



CRIME IN NAIROBI

RESULTS OF A CITYWIDE VICTIM SURVEY



September 2002

By Aki Stavrou

The findings, interpretations and conclusions in this publication do not necessarily represent the views of UN-HABITAT or any affiliated organization.

Safer Cities: Series #4

Nairobi, Kenya

September, 2002

Editing and Layout: Tom Mboya

Pictures: Justo Casal

HS: 661/02E

ISBN: 92-1-131614-6

Series: 92-1-131653-7

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FOREWORD

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. Urban crime and violence are not a spontaneous occurrence, but above all, the product of a society characterised by inequality and social exclusion. Measures that protect urban 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 to address.

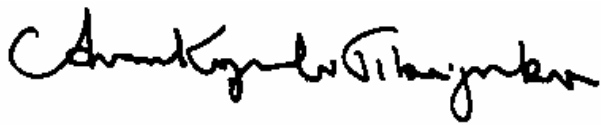
Crime and violence erodes social capital when it reduces trust and co-operation within formal and informal social organisations. The capacity for community-level organisations to function depends on levels of cohesion and the ability to meet locally; this hinges on personal safety issues. Sustained crime and violence often systematically create fear and reduce trust between neighbours and communities. Fear of crime is usually higher where violent crimes are higher. The response, particularly for women, is frequently to avoid certain places after dark. Fear increases urban fragmentation, resulting in a new urban landscape made up of "*fortified fragments*", from which the poor and marginalised are excluded.

Nairobi, a city of almost 3 million inhabitants, expanding at 5 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 schools etc.) and informal institutions (civil society organisations, solidarity networks etc.) is broken or weakened. Acknowledging these challenges, the Nairobi City Council has initiated the development of a local safety strategy. Information on the causes and impact of crime is essential for the planning, design and monitoring of whatever crime prevention strategy. Information is needed not only about crime levels but also about resource availability, capacity and the views of the citizens on the issues.

UN-HABITAT is aware that 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. Cities should take a proactive role in leading local efforts in this direction, supplementing the role of the state in ensuring security for all.

With this publication, UN-HABITAT and its partners present the results of this survey as a source of reference for those involved in designing local crime prevention strategies. The publication is also intended to support discussions on how best to understand and address urban crime and violence in the cities of the developing world. The findings of the survey will help the Nairobi City Council to reach a shared understanding of safety issues in the city, and

to focus and react on them in a collaborative manner. This will assist Nairobi to establish a sound footing for building an enabling environment that truly improves *Urban Safety for All*.



Anna Kajumulo Tibaijuka
Executive Director
UN-HABITAT

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Safer Nairobi project, funded by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), is working towards a citywide victimisation survey. The project is part of the Safer Cities Programme, which is developing municipal level approaches to crime prevention in other African cities. To perform a diagnosis on both crime itself and insecurity surrounding crime in Nairobi, a victimisation survey was carried out. A fundamental requirement of a prevention-oriented approach to crime is the availability of extensive and reliable data and to this end the UN-HABITAT Victimisation Survey of Nairobi is the most comprehensive undertaken to date, being administered in two discrete phases between May and August 2001. Throughout the study over 10,500 ordinary residents of Nairobi contributed their effort by offering opinions and attitudes to a number of different issues concerning safety and crime.

For the purposes of better understanding the impact of different crimes amongst the residents of Nairobi, the research was divided into three broad categories: personal, property and commercial. The survey found that 37% of all Nairobi's residents had been a victim of a robbery and 22% a victim of a theft at least once during the previous year. A further 18% had also been personally physically assaulted during the year preceding the scan. If such trends continue, then during the course of the following year, one in five residents will be a victim of a physical assault, a further one in five residents is likely to fall victim to a snatching and two in five residents shall be a victim of a robbery. In addition, during the following year, one in four women will be a victim of physical, economic or emotional abuse and a further one in four women a victim of sexual harassment, whilst a little over one in ten women will be sexually abused.

With regards to property crimes, a total of 29% of all homes had fallen victim to a burglary, 23% of all households who had either household or farm equipment on their properties, also experienced a theft during the same time period. Livestock, vehicle parts and vehicle thefts affect 15.8%, 15.0% and 8.7% of all those that possess livestock or motorised vehicles, but impact on only 8.4%, 8.0% and 2.9% of the total population. As with personal crimes, should the situation remain the same, then one in three households in Nairobi is likely to be a victim of a burglary during the next 12 months. Almost one in ten houses will have household items stolen from their property, the same number will have livestock stolen, whilst one in five motor vehicle owners will have vehicle parts stolen and a little fewer than that will have their vehicle stolen during the same time period.

In the business sector, a total of 30% of all commercial enterprises revealed that they had been victims to a burglary during the year preceding the survey. In addition, 29% admitted to having settled a bribe in order to either do away with a problem or as part of their operational activities. Shoplifting, theft of goods being delivered or sent out and thefts from and assaults on employees and staff, ranged across 19% to 9% of all enterprises.

The victim survey raises the following four main points about crime and crime control in Nairobi: firstly, Nairobi's crime profile, in terms of the types of crimes that are most prevalent, and the circumstances in which they occur, is similar to that of other cities surveyed using similar methodologies in Africa, namely in South Africa and Tanzania. Crime in Nairobi resembles these other cities to the extent that robbery, burglary, theft, and assault are prevalent. However it differs in that robbery is the crime reported most often, whereas in the other cities burglary – a non-violent crime – was the most prevalent recorded crime category. This is an important indication of the extent to which violent crime is a problem in Nairobi. It suggests that rates of violent crime in Nairobi are more comparable to those in South Africa than they are to those in Tanzania.

Related to this is the trend for personal crimes and burglaries to occur most often on Fridays and Saturdays. In the case of burglaries, these are the days of the week when people are most likely to be at home. The presence of people in the home is usually considered a deterrent to would-be burglars. But the survey data suggests that in Nairobi, like in South Africa, this is not the case. This suggests a lack of concern among offenders about the justice system's ability to apprehend and punish them. Related to this, a culture of impunity could have developed, which creates an environment in which wanton violence is perpetrated against crime victims without concern for the consequences.

Firearms tended not to be the weapons that most victims said were used against them when the crime was committed; instead, it was more likely that blunt or sharp objects were used. Nevertheless, the perception among the public surveyed was that illegal firearms are linked to the increase in crime levels in Nairobi. Reducing the availability of firearms should be a concern for crime reduction practitioners in Nairobi. This is not only because of public perception around the problem but the impact of the violence is likely to escalate if firearms are used in future because the latter results in higher fatalities.

Secondly, compared to the same cities, crime levels are far higher in Nairobi, which raises two issues for practitioners. On the one hand, it should assist in prioritising crime reduction on government's agenda and lobbying for support of crime prevention initiatives because of the social and economic costs of high crime levels. On the other, to the extent that these high levels of crime have come to be accepted as a way of life by the residents of Nairobi, the survey results suggest that a degree of social 'paralysis' may have set in, which limits the society's ability to participate in crime reduction initiatives.

Thirdly, a significant proportion of people in Nairobi believe there is either 'nothing' they can do or have never seriously thought about doing anything to help reduce crime in the city. That most of those interviewed think crime is caused by poverty and unemployment no doubt adds to this 'paralysis': government must take the lead in reducing these problems, and yet the same government is perceived as corrupt and inefficient. This weakens the 'social compact' between government and its citizens, thereby undermining the development of a culture of civic action in support of government efforts.

Further responses would suggest that knowledge about alternative means of preventing crime or changing behaviour to reduce risk of victimisation is limited in Nairobi. This presents enormous challenges to practitioners for in order to succeed, 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 the survey showed high levels of distrust in 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. However, the survey suggests that few people know how to approach crime reduction themselves or alternatively that they believe that it is worth pursuing.

Fourthly, the key crime problems that require attention from crime reduction practitioners in the city are violent crime and corruption. In the case of corruption, this appears to be a particular problem among law enforcement authorities. Combating corruption is crucial, not only because it is a crime, but also because it weakens the state's ability to reduce crime levels in general. The 'ethos' of bribery and corruption prevail in the commercial sector to the extent that many public sector officials need to be bribed in order to get something done. This is regarded as 'part of their business practice' – an additional tax required to obtain the desired service.

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 them resolving the crime, or because they do not believe that the police are competent enough to help them. Some respondents mentioned that they suspected that police were colluding with criminals, were corrupt and turned a blind eye to particular crimes. One-quarter of the respondents claimed to have bribed a police officer during the past year. Central to improving levels of reporting to the police will be improving public perceptions of police integrity.

It therefore comes as no surprise that high levels of insecurity and fear of crime were reported in Nairobi – even when people are in own home. In this environment, it makes sense that just over one-quarter of respondents would suggest good governance in the form of tackling corruption as the strategy needed to improve safety in the city. A better-motivated and remunerated police force would go a long way towards achieving this aim as well.

BACKGROUND



CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Africa remains one of the least urbanised regions in the world, with less than one-third of its population presently living in towns and cities. Nevertheless, it has amongst the highest urbanisation rates, averaging around five percent per annum. Kenya, with a projected urban population growth rate of almost six percent, is one of the most rapidly urbanising countries on the continent.

Most of this growth is taking place in low-income peri-urban and informal settlements, which accounts for over half of the entire urban population of Kenya. These settlements that are generally overcrowded lack even the most rudimentary services. Inadequate housing, lack of clean drinking water, uncollected waste and inadequate sewerage and sanitation facilities are the norm. To compound matters, most local authorities consider informal settlements illegal, hence their residents are ineligible for secure tenure. Regulations and licensing rules often restrict their activities and urban planning takes little account of their needs. Often the relationship between local government and the urban poor in these neighbourhoods is antagonistic.

Social exclusion and a relative lack of support systems further characterise informal settlements. Crime is high and perceived to be increasing annually. The issues of both private and public security have become the most identifiable criteria negatively impacting on the quality of life of the poor. Crime, however, although almost endemic to these areas is not restricted to them, but flows to and from formal middle and upper class suburbs, as well as agricultural and commercial areas. Nevertheless, it is the residents of the low-income peri-urban and informal settlements who are the main victims of all crimes, regardless of whether they are of a personal or proprietary nature. Likewise, although violent crime is not exclusively endemic to these areas, it is more prevalent, further eroding the various assets of the urban poor.

Although damaging in different ways, insecurity brought about by the perception of widespread violence and impending crime, can often be more destructive to the fabric of social and economic life, than the actual criminal act itself. Migratory ebbs and flows in many countries can be linked to prevailing perceptions as to what the status of crime may be in a particular place. This almost always has a profoundly negative impact not only on present but also future economic investment.

The main causes of crime are linked to the institutional framework of a society. Crime increases where the social control that operates through the formal institutions (police, justice, family, school etc.) and informal institutions (civil society organisations, solidarity networks etc.) is broken or weakened. Information on the causes and impact of crime is therefore essential for the planning, design and monitoring of whatever crime prevention strategy has

been implemented. Information is needed not only about crime levels but also about resource availability, capacity and the views of the people in the area about the issues.

Over the past ten years crime prevention has been implemented in some cities of developed countries and has started to build a culture of prevention in these cities or countries. However, crime prevention strategies have not been implemented widely in developing countries. This is due to many factors: lack of financial and human resources, existence of a culture of repression instead of reduction of crime, lack of decentralisation, and a lack of continuity of local institutions and leaders. However, the experience of developing countries, if successful, cannot be a simple replication of the practices of the North. In fact the most important challenge in the South is to incorporate in crime prevention the urban poor, who are not a marginalised minority as in the North but a substantive part and often a majority of the city dwellers.

The Safer Nairobi project, funded by UNDP, is working towards a citywide victimisation survey. The project is part of the Safer Cities Programme, which is developing municipal level approaches to crime prevention in other African cities. The programme works with municipal governments and regional and international partners to develop local plans for crime prevention and to support specific preventive measures at city or neighbourhood level. The programme has, over the years, implemented a methodological approach and developed specific tools, such as the victimisation survey undertaken in various cities of South and East Africaⁱ. They have provided the statistics and the knowledge to design the appropriate policies.

1.2 VICTIMISATION SURVEYS

To perform a diagnosis on both crime itself and insecurity surrounding crime in Nairobi, a victimisation survey was carried out. A fundamental requirement of a prevention-oriented approach to crime is the availability of extensive and reliable data, which unfortunately is not always found in either industrialised or developing countries. If crime is like a sickness, to be able "to say whether a nation is healthy, it is necessary to be able to take its temperature" ⁱⁱ.

Existing information is rarely available, and what normally exists is usually based on official records produced by the criminal justice administration. Information on the "dark figure", citizens' direct contact with crime and criminal justice administration is generally not readily available. It is the need to have such information that initially prompted the initiation of the surveys of victims of crime ⁱⁱⁱ. Victimisation surveys are one way of gathering some of this information.

Victimisation surveys are the best available tool for collecting information on citizens' first hand experiences with crime and criminal justice. They show who is most at risk, some of the impacts of crime and most importantly, public perception about the priority issues in their area. Without the accurate knowledge of crime that comes out of victimisation surveys, social planners cannot theorise why crime happens, politicians cannot formulate, prioritise and implement strategic policies and professionals cannot combat crime itself. Furthermore, the

criminal justice system is unable to implement the necessary and strategically pertinent and proper punitive methods and rehabilitation remedies to maximise their success.

There are three common methods for measuring crime. The first method summarises crimes that are reported to police, namely: official reporting. The second depends upon self-reports, wherein victims of crime fill in pro-forma interview schedules that probe for their experiences and the third method uses victimisation surveys. Victimisation surveys are presently considered the best scientific instrument to obtain an overview of crime in a city.

These different methodologies produce different results. Herein lies the difficulty in assessing the actual incidence of violent crime. In the case of police reports, it is common in many countries that the police record only the most serious offences and often omit to capture information on lesser incidents. However, more significant is the fact that many crimes are not reported to the police, whilst in other instances police themselves either do not record the crime or in investigating the citizen report to determine whether or not the offence actually occurred, may declare it "unfounded".

Another source of variability in the official police data appears to be found in the citizens' decision to report a crime to the police. In order to report a crime, the citizen must first define the act as a criminal offence, and secondly 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.

Getting victims of crime to self-complete information forms is also fraught with errors, for it relies on each respondent's individual interpretation of issues, thus introducing a bias that cannot be measured. This bias is twofold emanating from the respondent's interpretation of the question and also from the researchers understanding of the response. Furthermore, the inability to seek clarification on specific issues and probe a particular line of questioning drastically limits the usefulness of this mode of data collection. Particularly problematic with self-completed surveys is the potential non-reporting of specific crimes because of a lack of probing.

The core strength of victimisation surveys is that victims themselves provide the information in a format that they best understand and to a level of detail that is specific to a well-defined spatial location. Such explicit information is the key to understanding crime and to developing localised responses to crime reduction and control. Due to the fact that victim surveys target a representative sample of the population in any area, information is collected from constituents who have either been direct or indirect (family, friends, witnesses) victims of one or more crimes or from people who have never been a victim of a crime. By the nature of the random selection of respondents, victimisation surveys are better suited to identifying who is most at risk of particular crimes.

Victimisation surveys are also better disposed to understanding the nature of particular crime types, especially those that are poorly recorded in official crime statistics. Analysing official crime statistics for information on where and when crimes are most likely to occur and the circumstances that characterise certain crimes is difficult, because there are a host of necessary information variables that are not collected. For example, it is unlikely that official databases would have detailed information on the relationship between victim and offender, the specific weapons used and degree of violence and injury sustained, association with drugs and alcohol and what the victim was doing when the crime occurred. This information is particularly relevant for crimes such as mugging and assault that are infrequently reported to the police.

Furthermore, official statistics cannot be used to measure levels of fear of crime. Feelings of insecurity have social, economic and political consequences for society, and as such this problem needs to be addressed as an issue in itself. By recording the perceptions of both victims and non-victims, the surveys illustrate the extent and nature of fear of crime and on whom the fear of specific crimes impacts the most. Furthermore, by the very nature of their collection mechanism, official statistics cannot determine public perceptions of police effectiveness and service delivery. Victimisation surveys are therefore a useful mechanism for recording the opinions of the general public on police performance.

Finally, victimisation surveys can be identified as a proficient vehicle for soliciting public opinions of victims and the general public about appropriate interventions. Crime prevention and victim support are relatively new fields for most developing countries and therefore accurate information about what victims would prefer in this regard, is particularly relevant. While there is always a long list of caveats accompanying the publication of any crime survey results, the findings are analysed as 'truest' reflection of the incidence of crime.

The victimisation survey undertaken in Nairobi, is the first attempt ever made at determining the nature, incidence and prevalence of crime for the city.

1.3 METHODOLOGY

The methodology employed in this study was developed following the Durban Victimisation Survey in 1997 and first used in the Cape Town Victimisation Survey in 1998. The methodology is rooted in the range of rapid assessment surveys that have during the past two decades become increasingly popular as methods of data collection for a number of social service sectors in developing countries. This is because of their low cost and short time from implementation to results. These surveys are generally directed towards generating sub-national estimates and are perfect for estimating trends at a city level.

Such a methodology is particularly effective if there are different and often multiple measurement objectives within individual studies; for example, the measurement of crime rates and victimisation prevalence and their shifts over time, as well as evaluating the success of police service delivery programmes. In order to ensure that the data gathered can be

generalised to the general population in the survey region being studied, the Safer Cities South and East African Victimization surveys have adapted the methodology by introducing a victimisation scan survey to precede the main survey.

The survey is thus administered in two distinct phases: firstly as a victimisation scan and secondly as a victimisation mainstream survey.

1.3.1 The Scan

The scan is the first step in the survey process, allowing the analyst the opportunity to develop a broad profile of the defined constituents, including some select demographic statistics such as age, gender, vocation, place of residence, work and/or study. This profile could then be matched to both the extent and rate of victimisation by different crime category, based on the identification of the ratio of victims to non-victims of different types of crime across all constituents. In addition the scan provides information on overall crime rates in a manner that enables a selection process of only the most serious and prevalent crimes for further in depth surveying. This is based on the idea that not all crime types will be prevalent in a particular area and that more detailed information will not therefore need to be gathered on these crimes.

In order for a scan to be successful, it is necessary to ensure that the entire area being studied is adequately covered, which means that each generic group of respondents need to be regarded as a sample in their own right. In other words the entire scan is the composition of all residents in the survey area. In the case of the Nairobi Victimization Scan, which was carried out during April and May 2001, a total of 7,954 interviews were conducted amongst residents in 110 different localities throughout the city. A smaller survey of 667 employees or business owners was conducted at the same number of commercial enterprises at 64 different locations in Nairobi.

Respondents were randomly selected from all residents in Nairobi who were over the age of 17 years. Interviews were undertaken throughout the day and into the early evening on every day of the week. However, a sample as large as the one undertaken for the Nairobi Victimization Scan would be prohibitively expensive to administer unless interviews are carried out in the 'street' or in the open. As such, the interviews in Nairobi were administered at appropriate social and infrastructure nodal points, namely: shopping centres, transport localities, office blocks, etc. In some instances however, such as, with the elderly, infirm or institutionalised, it was necessary to conduct the interviews at their place of residence.

