore, crime was conceived as constituting the acts or prohibitions which are against the law but also have cardinal characteristics and that these acts are done within the confines of a known slum area. Crime has become one of the major challenges affecting countries of the world today. Many of the crime incidents have been reported mainly in the urban areas as opposed to the rural areas (UN-Habitat, 2003a, p. 17; Mushanga, 1974, p. 16). The world is becoming increasingly urban. The implications are that more poor people are living and will live in urban areas than ever

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before. In 1900 only 14% of the world's population lived in cities. By 2001, an estimated 47.7% of the world's population was urban (United Nations Population Division, 2002). It was estimated that in 2001, 924 million people, or 31.6% of the world's total urban population, lived in slums. In the next 30 years, this figure is likely to rise, unless drastic measures are taken (UN-Habitat, 2003a, p. 8). The impact of the increase in population on the African continent has had a disastrous implication concerning crime and other social problems (Clinard, 1973, p. 130). The study of crime in urban areas and metropolitan cities should be done within the context of the population increase. The majority of rural urban migrants are young people (Kibuka, 1979, p. 20). Therefore, crime in the city is mainly associated with the young people who have no employment and come from the slum areas. Clifford (1974, p. 16) observes that the problem of young people and crime is of important and there is a need to address the same by acknowledging the role that urban youth play in the rate of crime with a view to devising sustainable solution.

Sociology of Crime

According to Awoundo (1993), there are two categories of crime: first, there is crime which is of deviant behaviour that is considered not to be a serious threat to group life and therefore tolerated. The second category of deviance involves behaviour that is perceived to threaten the group life and needs to be punished. In modern society such behaviour is in contraventions of the penal code of the state and is referred to as crimes. Crimes are of two broad categories: misdemeanours and felonies. All types of crime are punishable by law. Crime

can be viewed in terms of social construction. Sociologists have examined crime as a human construct. Its definition comes from individuals and social groups and involves a complex social and political process that extends over time. Individuals and groups create crime by making rules through two models, the consensus and conflict perspectives. In consensus model, law making is a smooth accommodation of interests in a society, whether the society is composed of equals, rulers and the ruled, so as to produce a system of law and enforcement to which everybody basically subscribes. According to this model, certain acts are deemed so threatening to the society's survival that they are designated as crimes. The society agrees on what is right and wrong. A mechanism of social control that settles disputes, which arise when individuals stray away from what is acceptable behaviour, is thus created.

Awuodo (1993) reinforces the assumption that the ruling class is the one, which has the power to translate their interest into criminal law that protects their property. The ruling class in the society that has the power to shape the enforcement and administration of criminal law applies the criminal definitions. The only way to change the above notion is a change of superstructure to incorporate the interests of all others. The powerful ruling classes interfere in all stages in which criminal definitions are created. Crime becomes a political behaviour and a criminal becomes a minority group unable to dominate the control of police power of the state. Law enforcement efforts and judicial activity are likely to increase when the interests of the powerful are threatened by opposition behaviour.

The Nature and Crime Typology

Crime manifests itself in different ways in different situations and locations. Siegel (1995) describes crime typologies from the developed countries' point of view, while Clinard and Abbott (1973) explain crime typologies from developing countries' point of view. According to Mushanga (1976), crime typologies are broadly classified into two categories. These classifications are typical of the crime scenarios portrayed in person to person violent crimes and economic crimes. Siegel (1995) underscores a third broad category, which he terms as organizational criminality. However, out of this categorization, Clinard (1973, p. 78) states that there are other crimes that can only be categorized under law contravention because they are not violent, property or organizational, such as prostitution and illegal begging. According to Wolfgang (1969), some crime cultures deserve to be called sub-cultures of violence. This is due to members who see not just law breaking but assault and murder as fairly routine matters. The use of violence is seen as not crime but as necessary conduct and the person doing so, therefore, does not have to deal with feeling of guilt about their aggression.

Person-to-person Violent Crimes

As far as person to person violent crimes are concerned, Mushanga (1976, p. 90) enumerates a number of criminal acts that include homicide, assault, rape and robbery with violence. According to Mushanga, homicide is the deliberate killing of a person by another. Such killing includes first-degree murders, voluntary and involuntary manslaughter and attempted murder. He views assault on the other hand as complete attempt or persons to physically harm injure or inflict grievous harm to another person(s). He also argues that assault is closely associated to homicide. Rape on the other hand is that crimes that involve having carnal knowledge of another person through violence or threat of violence. Rape in itself is a form of assault. However this type of crime is insatiably underreported and unrecorded making it difficult to assess its gravity. Robbery with violence is another common crime in Kenyan cities. According to Mushanga (1976, p. 127), this is a vacuous crime, which takes place in the presence of the victim of obtaining property or a thing of value from a person by use of force or threat of force.

According to Barnes and Ephross (1994, p. 49), violent crimes are defined as being directed against persons, families, groups or organizations because of their racial, ethnic, religious or sexual identities, their sexual orientation or disability. Barnes and Ephross examine the nature of hate violence and the impact that these crimes have on their victims. They cite an increase in the amount of hate violence on urban slum dwellers, although little research exists on the impact experienced by victims. They find similarities in the emotional and behavioural responses of victims of hate violence with those of personal crimes (assault and rape). Emotional responses include anger, fear of injury, sadness, powerlessness and an increased suspicion of other people.

Person to Person Property Crimes

According to Mushanga (1976, p. 119), property crimes are those besides physically injuring the victim like burglary, theft and pocket picking, some economic harm is committed upon the victim. He enumerates two classes of person to person property crimes. These are: (a) Crime in which the criminals inflict economic harm in the actual presence of the victim and (b) Crime in which the criminal inflicts the economic harm either in the absence or unawareness of the victim. The following are some of the person-to-person property crimes enumerated. According to Mushanga (1976, p. 128), burglary is the criminal act where by offenders break into another person's dwelling at any time of the day with the intent of committing felony such as stealing and destruction of property. This may be perpetuated in the presence or absence of the victim. Petty theft is the other form of crime in this category. It is also referred to as larceny. This is usually the theft of petty goods and items. Grand larceny is the theft of goods that are of high inventory value and may cause the victim a great deal of economic harm.