The findings of the Nairobi Victimization Scan were presented to a select group of interested parties who debated the findings and advised on the format that the research should use in the next phase. The report that was presented for the scan can be found in Appendix Two.

1.3.2 The Main Survey

The main Nairobi Victimization Survey was divided into three components – individual residents, households and commercial enterprises, of which 1,000, 500 and 300 interviews respectively were completed. From the outset, it was essential that the sampling frame be clearly defined in order that the results are projected to the entire population of Nairobi. The sample design for the survey was two-stage, involving the selection of pre-determined primary sampling units or "clusters" (identified spatial area or units), from which the desired number of subjects within a specific target group (identified demographic variables) were chosen. Using data from the 1999 Census, Nairobi was divided into six spatial units: 1) low-income informal areas, 2) low-income formal areas, 3) mid-income areas, 4) upper-income formal areas, 5) inner city and 6) industrial / commercial districts.

All of the following surveys were conducted during June and July 2001. The interview schedules administered to the various samples, both during the scan and the main survey can be requested from UN-HABITAT.

1.3.2.1 Individual Survey

For the individual sample a total of 25 clusters or primary sampling units were selected through systematic random sampling with probability proportional to estimated size. Survey enumerators randomly selected a quota of 40 respondents in each cluster. Only personal violations were covered in this survey (of 1,000 interviews) and they included theft (purse snatching, pick pocketing), robbery and assault (hijacking and murder were also covered and can be found in Appendix One). The survey was carried out during June and July 2001.

1.3.2.2 Household Survey

For the household survey a total of 25 primary clusters were selected in the same manner as for the individual survey and within each cluster 20 randomly chosen households were interviewed (i.e. 500 interviews). Only property crimes were probed for and these included: burglary, theft of crops and/or livestock from garden/fields, theft of farm equipment, theft of other movable property, theft of previously thought of immovable property, theft of motor vehicle parts and theft of motor vehicles.

1.3.2.3 Commercial Survey

For the first time in a Safer Cities victimisation survey, a component of the study was dedicated to the commercial sector. A total of 300 interviews were administered to a sample of commercial enterprises, stratified to include the manufacturing/production, services and retail sectors in 10 primary sampling clusters. The same selection criteria were used as with the household sector, except that in this case, quotas were applied to each cluster. A total of 100 interviews were administered in the central business district, 40 interviews in the Industrial Area and 20 interviews in each of 8 other selected areas in Nairobi. In addition to general questions on crime, dedicated modules on corruption, burglary and robbery were also included.

1.4 STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

The report was written in two stages: the first phase which contained an analysis of the scan was completed during May 2001 and the second phase covering the individual, household and commercial surveys during September and October 2001.

This report is divided into eight sections and six appendices. Section One covers the background and the methodology applied for the study, whilst Section Two, is a synopsis of the findings of the scan. Section Three is an analysis of the general questions on crime administered to each of the three samples within the main survey. It therefore covers the responses of 1,800 respondents. Section Four, Five and Six cover the personal, property and commercial crimes respectively. Section Seven summarises the various crimes and the respondent's perceptions of insecurity. Section Eight concludes with recommendations as to the way forward.

1.4.1 Points to Note

It should be noted that, notwithstanding the different components of the study and the varied sample sizes, where the same sample is being analysed, the total number of respondents varies in the different tables. This is due to three reasons - weighting, non-applicability and non-responses. As such in many tables the total number of respondents will be less than the overall sample. In the scan and individual surveys, age and gender reflect the actual cohorts as per the 1999 Census were weighted for all the relevant tables.

It is important to bear in mind, that although it is common in some victimisation surveys to question for both actual and attempted crimes, this survey only tested for actual crimes. It has been the experience of the researcher that responses attributed to attempts are often inaccurate, as the event may have been perceived to have happened. Further, respondents often tend to exaggerate attempted crime and when probed further as to the nature of the individual attempts are unable to substantiate their claims. Such interrogation is impossible in a scan and as such is best left to the detailed study that will follow.

It should also be noted, that the scan survey sought to identify victimisation ratio for hijacking, murder and sex offences. Due to a mixture of misunderstanding and over-exaggeration by respondents on both hijacking and murder, the results could not be used in the main study. However, in order to understand the nature of these crimes, namely the circumstances related to their occurrence, the main survey included modules for each of these crimes and their findings are reported in Appendix One. The results of sexual crimes are reported in a different report that also deals with the findings of the violence against women survey.

1.5 THE TEAM

1.5.1 The Reference Group and UN-HABITAT

A reference team, who generously volunteered their time to lend their expertise to the project, guided the research process. It is they who made a critical input into the findings of the scan and suggested which crimes should be researched in the main survey. I am extremely appreciative for their contribution and leadership.

The Safer Cities Programme at the UN-HABITAT commissioned this study. Soraya Smaoun was the project officer in charge of the survey. She became involved in all aspects of the study, making input into the methodology, interview schedules, scan report and contributed contextually to this report. Notwithstanding her input, which is gratefully acknowledged, her willingness to allow methodological experimentation has helped add a number of new dimensions to victimisation studies, that future researchers might find useful.

Ms. Antoinette Louw of the Institute of Security Studies, in South Africa, undertook a peer review of both the scan and final report. She was also responsible for co-authoring chapter seven of this report.

1.5.2 The Research Team

The fieldwork was undertaken by Intermediate Technology Development Group – East Africa (ITDG). There were a number of people involved, each of whom made immensely valuable contributions, adding enormous richness to the final output. The main contributors are:

Ms. Hannah Kamau of ITDG who managed the overall fieldwork process, which included logistics, training, monitoring and making a contextual contribution to this final report. Her expertise in bridging the gap between what was requested in the terms of reference, the interview schedule and the fieldwork, was always carried out with a decorum of professionalism that does credit to the realm of research in Kenya.

Mr. Josiah Omotto of ITDG was also involved in the overall management of the field process. His expertise of the local situation was inestimable to the author and helped bridge the gap between theory and reality.

Mr. Sammy Oyombe of ITDG who was the fieldwork manager and responsible for the data capture and validation for the scan and all three components of the main survey. His management of the team in field was superb.

A team of 15 fieldworkers contracted to ITDG who were involved in the scan and all three components of the main survey. The quality of their work was superb and it is they to whom this report should be dedicated, for completing over 10,000 interviews in the short period that they did was a Herculean task.

The editing of the final report was undertaken by Cecilia Andersson, whose experience on the Dar es Salaam victimisation survey proved invaluable, as her expert input beyond the grammatical was highly welcomed.

Stavros (Aki) Stavrou a development researcher associated to the School of Development Studies at the University of Natal, South Africa, led the research team. He was responsible for developing the methodology that was based on his previous experience with victimisation surveys in Johannesburg, Durban, Cape Town, Durban and Dar es Salaam. He was also responsible for drafting the various interview schedules, training the research teams and writing this report. The views expressed in the report are his and may not necessarily reflect those of the members of the reference team, UN-HABITAT or any of the ITDG contributors.

THE SCAN



CHAPTER TWO: THE SCAN

2.1 INTRODUCTION

A total of 7,954 residents of Nairobi were interviewed across each of 110 administrative sub-areas in the city (for a map of the survey areas see Appendix Four). Of these, 3,314 (43) were women. Each of 7,954 residents were asked their, race, age, living status (whether the respondent resided alone, with a partner or with family), vocation, place of residence and the ownership status of their home (whether they own, rent or squat). In addition the location of the interview was also noted. Furthermore, all the respondents were asked whether during the 12 months preceding - May 2000 to April 2001, the number of times their home had been burgled and the number of times they personally had: experienced theft, been robbed, physically assaulted or hijacked in any vehicle (for hijacking see Appendix One). All the respondents were also asked whether they or other members of their family living with them in Nairobi had experienced a murder in the family (for murder see Appendix One).

Of the female sample 613 female respondents were asked whether during the same time period the number of occasions they or other members of their family living with them in Nairobi had livestock, farm or outdoor equipment, vehicle parts or a vehicle stolen.

The shop scan, which was administered to 667 employees or business owners at 64 different locations in Nairobi, gathered information on the location of the interview and the following demographic variables of the respondents on whom the survey was administered: sex, race and work status (whether they were employees, managers or owners). In addition, information on the type of commercial enterprise being researched (retail, services or production), the size of their labour force and the total number of the years that the business was operational at the premises where the interview was being conducted.

All the commercial respondents were then asked on how many occasions during the 12 months preceding the survey their business was burgled, had experienced shop-lifting, theft of goods whilst loading or unloading, credit card fraud, and fell victim to bribes or boycotts. In addition, all the respondents were asked how many times, during the past 12 months (since April 2000), any member of their staff or customer had ever been robbed, mugged or physically assaulted either inside or just outside the premises.

It is significant to note that there was a very low refusal to participate in both surveys.

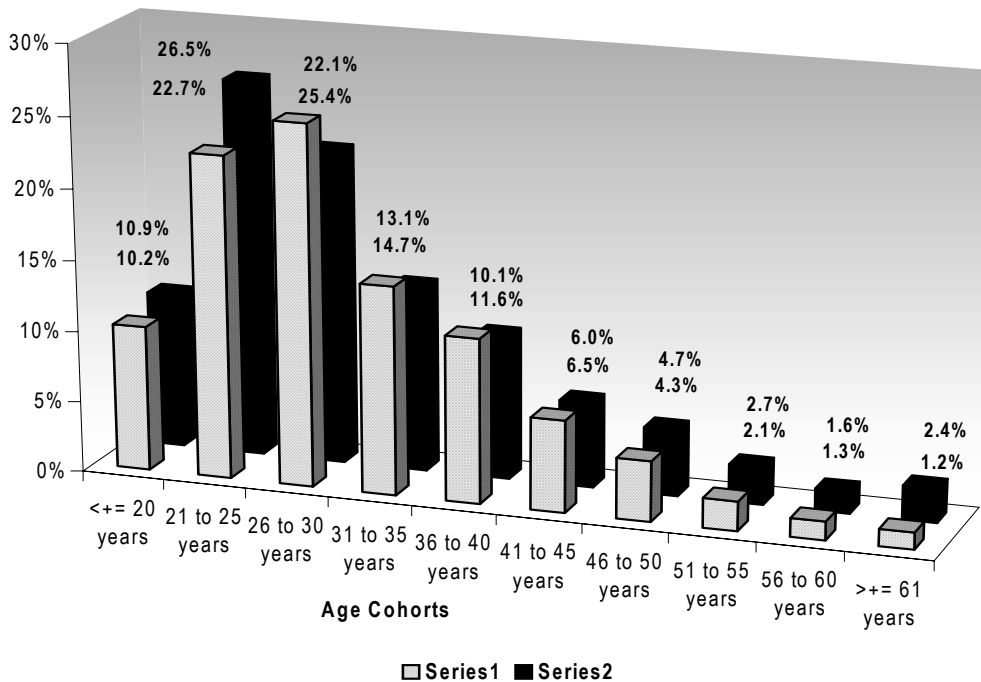
2.2 SCAN DEMOGRAPHICS

Demographic data on age, gender, race, living status, house ownership and vocation was collected and analysed. In addition the scan collected information on which areas people worked and resided in. The lists of these areas can be requested from UN-HABITAT, Safer Cities Programme.

2.2.1 Age

One of the strengths of a victimisation scan is, because of its size, the likelihood of randomly selecting a sample that is representative of Nairobi is high. This survey proved this to be true, and the following chart demonstrates the very close correlation between the sample profile and the actual population, as tabulated in the 1999 Census.

Sample vs Census

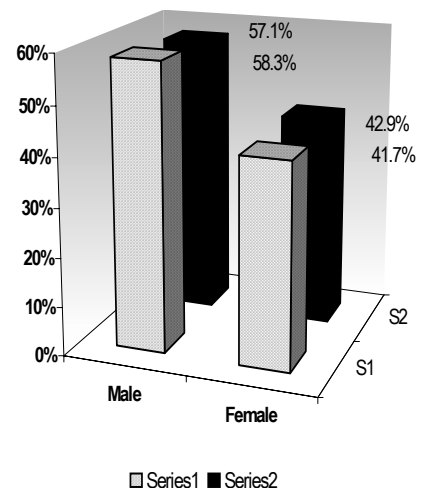


The only exception is for the people over the age of 60 years, which is always a problem with most street surveys, as they are least mobile and visible of all people in public places within a society. In the bar chart below – Series 1 represents the sample and series 2 the census data. The ensuing analysis showed that victimisation to specific crimes is age determined, and as such the analysis in this report takes this into account.

2.2.2 Gender of Respondents

A further verification as to the effectiveness of the victimisation scan is to be found in the random selection of respondents by gender, which produced a male to female ratio of 58% to 42%. The 1999 Census showed this ratio to be 57% to 43%. The bar chart illustrates these ratios. Victimisation to specific crimes was found to correlate to gender, and as such the rest of the report takes gender into account.

Survey v Census



2.2.3 Other Demographic Criteria

The overwhelming total (98%) of all people interviewed were of indigenous African origin. The results of the scan showed that no crime was race specific, so race as a variable of analysis has been eliminated.

The scan also found that over three-fifths of all the respondents live with their families, one-quarter alone and the balance, one-tenth with just a partner. The scan found it difficult to closely correlate victimisation to specific crimes to the living status of the respondent and as such deals with it only for those instances where it is possible that a link exists.

In addition the scan found that almost two-fifths of all the respondents rented their homes, whilst the overwhelming majority of the rest owned theirs. There was almost no correlation between house ownership and the likelihood of being victim to any specific crime. As such, it has been eliminated as a variable of analysis.

The greatest number of respondents that were interviewed claimed to have been in informal employment or working in the informal sector during the interview. The next largest group of respondents were in formal employment, followed by the unemployed, students, housewives and pensioners.

2.2.4 Commercial Sector Demographic Criteria

Demographic data on gender, race, working designation, enterprise status, years in business and size of the labour force was collected and analysed. In addition the location of each survey was noted.

Of the 667 interviews undertaken, 61% were amongst men, therefore comparing favourably with the census equivalent of 57% for the general population, indicating a high degree of consistency between both samples. The overwhelming majority of the interviews (98%) were conducted amongst Africans.

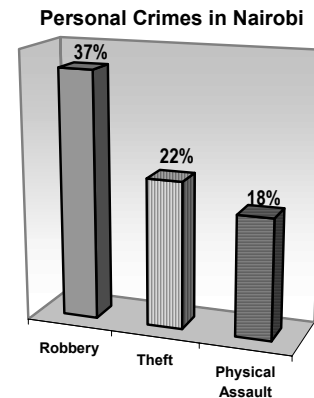
In order to ensure a diverse range of opinions, it was necessary to spread the type of respondent selected for the survey across the workforce. As such, a fraction over half (52%) of the respondents owned the enterprise where they were interviewed, while a further two-fifths (40%) were employees at their place of work. Less than one tenth (7%) of the respondents reported that they were managers at their enterprise.

Enterprises were graded by the number of years they were in business as well as their size in terms of the total number of employees. Although some correlation exists to crime, there were so many other exogenous influences that these were dropped as criterion for analysis.

2.3 SCAN CONCLUSIONS

2.3.1. Personal Crimes

From the chart, it is evident that robbery, a crime in which the threat of, or actual violence was used to dispossess the person of their belongings, is the most prevalent crime committed against the residents of Nairobi. This is followed by the theft of personal belongings from the individual themselves and physical assaults on people. 37% of all the citizens of Nairobi claimed they had been a victim of a robbery at least once during the year preceding the scan. 22% of the respondents had also been victim of a theft, which was defined as the removal of personal property from a person, where neither a threat of nor actual violence was used. It is significant to note, that 68 of victims of theft had also been robbed, indicating that a core of people were constantly susceptible to being victims of personal crimes. The age of the person and their vocation are the best indicators to levels of susceptibility across most personal crimes. 16% of respondents claimed to have been personally physically assaulted between May 2000 and April 2001.



Based on the findings of the scan, the reference group guiding the study recommended that a victimisation survey be administered to 1,000 residents of Nairobi. They further recommended that the study specifically probe for details surrounding the most recent incident of robbery, theft and physical assault that might have occurred during the past 12 months. Age, gender and the location where the crime was committed were identified as the main criteria by which the results should be analysed.

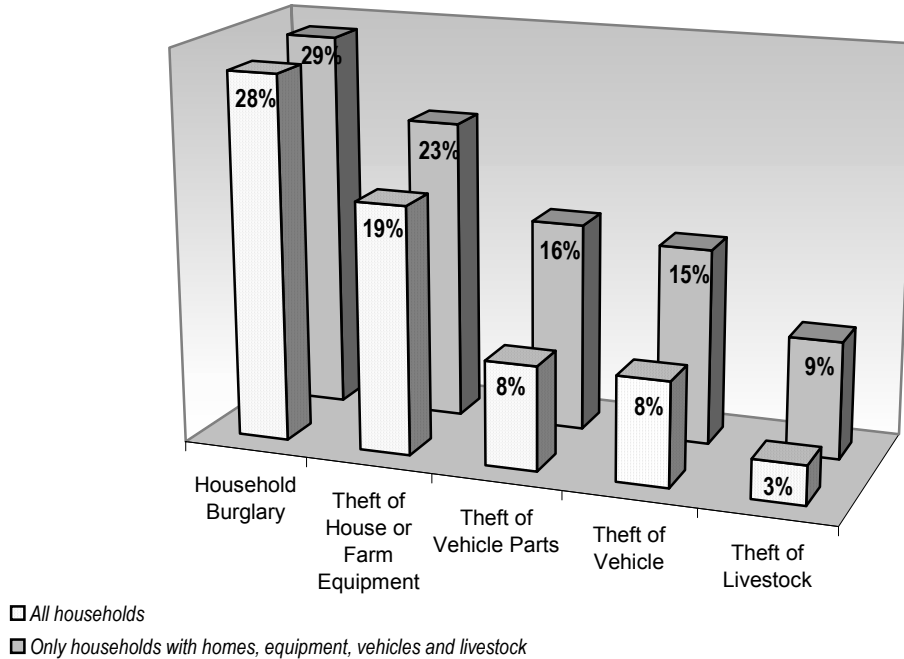
2.3.2 Property Crimes

The victimisation scan of Nairobi revealed that 29% of all homes had been victim to a home burglary during the twelve months preceding the survey. To a lesser extent, 23% of all households that had either household or farm equipment on their properties, experienced a theft during the same time period. A cross-tabulation of the data, reveals that many of these households were the same as those that were victims of a home burglary. Livestock, vehicle parts and vehicle thefts affect 15.8%, 15% and 8.7% of all those that either own livestock or motorised vehicles, but impact on only 8.4%, 8% and 2.9% of the total population. The biggest criterion impacting on victimisation rates is the locality of the household.

The reference group recommended that a household burglary victimisation study be administered to a sample of 25 localities, ranging from worst to least affected be selected by using the EPI methodology – 25 households be selected for inclusion into the victimisation survey. Furthermore, they suggested stratifying Nairobi into low-income formal and informal

settlements and mid- and upper-income formal settlements and ensuring a favourable spatial dispersion around the city. Detailed information was to be collected from those households that had been victims of a burglary.