Crime and Urbanization

One of the major problems affecting cities of the world is crime (UN-Habitat, 2003a, p. 8). At the global level, crime incidence is high in the urban areas compared to rural areas. In Africa, crime takes different patterns and trends. According to the Institute of Security Studies, crime in South Africa (2004), especially in the city of Johannesburg, is rising. The same Institute of Security Studies (2004) provides a description of crime in different parts of Africa. The common denominator is that crime is increasing and especially in urban environments In East Africa, the crime scenario is slightly different and has a spatial differentiation component. In Tanzania, for example, it has been noted that Dar-es-Salaam has a slightly different crime typology compared to the South and West African

cities. According to Institute of Security Studies (2004), In Kenya, crime is not different from the other parts of Africa and according to Starvrou (2002, p. 108). The author asserts that crime levels in Nairobi resemble those in Johannesburg and Dar-es-Salaam. From the above observations, incidence of crime has been shown to be highly associated with urban environments as opposed to the rural ones. This trend has not only been experienced in developed countries but also in the developing countries. This notion has been supported by Clinard (1973, p. 101).

Crime Differentials in Slums

Slums are areas of deprivation of basics needs such as adequate shelter, sanitation and security of tenure (and this is consistent across many different slums). Based on these similarities, it is expected that the level of crime would be similar across the different slums as well. However, from the literature, there are divergent views. Slum life has been associated with relatively high incidence of crime. However, according to the UN-Habitat report on "the Challenge of Slums: Global report on human settlement" (2003a, p. 18), the notion of high crime in slum areas is not always universal. There are urban environments that have low crime incidents even though these environments are typically slum areas. Although there are some literatures on this, there is a lack of a proper explanation and justification of these crime differentials between slums with homogenous characteristics, such as uncontrolled settlements, lack of sanitation, and lack of adequate clean water, poor living standards and poverty. According to preliminary interviews by the researcher, the phenomenon of differentials crime patterns between different slums was observed. These interviews were administered to two divisional police heads, namely in Kilimani and Makadara. They unanimously agreed that reported crime is more rampant in slum areas compared to other upmarket residential estates. However, some slum areas do not experience as much crime as others. Initial pilot survey results confirmed these assertions. The question is what could be the explanations and implications of such variability in crime in different slum areas of Nairobi? The fore going study sought to answer this question.

Vulnerability to Crime

Studies done by Mushanga (1976, p. 119) in Kampala slums show that there are different vulnerable groups as far as crime is concerned. For instance, rape victims tend to be females while young men usually experience mugging. Crimes differ in their report ability; that is, some are more easily reported than others. For instance arson, under normal circumstance, is an offence that most people will not wish to conceal, but rape is not likely to be reported because of the shame that surrounds it and because women are, in the majority cases raped by men who have had sex with them previously or who know them very well. It is very important to assess the demographic profile of crime victim in order to ascertain which types of groups are more vulnerable to which type of crime. That way, it is possible to recommend guidelines and other crime prevention interventions. Several scholars have conducted studies that describe the manifest characteristics of crime victims in urban areas. Mushanga (1976, p. 108) found out that in terms of gender, males are more susceptible to general crime of victimization than females. However, depending on the type of crime, there could be gender differences. Siegel (1995) indicate that males are about twice as likely to be victims of robbery and three times as likely to be assaulted. Age is another factor that may be a cause of victimization. Siegel (1995) asserts that young people face a much greater risk of victimization than older persons do. For example, adolescents stay out at night more than older persons making the young people more susceptible to violent crimes. Mushanga (1976, p. 120) found out that majority of the victims were aged between 18-24 years old. Actually, 65 per cent of persons aged 18-24 years at one point in time were victims of violent crimes. Social status also could possibly lead to high risk grouping in terms of crime victimizations. People who occupy the lowest of the rank in the society are more prone to crime victimization due to the fact that they live in crime prone areas. However, in developing countries, those who occupy higher status locations are more prone to property crimes. Mushanga (1976) also asserted that occupation status could possibly contribute to the risk of crime victimization. He demonstrated that people who are employed earn an income and own property more than the unemployed. This could also be influenced by the fact that employed people usually occupy higher positions in the social rankings.

Crime Locality

According to Kibuka (1979, p. 13-23), most rural young people are migrants to the urban centre. The fact is that 45 percent of Africa's population is below fifteen years of age. The proportion of young persons aged 25 years and below was estimated at 65.6 percent by the year 1990. These observations suggest that young people are likely to commit crime in urban areas more than their older counterparts. Clifford (1974, p. 16) observes that young people and crime should be taken seriously. He states:

> ...Crime in Africa particularly is an important problem of young people. There is a need to develop new ways of preventing and handling crime in Africa.

According to Steadman Research services (2004) poll in crime, only up to 45% of urban crimes are reported. There is a general indication that crime is still a major problem in Kenya's towns. The City of Nairobi for instance, continues to experience high levels of carjacking, burglary, rape and robbery with violence. In the City of Nairobi, crime has been widely studied. However, the literature lacks an elaborate exposition of crime life in slum areas. Many initiatives have been put in place to aid in reducing crime rates and increase safety levels. According to UN-Habitat (1996):

> Urban violence erodes the social capital of the poor. Insecurity affects the poor more intensively, breaks down socio-cultural bonds and prevents social mobility, thus contributing to the development of urban ghettos and stigmatised neighbourhoods.

According to Stavrou (2002, p. 34), most of slum dwellers are not there by choice but due to lack of alternatives, be it affordability or availability of land space. It is this inadequate land space that will force the people living in slums to commit crime. Stavrou (2002, p. 134) argues that:

> ...Crime does not happen spontaneously. It grows out of an unequal and exclusive society,

and out of a lack of institutional and social control. An inadequate urban environment and exclusion encourage crime and violence. Moreover, the criminal justice system, including the police, courts and prisons, is poorly adapted to the rapidly changing urban environment and unable to respond to the concerns and needs of urban dwellers, particular the poor.

This polarization generally concludes that there is a major variation between the incidences, nature, patterns and trends of crime between the urban-rural scopes. A poll on crime done in Kenya by Steadman-Gallup actually gives evidence that there are crime differentials between urban and rural crimes. Steadman-Gallup carried out the research to show the crime differentia between rural-urban set ups. The method used by Steadman-Gallup was sampling all the 8 provinces in Kenya for one week. However, the poll was not enough to report the actual picture of what is happening. This study took three years to establish and explain the gaps in knowledge about crime differential in Nairobi.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The study was conducted in four major slum areas in the City of Nairobi, namely Kibera, Mukuru, Mathare and Korogocho. Kibera slum is roughly 5 kilometres, Southwest of the city centre and located at the following geographic coordinates: 1° 19′ 0″ S, 36° 47′ 0″ E. Kibera is the largest of Nairobi's slums, and the second largest urban slum in Africa, with an estimated population of between 600,000 and 1.2 million inhabitants (Wikipedia, 2009). The neighbourhood is divided into a number of villages, including Kianda, Soweto, Gatwekera, Kisumu Ndogo, Lindi, Laini Saba, Siranga/Undugu, Makina and Mashimoni. It has s population density of 2000 residents per hectare. Mathare slum is located 5 Km North of the City Centre at the following geographical coordinates; 1° 15′ 36″ S, 36° 51′ 43″ E. It is estimated to have a population of approximately 500,000 people. The unemployment rate is reported to be over 90%. Major ethnic groups in Mathare include the Kikuyu and the Luo, the Kamba, Luhya and other smaller tribes such as the Somali. The Luo and the Kikuyu dominate two different regions of Mathare.