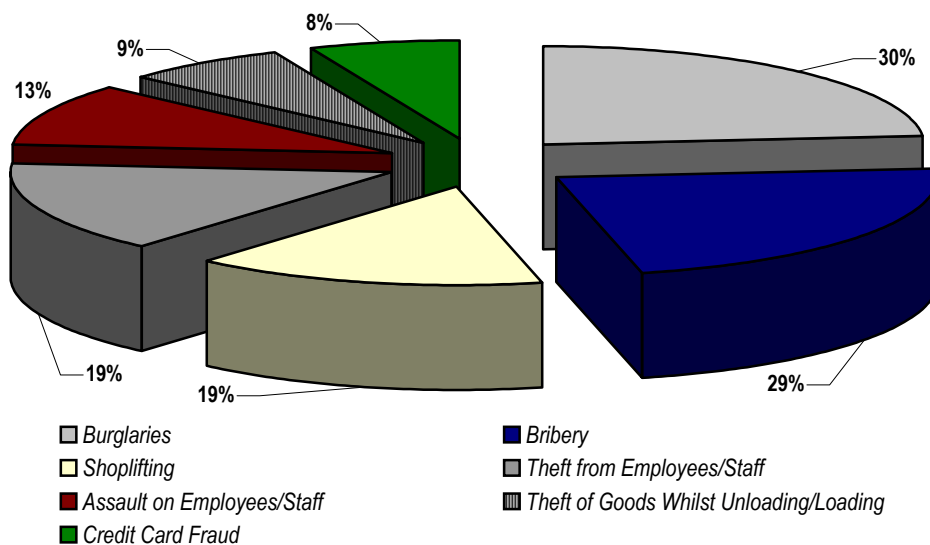
PROPERTY CRIMES IN NAIROBI



2.3.3 Commercial Crimes

For the first time in a victimisation survey the commercial sector was treated as an entity in its own right. The high levels of crime indicated in the chart below reveal that it was certainly warranted.

COMMERCIAL CRIME IN NAIROBI



A total of 30% of all enterprises revealed they had been a victim to a burglary during the year preceding the survey. In addition, 29% of the commercial enterprises surveyed, admitted to having settled a bribe in order to either do away with a problem or as part of their operational activities. A range from 19% to 9% of the following crimes, were found at all enterprises - shoplifting, theft of goods being delivered or sent out and thefts from and assaults on employees and staff. Locality, length of time that the firm has been operational, and its size would seem to be the determinate variables as to how likely a business is to fall victim to such a crime.

The reference group recommended that a specific study, along the same lines as the individual and household surveys should be carried out in order to develop a better understanding of burglaries committed against commercial enterprises in Nairobi. It was agreed that the same methodology to be used in the household survey should be applied to 300 enterprises, to be drawn from 10 discreet areas, stratified to include the city centre, specific industrial areas and commercial nodes within residential suburbs. Furthermore, in order to understand specific dynamics by type of enterprises, the sample had to ensure a minimum range of enterprises drawn from the production, services and retail sectors.

THE VICTIMS AND THEIR OPINION OF CRIME



CHAPTER THREE: THE VICTIMS AND THEIR OPINIONS OF CRIME

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The main survey was administered to 1,531 residents of Nairobi between June 13th and July 30th 2001. This chapter presents the respondent demographics, victimisation rates and their opinions on a number of issues related to crime in Nairobi. These include, their perceptions on safety and crime, their reactions to crime, their opinions on the police force, their attitudes towards street children, their perceptions of corruption and what they think could be done to solve crime in Nairobi.

3.2 RESPONDENT DEMOGRAPHICS

This section on demographics includes the following:

- The respondents age, gender, race and household size;
- Where the respondent lives, the type of place and residence they live in, as well as their residential status;
- The respondents level of education, their occupation and the type of place they either study or work in; and
- Respondent victimisation rates.

3.2.1 Age, Gender, Race and Household Size

The mean age of all respondents interviewed was 33 years and 7 months, and the median age 31 years. During the scan, the mean and median ages of the respondents were 31 years and 2 months and 29 years. This means that respondents interviewed for the main survey are a little older than those during the scan. This can be seen in the following table that shows the breakdown of the sample matched against that of the population census of 1999. As can be seen, the 26 to 39 year age group and 40 to 59 year age group are over-represented whilst the under 26 year age group is under-represented. Throughout the forthcoming analysis, all results that are age dependent have been appropriately weighted.

	Age of respondent	
	Survey	1999 Census
< 26 years	24.9%	37.4%
26 - 39 years	52.7%	45.3%
40 - 59 years	20.2%	14.9%
> 60 years	2.2%	2.3%
Total	100.00%	100.00%
n=	1,531	1,312,214

A gender quota was pre-determined to reflect the census and this was achieved for the over-sample (57% male and 42% female). In addition the gender ratios for each of the age groups was also achieved.

The sample was overwhelmingly Black African (96%), with the majority of the rest being Asian, followed by Europeans and a few Arabs.

In order to ascertain migrancy rates and to test for any relationship to victimisation rates (none found) households were asked to list the number of migrant family members residing with them but working elsewhere outside Nairobi. A total of 8% of all households had one migrant, 5.9% two migrants and 2.2% three or more migrants.

3.2.2 Place, Type of Residence and Residential Status

During the scan, it was found that the type of house and area that people stayed in, impacted upon them in terms of the likelihood of them falling victim to particular crimes. The following table shows the types of houses respondents resided in.

Type of Homes Respondents Live in	
Brick and Mortar House	34%
Brick and Mortar House - Single Room	31%
Shack	16%
Temporary shelter/plastic bags	11%
Apartment/Flat	7%
Semi-permanent	1%
Others(specify)	0%
Total	100%
n=	1530

The survey found that one third (65%) of all respondents lived in a brick and mortar house, with just over half of them, living in the entire house as opposed to single room within the house. Just over one quarter of all the respondents lived in non-permanent accommodation: namely a shack (16%), temporary shelter (11%) or a semi-permanent structure (1%). Just over three-quarters of all respondents rented, as opposed to owned, their homes.

The following table shows the types of residential areas that respondents live in. In Sections 1.3.4 and 1.3.5 the sampling methodology was described and it should be noted that for the property crimes sub-sample, generic residential settlement quotas were applied to ensure that the sample was representative of all areas of Nairobi. The selection of areas for personal crimes was also quota based. The final sample was run against the 1999 census, and found, with the exception of a slightly under-represented informal settlement sample, a close

correlation between the two for all the other areas. The following table illustrates the sample breakdown by generic residential settlement.

Type of Area Respondents Live in	
Formal Low Income Suburb	44%
Formal Middle Income Suburb	23%
Informal Settlement (slum)	13%
Formal Upper Income Suburb	13%
Inner City	4%
Industrial Area	1%
Outside Nairobi	2%
Total	100%
n=	1530

From the above table, it can be seen that 44 of the sample was drawn from formal low-income suburbs, a fraction under three-tenths from middle-income suburbs and an almost equal number from informal settlements and formal upper income suburbs. The rest of the sample was drawn from the inner city and industrial areas. Two percent of the sample – all personal crime sampled respondents, work or study in Nairobi, but live just outside it's city boundaries, commuting into the city daily.

3.2.3 Level of Education, Occupation and Place of Study/Work

All the respondents were asked to declare what was the highest level of education they had attained. The following illustrates this.

Respondents Level of Education	
None	3.1%
Primary not completed	10.1%
Primary completed	16.7%
Secondary not completed	14.2%
Secondary completed	33.5%
Post secondary Certificate or Artisan	6.0%
A-levels	4.1%
Post High School Diploma	5.7%
University	6.5%
Total	100.0%
n=	1,530

During the scan, a correlation was found between the respondent's occupation, their gender and levels of victimisation for certain personal crimes.

Respondents were therefore asked to describe their vocation, which is depicted in the table below.

Respondents Occupation			
	Male	Female	Both
Full-time scholar/student	2.6%	4.2%	3.3%
House-spouse	0.3%	18.1%	7.8%
Retired/pensioner	2.4%	1.2%	1.9%
Unemployed	9.4%	14.8%	11.7%
Employed part-time (every now and then)	11.4%	6.8%	9.5%
Employed informal sector full-time (no tax paid)	12.1%	6.5%	9.7%
Self employed informal sector (no tax paid)	32.9%	31.1%	32.1%
Formal sector employed full-time	21.5%	11.9%	17.4%
Self employed formal sector (tax paid)	7.0%	5.1%	6.2%
Other	0.3%	0.3%	0.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n=	884	647	1,531

The above table shows that the group representing the largest vocational category are those self-employed in the informal sector – 32.1%, which is fairly evenly dispersed across men and women. Formal sector employed comprised the second largest group, but unlike gender distribution of the previous group, men almost outnumbered women by a ratio of 2:1. The inverse ratio is found amongst those who classified themselves unemployed and home-based workers (house-wives or house-husbands).

For the same reasons that the area where respondents live in influences the likelihood someone may fall victim to a particular crime, so does the area that people work in. The following table displays the type of areas the respondents either work or study in.

Type of Area Respondents Works or Studies in	
Formal Suburb Low Income	32.7%
Formal Suburb Middle Income	23.2%
Inner City	19.1%
Formal Suburb Upper Income	11.4%
Informal Settlement (slum)	11.1%
Industrial Area	1.9%
Outside Nairobi	0.6%
Total	100.0%
n=	593

The areas that people work in closely match those they reside in. A significant majority of those who work do so either from home, or in the vicinity of the homes.

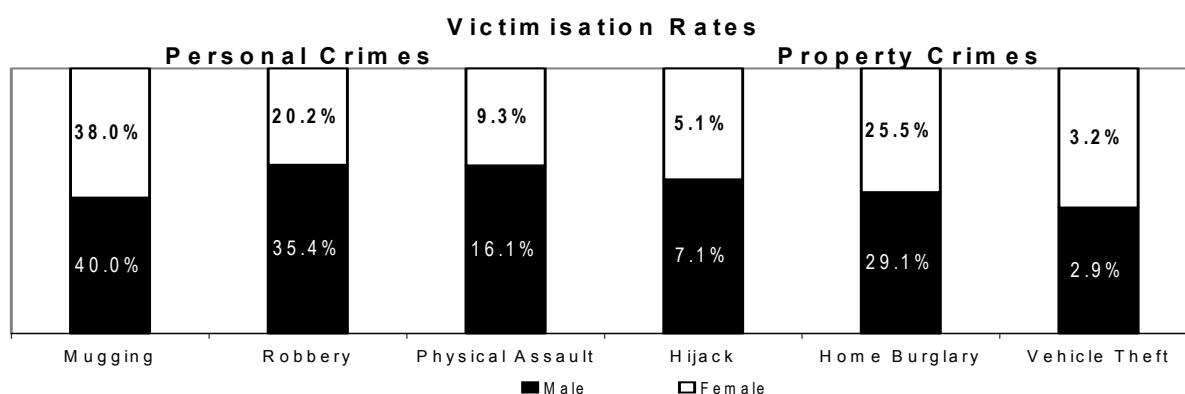
3.2.4 Victimization Rates

The table below shows victimisation rates of the respondents for personal and commercial crimes, which are not necessarily the same as those for Nairobi. The Nairobi victimisation rates were determined during the scan; the victimisation rates here apply just to the sample.

Snatching or simple theft was defined as the theft of personal property from a person, where neither a threat of violence nor any actual violence was used to dispossess the person, affected four out of every ten (39.2%) respondents.

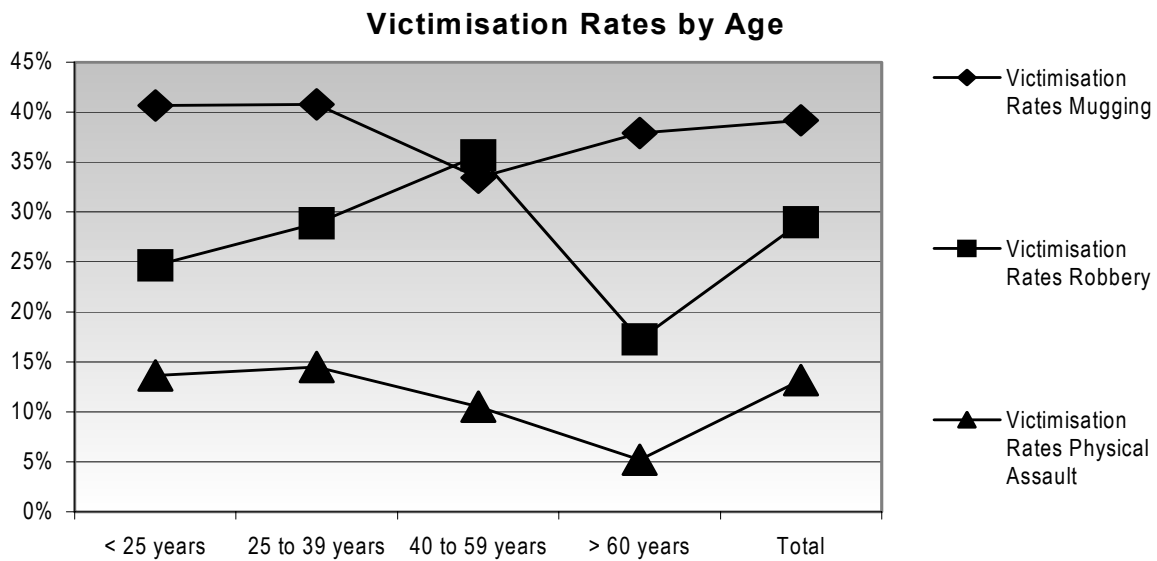
Victimisation rates			
Personal Crimes – Respondent Only		Property Crimes – Respondent’s Household	
Snatching	39.2%	Home Burglary	27.6%
Robbery	29.0%	Vehicle Theft	3.1%
Physical Assault	13.2%	n=	531
n=	1,531		

Furthermore, 29% of all respondents claimed they had been a victim of a robbery, where the threat of violence or any actual violence was used to dispossess during the 12-month period between June 2000 and May 2001. Just over one-tenth (13.2%) of the respondents had also been victims of a physical assault.



With regards to property crimes, the survey found that 27.6% of all the respondents’ households had experienced at least one burglary during the year preceding the survey. Respondents were asked whether a family member residing with them had ever had a vehicle stolen, to which 3.1% responded positively.

Victimisation rates between gender and by age differed, and the table above shows that men are more likely than women to be a victim of all personal crimes than women.



The diagram above shows variable victimisation rates by age. Under 25 year olds and the elderly (over 60 years) are more likely to be victims of snatching (described as mugging in the chart) and physical attacks than robbery. Robbery is not more likely to occur amongst 40 to 59 year olds, but is also the crime that they are most likely to be a victim of.

3.3 PERCEPTIONS OF CRIME

All the respondents were asked their perception of what causes crime, what they actually worry about, what they perceive to be the most frequent crime, the worst crime, whom they think causes crime and how they deal with it.



The most common cause of crime given was unemployment which ‘forces’ people into crime in order to ‘survive’. Poverty was the next major reason and many people noted that even if the economy were to improve and there were more jobs, the level of poverty was so deep, that the problem would not go away. A few respondents noted general idleness and the quick rewards that crime brings for the perpetrators but they were very much in the minority. A very

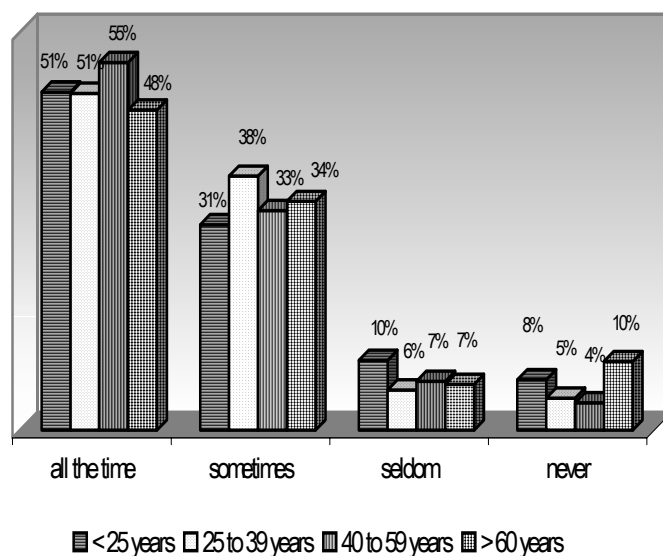
small minority mentioned the increase in foreigners as another reason for crime and argued that they brought with them an attitude that was different from that of the local residents of Nairobi.

3.3.1 Fear of Crime

- ◆ 52% of the all the residents of Nairobi worry about crime all the time and 35.2 sometimes.
- ◆ 79% of people think that most crimes are caused by others from within their neighbourhood

Just over half (52%) of all the residents of Nairobi worry about crime all the time and 35% sometimes. A minority of 7% of all the residents seldom worry about crime, whilst 5% never worry at all. There was very little difference between men and women and across different age cohorts. The table alongside shows worry of crime across the different age cohorts.

Fear of Crime



Generally, people think that most crimes are caused by people from within their neighbourhood, averaging 79% across all neighbourhoods, with very little difference between them.

3.3.2 Issues of Safety

- ◆ 75% of all respondents feel unsafe in their homes during the night.
- ◆ 54% of all Nairobi residents feel unsafe during the day and 94% during the evening in the City Centre
- ◆ 72% of all residents avoid travelling and working after dark.
- ◆ 46% would avoid going out even during the day unless it was absolutely necessary.
- ◆ 60% of all respondents argued for the need to set-up some form of assistance group to help people who are victims of crime.

In order to gauge where respondents feel safe, they were asked a number of questions about how safe they felt in a number of different places in Nairobi. From the chart below it can be seen that during the day 79.3% and 78.6% respectively of all respondents felt safe in their home and their work/study place. However, only one-quarter of all the respondents felt safe in

their home and at their place of work during the evening. Likewise 74.5% felt safe during the day going to the place where they usually shop, but only one-fifth during the evening. Perhaps the most striking data emerges from peoples perceptions of safety in the city centre both during the day and in the evening, with only 46% feeling safe during the day and less than 6% during the evening.

There was no real differential in responses across different age groups, but women generally feel less safe than men when shopping and at the workplace regardless of the time of day or night.

Perceptions of Safety



In response to such levels of insecurity people avoid travelling and working after dark (72.1%) and avoid going out with much money and valuables (57.5%). Just under half of all respondents (45.7%) also said, that even during the day, they would avoid going out unless it was absolutely necessary. A total of 60% of all respondents argued for the need to set-up some form of assistance group to help people who are victims of crime. On the other hand, 36.9% felt that pro-active measures needed to be put into place, and these included enhancing their communities with either security guards or vigilante groups or simply setting up neighbourhood watches. A small minority wanted fencing of communities, roadblocks and the arming of residents.