Mukuru slum is located 7 km southeast of the City Centre and at the following geographical coordinates: 1°18'17"S 36°53'6"E. The slum is approximately 35 years old. It comprises 20 villages just outside Nairobi with a population of over 600,000. According to Child Aid Organization (CAO), many of the slum dwellers in Mukuru work as casual labourers in the manufacturing industries situated close to the slum. Others operate small-scale businesses selling vegetables and fruit or hawking various items. Earnings are pitifully low and inadequate to feed their families. Consequently, their children look to other means of survival such as prostitution, drug peddling, begging and criminal activities. The Korogocho slum is the fourth largest informal settlement in Nairobi, after Kibera, Mathare Valley and Mukuru Kwa Njenga and Korogocho. The slum is located approximately 11 kilometres Northeast of the Nairobi city centre, at the following geographical coordinates: 1°13′0″S 36°55′0″E. Korgocho is home to 150,000 to 200,000 people pressed into a

1.5 square kilometres piece of land. Korogocho slum is divided into seven villages: High ridge, Grogan, Ngomongo, Ngunyumu, Githaturu, Kisumu Ndogo/Nyayo and Korogocho. Conditions in Korogocho are typical of slum settlements in Nairobi. The total number of households has been enumerated at 18,537, with the largest of the seven villages consisting of 3,481 households. Like any of the other slum settlements in Nairobi, it has a large poor population with no access to minimum services, living largely in structures made out of temporary and recycled building materials or made out of timber, mud walling and roofing made up of substandard materials such as sacks, carton paper and polythene. There is no proper sanitation and waste management. Water reticulation is limited and the road network is inadequate. This is according to the Korogocho Slum Upgrading Programme (KSUP). The target population for this study was all adults (those aged 18+) living in the four major slums of the City of Nairobi. Secondary data sources from the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS) formerly known as Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) were availed for sampling purposes. A total of 660 respondents were sampled. Due to the fact that Kibera slum had over 40% of the sample and Korogocho had only 10%, the population of the slums was allocated proportional to the square root of the population size, so that the Korogocho would get a sizeable portion of the interviews thus increasing precision of estimates for this slum. The Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) version 12.0 was used for data analysis and presented in descriptive statistics.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Demographic Characteristics of Slum Residents *Gender*

The findings from the foregoing study indicated that there was a slight skew towards a more male-dominated slum environment. Male gender constituted slightly above half (53%) of the slum dwellers. This finding was consistent with that of African Population and Health Research Centre (APHRC, 2002) which indicated that the males in Nairobi's slum environments average out at about 56%. There were also many variations between the different slum areas. For example, Mathare had the highest proportion of sampled at 57% while Korogocho had only 46%. Male dominance in slum environments could be attributed to rural-urban migration, where males from rural areas move to the urban areas in search of employment. They end up in slum environments because of cheaper standards of living. However, this trend is fast changing in that gender parity is almost evening out. The search for jobs in urban areas is no longer a male affair because women also have improved their marketability in the job place, for example, by way of getting more educational opportunities and the paradigm shift from male dominated traditions to more contemporary gender equality. The findings from the foregoing study also suggested that there was increased involvement of females in the urban-rural migration. Additionally, this could be attributed to the fact that most men also lived with their families in the slum areas more than before.

Age Profile

Generally, the findings from the study indicated that the slum population was predominantly youthful with three-quarters being below the age of 35 years. Other studies had also shown

a similar age distribution in Nairobi slums. APHRC (2002) had over 75% of the slum dwellers they researched on to be within this age bracket. A cross analysis of the age groups between the slum settlements showed an association. This was due to the fact that Kibera carried the largest proportion (80%) of the under-35 years while Mathare (which was the least) had 68%. The youthfulness of the slum residents was attributed to the fact that majority of the dwellers were within the labour productive age and could engage actively in employment. It was known that majority of the slum residents participated in casual labour. Casual labour was strength intensive meaning that the younger generation had energy to engage in laborious work for pay.

Educational Attainment

The slum population could be described as semi- illiterate. About three in four (75%) adults in the area had primary and secondary school education. Another 15% indicated that they had or were pursuing tertiary education. Comparing the different slum settlements, Mukuru dwellers were significantly more learned than their counter part the other slums. More than six in ten adults from Mukuru had secondary school level education and better compared to their counterparts in the other three slums.

Marital Status

About half of the slum residents in Nairobi who were 18 years old and above were married while another four in ten adults were single. These two categories accounted for 84% of the different marital statuses reported in the study. There was a variation between the slum settlements. In this case, Mukuru had the largest proportion of single persons (51%) while it had the lowest (49%) for the married lot.

Employment Status

Slum areas were considered regions of urban poverty. This was directly attributed to the ability of the residents to secure income earning activities. The work of many of the slum residents involved low income earning activities such as casual labour. For example, about one third of the slum adult population comprised casual labourers. Another quarter was absolutely jobless. A comparison between the settlements showed that there was no significant difference as far as work status was concerned. However, the incidences of involvement in casual work were higher in Mathare than in any other slum areas. Additionally, the incidence of self employment accounted for about a quarter (24%) of employment. This was slightly more pronounced in Korogocho (31%).

Income Profile

The disclosure of personal or household income was a sensitive issue. Only 68% agreed to do so. This was highly pronounced in Kibera slums where only 54% of them disclosed their current income level. From the lot that disclosed their figures, it was true that they lived on less than one dollar a day. On average over three quarters of slum dwellers earnedbelow Kshs. 7,000.00 per month. The results indicated that Kibera and Mukuru had residents who on average earned significantly higher personal incomes than

their counterparts in Mathare and Korogocho. While only two in ten Kibera and Mukuru residents earned Kshs 3,000.00 and below, over half of the residents in Mathare and Korogocho slums are in this income bracket. This could be attributed to the fact that Kibera and Mukuru slum residents had comparatively higher educational levels than their counterparts. A higher level of education was correlated to better jobs hence more income.

Length of Stay

Generally speaking, almost half (47%) of the slum dwellers in Nairobi had been in those environments for a period of over six years. Most of them had been born and brought up in the slum areas. The main reason for high preference of living in slum areas was the affordable lifestyles that were experienced in slum areas and especially in terms of rent and food costs. However, there is a significant differentiation between the different slum areas. For example, Kibera and Korogocho had over half of their residents having stayed there for more than ten years while in Mathare and Mukuru slums less than half of their populations have lived there for over five years.

Religious Affiliation

Just like the national religious affiliation distribution, over 80% of slum dwellers claimed to profess the Christian faith. In particular, over half claimed to be Protestants, while another 40% claimed to be Catholic Christians. Muslims in slum areas only had a paltry 5%. However, the data suggested that Kibera and Korogocho had a higher proportion of Muslims (9% and 7% respectively) than other slums. This was so mainly due to some ethnic populations residing in these areas. For example, Kibera slum was inhabited by the Nubian community who were predominantly Muslim, while Korogocho had more Cushitic tribes from North Eastern province who were also predominantly Muslim. This therefore made the religious landscape between the slum areas significantly different.

Ethnicity

Slums result from rural-urban migration. Typically, those who moved from the rural to urban areas to look for work stayed with their family members, distant relatives or village mates. This therefore led to the concept of "ethnocentric slum habitation". This essentially meant that in slums, most people lived in ethnic colonies. For example, in Kibera slums, there existed villages such as Kisumu Ndogo where majority of the inhabitants came from the Luo community. Additionally, in Laini Saba, the Kamba formed the majority of the inhabitants. As far as ethnicity was concerned, four major communities dominated. First, the Kikuyu and Luo were prominent in the slums with 25% and 27% respectively. In the second tier were the Luhya and Kamba who hadat least 15% each. From each slum perspective, Kibera was dominated by Luhya and Luo, Mathare by Luo and Kikuyu, Mukuru by Kamba and Kikuyu while Korogocho was dominated by Luo and Kikuyu as well. Nubians were found in Kibera alone and accounted for 2% of all slum population and 7% of all Kibera population.

Household Size

The findings from this study indicated that most households in the slum areas had between two and four persons living in one

household. This was a typical household size for many households in the urban areas. Generally the average household size was 3.2 in the slum areas. However, this average differed significantly between the different slum areas. Korogocho had the highest average of 3.8 persons per household, followed by Kibera and Mathare which had 3.2 persons per household. Mukuru had the lowest household size with only 2.9 persons per household. The low household sizes could be attributed mainly to the fact that earlier on slums were dominated by urban migrants from the rural areas who were mainly males who had come to seek work. However, this changed over time; more people could raise their families in the slums. As such, this being a period of that change, the household sizes were also large.

Slum Poverty Profile

Slums are generally as areas that represent urban poverty. Due to lack of essential necessities, such as adequate shelter and sanitation, these regions are inhabited with populations that can hardly survive on more than a dollar a day. However, while this has been the common paradigm anecdotal information reveals that there exist different socio-economic profiles within the slums. For example, it is known that the landlords who build and rent houses in slum areas also live in the slums. This group of people is affluent but has decided to live in the slums to safeguard their economic interests. In a bid to determine the level of affluence, income information was not enough either due to the fact that there were chances those respondents might under or over claim. As such in its place, there was a substitute measure known as the wealth index. This index was developed to profile the social-economic well being of the population. It was derived from ownership of essential household durables and use of various services. This information was analyzed with Principal Components Analysis (PCA) to determine the wealth score. This wealth score was then divided into 5 equal groups at the total population level and compared across the different slums. A closer look at results revealed that there were significant differences between the slum areas as far as their socio-economic profiles were concerned. In analyzing the top most profile it was clear that Mukuru stood out from the rest of the slums with about one third (32%) of its population occupying this category. Kibera was the lowest with only one in ten (10%). This was evidence that the respondent stated income was subject to inflationary biases, and that was why a household asset base poverty profiling was more appropriate in establishing the truth.

Typology of Crime in the Slums of the City of Nairobi

Crime Scenario in the Slum Areas

In a bid to analyze the crime situation in the slum areas, the respondents were asked to generally describe the types of crimes they experienced in their area. This interviewing technique was used to evaluate which crimes were top-of-mind and those that were not. Top-of-mind crimes are those which the respondents remember easily. In this way, it is possible to determine which crimes were either very recent and/or very severe. These two values were grossed up to obtain the total mentions which were shown in Table 1. The table was ranked in descending format by the total column.

From a sample of 659 respondents, a total of 5,195 individual crimes were mentioned. This accounted for about an average of 8 crimes mentioned person. From this, most mentions came from Kibera (31%), Mathare (25%), Mukuru (25%) and finally Korogocho had 20%. As far as each crime was concerned, none of them accounted for more than 15% of all the mentions. Illicit brew had a share of mentions 12% followed by general robbery (11%). Burglary, Mugging, Drug abuse and Assault each accounted for about 10% of all mentions. The rest as seen from Table 1 had less than 10% of the mentions.

Crime Incidence in the Slum Areas

From the slum perspective as far as the total crime mentions were concerned, it was clear that the production and consumption of illicit brew was the most prevalent crime experienced in the slum areas (97%).

Table 1: Total Mentions of Crime in Slums

	Kibera		Mathare		Mukuru		Korogocho		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Illicit brew	213	13.3%	152	12.0%	163	12.8%	112	10.6%	640	12.3%
Robbery	187	11.7%	143	11.3%	158	12.4%	105	10.0%	593	11.4%
Burglary	191	11.9%	122	9.6%	141	11.1%	105	10.0%	559	10.8%
Mugging	182	11.4%	127	10.0%	140	11.0%	102	9.7%	551	10.6%
Drugs	184	11.5%	129	10.1%	128	10.1%	98	9.3%	539	10.4%
Assault	173	10.8%	144	11.3%	103	8.1%	102	9.7%	522	10.0%
Murder	153	9.6%	106	8.3%	92	7.2%	80	7.6%	431	8.3%
Robbery with violence	112	7.0%	81	6.4%	117	9.2%	99	9.4%	409	7.9%
Pick-pocketing	83	5.2%	99	7.8%	94	7.4%	80	7.6%	356	6.9%
Sexual abuse	67	4.2%	44	3.5%	55	4.3%	80	7.6%	246	4.7%
Arson	14	0.9%	71	5.6%	54	4.2%	31	2.9%	170	3.3%
Kidnapping	10	0.6%	27	2.1%	10	0.8%	28	2.7%	75	1.4%
Car-jacking	7	0.4%	17	1.3%	13	1.0%	23	2.2%	60	1.2%
Other	23	1.4%	9	0.7%	4	0.3%	7	0.7%	43	0.8%
Total Mentions	1599	100.0%	1271	100.0%	1272	100.0%	1053	100.0%	5195	100.0%