3.4 PERCEPTIONS OF THE POLICE FORCE

- ◆ 46% of residents regularly come across a police officer patrolling in their neighbourhood.
- ◆ 50% of all respondents said that the efficiency levels of police service had worsened during the past few years
- ◆ 98% of respondents believe that there are elements of corruption in the police force.
- ◆ 36 of all crime was attributed either directly or indirectly to the police force.

Debates on police efficiency and corruption abound in Nairobi, and in order to discern what the respondents felt about these issues, they were asked a number of questions on what they thought of the police.

In response to being asked how often people came across a police officer patrolling in their neighbourhood, 18% responded by saying all the time and 28% very often. This means that almost half of all respondents regularly come across a police patrol in their neighbourhood. A further 34% see a police patrol sometimes and only 12% seldom and 8% never. Results, however, varied by the type of residential neighbourhood. The chart below shows that the frequency of police patrols is highest in the industrial areas and informal settlements and least likely to be seen in the inner city and formal upper class suburbs.

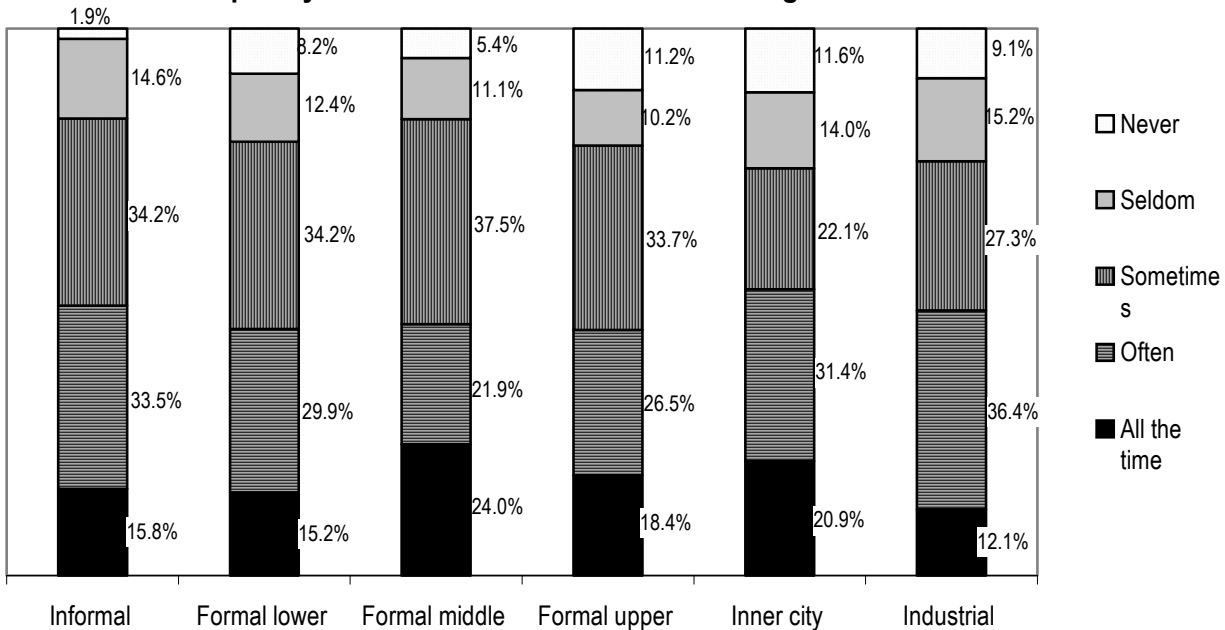
Responding to whether the efficiency levels of police service have changed, a fraction over half (50.4%) of all respondents said it was worse, 31.5% that it had remained unchanged and 18.2% that it had improved. Those who had felt that the service had declined pointed to increasing corruption, collaboration with criminals, lack of discipline and morale and poor remuneration as being the main reasons for this negative change. Those who felt that the service had improved claimed to have noted an increased vigilance amongst the police officers and a decrease in crime in the neighbourhoods where they resided.

Given that police corruption was often raised as an issue, respondents were asked to note what percentage of the police force they thought was corrupt and what percentage might actually be responsible for crime. The following table illustrates this.

Police Officers and Crime		
Percent of police force corrupt	... crime caused by police
None	2%	4%
01 to 20	42%	39%
21 to 40	8%	22%
41 to 60	13%	21%
61 to 80	14%	9%
81 to 100	21%	5%
Total	100%	100%
n=	1,486	1,116
Mean	50%	36%
Median	56%	35%

An overview of the previous table reveals that the residents of Nairobi have an overwhelming perception that there is corruption in the police force, claiming that 50% of all officers are corrupt. Indeed, only 2% of the respondents felt that there was no corruption in the police force, whilst at the opposite end of the scale, 21% felt that the entire force was corrupt. Again, only 4% felt that the police force were not responsible for any crime, whilst 5% felt they were responsible for all crime.

Frequency of Police Patrols in Residential Neighbourhoods



Although corruption was not necessarily seen as being linked to the cause of crime, respondents felt that 36% of all crime was either directly or indirectly linked to the police force. Although such questions are often tinged with an emotional and not always rational response, the extent to which they label the police force as being corrupt, and attribute levels of crime to the police force shows not only a lack of trust, but also a distinct distrust in the police. Indeed, it could be argued that for many people, the police are seen as the problem behind crime, rather than the solution to crime.

3.5 STREET CHILDREN

- ◆ 8% of all crimes in the respondent's neighbourhoods is attributed to street children
- ◆ 30% of all crimes in other neighbourhoods are thought to have been committed by street children
- ◆ 57% of respondents felt that all street children turned into criminals.
- ◆ 61% of Nairobi residents believe in positive interventions to solve the street children problem
- ◆ 24% of residents felt that the best solution to the problem of street children was to forcibly remove them from the city

Yet another emotive issue in Nairobi as far as crime is concerned is that of the street children, who in many quarters are blamed for most of the ills of the city. Ironically, when questioned on what percentage of crime people think the street children are responsible for, the responses were more muted. The following table shows these responses, as well as peoples' perceptions as to what percentage of street children they think turn into criminals.

Street Children and Crime			
Percent of neighbourhood crime caused by street children	... crime in Nairobi caused by street children	... street children that become criminals
None	40.7%	2.6%	1.9%
01 to 20	45.9%	45.2%	40.5%
21 to 40	7.5%	24.0%	9.6%
41 to 60	3.8%	15.5%	16.2%
61 to 80	1.6%	5.8%	17.4%
81 to 100	0.6%	6.9%	14.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n=	1028	991	1429
Mean	8.4%	30.1%	57.1%
Median	1.5%	26.0%	60.0%

What is clearly evident from the above is that perception and reality are perhaps measured differently. In response to what percentage of crime in neighbourhoods is caused by street children, the overwhelming majority of respondents felt that this was limited. Indeed, only 8% of all neighbourhood crime is attributed to street children, with the median being a low of 1.5%. However, the picture changes somewhat when the causes of crime in someone else's neighbourhood is discussed, and here perception comes into play with respondents attributing 30.1% of all crime to street children. Indeed, zero crime drops from 40.7% in their own neighbourhood to 2.6% in somebody else's.

The picture gets even worse when respondents were asked to respond to question on what percentage of all street children they thought turned into criminals. On average, respondents felt that 57.1% of all street children turned into criminals.

Of the 1,199 respondents that answered this question, rehabilitation and vocational training was offered as the solution to the street children problem by 37.1% and 14.9% of the respondents respectively. A further 8.9% of respondents suggested a number of other positive interventions, such as greater assistance to be given to NGO's working with street children, humanitarian aid and further advancement of childrens' rights. However, almost a quarter (23.9%) of all respondents felt that the best solution to the problem of street children was to forcibly remove them from the city, by bussing them and dumping them elsewhere. A minority also felt that there should be restrictive legislation on childbirth and a combing out of hideouts that street children inhabit. A further, 14.9% had resigned themselves to the presence and 'problem' of street children and had decided that any policy was a waste of time, and therefore in order not to waste resources, nothing ought to be done.

3.6 ILLEGAL FIREARMS

- ◆ 62% of people living in Nairobi felt that during the past year the number of illegal firearms had increased.
- ◆ 67% of all respondents felt that increases were due to smuggling from Somalia.
- ◆ 52% of all residents regularly heard gunshots.
- ◆ 3% of all respondents admitted that on occasion they carried a firearm.
- ◆ 10% of all respondents acknowledge knowing a friend that owns a firearm.
- ◆ 14% had access to a firearm if they so desired.
- ◆ 29.9% of the entire sample would own a firearm if they had the opportunity to acquire one.

The issue of increasing illegal firearm usage and ownership is one of great concern for the citizens of Nairobi. This issue was not covered during the earlier scan but as a result of pressure from respondents who wanted to discuss the issue, it was introduced for the main survey. A number of questions relating to the changes in number and sources of firearms in Nairobi and their usage and ownership were asked of all the respondents.

It should be noted, that because this question was generic to all three sub-samples – individual survey, household survey and commercial survey, the sample size for this set of questions is 1,831. This, although not as large as the scan, is sufficiently large enough to allow for an 87% confidence limit on most responses.

3.6.1 Changes in Number of Illegal Firearms

Just under one-tenth (9%) of all respondents felt that there was no change in the number of illegal firearms in Nairobi, whilst just over one-quarter (28.6%) felt that they had decreased. However, the majority of respondents – 62.4%, felt that the number of illegal firearms had actually increased. There were gender differences in the response rates, with 71.3% of men as opposed to 49.1% of women reporting a perceived increase in illegal firearms. This was evident in reporting perceived decreases, with 38.6% of women as opposed to 22% of men, reporting a decline in illegal firearms.

All respondents, regardless of whatever change in illegal firearm ownership they reported, were asked to speculate the reasons for any increases. Two-thirds (67.1%) of all respondents felt that the increase was due to smuggling through porous borders, and in particular through the border with Somalia. 10% said that it was a case of demand and supply, and crime increased, then supply was increased to meet the higher demand for illegal firearms. Simple ease of accessibility was noted by 9.1% of the respondents for the increase, whilst police corruption (5.4%) and the lack of government controls (5.3%) were also cited as reasons for the increase in illegal firearms.

Not surprisingly, 51% of all the respondents felt that the source of illegal firearms were neighbouring countries, with Somalia again being the most noted country. One-fifth of all

respondents (20.2%) said that illegal firearms came from other parts of Kenya, but did not state where, whilst 16.9% said that they were specifically from within Nairobi. A minority 8.8% laid blame at the door of the various security forces (military and police), whilst the balance simply said the black market.

3.6.2 Firearms Usage

Respondents were asked about the frequency at which they heard gunshots in the areas where they lived or worked. From the following table it can be seen that it is more likely that gunshots will be heard regularly in the inner city than elsewhere. Interestingly, they are less likely to be heard in informal settlements.

Frequency gunshots heard				
Type of Residence	Regularly	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
Inner City	62.1%	27.6%	6.3%	4.0%
Formal Suburb Upper Income	59.2%	15.9%	13.9%	10.9%
Formal Suburb Low Income	55.3%	26.6%	10.4%	7.7%
Formal Suburb Middle Income	47.9%	27.1%	13.8%	11.2%
Informal Settlement	40.7%	27.4%	15.9%	15.9%
Total	52.1%	25.9%	12.2%	9.8%

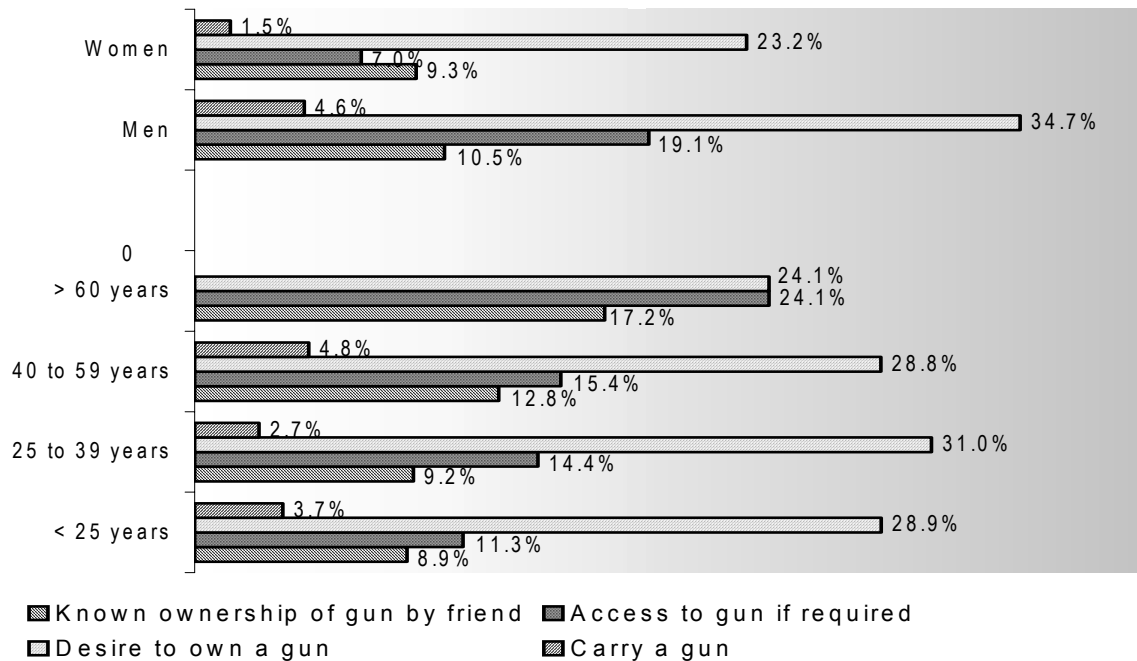
When asked to give an opinion on the frequency of use of firearms, almost two-thirds (64.6%) of the residents of formal upper income suburbs felt that they were regularly used, as opposed to only one-quarter (25.8%) of inner city residents. This would seem to contradict the findings of the earlier question and is difficult to explain.

3.6.3 Firearms Ownership

In order to circumvent directly asking respondents whether they own a firearm, the survey probed their knowledge of ownership of a firearm by a friend. The following chart shows that 10 of all respondents acknowledge knowing a friend that owns a firearm. There was little difference between responses given by men (10.5%) and women (9.3%), but a significant variation by age. Whereas only 8.9% of respondents under the age of 25 knew of a friend that owned a firearm, known ownership rose through the age cohorts to a high of 17.2% amongst 60 year olds. It is important to note that this does not imply that ownership is higher amongst the older residents of Nairobi, for the age of the firearm owner was not probed for.

When probed as to whether they had access to a firearm if they so desired, 14% of the sample said yes, once again increasing through the age cohorts, from a low of 11.3% amongst younger residents to a high of 24.1% amongst the older residents of Nairobi. More than twice as many men than women had access to a firearm – 19.1% to 7%.

Firearm Ownership



Trends across age-cohorts change when the issue of the desire to own a gun was raised, with 28.9% of those under 25 years saying yes as opposed to 24.1% of the over 65 year old residents. The desire to own a firearm however was highest for the 25 to 39 year age group – 31%. Overall, 29.9% of the entire sample answered yes to this question. Exactly 1.5 times (34.7% versus 23.2%) more men than women professed a desire to own a firearm.

Those who wished to own a firearm argued that it would enhance their levels of personal protection and elevate their economic status. Amongst the majority who had no desire to own a gun, most claimed that it would increase the risk to their security and simply end up adding to the already high crime levels in Nairobi. They argued that only government agents should own firearms and that it should be illegal for ordinary citizens to possess private firearms.

When asked how the problem of illegal firearms could be solved and what controls should be institutionalised, respondents said that police should conduct a co-ordinated crackdown of residential areas and not just the city center. As a means to being able to implement such a strategy, it was important that the police receive proper training, for thus far their inability to control firearm proliferation was either due to poor training or collusion with criminals and therefore corruption. Such a crackdown could only succeed if corrupt police officers were flushed out, strongly disciplined and measures put into place to prevent further abuse of the citizenry by the police force. Respondents also suggested better border controls and stricter penalties for illegal possession.

Finally, only 3% of all respondents admitted that on occasion they carried a firearm. This was highest amongst the 40 to 59 year age-group (4.8%) and lowest amongst the over 60 year

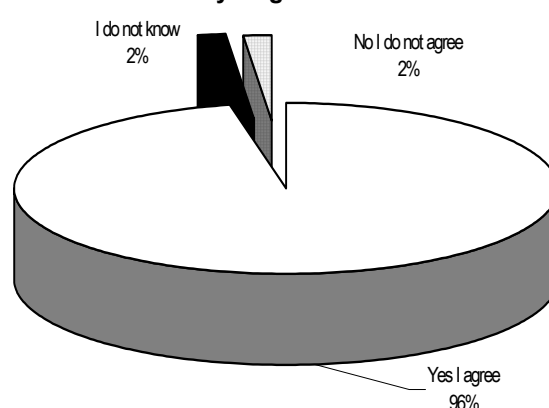
olds at 0%. Three times as many men as women (4.6% versus 1.5%) admitted to carrying a firearm.

3.7 CORRUPTION

- ◆ 96% of all people in Nairobi claim that corruption in society is endemic.
- ◆ 47% admitted to having actively participated in some form of behaviour that might be classified under the broad category of bribery.
- ◆ 22% of the entire sample said that they have had to bribe a police officer.

The overwhelming majority of respondents agreed that there was a lot of corruption in Nairobi. However, only 47.4% admitted to having actively participated in some form of behaviour that might be classified under the broad category of bribery.

It is said that there is a lot of corruption and bribery in Nairobi – do you agree?



Of these, almost half, or 22% of the entire sample said that they have had to bribe a police officer.

A further 4% of respondents had to bribe an employee of a private sector enterprise in order to procure goods or services. In order to achieve the same, 7% of the entire sample said that they had to bribe either a council or public officer.

3.8 CONCLUSION

- ◆ 30% of all respondents say that good governance and the tackling of corruption should be the government's priority.
- ◆ 28% say that the creation of employment opportunities and policies to reduce poverty should take precedence in government policy.
- ◆ 21% of all Nairobi residents had never seriously thought about what they could do to make Nairobi a safer place.
- ◆ 26% said that there was nothing they could do to make Nairobi a safer place.
- ◆ 7% felt that only divine intervention could make any impact on crime and that prayer was their only offering to this problem.

In concluding the general section on safety and crime, respondents were asked what the government should be doing so as to ensure the safety of Nairobi. They were then asked what they could do to make Nairobi a safer city. Some respondents gave more than one suggestion and these are listed in the following two tables.

Suggested Government Action to Make Nairobi a Safer Place	
Good governance by tackling corruption	30.2%
Create employment opportunities and reduce poverty	27.6%
Better staffing and remuneration for the police	13.1%
Stiff penalties for those found in possession of guns	3.2%
Repatriate refugees - need a nationalistic approach	2.5%
Harsh dealings with street children	0.5%
Make recreational facilities	0.5%
No opinion	22.4%
n=	2,093

In terms of government actions, the overwhelming majority proposed strategic interventions at a policy level aimed at creating a future environment that would result in a safer city. A total of 30.2% of all responses given dealt with the issue of good governance and the tackling of corruption, 27.6% with employment creation and 13.1% with better police staffing and remuneration. A very small minority – 6.2% proposed punitive actions, such as stiffer penalties for illegal firearm possession, the repatriation of refugees and the harsher dealing of street children.