Table 2: Crime Incidence in Slums

	Kibera		Mathare		Mukuru		Korogocho		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Illicit brew	213	95.5%	152	100.0%	163	96.4%	112	97.4%	640	97.1%
Robbery	187	83.9%	143	94.1%	158	93.5%	105	91.3%	593	90.0%
Burglary	191	85.7%	122	80.3%	141	83.4%	105	91.3%	559	84.8%
Mugging	182	81.6%	127	83.6%	140	82.8%	102	88.7%	551	83.6%
Drugs	184	82.5%	129	84.9%	128	75.7%	98	85.2%	539	81.8%
Assault	173	77.6%	144	94.7%	103	60.9%	102	88.7%	522	79.2%
Murder	153	68.6%	106	69.7%	92	54.4%	80	69.6%	431	65.4%
Robbery with violence	112	50.2%	81	53.3%	117	69.2%	99	86.1%	409	62.1%
Pick-pocketing	83	37.2%	99	65.1%	94	55.6%	80	69.6%	356	54.0%
Sexual abuse	67	30.0%	44	28.9%	55	32.5%	80	69.6%	246	37.3%
Arson	14	6.3%	71	46.7%	54	32.0%	31	27.0%	170	25.8%
Kidnapping	10	4.5%	27	17.8%	10	5.9%	28	24.3%	75	11.4%
Car-jacking	7	3.1%	17	11.2%	13	7.7%	23	20.0%	60	9.1%
Other	23	10.3%	9	5.9%	4	2.4%	7	6.1%	43	6.5%
Total	223	100.0%	152	100.0%	169	100.0%	115	100.0%	659	100.0%

This was followed by general robbery (90%), burglary (85%) mugging (84%), drug abuse (82%) assault (79%) and murder (65%), robbery with violence (62%), pick-pocketing (54%), sexual offences (37%), arson attacks (26%), kidnapping (11%) and carjacking (9%).

Other minor crimes not in the list accounted for only 6% of the respondents. This information confirmed that there was a lot of crime experienced in the slum areas.

Crime Trends and Future Expectations

About a third (31%) of all slum dwellers thought that there had been an increase in crime. Another 46% felt that crime had increased. The remaining 23% were split between those who said it had remained the same (18%) and those who did not have any idea (5%). These perceptions also differed significantly between the slum areas. From the slum point of view, Kibera residents seemed to feel that crime in the past year had increased. While only less than 30% of the residents in each of the slum said crime had increased in the past one year, Kibera had a majority of 46%. It was only in Kibera and Mukuru where the least proportion of residents (38%) indicated that crime had reduced.

Table 3: Crime Trends in the Past Year

	Kibera		Mathare		Mukuru		Korogocho		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Increased	102	45.7%	37	24.3%	45	26.6%	23	20.0%	207	31.4%
Remained the same	33	14.8%	26	17.1%	40	23.7%	17	14.8%	116	17.6%
Decreased	84	37.7%	83	54.6%	64	37.9%	69	60.0%	300	45.5%
Don't know	4	1.8%	6	3.9%	20	11.8%	6	5.2%	36	5.5%
Total	223	100.0%	152	100.0%	169	100.0%	115	100.0%	659	100.0%

(χ^2 = 60.04, df = 9, p<0.05, Significant)

Table 4 shows the other side of the coin, i.e. future expectations of crime levels in the own slum localities.

Table 4: Future Expectations of Crime Trends in the Coming Year

	Kibera		Mathare		Mukuru		Korogocho		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Increase	105	47.1%	25	16.4%	40	23.7%	23	20.0%	193	29.3%
Remain the same	14	6.3%	17	11.2%	16	9.5%	8	7.0%	55	8.3%
Decrease	72	32.3%	85	55.9%	57	33.7%	62	53.9%	276	41.9%
Don't know	32	14.3%	25	16.4%	56	33.1%	22	19.1%	135	20.5%
Total	223	100.0%	152	100.0%	169	100.0%	115	100.0%	659	100.0%

(χ^2 = 78.342, df = 9, p<0.05, Significant)

As far as future expectations were concerned, the findings were marred with a higher proportion of uncertainty. Two in ten (20%) slum respondents were not sure of what their expectations were a majority had hopes that crime would reduce significantly in the coming year. This was attested by 42% of the respondents. Slum differentiation in this aspect was evident. While the general trend was that the residents were optimistic that crime would reduce, it as vital to note that Kibera residents were the most pessimistic as far as future expectations of crime was concerned. 47% of Kibera residents indicated that they expected that crime would increase in the coming year. A further cross tabulation analysis was done to investigate the relationship between how much previous perception of crime trends affected future perception. The general trend was that those who felt that crime levels had increased in the last one year, also felt that it escalate in the next year. The inverse was also true this was felt across the board. However, there was a point at which Kibera slum residents had a different view. Out of those who said that crime levels either remained the same or decreased in the past year, a comparatively huge group of those from Kibera (32%) said that they expected the crime levels to increase in the near future. This figure was high compared to the figures obtained from the same group having similar views from the other slum

areas. In Mathare, only 6%, Mukuru 18% and Korogocho 11% shared similar views.

Causes of Crime in the Slums of the City of Nairobi

The respondents were asked to mention in their own opinion what they would regard as the main causes of crime in their area. From the findings, three key causes were identified both from the quantitative and qualitative data. As shown in Table 15, high levels of youth unemployment, poverty and indulgence in drugs were singled out as the main causes.

Table 5: Causes of Crime

	Kibera		Mathare		Mukuru		Korogocho		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Uneployment /Idleness	147	65.9%	91	59.9%	109	64.5%	55	47.8%	402	61.0%
Poverty	59	26.5%	54	35.5%	40	23.7%	30	26.1%	183	27.8%
Indulgence in illicit brew/drug abuse	17	7.6%	21	13.8%	23	13.6%	17	14.8%	78	11.8%
Other reasons	26	11.7%	28	18.4%	37	21.9%	21	18.3%	112	17.0%
No reason provided	9	4.0%	11	7.2%	6	3.6%	14	12.2%	40	6.1%
Total	223	100.0%	152	100.0%	169	100.0%	115	100.0%	659	100.0%

High Levels of Youth Unemployment

Topping the list was the issue of high levels of unemployment among the youth (61%). This was attributed to the fact that most youth had finished or dropped out of school, and with no gainful employment, they resorted to criminal activities to make a living. Initial findings from study indicated that at least 62% of the slum residents did not have any sort of permanent or well paying employment. Comparatively, the same reason was given in all the slums at the same overall percentage of 60% and above save for Korogocho slum dwellers whose only 48% attributed the crime levels to unemployment. The same issue was raised in the FGDs (Focus group Discussion), for example, in Kibera, one respondent said:

> ...One of the reasons for crime is total idleness... you find that, if you are not employed… you find some people are just there, they are just there doing nothing… so, when they are just there, they just do the thinking, they are defeated on what to do [don't have anything to do, so they engage in criminal activities] (Kibera FGD, Men).