Respondents were then asked what action they could possibly take to make Nairobi a safer place. The following tables illustrate respondent’s responses by gender, age, education level and occupation.

Suggested Citizenry Action to Make Nairobi a Safer Place by Gender			
Gender of Respondent	Male	Female	Total
Do not know	19.9%	22.9%	21.2%
Nothing	24.0%	29.2%	26.2%
Prayers	3.7%	11.4%	7.0%
Positive Responses	52.4%	36.5%	45.7%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n=			1,531
% of Positive Responses Only	Male	Female	Total
Socially responsible citizenry	28.3%	42.8%	33.2%
Co-operate with the police	34.3%	25.4%	31.3%
Lobbying and advocacy for improved security	18.6%	16.1%	17.7%

NAIROBI VICTIMISATION SURVEY

Community policing	13.6%	8.9%	12.0%
Others	3.7%	4.2%	3.9%
Hire private security	1.5%	2.5%	1.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n=	699		

21% of all the respondents had never seriously thought about this issue and did not know, whilst a further 26.2% said that there was nothing they could do. There was very little difference in responses across gender in terms of having never given it a serious thought, but more women (29.2%) than men (24%), said that there was nothing that they could do. Finally, 7% felt that only divine intervention could make any impact on crime and that prayer was their only offering to this problem. Women (11.4%) were more likely than men to turn to religion as a means of salvation from crime (3.7%).

The remaining 45.7% offered a number of citizen based interventions^{iv}. One-third (33.2%) of all responses dealt with issues related to responsible citizenry and a further one-third (31.3%) called for the need for better co-operation with the police. There were significant differences between men and women, with women being more likely than men to call for socially responsible citizenry 42.8% to 28.3%, whilst more men than women called for greater co-operation between the citizenry and the police – 34.3% to 25.4%.

Almost 18% of the respondents felt that they could influence government to create better crime prevention policies through exercising their voting and lobbying power. There was little difference between genders, but 13.6% of men as opposed to 8.9% of women felt that the issue of direct citizen involvement through community policing needed better attention and greater involvement by the citizenry.

Suggested Citizenry Action to Make Nairobi a Safer Place by Age					
Age of respondent	<25 years	25 to 39 years	40 to 59 years	=/>60 years	Total
Do not know	19.7%	20.9%	22.0%	31.6%	21.2%
Nothing	23.9%	25.3%	29.6%	28.9%	26.2%
Prayers	4.9%	8.0%	7.1%	0.0%	7.0%
Positive Responses	51.5%	45.8%	41.3%	39.5%	45.7%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n=	1,531				
% of Positive Responses Only	<25 years	25 to 39 years	40 to 59 years	=/>60 years	Total
Socially responsible citizenry	33.1%	34.8%	29.5%	33.3%	33.2%
Co-operate with the police	30.6%	29.9%	34.6%	40.0%	31.3%
Lobbying and advocacy for improved	22.9%	15.6%	17.3%	20.0%	17.7%

NAIROBI VICTIMISATION SURVEY

security					
Community policing	7.0%	13.7%	14.1%	0.0%	12.0%
Others	4.5%	3.8%	3.2%	6.7%	3.95%
Hire private security	1.95	2.2%	1.3%	0.0%	1.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n=	699				

When the same data is viewed across age cohorts, it becomes evident that the older the citizenry, the more likely that they have not thought of the issue and do nothing about it.

For those groups that had thought of how they could intervene, the older residents of Nairobi were more likely to want to engage with the police. From the following table it is evident that levels of education do have an impact on how residents are likely to respond and react to the issue of citizen and community involvement in combating crime. A total of 63.8% of those respondents who had not completed schooling have either not thought about the issue, would do nothing or turn to prayer as a means of combating crime. This total drops to 48.9% of all school finishers and 31.3% of all residents with tertiary education. For those who did respond with positive interventions, there was very little difference in terms of what they suggested.

Suggested Citizenry Action to Make Nairobi a Safer Place by Education

Level of Education	incomplete schooling	secondary or equivalent education	tertiary education	Total
Do not know	26.4%	18.7%	4.0%	21.2%
Nothing	29.7%	23.3%	24.2%	26.2%
Prayers	7.7%	6.9%	3.0%	7.0%
Positive Responses	36.2%	51.1%	68.7%	45.7%
Total	100.05	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n=	1,531			
% of Positive Responses Only	incomplete schooling	secondary or equivalent education	tertiary education	Total
Socially responsible citizenry	31.8%	34.2%	32.4%	33.2%
Co-operate with the police	32.7%	30.3%	32.4%	31.3%
Lobbying and advocacy for improved security	17.6%	17.9%	17.6%	17.7%
Community policing	12.2%	11.4%	14.7%	12.0%
Others	4.1%	3.9%	2.9%	3.9%
Hire private security	1.6%	2.3%	0.0%	1.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n=	699			

Respondent attitudes to engagement in crime prevention when cross-tabulated by their levels of economic activity or inactivity vary. Economically inactive (students, housewives, disabled and retired), the unemployed and those working in the informal sector (part- or full-time) are more likely than the economically active in the formal sector to not know what to do or do nothing. The economically active in the formal sector are also more inclined to co-operate with the police and hire private security. These respondents are also more likely to be better educated and wealthier than the rest.

Suggested Citizenry Action to Make Nairobi a Safer Place by Occupation					
Occupation	economic inactive	unemployed	economic active (informal sector)	economic active (formal sector)	Total
Do not know	18.6%	19.0%	25.7%	13.8%	21.2%
Nothing	34.2%	31.3%	24.1%	23.8%	26.2%
Prayers	8.5%	8.9%	6.2%	6.9%	7.0%
Positive Responses	38.7%	40.8%	44.0%	55.5%	45.7%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
% of Positive Responses Only	economic inactive	unemployed	economic active (informal sector)	economic active (formal sector)	Total
Socially responsible citizenry	36.4%	27.4%	35.9%	29.4%	33.2%
Co-operate with the police	27.3%	34.2%	29.0%	35.8%	31.3%
Lobbying & advocacy for improved security	15.6%	21.9%	19.3%	14.4%	17.7%
Community policing	10.4%	9.6%	11.5%	14.4%	12.0%
Others	9.1%	5.5%	2.6%	3.5%	3.9%
Hire private security	1.3%	1.4%	1.7%	2.5%	1.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Generally, however, there seemed to be an ethos that although crime is a problem for all of Nairobi's residents, it is the government and the police that must solve it and not necessarily the citizenry. At best respondents felt that they should be 'responsible' and 'co-operative' with police.

The next two chapters document details of the major personal and property crimes committed against the residents of Nairobi. This is followed by a chapter on commercial crimes and then the final chapter synthesises the findings of this and the following three chapters attempting to offer a solution on a way forward.

PERSONAL CRIMES



CHAPTER FOUR: PERSONAL CRIMES

4.1 INTRODUCTION

One thousand residents were asked whether they had experienced one of five types of personal crimes during the course of the 12 months preceding the survey. These crimes were snatching (or simple theft), robbery, physical assault, hijacking or the murder of a family member (hijacking and murder can be found in Appendix One). In all cases the crime had to have been committed within the city limits of Nairobi, and may not have included any incidents that might have occurred elsewhere. This chapter analyses three of these crimes and for ease of reading, a similar format is used across all the crimes.

Finally, it should be noted, that although all respondents in all the following sub-sample were randomly chosen, they were drawn from people located within areas in Nairobi that were selected by quota, and therefore the overall incident rates cannot be applied to Nairobi. Instead the scan victimisation rates are used.

4.2 SNATCHING (*Simple Theft*)

- ◆ *22% of all residents of Nairobi have been a victim of snatching or simple theft of personal effects over a one-year period.*
- ◆ *Men are more likely to be victims – 26.7% than women – 16.8%*
- ◆ *Almost one in every ten people over the age of 60 is likely to get mugged three or more times every year*
- ◆ *62.1% of all snatches occurred in the street but 21.8 on public transport.*
- ◆ *The inner city accounts for 39.9% of all reported snatches.*
- ◆ *On average each case of snatching involves two perpetrators*
- ◆ *In 60.2% of all cases, bystanders watching the snatching incident chose to ignore it*
- ◆ *Only 25.3% of male and 19.6% of female victims went to the police to report the snatching*
- ◆ *67% who did report the incident were not satisfied with the manner in which it was dealt with by the police, citing as their reasons inefficiency, lack of interest and suspected collusion with criminals.*

For the purposes of this study, snatching was defined to include the theft of any item from the person, where no threat or force was used. In some instances the crime was described as petty theft, mugging or stealing without force. A total of 492 respondents claimed to have been a victim of snatching during the previous year. This sample is sufficiently large to enable an informed analysis.

4.2.1 The Scan

The results of the scan found that snatching or simple theft of personal effects was experienced by a fraction of fewer than 22% of all respondents over a one year period. On average 26.7% of all men were found to have been victims at least once, 10.4% at least twice and 4.8% more often than that. Amongst women, who are about 12% less likely than men to

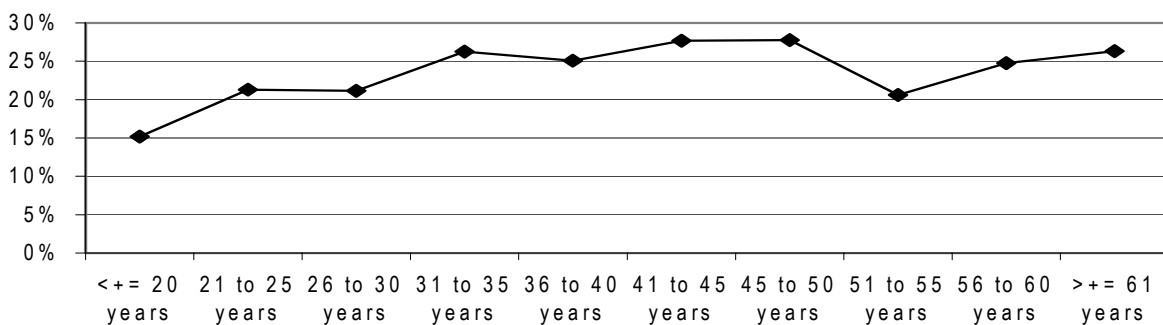
be victims of theft, a total of 16.8% had been victims at least once, 4.7% twice and 1.6% more often than that.

One of the noticeable trends to have emerged from the scan was theft of personal belongings by age, which was indicative of a steady increase as the respondent got older. Furthermore, likelihood of being victimised more than once also increases by age, and almost one in every ten people over the age of 60 is likely to get mugged three or more times every year.

Although not the most vulnerable group in terms of vocation, one-in-four pensioners have been mugged at least once during the past 12 months. Pensioners were amongst those groups who are also more likely to be victim to personal theft more than once a year, with 9.3% having suffered this fate during the preceding 12 months. Those residents in formal employment, who are also the most likely to be amongst the most affluent, experience the highest victimisation rates, with just over one-in-four having been a victim at least once and one-in-ten at least twice, during the previous year.

The chart below shows theft of personal belongings by age.

Theft of personal belongings by Age



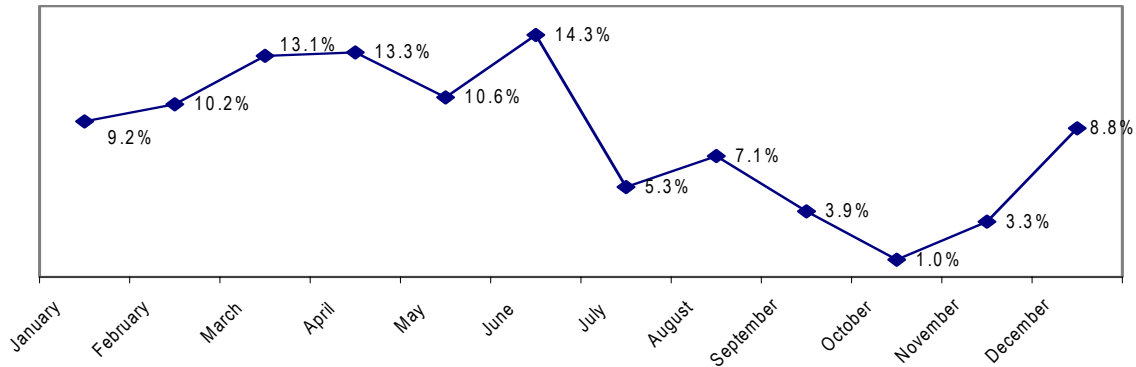
4.2.2 Time of Occurrence

In order to try and ascertain whether there is a particular seasonal trend to snatching, respondents were asked when the incident took place. The following three tables illustrate their answers.

From the first tables, it would appear that snatching peaks during June and then steadily drops through to October before beginning to steadily rise. An increase during December and January would put Nairobi on the same set of patterns found in Dar es Salaam and a number of South African cities. This may be perfectly true, however, it should be remembered that the survey was July 2001 and it is highly likely that the effects of telescoping are evident. In conducting victimisation surveys, the research depends on respondents' accurate recollection of past events. Telescoping occurs when respondents mistakenly project the timing of past incidents either forward or backward in time. Forward telescoping, which is more common, involves advancing past events ahead in time. Although the actual incident of snatching is not

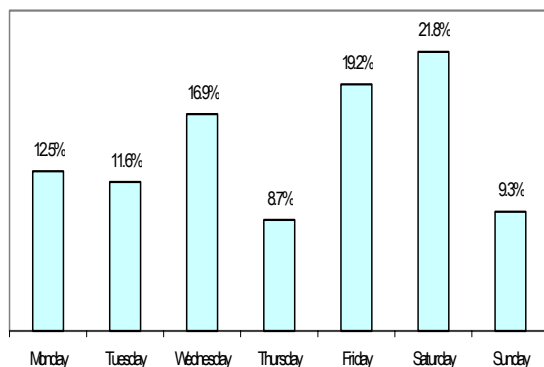
in contention here, it is possible that in some instances these have been projected forward in time.

Snatching by Month

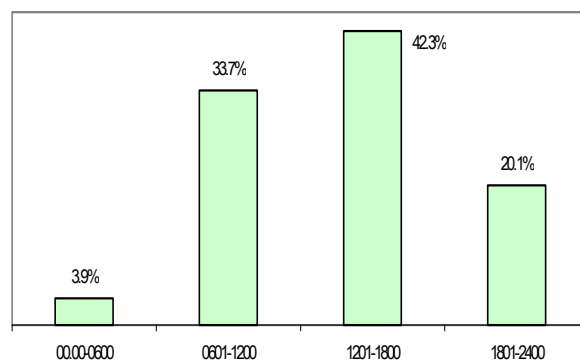


When observing the day of the week when the snatching occurred, the trend would indicate a bias towards Fridays and Saturdays, where 41% of all incidents occurred. This trend is to be expected, however, when compared to similar trends for other crimes, it will be seen that snatching displays a much flatter curve, and is more likely than the others to be dispersed across the entire week as opposed to being concentrated to Fridays and Saturdays.

Snatching by Day of the Week



Snatching by Time of the Day



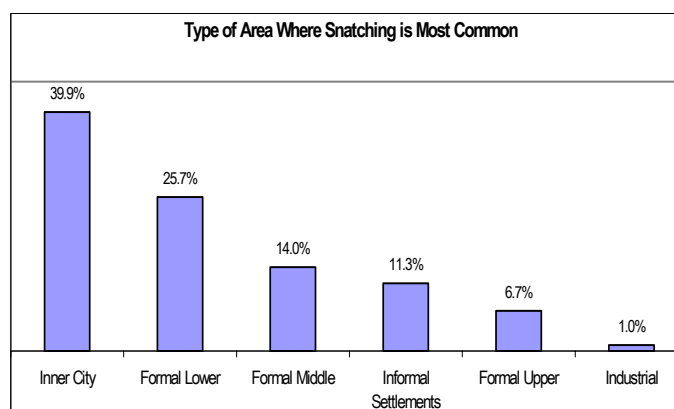
Consistent with results from other victimisation surveys is the fact that most snatches occur during the day. Over three-quarters (76%) of all incidents take place during the day, with the mid-day to 18:00 quarter being the time period when residents in Nairobi are most vulnerable to being a victim of a snatching.

4.2.3 Circumstances in which the Snatching Occurred

Snatching by definition means that it will generally take place in the open, and the results from this study would corroborate this. A little over one-third (35.4%) of all snatches occurred in the street outside shops or offices. A further one-quarter (26.7%) also took place on the streets, but in these instances within residential areas. The only exception to this, is that a fraction over one-fifth (21.8%) of all incidents occurred on public transport. Qualitative information

suggests that this mainly takes the form of pick pocketing, either from the victims clothing or bags. The following table gives a detailed overview of the places where snatching occurs.

Description of Place where the Snatching took Place	
In the street outside shops/offices	35.4%
In the street in a residential area	26.7%
On public transport	21.8%
Other	4.5%
Open space	4.3%
Driveway/garage/garden	3.3%
In a public parking lot	3.3%
At a place of education	0.6%
Total	100.0%
N=	492



Given the place of occurrence it is therefore not surprising to find that in 67.9% of all cases, the victims were either going to or returning from work, schooling or shopping. A further 11% of all incidents occur whilst the victim is en route to a social visit, either to friends or relatives. In 6.3% of the cases snatching occurs in the workplace or where the victim studies, whilst 4.5% of all incidents happen when the victim is either at an indoor or outdoor place of entertainment. Examples of these would include, for the former - a club or movie theatre and the latter – at a sports venue or in a park.

The inner city, as an area where snatching is likely to happen, outstrips all other areas in Nairobi, and accounts for 39.9% of all reported snatches. The following table illustrates this detail and shows the percentage of all snatches by the type of generic area that they are likely to occur in.

Finally, in trying to complete the snatching scenario setting, respondents were asked whether they were alone or in company when the event took place. Almost two-thirds (64.3%) of all men were alone, as opposed to half (51.8%) of all women.

4.2.4 Description of Stolen Items

The theft of money accounts for 61.3% of all incidents and is followed by the entire contents of a handbag, briefcase or other bag (20.1%). Accessories - like jewellery, watches and sunglasses (9.4%) and increasingly electronic equipment – Walkman, mobile phone (5.9%) make up most of the balance of the rest of the incidents.

An overwhelming number of goods (98.7%) are not insured and in the vast majority of the cases – 92.5%, the stolen goods are not recovered. Victims of snatching simply have to bear the loss of monies or the replacement cost of the stolen goods.

4.2.5 The Perpetrators

On average each case of snatching involves two perpetrators. However, this differs across gender, with the average being three when men are victims and one in the case of women. Indeed, in only 22.5% of all the cases involving men as opposed to 55.3% involving women, only one criminal perpetrated the incident. At the other end of the scale, snatching involving more than three perpetrators was found in 33.5% of all cases involving men and only 6.8% involving women.