While in Mukuru, another respondent also said:

> …unemployment also brings about cases of theft that you have heard about, mobile phones, stoves…yes, they are jobless, they steal your phone and sell it so that they can be able to pay rent (Mukuru, Women FGD).

Poverty

The low levels of poverty have been associated with high criminal activities in the slum areas. From the findings of the study, 28% of the slum dwellers mentioned poverty as one of the motivations for crime. When a comparison was made between the different slum localities, Mathare residents showed a higher propensity to mention poverty (36%) compared to 24%-26% for the other slums. The aspect of poverty as a cause of crime was also reiterated in the FGDs. In the words of one informant:

…am saying that if you don't actually receive all the necessities in life, due to poverty, like you lack almost everything, the solution could be crime… (Kibera FGD, Men).

Illicit Brew and Drug Abuse

Even though illicit brew was mentioned to be the most prevalent crime, it was also mentioned to be a key contributor (12%) to crime scenario in the slum areas. The respondents felt that there was relationship between drugs abuse and crime. First, was the claim that most criminals operate under the influence of some drugs to accomplish their crimes. According to Mushanga (1988), drunkenness plays a leading role in the genesis of criminal acts and deviant behaviour. Secondly, some drugs are expensive to buy and this drives, especially the youth to engage in criminal activities to get money to buy the drugs. When comparing the different slums, Mathare, Mukuru and Korogocho had about 15% mentions of illicit brew and drugs as a cause of crime; Kibera had about half of that (8%). These differential could explained by the fact that earlier in the study, it had been found out that Kibera slums showed very low levels (27%) of illicit brew as a spontaneously mentioned crime. In the Korogocho FGD, one respondent said:

> …even if a man is educated, when he starts taking drugs, he can't do any work… (Korogocho FGD, Women).

While another also said:

> …drugs are expensive; in order for one to be able to purchase that drug…they will have to steal an item, sell it then purchase the drug… (Mathare FGD, Men).

Other mentioned causes of crime included, greed for other people's property, peer pressure, limited crime control by police and community. Availability of small arms, Lack of lights, vigilante groups and militia, slums being convenient hideouts for criminals, local tribal politics and illiteracy were also mentioned as contributing causes.

Differential Characteristics of Nairobi Slum Crime Victims and Associated Vulnerability

A second objective of this study was to understand and discuss the demographic characteristics of victims of crime in the slum areas as a way of measuring those population groups most vulnerable to crime. According to Siegel (1995), social and demographic characteristics are key dependent factors for crime victimization. Therefore, it has been shown that some crimes affect people of one demographic characteristic than others. For instance, Siegel (1995) shows that males are more prone to violent crimes than females, while females are more likely to be attacked by relatives. Essentially, in this section the following hypothesis was tested:

> Hypothesis 3: The probability of being victimised or being vulnerable to crime is similar across the different slums and across the different demographics profiles within those slums

Such kind of knowledge is vital in determining which vulnerable groups to crime victimization exist in a society. This section examines vulnerable groups as far as crime victims are concerned in the slum areas.

Slum Crime Victimization Differentials

A question was posed to the respondents as follows:"Have you personally been a victim of any form of crime in the past one year? The data from the forgoing study suggested that 44.3% of adults in the slum areas had been victims of crime in the past one year.

Table 6: Crime Victimization in the Past Year

	Kibera		Mathare		Mukuru		Korogocho		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Victimised	76	34.1%	68	44.7%	81	47.9%	67	58.3%	292	44.3%
Not victimised	147	65.9%	84	55.3%	88	52.1%	48	41.7%	367	55.7%
Total	223	100.0%	152	100.0%	169	100.0%	115	100.0%	659	100.0%

(χ^2=19.435, df=3, p<0.05, Significant)

As far as the victimization levels in the different slum areas were concerned, there was a significant variation as seen in Table 6 a further calculation on the propensities departing from the overall average showed that Korogocho slum had a 32% higher propensity than overall average (44.3%) to have a victim of any form of crime. In Kibera there was a 23% lower than average propensity for anyone to be a victim of any form of crime. It was only in Korogocho that over half of the residents had been victims of some form of crime within one year before the date of data collection. By any standards, these victimization levels were high.

Demographic and Socio-economic Profile of Slum Crime Victims

This section deals with the demographic and socio-economic profile of slum crime victims in the city of Nairobi. The analytical approach provided data tables with a filter of only those who were victimised and comparing this across the slum areas in a bid to explore the differentials between the crime victims' characteristics. This analysis sought to answer the question: what are the characteristics of slum crime victims?

Table 7: Gender Profile

	Kibera		Mathare		Mukuru		Korogocho		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Male	42	55.3%	36	52.9%	49	60.5%	34	50.7%	161	55.1%
Female	34	44.7%	32	47.1%	32	39.5%	33	49.3%	131	44.9%
Total	76	100%	68	100%	81	100%	67	100%	292	100%

(χ^2 = 1.595, df = 3, p>0.661, Not significant)

Table 7 shows that on overall those who claimed to have been victims were more male than females (55% compared to 45% respectively). Korogocho and Mathare showed an almost even balance between the genders. Mukuru crime victims were skewed towards the male since 6 out of 10 victims were male, the rest were of course females. Inferentially speaking there was no statistical difference between gender profiles of victims across the slums.

Education Level Profile of Slum Crime Victims

The data revealed that about a half (49.7%) of the victims had secondary school education. This could be attributed to the fact that those who had secondary education were the majority. A significant difference was detected by the Chi-

Square results. Mathare and Korogocho exhibited unique profiles. Most of the victims in Mathare had the lowest level of education while in Korogocho, there was an almost equal split between No education/Primary and Secondary education each at about 40%.

Table 8: Education Level Profile

	Kibera		Mathare		Mukuru		Korogocho		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
No education/ Primary	21	27.6%	36	52.9%	18	22.2%	28	41.8%	103	35.3%
Secondary	45	59.2%	25	36.8%	48	59.3%	27	40.3%	145	49.7%
Post-secondary	10	13.2%	7	10.3%	15	18.5%	12	17.9%	44	15.1%
Total	76	100%	68	100%	81	100%	67	100%	292	100%

($\chi^2 = 20.564$, df =6, p<0.05, Significant)

Table 9: Employment Status Profile

	Kibera		Mathare		Mukuru		Korogocho		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Unemployed	26	34.2%	15	22.1%	20	24.7%	12	17.9%	73	25.0%
Employed part time/Casual	28	36.8%	29	42.6%	25	30.9%	24	35.8%	106	36.3%
Employed full time	8	10.5%	5	7.4%	11	13.6%	10	14.9%	34	11.6%
Self employed	14	18.4%	19	27.9%	25	30.9%	21	31.3%	79	27.1%
Total	76	100%	68	100%	81	100%	67	100%	292	100%

($\chi^2 = 10.630$, df =9, p>0.05, Not Significant)

Employment Status Profiles of Slum Crime Victims

As Table 9 descriptively shows, most of the crime victims were employed as part time or casual workers. However, there was no significant difference between the different slum areas.