In 84.6% of all the cases, the perpetrators were unknown to either male or female victims, whilst in 12.8% they were known by sight only. In the minority of instances where the perpetrators were known, they were either a relative or colleague.

Perpetrators were described as smartly dressed young men in 41.8% and young women 2.8% of all incidents. Street children were accused as being responsible for the snatching in 22.1% and shabbily dressed men in 17.8% of all noted cases. It was this latter group that predominately comprised the 19.8% of all perpetrators that were said to be under the influence of either narcotics or alcohol when the event occurred.

4.2.6 Type of Assistance Sought and Received

Just over one-third (26.5%) of all the respondents felt that they were victimised because they projected wealth, either in the form of carrying money or having accessories that were of value. A minority 3.1% claimed that it was an act of jealousy, the same percentage said that they were targeted because they were simply in a bad area and few respondents felt that their incident was a case of mistaken identity.

What was upsetting for most victims, was the fact that in 60.2% of all cases, bystanders saw the incident happening but chose to ignore it. In a further 9.9% of the cases the victims admitted that although the bystanders also did nothing, they were shocked and could not really act. In only 8.6% of all cases did bystanders assist the victims by either attempting to accost the perpetrators or by chasing them away.

After the crime was committed, 28.7% of the victims chose not to seek help from anyone, however 45.3% sought emotional and practical advice from family and friends. Only 14.6% went to the police to look for help. When asked whether there was some form of assistance that they would have valued above others, 60.4% of the respondents felt that they would have liked to receive legal help and practical advice. This total excluded the 10.5% who had actually sought legal help following the incident. Understandably, a number of respondents (24.3%) would have liked financial assistance to limit the extent of their losses.

In concluding the interview on snatching, victims were asked whether they had experienced a behavioural change as a result of their experience. A similar number of men (74.6%) as women (71.7%) said that they had. In terms of age, the only group to claim to have experienced a limited behavioural change, were those victims over the age of 60%, of whom only 60% said that they were affected.

This change manifests itself through limiting travel when alone (30.5%), the carrying of less or no money when commuting (29.4%), greater vigilance (23.4%) and avoiding carrying valuables when in the inner city (7.4%). In 4.1% of the cases, the actions of victims were more drastic, resulting in them physically relocating to a different and perceived safer area. Also a minority (3%) had, subsequent to the incident, started to avoid all strangers and felt themselves becoming withdrawn.

4.2.7 Police Response

Following the incident, 25.3% of male and 19.6% of female victims went to the police to report it. This included the entire small minority that had insured some of the items that had been stolen. The reasons offered by the majority who did not report the incident were:

- that it was a minor offence (33.1%),
- the time and effort to be spent with the police was simply not worth it (19.7%),
- police laxity and inefficiency meant that they were wasting their time (12.3%),
- criminals were never likely to be identified (11.2%), and
- that the police were corrupt, probably involved and feared (14.1%).

Of those who did report the incident, two-thirds were not satisfied with the manner in which it was dealt with by the police, citing as their reasons inefficiency, lack of interest and suspected collusion with criminals. On the other hand, the one-third of respondents (8.3% of all victims) that went to the police and were satisfied with their response praised the police force's effectiveness and efficiency.

It is not surprising therefore, to note that these cases closely correspond to the 8.7% of cases where an arrest of perpetrators was made. It was claimed that the police were only responsible for one-third of these arrests, however there was a degree of ambiguity in the types of responses given by respondents. In those instances, no arrest had been made. Only 13.7% of the victims were confident that in due course, the perpetrators would be caught and linked to their crime.

Nevertheless, what was quite clear was the fact that in 51.9% of the cases where an arrest had been made, the victim was completely unaware if the alleged perpetrators were ever charged in court. Victims were balanced in their opinions as to why so few convictions occurred by claiming that in 40% of the cases no witnesses were available. This would correspond to the lack of interest shown by bystanders when a crime of this nature is being

committed. This acts as a double-edged sword, for together with the 40% who claimed the police were both incapable and unwilling to conduct a proper investigation, few successful prosecutions of arrestees accused of snatching take place. Indeed, in only 11.7% of all apprehensions was there a successful prosecution in court. This would amount to 8 of the 492 reported incidents.

4.3 PHYSICAL ASSAULT

- ◆ 18% of all the respondents claimed to have been a victim of physical assault at least once during the 12 months preceding the scan.
- ◆ Residents either residing or passing through in lower income areas were more likely to be a victim of an assault than those in any other area of Nairobi.
- ◆ In 65.7% of all the cases, the respondents' were alone when the attack occurred.
- ◆ Physical strength was the most common weapon used against women – 46.2% of all assaults and knives against men – 29.1% of all assaults.
- ◆ Women were more likely to be attacked by fewer perpetrators than men. Only one perpetrator was involved in 32.5% of all assaults against women.
- ◆ The respondent's partner or spouse comprised 45.4% of all known perpetrators involving women.
- ◆ 54% of all the respondents felt that they had been attacked because they were either in the wrong place at the wrong time or by angry relatives or friends.
- ◆ In 35.9% of cases bystanders ignored whilst in 19.1% of cases they ran away.

Physical assault implies that the respondent was personally attacked or hurt in the incident. Weapons may have been used but no items were stolen. Such an attack could have resulted in the person personally being hurt. Furthermore, such attacks could have happened anywhere, including the respondents own home or home of someone else, in a public place either indoors or outdoors, at school or at work, on public transport or at the shopping centre. The person doing this may have been someone known to the respondent, such as a relative, friend or family member. A total of 159 respondents reported a physical assault during the 12 months preceding the survey.

4.3.1 The Scan

The outcome of the scan was that almost one-fifth (18%) of all the respondents claimed to have been a victim of physical assault at least once during the 12 months preceding the scan. Men were found to be 13.5% more likely than women to be a victim of physical assault, as well as being more likely to be subjected to such victimisation on more than one occasion. The findings in the main survey corroborate what emerged from the scan, with a total of 16% of all respondents having suffered at least one assault during the one year preceding the survey.

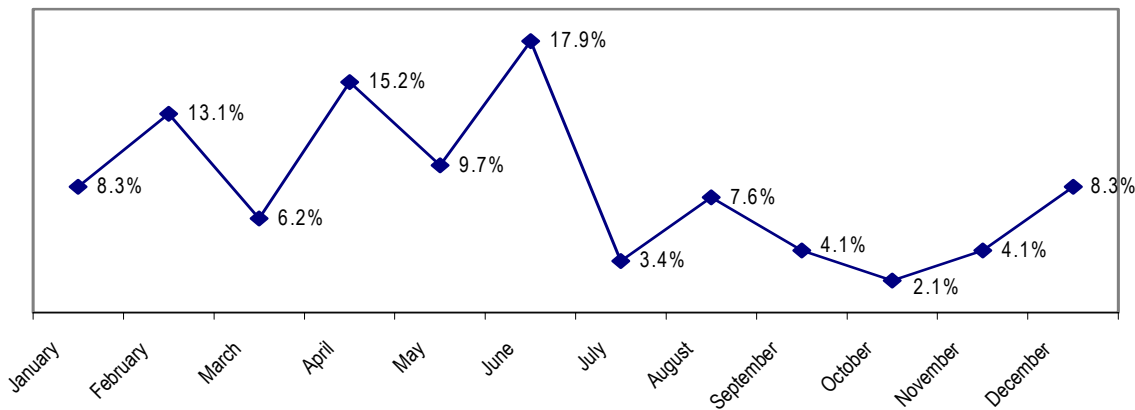
Victimisation across age cohorts shows some variation, but is not significant, with 19.8% of all people in the 18 to 25 year age group, 21.1% in the 25 to 39 year age group and 15.1% in the 40 to 59 year age group having been assaulted during the research period. The average age of people assaulted is a little over thirty years and six months and the median stands at 30

years. People living alone (19.4%) or just with a partner (19.6%) are more likely to be a victim of a physical assault than those with family (15%). There were no clear trends correlating physical assault to the age of residents in Nairobi. Although the findings by vocation reveal interesting trends, they are eclectic by nature and it is difficult to explain without further probing. The findings revealed that those in formal employment were the most likely to be a victim (21.1%), than the average of the rest (13.6%).

4.3.2 Time of Occurrence

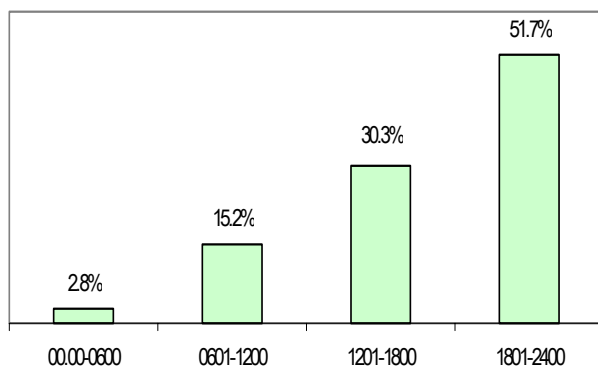
Although there is an upward trend from July through to June, this is probably due to telescoping, and as the erratic nature of this trend shows, it is highly likely that there is no specific month in which physical assaults are higher than other months.

Physical Assault by Month

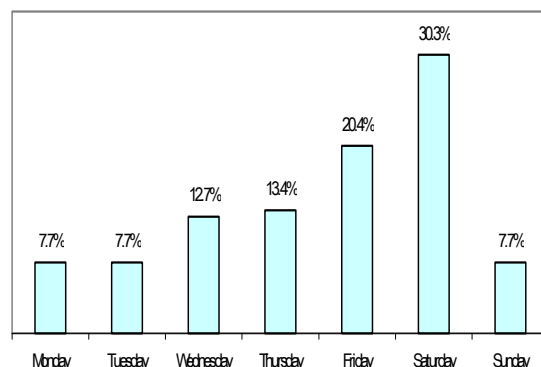


Assaults increase throughout the week, peaking on Saturdays, whilst in terms of the time of day, there is a clear trend showing the increase in assaults during the day, with over half of all alleged assaults taking place during the six-hour period between 18:00 and 01:00.

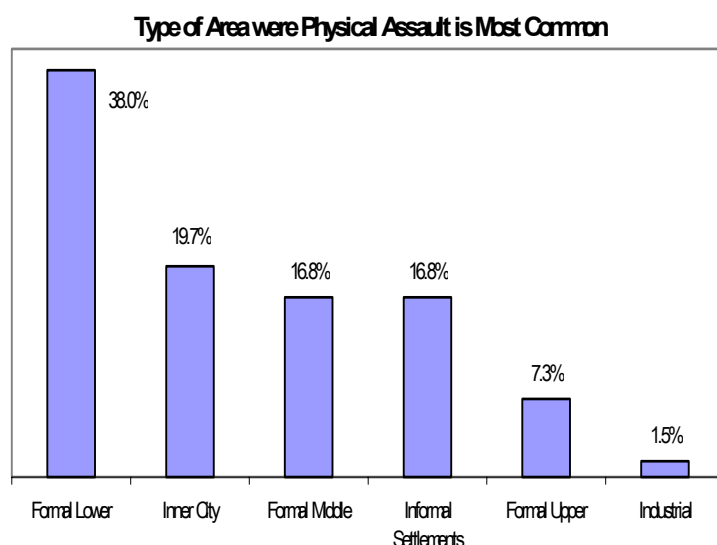
Physical Assault by Time of Day



Physical Assault by Day of the Week



4.3.3 Circumstances in which the Physical Assault Occurred



There are a number of places where assaults occur, ranging from public places like the street (47.9%), outside shops and offices (24.6%), in the home (7.6%). Other places included on public transport and in the homes of others.

Residents either residing or passing through lower income areas were more likely to be a victim of an assault than those in any other area of Nairobi – with 38% of all assaults taking place in such areas. The inner

city follows – 19.7%, which is just ahead of formal middle and upper income areas. All of the domestic assaults were recorded in informal settlements, lower and middle income areas. In 65.7% of all the cases, the respondent's were alone when the attack occurred, this being slightly higher for men (67%) as opposed to women (62.5%) of all cases. Physical strength was the most common weapon used against women – 46.2% of all assaults and knives against men – 29.1% of all assaults.

There were also notable differences in the usage of weapons across different age cohorts, with physical strength being more likely to be used by perpetrators against respondents in the 18 to 25 age category, than in the others – average 25.4%. A knife is used in 30% of all cases against people in the 40 to 59 age group as opposed to 17.9% for the 18 to 25 group.

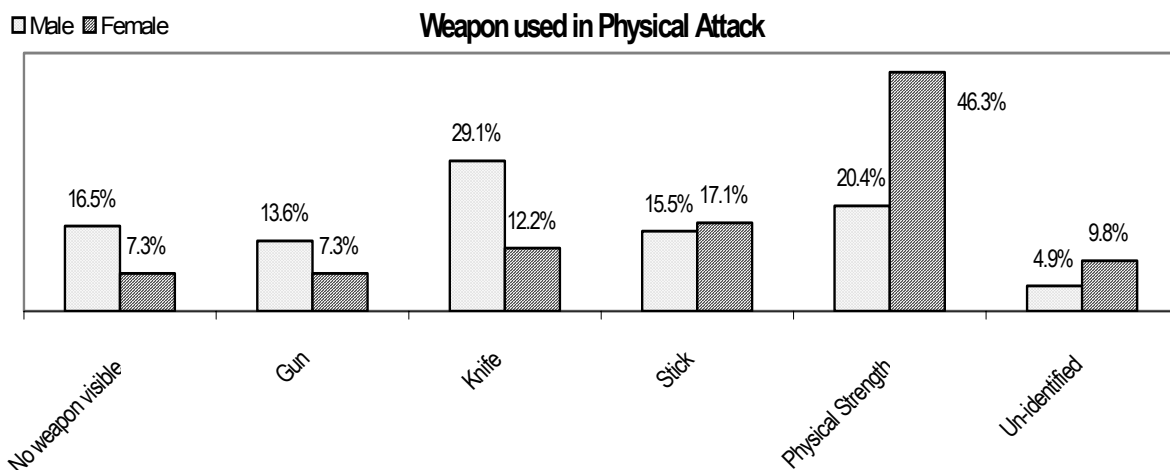
4.3.4 The Perpetrators

As with other crimes women were more likely to be attacked by fewer perpetrators than men. In 32.5% of all assaults against women, only one perpetrator was involved, whereas in the case of men, single perpetrator assaults only occurred in 7.8% of all cases. The following table illustrates the complete breakdown.

	Number of offenders		
	Male	Female	Total
1	7.8%	32.5%	14.7%
2	15.5%	12.5%	14.0%
3	24.3%	15.0%	21.7%
4	31.1%	17.5%	27.3%
5	7.8%	10.0%	8.4%
6	8.7%	2.5%	7.0%
7	4.9%	10.0%	6.9%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

In both 54.9% and 53.7% of the cases involving men and women respectively, the perpetrator was not known either by sight or name. Slight differences in this trend were to be found across age cohorts, with a greater awareness of whom the perpetrators were amongst the 40 to 59 age group (41.6%). The respondent's partner or spouse comprised 45.4% of all perpetrators involving women. In 36.3% of the cases, the perpetrators were friends. In the case of men, 50% of all known perpetrators were mostly neighbours or other people from the same neighbourhood, whilst 27.8% were colleagues. Friends comprised the biggest category of known perpetrators amongst the under 25's, spouses and partners were the largest group amongst the 25 to 39 year olds, neighbours for those over the age of 40 years.

Males comprised the overwhelming majority (98.1%) of identifiable perpetrators. Masked gangsters made up 13.2% and police officers 11.3% of all cases. Street children were reported as having been responsible for 3.8% of all assaults. Just over half (52%) of the perpetrators were described by respondents who could make a judgement as having been under the influence of either alcohol or drugs. A little over 54% of all the respondents felt that they had been attacked because they were either in the wrong place at the wrong time or by angry relatives or friends.



Whilst physical strength was the most common way that females were assaulted, knives were used in almost three-tenths of all assaults on men, whilst guns were used in 13.7% and 7.3% respectively on men and women.

4.3.5 Degree of Injury and Type of Assistance Sought and Received

There was nearly no differential between injuries sustained by men or women, 61.6% to 62.1%. Also, the older the victim the greater the possibility that they would sustain an injury, with 84.2% of those over the age of 40 likely to be injured as opposed to 47.1% of those under 40 years old. On average, 61.8% of the respondents sustained an injury and in 64.1% of all the assaults someone other than the respondent was also injured. Notwithstanding the fact that almost two-thirds of the respondents were physically injured, most of the respondents described their overall trauma as psychological. A total of 68.5% of the respondents sought some form of medical help for their injury – psychological or physical.

Bystanders largely ignored (35.9%) or ran away (19.1%) from the incident. Just 13% were described as being too shocked to react, and 16.8% rendered assistance in the form of resistance towards the perpetrators, whilst 4.6% became actively involved by either accosting or chasing away the attackers. Immediately following the attack, in 28.7% of the cases the bystanders came to the assistance of the injured party/ies. In 5.1% of the cases they gave chase and attempted to arrest the attackers and the rest were either too shocked or apathetic to the circumstances.

Victims turned predominantly to family (33.8%) and friends (28.3%) for help, whilst 20% went directly to the police. The rest saw a doctor (4.1%), neighbours (2.1%) and the local chief (1.4%), however, 9% dealt with the incident on their own and went to nobody for any assistance or comfort. Emotional help (35.6%) and practical advice (30.4%) was the most common form of assistance given, and although this was greatly valued, 62.3% of the respondents would have preferred legal advice.

Almost seven-tenths (69.4%) of all the respondents reported behavioural changes following their assault, which usually took the form of withdrawals, avoidance of public places and strangers, restricted movements in the dark and limiting their movements in certain areas.

4.3.6 Police Response

40% of all the respondents reported the assault to the police, however, this was lowest amongst the under 25's (30.8%) and highest amongst the over 40's (51.6%). Those who did not report the incident, felt that the police were useless and would neither have the ability nor willingness to locate their attackers – 58%. A significant proportion (22%), felt that the police were too corrupt, whilst 20% simply thought that the process was a waste of time. Of those that did report the incident, 38.5% were satisfied with the police response. Of the others, police ineffectiveness, inefficiency and corruption were cited as being the reasons for their dissatisfaction.

Known perpetrator arrests were limited to 16.1% of all cases, although it was argued that in 25.2% of all cases it was still too early to decide whether the lack of an arrest could be considered as one unlikely to be made. This reflects itself in the fact that up to 37.6% of the respondents were still not sure whether such an arrest was ever likely to be made. Of all known arrests, 23.2% made a court of law and 17.9% were dealt with elsewhere, in all these cases, the respondents were satisfied with the outcome.

4.4 CONCLUSION – PERSONAL CRIMES

Nairobi is a city where personal crime rates are high and the risk of victimisation great. If trends do not worsen and are maintained at current levels, during the course of the following year, then a little under 1 in 5 residents will be a victim of a physical assault, a little over 1 in 5 residents is likely to fall victim to a snatching and a little under 2 in 5 residents shall be a victim of a robbery.

Men are more likely than women to be victims of a snatching and a robbery, whilst physical assaults are more likely to be similar between the two. The inner city tops the list of areas where snatching is most common, but robberies and physical assaults are most likely to occur in lower income areas. Fridays and Saturdays are the two days of the week that most personal crimes are likely to take place. For the most part victims are alone when most incidents occur and in the instance of snatching and robbery, money was the item most often taken. Across most crimes, the majority of bystanders watching the incidents chose to ignore it. Most respondents are also most likely to be a victim of a snatching and robbery whilst in transit from work or school going home. Most victims get adequate emotional support and practical advice, but what most would have liked is legal support.

Overwhelmingly most victims are not satisfied with the manner in which it was dealt with by the police, citing inefficiency, lack of interest and suspected collusion with criminals as their reasons. A negligible number of victims are satisfied with the criminal justice system; however, most are unaware whether the process even takes place.

PROPERTY CRIMES -
BURGLARIES



CHAPTER FIVE: PROPERTY CRIMES - BURGLARIES

5.1 INTRODUCTION

For the purpose of this study four property crimes were investigated: home burglary, the theft of other household or farm equipment, the theft of livestock and vehicle theft, including parts of or the entire vehicle. Home burglary was described as unlawful or forcible entry of a residential property, which usually, but not always, involved a theft. The illegal entry may have been by force, such as forcing a door open, breaking a window or slashing a screen, or may have been without force by entering through an unlocked door or an open window. As long as the person entering had no legal right to be present in the structure, a burglary was deemed to have occurred.

A burglary constituted illegal entry of a garage, shed, or any other structure on the premises, the premises itself, or theft of household or farm equipment. Likewise, theft of livestock, would have to have been from inside the premises or property of the respondent and should not have been on the way to or from the market or any place of grazing. No work or employment premises were considered, unless they were located within the residential property and then a separate questionnaire was used (Commercial Survey). Finally, respondents were asked to describe their most recent experience of having their premises burgled or broken into, even if there were other experiences that might have been classified as having had a greater impact.

From the above it is quite clear that burglary is a crime that is committed against a household and not an individual (unless the respondent lives alone). This means that demographic variables like age and gender cannot be analysed for burglary. The following characteristics of burglary were considered in the Nairobi study:

- who is most at risk in terms of areas where homes are located;
- when the crimes occurred;
- the circumstances in which the crimes were committed;
- the nature of the violence, including weapons used;
- the circumstances in which the crimes were committed;
- the degree of injury;
- type of assistance sought and received;
- who the perpetrators were;
- the police response;
- whether any justice was done; and
- any behavioural changes that might have occurred as a result of the crime.

The rest of this section deals with burglary, theft of household or farm equipment and theft of livestock.

5.2 BURGLARY

- ◆ 28% of respondents who lived in some form of structure, had experienced at least one burglary during the past 12 months.
- ◆ Households located in formal upper and lower income suburbs were more likely to fall victims to a burglary.
- ◆ Most security features are absolutely no deterrent to the home being burglarised.
- ◆ Only houses with burglar alarms and intercoms show some resilience to burglaries.
- ◆ Almost half of all these burglaries are committed during Fridays and Saturdays.
- ◆ 73% of the burglaries occurred when someone was at home and the burglars were spotted
- ◆ A combination of threats of violence and actual violence were used in 29% of all burglaries, the threat of violence in 15% and only violence in 12% of all cases.
- ◆ An average of five offenders at each burglary and in a fraction over 88% of all cases, the offenders were not known to the victims.
- ◆ Machetes, axes and wooden clubs were carried in 45%, a gun in 31% and a knife in 23% of all the burglaries.
- ◆ 16% of all the victims reported an injury to themselves, also claiming that in 33% of all incidents someone else was also injured.
- ◆ In 67% of all cases the crime was reported to the police.
- ◆ 22% of those who reported the crime to the police were satisfied by the police response to the circumstances.

All respondents were asked whether their homes had been burgled and experienced any theft of household or farm equipment and/or livestock from their properties located in Nairobi. In addition, they were asked whether any of their household members living with them had either any vehicle parts or the actual vehicle stolen from them during the twelve months preceding the survey.

The following section will deal only with burglary. Section 5.2.1 deals with the main findings of the scan and details the victimisation rates. Section 5.2.2 describes the responses of the sample of 1,531 respondents who were asked the relevant questions. The sections that follow 5.2.3 to 5.2.8 only contain responses of 269 households that had experienced a burglary during the 12-month period preceding the survey^v.

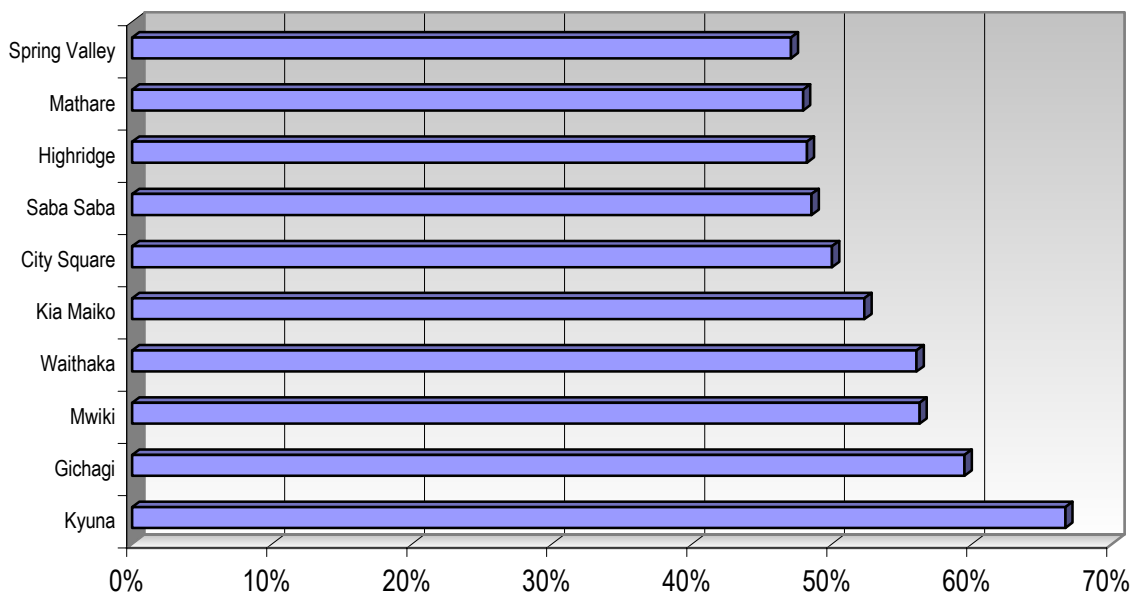
5.2.1 The Scan

The results of the scan revealed that 28% of 7,759 respondents, who lived in some form of structure, had experienced at least one burglary during the past 12 months. The results of the main survey were very similar to those of the scan, revealing that 28% of the 1,531 households claimed to have experienced at least one burglary during the year preceding the survey. Of those respondents who lived in permanent abodes, 28% had experienced at least one burglary during the past 12 months. Of these, a little over one-third, or 11% of the total, had been burglarised more than once.

Home burgled.	Percentage
None	72%
Once	18%
Twice	7%
Thrice	2%
Four times or more	1%
Total	100%

The table below shows the ten more vulnerable areas in Nairobi.

Burglaries



The least burglarised areas are Kitisuru, Loresho, Kilimani, Muthaiga and Nyayo Highrise.

5.2.2 Who is Most at Risk

The survey revealed that households located in formal upper and lower income suburbs were more likely to fall victims to a burglary than those in the formal middle income suburbs, the inner city or informal settlements. The following table illustrates how on average the chances of being burglarised are 1.4 times higher in the former two areas than the latter three. Burglaries were also high amongst households located in industrial areas, but because of the small number of households in that area the error rate could be high.

Home Burglary by Settlement Type		
Settlement Type	yes	n=
Formal Suburb Upper Income	32%	203
Formal Suburb Low Income	32%	676
Industrial Area	31%	13
Formal Suburb Middle Income	24%	350
Inner City	23%	53
Informal Settlement (slum)	19%	205

In attempting to understand which type of dwelling was most likely to be a potential target, it was not surprising to find that households living in temporary shelters topped the list. Further examination indicates that a fraction over three-quarters of these were to be found in informal settlements and lower formal income suburbs. Apartments were the next most likely to be burglarised, which themselves were predominately located within formal lower and middle income suburbs. Findings on home burglary and house type can be seen on the following table.

Home Burglary by House Type		
House Type	yes	n=
Temporary shelter/plastic bags	36%	171
Apartment/Flat	34%	114
Permanent House	27%	498
Shack	26%	240
Single Room in a House	24%	459

It might seem that there is no correlation between likely victimisation on the one hand settlement type and on the other house type. This is true, and what the data reveals, is that regardless of the type of house found in formal upper income suburbs, their likelihood of being a victim to a burglary will be higher than dwellings in any other type of settlement.

The survey then tried to ascertain whether there was any correlation between victimisation rates and the type of security features that the household may have either installed, e.g. security locks or intercom, or security services they may have procured. The following table shows both the number of homes having security features (46% have special window or door grills, etc.) and those homes with and without security features that were a victim to a burglary. 28% of households with a special window or door grill were burglarised whilst 26% without such a security measure were victim to a burglary.

Home Burglary and Security Feature			
Type of Security	of all homes having the security feature	of homes with security feature that were burgled	of homes without security feature that were burgled
Features Installed			
Special window/door grills	46%	28%	26%
Special security locks	41%	29%	26%
High fence/wall	35%	28%	27%
Razor wire/broken bottles	19%	32%	27%
Burglar alarm	8%	26%	28%
Intercom	4%	21%	28%
Services Secured			
Security guard	30%	30%	27%
Neighbourhood watch	26%	34%	25%
Vicious dog	13%	25%	28%
Armed Response	10%	53%	25%
Other			
Traditional methods	3%	18%	28%
n=			1,487

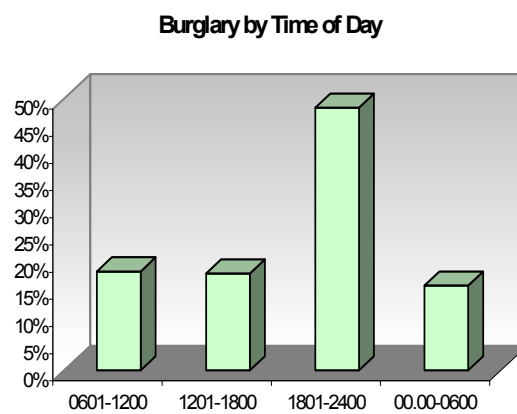
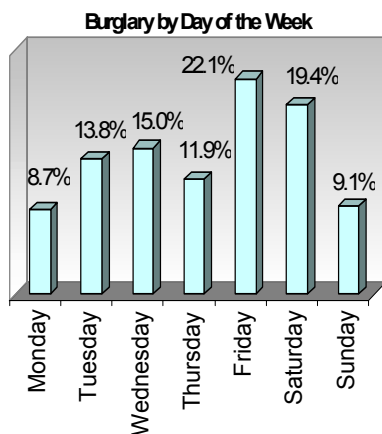
Perhaps the most striking feature of the above table is that security features are absolutely no deterrent to the home being burglarised. Looking first at either installed or constructed features – in the case of special window and door grills, security locks, high walls or fences a higher percentage of homes having these features were victims to burglary compared to those without. Installing such security features are expensive and between one-third and almost half of all homesteads invested in them. Only in the case of burglar alarms and intercoms, where only 8% and 4% of all houses had such a feature, was the opposite true.

A total of 30% of all households either individually or collectively employed a security guard, yet they were more likely to be a victim to a burglary as those who did not have such a security feature – 30% as opposed to 27%. Similar trends were also revealed for households who participated in a neighbourhood watch scheme, who were 1.4 times more likely to be burglarised than others. Inconceivably, the 10 of those households which purchased the services of an armed response company were twice more likely to be a victim of a burglary than the rest of the households. A vicious dog would seem to be the best security device that a household could invest in.

However, these figures are somewhat deceiving, for the spread of security features is not even across all the areas. Houses in formal areas were more likely to have permanent security features installed, whilst households in formal upper and middle income areas were more likely to have procured the security services. Households in these areas are also more likely to be victims of a burglary, so the incidence of burglary versus security features is somewhat skewed. Nevertheless, what the study shows, is that with the exception of burglar alarms and intercoms, most other preventative features are no real deterrent to a burglary.

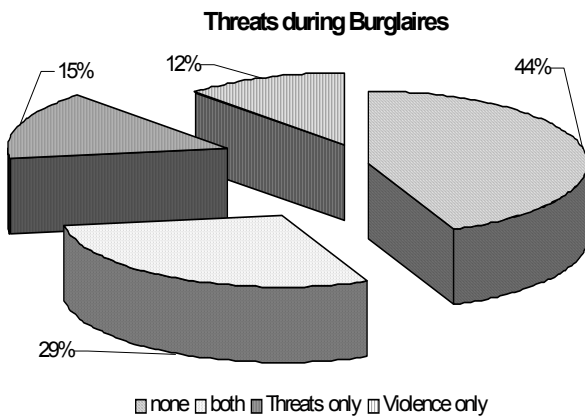
5.2.3 Time of Occurrence

The survey attempted to determine when during the year, the day of the week and the time of the day, most burglaries were committed.



Almost half of all these burglaries are committed during Fridays and Saturdays, with Sundays and Mondays appearing to be days of rest as far as household burglars are concerned. Equally important is the time during the day when a burglary is most likely to occur, and the results of the survey show that almost half of all burglaries take place during the evening. Such a trend is important for it is most likely that people are at home during these times. Indeed, the results of the survey showed that in 52% of all burglaries, people were at home whilst the event took place, rising to 63% for those burglaries that occurred between 18:00 and 24:00.

5.2.4 Circumstances in which the Burglary Occurred

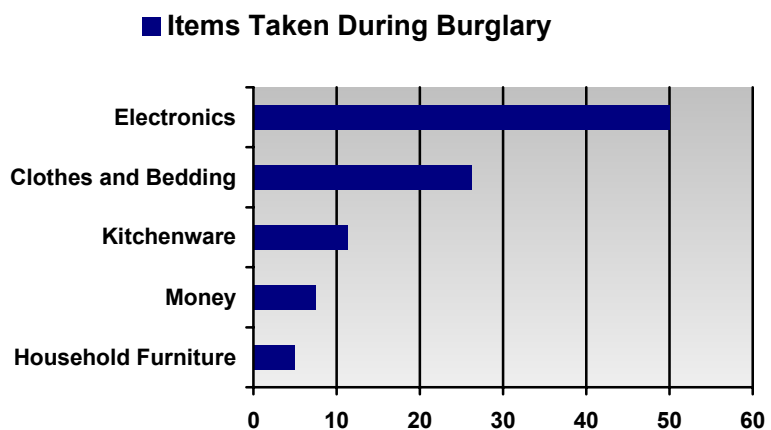


Given that such a high percentage of people were at home when burglaries occurred, there is the added possibility that both threats of and actual violence took place. The following graph shows that a combination of threats of violence and actual violence were used in 29% of all burglaries, the threat of violence in 15% and only violence in 12% of all cases. Combining all incidents where violence was used against at least one person that was in the homestead when the incident occurred, it can be seen that violence was used in 41.2% of all cases. This almost equals the 44% of all cases where neither a threat of violence nor actual violence was used.

Indeed, in 84% of all burglaries items were stolen, of which in exactly half of all cases the items most frequently stolen were electronic goods. Clothes and bedding were stolen in 26%, kitchenware 11%, money 8% and household furniture 5% of all cases. In only 6% of all burglaries, were any of the stolen items insured.

5.2.5 Description of Stolen Items

In just over 40% of all cases, people whose homes had been burgled had a theory as to why they were targeted. The most frequently cited reason was that it had been committed as an act of malicious jealousy(39%), followed by those who felt that the incident occurred because the perpetrators were either after money or goods(34%).



Indeed, in 84% of all burglaries items were stolen, of which in exactly half of all cases the items most frequently stolen were electronic goods. Clothes and bedding were stolen in 26%, kitchenware 11%, money 8% and household furniture 5% of all cases. In only 6% of all burglaries, were any of the stolen items insured.

5.2.6 The Perpetrators

In order to try to develop a perpetrator profile, respondents were asked a number of questions relating to the offenders. The responses were based both on their experiences of the event or from information gathered afterwards from other family members or friends who might have been in the homestead when the burglary occurred, or from information provided by the police or the courts following a successful conviction.

Respondents claimed that there was an average of five offenders at each burglary and in a fraction over 88% of all cases, the offenders were not know to the victims. Of the balance, the

offenders were known by name in less than 5 of the cases – the majority of these being errant resident neighbours. In just over half of all burglaries where the respondents saw the offenders, they were described as being smartly or well dressed young men. Women were explicitly noted in just 2% of all cases, whilst the traditional Hollywood masked gangsters comprised 9.5% of all burglars. Finally, in only one-third of all the cases the respondent was able to comment on whether the offenders were under the influence of any substance and they affirmed this for 29% of all these cases.

In 73% of the burglaries that occurred when someone was at home and the burglar/s were spotted, they were armed. Machetes, axes and wooden clubs were carried in 45%, a gun in 31% and a knife in 23% of all the burglaries. In the cases where violence took place, physical strength was used in just over 10 of all cases to subdue the victim.

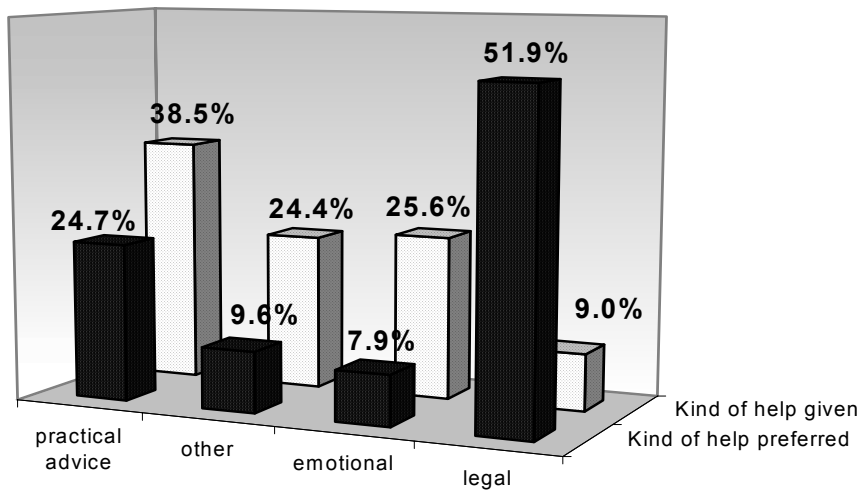
5.2.7 Degree of Injury and Type of Assistance Sought and Received

A total of 16% of all the victims reported an injury, also claiming that in 33% of all incidents someone other than themselves was also injured. Of those reporting an injury, a little over one-fifth (21%) said that it was a physical injury, whilst just under three-quarters (74%) claimed the injury was psychological. Where a physical injury was incurred, a machete, axe or club was used in exactly one-third of all cases and a gun in just under one-third (32%). A knife accounted for one-fifth (20%) and physical strength the rest. Medical assistance was sought in 37% of all cases where an injury was incurred.