Age Group Profiles of Slum Crime Victims

The study also sought to confirm whether there was a crime victim age differentiation between the slums. Table 10 shows the results.

Table 10: Age Group Profiles

	Kibera		Mathare		Mukuru		Korogocho		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
18-24	26	34.2%	12	17.6%	20	24.7%	26	38.8%	84	28.8%
25-34	32	42.1%	30	44.1%	44	54.3%	24	35.8%	130	44.5%
35-44	10	13.2%	15	22.1%	13	16.0%	10	14.9%	48	16.4%
45+	8	10.5%	11	16.2%	4	4.9%	7	10.4%	30	10.3%
Total	76	100%	68	100%	81	100%	67	100%	292	100%

($\chi^2 = 15.971$, df =9, p>0.05, Not Significant)

Most of those who claimed to have been victims of crime were between 25 and 34 years of age (45%). The pattern was similar across the different slums, thus there was no significant difference detected. However, it was vital to note descriptively that Korogocho had almost a similar split between those aged 18 to 24 and 25 to 34 years.

Wealth Quintiles Profiles of Slum Crime Victims

Another variable that was used to profile the crime victims was based on levels of affluence. Table 11 shows the frequency distribution.

Table 11: Wealth Quintiles Profiles

	Kibera		Mathare		Mukuru		Korogocho		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Lowest	15	19.7%	23	33.8%	8	9.9%	19	28.4%	65	22.3%
Fourth	18	23.7%	13	19.1%	18	22.2%	13	19.4%	62	21.2%
Third	10	13.2%	9	13.2%	20	24.7%	12	17.9%	51	17.5%
Second	23	30.3%	7	10.3%	10	12.3%	7	10.4%	47	16.1%
Highest	10	13.2%	16	23.5%	25	30.9%	16	23.9%	67	22.9%
Total	76	100%	68	100%	81	100%	67	100%	292	100%

($\chi^2 = 33.793$, df =12, p<0.01, Significant)

Typically, every level of affluence has got its own share of crime victims. This almost typifies the population wealth quintiles where each quintile was assigned 20% of the sample. However, it seemed that the lowest and the highest quintiles had the same share of victims at about 22% each. The second highest quintile had the least fraction of the victims at 16%. A Chi-square test revealed a statistical differentiation between the slums. To illustrate this point, Mukuru seemed to be standing out from the other slums. This was exemplified by the fact that as far as the lowest quintile was concerned, only 10% of its residents who occupied this class were victims. Compared across the slums, this group had half of its closest rival Kibera with about 20% of this group.

An Analysis into Crime Victimization Vulnerability

The analysis of crime victimization vulnerability was based on two broad categories of the respondent characteristics. These were demographic characteristics that included gender and age, and the socio-economic characteristics that included level of education, employment status and income quartiles. Vulnerability analysis sought to answer the question: which demographic and socio-economic groups have the highest risk of becoming crime victims. In this analysis, column percentages within each characteristic group, e.g. Kibera, Mathare, Mukuru or Korogocho or Male or female (gender), were used. The column percent provided the probability that an individual in a particular group was likely to be a victim of crime. These probabilities of victimization were then compared across each other. Groups with higher probabilities than others were considered more vulnerable.

Demographic Bases for Crime Victimization

Gender Bases for Crime Victimization

Even though other studies had shown a significant differentiation between victimization levels by gender, the findings of the foregoing study indicated that there was not much difference in the victimization levels between the males and females for slum dwellers as seen in Table 12. A female was as more likely to be a victim of crime as a male in the slum areas of Nairobi.

Table 12: Crime Victimization in the Past Year by Gender

	Male		Female		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Victimised	161	46.3%	131	42.1%	292	44.3%
Not Victimised	187	53.7%	180	57.9%	367	55.7%
Total	348	100.0%	311	100.0%	659	100.0%

($\chi^2 = 0.980$, df = 1, p<0.322, Not significant)

A further look at the crime victimization by gender between the slums showed that generally, males were slightly more likely to be victims of crime than females in all the slums, save for Mathare. The data suggested slightly higher victimization rate among the Mathare females (49%) than among the males (41%).

Age Bases for Crime Victimization

Age is another important demographic characteristic that determines crime victimization. Previous studies had shown that younger people were more prone to victimizations because of lifestyle patterns (Kibuka, 1979, p. 13-23). However, the findings from the foregoing study indicated that

as one got older in the slums, the chances of getting victimized. Never less the differences between the age groups were not statistically significant.

Table 13: Crime Victimization in the Past Year by Age

	18-24 years		25-34 years		35-44 years		45+		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Victimised	84	38.2%	130	45.9%	48	49.0%	30	51.7%	292	44.3%
Not Victimised	136	61.8%	153	54.1%	50	51.0%	28	48.3%	367	55.7%
Total	220	100.0%	283	100.0%	98	100.0%	58	100.0%	659	100.0%

(χ^2 = 5.810 df =3, p<0.121, Not significant)

One explanation could be that the younger people had established their own networks such that they had associations with the criminals. For example, most of them might have schooled together and thus knew each other. Therefore, the chances of the young criminals attacking those of their age were lower. Even though evidence revealed that older people suffered a big chance of being crime victims, save for Mukuru slums where those aged 25-34 years had a bigger chance of being crime victims, there were no statistically significant differences in victimization and age among the four slums studied.

Socio-Economic Bases for Crime Victimization

Education Bases for Crime Victimization

An analysis of the highest level of education, as a dependent variable for crime victimization for slum settlers', showed very little variation. Even though other studies had shown some similarities, this one showed no variation at all as seen in Table 14.

Table 14: Crime Victimization in the Past Year by Highest Level of Education

	No education/Primary		Secondary		Post-secondary		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Victimised	103	44.2%	145	44.9%	44	42.7%	292	44.3%
Not victimised	130	55.8%	178	55.1%	59	57.3%	367	55.7%
Total	233	100.0%	323	100.0%	103	100.0%	659	100.0%

(χ^2=0.151, df=2, p<0.927) not significant

As far as the variation in the slums was concerned, slight variations could be identified between the slums. For example, Table 14 shows that Mukuru slums had the least variation, followed by Kibera. However, in Mathare, residents with lower educational levels seemed more vulnerable to crime, while in Korogocho, those with higher education levels seem to be more vulnerable to crime.

Employment Status by Crime Victimization

The findings from the foregoing study indicated that those who were unemployed or were employed in casual labour had a lower chance (between 39% and 41%) of getting victimized compared to their counterparts who were either employed full-time or were self employed (between 51% and 54%). The general reason for this observed behaviour was that those who were employed full-time or self employed occupied higher social status than the rest of the residents making them easy targets of crimes such as burglary and robbery.

As far as the slum differentials were concerned, Kibera slum showed very little differences between the different employment statuses as seen in Table 15. The rest of the slums showed marked difference between the employment status dichotomies as observed earlier on.

Income Quintiles Bases for Crime Victimization

This study also attempted to find out if there was any specific relationship between an individual's level of affluence and crime victimization. Measured by the wealth quintiles, the data suggested that, the incidence of crime victimization was higher in the lowest and the highest quintiles (about 50% each). This difference was statistically significant as shown in Table 16. The rest of the middle quintiles had less than half of their respondents claiming any victimization.

Table 15: Crime Victimization in the Past Year by Employment Status

	Unemployed		Employed casual labourer		Employed part-time		Employed full-time		Self employed		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Victimised	65	39.9%	81	40.1%	25	45.5%	34	54.0%	79	51.3%	284	44.6%
Not Victimised	98	60.1%	121	59.9%	30	54.5%	29	46.0%	75	48.7%	353	55.4%
Total	163	100.0%	202	100.0%	55	100.0%	63	100.0%	154	100.0%	637	100.0%

(χ^2=8.172, df=4, p<0.05, Significant)

Table 16: Crime Victimization in the Past Year by Wealth Quintiles

	Lowest		Fourth		Third		Second		Highest		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Victimised	65	49.6%	62	46.6%	51	39.5%	47	34.8%	67	51.1%	292	44.3%
Not Victimised	66	50.4%	71	53.4%	78	60.5%	88	65.2%	64	48.9%	367	55.7%
Total	131	100.0%	133	100.0%	129	100.0%	135	100.0%	131	100.0%	659	100.0%

(χ^2 = 10.387, df = 4, p<0.05, Significant)

Between the slum areas, the most affluent were victimized more than the others (Table 16). In Mathare, the lowest and the highest were victims of criminal attacks more than the rest of the quintiles. In Mukuru, victimization was found across all the quintiles, while in Korogocho, victimization was high in the lower quintiles of affluence. Based on hypothesised possibilities of identifying vulnerable groups of crime in the slum areas, the proceedings of the study indicated that unlike other general population crime studies, no demographic variable would influence the profile of crime victims in slum areas. However, some socio-economic variables and especially the income quartiles and employment status would profile when all slums were looked into as a whole. However, for individual slums, socio-economic profiling of crime victims was a weak contributor to crime vulnerability assessments.

CONCLUSIONS

In as much as slums were areas of poor sanitation, poor housing conditions and high population densities, the findings from the study have showed that there was a differentiation as far as population and demographic characteristics are concerned. This meant that each slum area was inherently different from each other. No two slums were the same. Each had its own social organization. One of the greatest problems after sanitation was crime. Slum areas experience more crime incidents than non-slum areas. However the nature and types of crime were different from each other. As far as the crime profile of each slum was concerned, each slum had a repertoire of its own endemic crimes. This had implications on the design of crime prevention strategies. Due to the differential socio-demographic profiles of each slum, the perception of crime trends was also different. Due to the fact that each slum had its own repertoire of crimes, the perceptions about crime trends was affected. The causes of crime were not unique. As a result of high levels of unemployment, and high standards of living, the youth in the slum turned to crime as a source of livelihoods. Economic empowerment of the urban poor youth may be a viable

strategy for crime prevention in slum areas. Contrary to many studies done earlier, the highest risk that faced the slum dwellers was the slum locality. Those who lived in Korogocho had the highest risk of becoming victims of crime than those who lived in other slums. Demographic vulnerability was minimal. The highest source of risk was the slum locality. Crime prevention programmes in Korogocho should be suited to its unique setting. The main characteristics of Korogocho different from other slums were: It had the highest youngest population, the highest population with the lowest levels of education and the highest population with the lowest income bracket. It seems that the socio-economic profile of Korogocho was the poorest and this was correlated to high levels of crime.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Recognition of Crime-Burden in the Slums

Safety in slum areas is still a preserve of the wider urban safety programmes. It is vital to recognize that, crime is still a huge problem in the slum areas and would require specific programmes to address the problem. The study findings suggest that slum crime should be addressed as one way of ensuring the improvement of living standards for the slum dwellers.

Suggestions for Slum Crime Prevention Policy

A stakeholder approach should be used in developing a framework for a wider slum safety improvement program. Other stakeholders, such as the police, vigilante groups and community leaders and representatives, should be jointly involved in coming up with home-grown solutions for crime prevention. It is important to formulate practical policies that can be forwarded to the government.

A Two-Tier Slum-Specific Crime Prevention Approach

The findings of this study indicated that each slum area is unique. Therefore crime prevention in the slums areas should be a two-tier approach. First prevention should be done at a general level in slums areas on specific issues that are similar. This mainly should involve the government security apparatus such as the police and the provincial administration. Secondly, on specific issues that are unique to the slum itself, local security committees and the community should be involved in generating localized solutions.

Neighbourhoods Crime Prevention Approach

This study confirmed the Social Disorganization Theory where neighbourhoods that are well structured, have a lot of interactions among its residents tend to have lower crimes. This was also extracted as one key dimension of safety attitudes. Based on this, there should be a conscious effort to encourage neighbourhood cohesion. This should be handled by the provincial administration in terms of organizing how the neighbourhood geography will look like and to facilitate formal recognition of these neighbourhood groups as key components of a wider crime prevention strategy.

Youth Engagement with Economic Activities

The study confirmed that youth unemployment is a key cause of crime in the slum areas. This is not a new phenomenon. However, the rate at which the youth are engaged into economic activities is low. From the ground, most initiatives are on social developments which are mainly spearheaded by Non Government Organizations (NGOs), Community Based-Organizations (CBOs), religious organization and the government. Social development is not the main key to eradication poverty. Efforts to engage the youth into gainful employment are ad hoc and rarely sustainable over long periods. This requires a stakeholder approach in looking for practical ways of engaging the youth in gainful employment or self-employment. Further research needs to be done to identify the major ways by which the youth can be engaged economically. The "*Kazi kwa Vijana*" [jobs for youth] initiative in Kenya is a clear example of such ideas. However, this programme unfortunately cannot cater for all unemployed youth in the slum areas. Extra initiatives need to be developed.

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