In order to better understand how practitioners can best identify, target and assist victims of burglaries, the survey sought to understand whom victims seek help from, the type of help they receive and the type of help that they would prefer to receive.

A total of 42% of all victims sought help only from the police, which is significantly higher than like victims in Dar es Salaam and the major cities in South Africa. Friends (14%), family (12%) and neighbours (10%) were the three next most common ports of call. The local chief and ward councillors accounted for 6% of all immediate post burglary contacts. One eighth of all victims did not bother going anywhere for help.

Type of Help Given and Preferred after Burglary



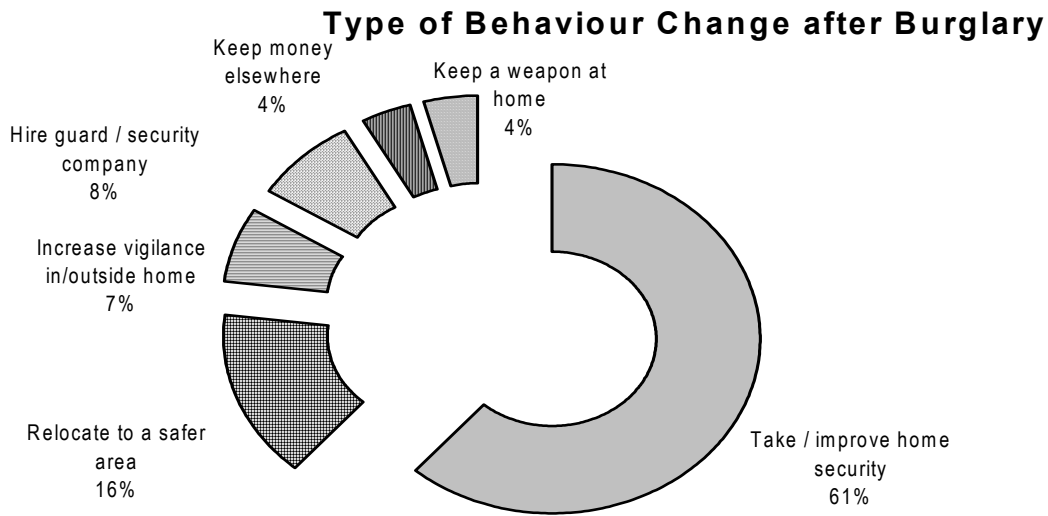
Interestingly, police not only gave victims practical (30% of all contacts) and legal (26%) advice on what they should do, but in 20% of cases gave emotional advice as well, which was highly appreciated by victims. Likewise neighbours, family and friends were also prone to giving practical advice, but they were mostly on hand to give emotional support. Respondents were, however, asked what type of advice would have been the most useful, regardless of the source. The graph above illustrates both the actual advice given and that which was preferred. What clearly emerges from the above graph is that the advice most people want is legal – 52% of cases, whilst currently only 9% got such advice. Although victims of burglaries welcome emotional advice, it is not rated very highly. In the vast majority of cases, respondents wanted the police to give them more legal advice but also maintain the type and level of practical advice currently given. Further, respondents felt that they would really like to have access to legal advice from a legal expert, but that currently these were either lacking or prohibitively expensive.

Victims of burglaries were asked whether the incident had any effect on their behavioural patterns. Almost two-thirds (64%) claimed that it did. The diagram below shows their responses. In the aftermath of the burglary, the vast majority of victims (61%), sought to improve home security by installing window and door grills or better locks, whilst a further 8% would hire a guard or a security company. Yet the research showed earlier that neither of these measures is likely to improve the security of the home. Almost one-sixth (16%) felt that it would be best to relocate to a safer area – this group being almost entirely currently resident in either informal or formal lower income settlements.

5.2.8 Police Response

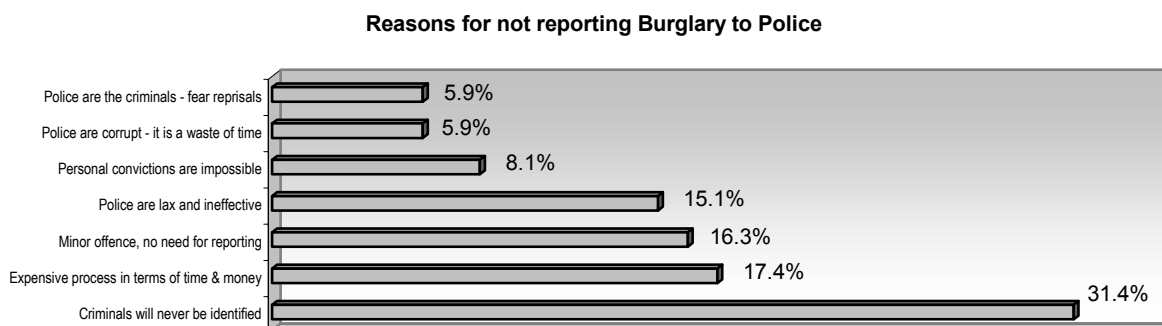
Recognising the limitations of police crime statistics, the survey attempted to determine the propensity of victims to report burglaries to the police. Respondents were asked whether they had reported the crime to the police, and how satisfied they were with the police’s response. When the crime was not reported, the respondents were asked why they did not do so, as well

as all respondents being asked whether they also reported the crime elsewhere and the circumstances surrounding that response.



In exactly two-thirds of all cases, the crime was reported to the police, but just 22% of those who reported the crime to the police were satisfied by the police response to the circumstances. Those who were satisfied noted the police effectiveness and efficiency and were not surprisingly largely comprised from those victims whose cases were solved. The majority of victims who were not satisfied with the police response noted that they were largely ineffective and inefficient (87% of negative responses). The rest claimed that police were incapable of solving any crimes because they were easily susceptible to bribes in order to either “loose” evidence or “release” suspects.

Those respondents who did not report the burglary to the police were asked why they did not do so. Their responses are noted in the graph below.



From the above it is evident that the reasons for not reporting to the police fall largely into two categories. Firstly, the victims feel that there is little chance that the perpetrators will be caught and if they are, also a limited chance of ensuring a conviction – 50%. Secondly, victims are both fearful of and lack confidence in the police force and fear either reprisals or feel that it

would be a waste of time reporting the incident. The expense associated in the reporting process – both of time and money (17%) and the fact that the offence is not considered to be of importance (16%), are two other reasons for not reporting a burglary to the police.

Just a quarter (25%) of all the victims reported the burglary elsewhere, of which the vast majority (62%), reported it to the area Chief. Almost one fifth (19%) report it to a vigilante group and one-sixth (17%) to a security firm. 71% of those victims who reported the crime elsewhere, did not bother reporting it to the police. The police had a slightly better recovery rate for the stolen goods than the other groups, 14% as opposed to 10%.

Victims of burglaries were asked whether they knew if the perpetrators had ever been arrested for the crime they committed. In less than one-tenth (9.5%) of all the cases there was a successful arrest and in just over one-tenth (11%), was the respondent unaware whether an arrest had been made or not. Therefore in 80% of the cases no arrest had been made. In those cases where an arrest was made, in 57% of the cases, the victims did not know who affected the arrest, in 27% of the cases they acknowledged the police and in 3 a professional security company.

The respondents were asked whether any of the perpetrators ever made it through the justice system, and in less than half of all cases, (44%) was a respondent able to answer, claiming that in 28% of the cases they knew of a successful court appearance. All these respondents were satisfied with the process that followed, regardless of a successful conviction.

For those cases where the perpetrators had yet to be arrested, victims were not too confident that either the police or any other agency was likely to apprehend them. A total of 44% gave an emphatic no to this answer, whilst a further 45% did not know and only 12% gave an affirmative response. Lack of efficient policing practices and the ability of criminals to avoid arrest were offered as the major reasons why perpetrators were unlikely ever to get captured.

5.3 THEFT OF HOUSEHOLD AND AGRICULTURAL EQUIPMENT

- ◆ *8.7% of all households experience theft of household and agricultural equipment*
- ◆ *Clothing and linen on a wash line are the most likely items to be stolen that are unlikely to be insured.*
- ◆ *17.7% of all thefts are reported to police.*

5.3.1 Introduction and the Scan

The following section will deal only with the theft of household and agricultural equipment from residential properties in Nairobi. The first section – 5.3.1 lists the summary findings of the scan, section – 5.3.2, describes the responses of the entire sample or 1,531 respondents who were asked the relevant questions. The section that follows (5.3.3) only contains responses of 269 households that had experienced a burglary during the 12-month period preceding the survey.

A total of 83.4% of all respondents interviewed in the scan felt that they had either some household item or farm equipment that was not permanently stored in-doors and could have been stolen from their property. Of these a total of 23.2% experienced theft of such equipment, of which almost half (10.4%) had such equipment stolen more than once. The ten worst areas for such thefts in Nairobi were Mabatini, Mlango Kubwa, Kasarani, Mwiki, Waithaka, Saba Saba, Kyuna, Lenana, Dandora A and Golf Course. The five areas that experienced the lowest thefts were: Harambee, Landi Mawe, Roysambu, Shauri Moyo and Maziwa.

5.3.2 Who is Most at Risk

The results of the main survey were very similar to those of the scan, revealing that 14.9% of the 1,531 households claimed to have experienced at least one such theft. However, in terms of repeat thefts, the main survey found that only 8.7% of these had experienced more than one theft, which is significantly lower than that found in the scan.

The survey also revealed that households located in formal lower and middle income suburbs were more likely to fall victims to such thefts than those in the formal upper income suburbs and informal settlements. Understandably people living in the inner city and in industrial areas do not keep farm equipment and are less likely to live in houses with properties sufficiently large to externally store household equipment. The following table shows theft of household and farm equipment by settlement type.

Theft of Household and Farm Equipment and by Settlement Type		
Settlement Type	yes	n=
Formal Suburb Low Income	44.5%	104
Formal Suburb Middle Income	25.9%	59
Formal Suburb Upper Income	19.1%	42
Informal Settlement (slum)	10.5%	23

Of all the households who experienced such a theft: 31.5% had a security guard, 31.4% a high wall, 19.2% broken glass or barbed wire on the wall and 12.7% a vicious dog. This would suggest that there is a correlation between security measures taken and the likelihood of being a victim to such a crime.

5.3.3 The Incident

The overwhelming majorities (90.9%) of all thefts occur during the first half of the year – January through to June. Saturday is the single day in which most thefts occur (25%), which are more likely to take place during the day (65.9%), than the evening. Clothing and linen on a wash line are the most likely items to be stolen that are unlikely to be insured. Whether a household member is on the premises or not, does not matter much, with 45.5% of all victims mentioning the presence of a household member during the incident.

As few as 17.7% of all thefts are reported to police as the offence is usually perceived as being minor and that the chances of a successful apprehension of the perpetrators and recovery of the items is perceived as being slim. This is borne by the fact that only 6.9% of all perpetrators are caught and only 5.8% of all cases are the items ever recovered. Finally, in only 1.4% of all cases, was there a successful prosecution in a court that was perceived by the victim to be satisfactory.

5.4 THEFT OF LIVESTOCK

- ◆ *8.7% of all households claimed to have had livestock of some kind stolen.*
- ◆ *The type of livestock most likely to be stolen is poultry.*

Nairobi is a widespread city and in many of the outlying suburbs, although not exclusive to them, it is not uncommon for households to keep livestock. Theft of livestock was raised as a problem during the nascent stages of the survey. Such theft was defined as the illegal removal of farm equipment or livestock from inside the premises or property of the respondent and not if it were left grazing in a field outside the boundaries of Nairobi, being transported or stored elsewhere.

The result of the scan found that almost one-third (34.1%) of all households claimed to have had livestock of some kind, of which 8.7% experienced some theft. This represents 3.0% of all households in Nairobi. The 10 worst areas were: Airbase, Imara Daima, Kaloleni, Kamukunji, Mathare, Mathare 4 A, Ngara West, Ruthimitu, Savannah, and City Centre. The results of the main survey show, that of the 531 households asked this question, 3.2% claimed to have been a victim of livestock theft, which corroborates the findings of the scan.

The type of livestock most likely to be stolen is poultry, but just over one dozen households reported cattle and goat thefts. Over half of all these households were located in formal low income households and they experienced the thefts mainly during May and June. The livestock is never insured and only in the case of cattle is it reported to the police, where a successful apprehension and/or conviction is highly unlikely.

5.5 MOTOR VEHICLE (AND VEHICLE PARTS) THEFT

- ◆ *20.9% of motor car owners claimed to have experienced the theft of some vehicle part*
- ◆ *14.8% said that they had an actual vehicle stolen.*
- ◆ *Public parking lots are the places where it is most likely to have parts stolen from a vehicle*
- ◆ *Thefts are more likely to occur outside a persons home – in the driveway, garage or garden.*

For the purposes of this survey theft of a vehicle or parts of a vehicle meant that no force (either implied or actual) was used against the respondent to steal the vehicle or vehicle parts^{vi}. If force was used then the incident was labelled under car hijacking, which has been dealt with under personal crimes. In section 5.5.1 the responses of all respondents are

tabulated and analysed, whilst in the subsequent sections (5.5.2 to 5.5.4) only those of the actual victims are described. All the results pertain to the 12-month period preceding the survey.

5.5.1 Who is Most at Risk

In comparing the results of the scan to those of the main survey it is important to note a major difference in the way the question was phrased. In the scan, respondents were asked whether a vehicle belonging either to another family member residing with them in Nairobi or their own had experienced either thefts of vehicle parts or a vehicle/s. In the main survey the respondents were asked only if the incident pertained to another family member or themselves (residing at the household where the interview took place). There may not seem to be a difference between the two questions, however, because the actual residence was not specified during the scan, it is suspected that the respondents took latitude by spreading the concept of family a little wider than in the latter survey. As such they may have exaggerated the number of incidents involved. Furthermore, bicycles were excluded in the definition of a vehicle in the scan, but included in the main survey.

Nevertheless, the results of the scan revealed that 53.4% of 7,760 respondents felt that they qualified to answer this question because either a family member or they themselves could have been victims of such thefts. Of these, a total of 15% claimed to have experienced either the theft of parts of a vehicle or an actual vehicle. The data was difficult to desegregate, but it did lend to the suggestion that thefts of part of and motor vehicle thefts are a problem.

Vehicle ownership	
none	71.2%
car	16.7%
bicycle	9.0%
motor-bike	1.6%
pick-up	0.9%
truck, van, bus, tractor	0.7%
Total	100.0%
n=	1,531

In the main survey, it was found that only 19.8% of all respondents felt qualified to answer this question (28.8% when bicycle owners are included), which is much less than those falling in the same category in the scan. Just over one-fifth (20.9%) of motor car owners claimed to have experienced the theft of some vehicle part and 14.8% said that they had an actual vehicle stolen. Although the theft of vehicle parts is slightly higher in the main survey, the theft of vehicles is almost identical to that found in the scan. Theft of bicycle parts affected 6.3% of all owners, whilst the theft of an actual bicycle is a little higher, impacting on 9.6% of all owners.

The previous table showed household vehicle ownership as a percentage of the main sample.

5.5.2 The Incident

The survey attempted to determine when during the year, the day of the week and the time of the day, that most vehicle thefts occur. There was no clear peak month time when vehicle parts or vehicles are stolen, but Friday evenings and all day Saturdays are the worst days for thefts of parts (53.8%) and vehicles (60%). Interestingly only 3.6% of all victims, who experienced vehicle parts thefts, experienced a car theft as well.

As the following table shows, public parking lots are the places where it is most likely to have parts stolen from a vehicle (39.3%), whilst thefts are more likely to occur outside a persons home – in the driveway, garage or garden.

Place Where the Vehicle Related Theft Occurred		
Place	Vehicle Parts	Vehicle
Public parking lot	39.3%	20.0%
Driveway/garage/garden	21.4%	30.0%
Street outside shops/offices	21.4%	20.0%
Open space	10.7%	10%
Street in a residential area	7.1%	15.0%
At an Education establishment	0.0%	5.0%
n=	28	20

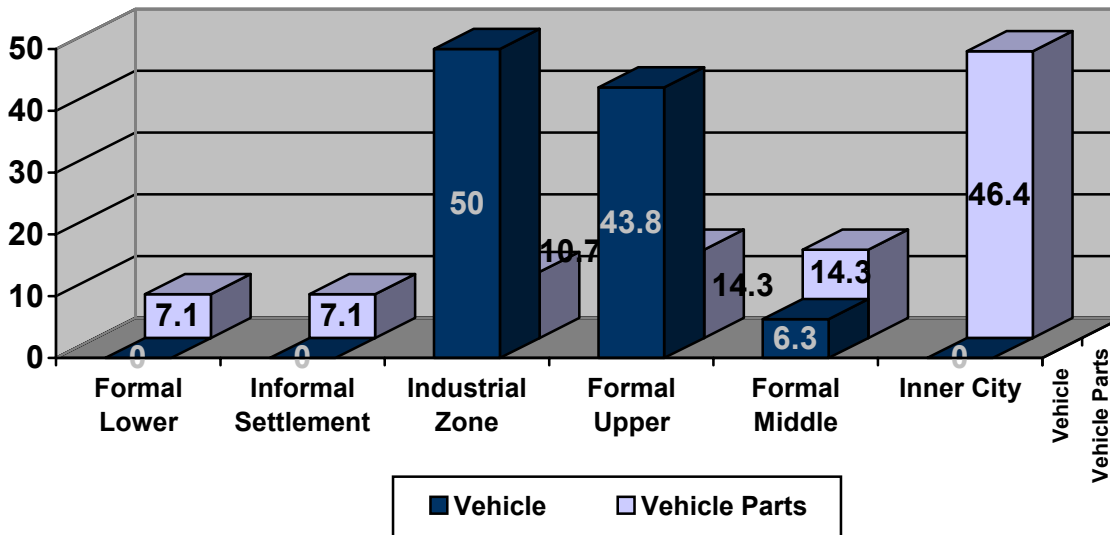
Respondents were also asked, what type of area the vehicle was in when either parts or the entire vehicle was stolen. The following graph shows that vehicle parts are more likely to be stolen when the vehicle is in the inner city (46.4%), followed by formal upper and middle income suburbs. Vehicle thefts on the other hand are more likely to take place in formal upper income suburbs and industrial zones. These statistics may be a little misleading for it is more likely that private vehicles will be found in these areas, as well as the inner city, than elsewhere.

The results are based on a small sample and should be treated with extreme caution. However, the vehicles most likely to be targeted for both spare parts and outright theft are Nissan Sunny's, Toyota Hi Ace's and Toyota Corollas. The 1995 Sunny, 1996 Corolla and the Hi Ace are particularly susceptible to theft. Datsun Pickups (1996) and the Subaru Legacy also featured on the list, as well as the Nissan Caravan and the Peugeot 504.

In 73.7% of all cases the vehicle was insured and in 45.5% of cases a claim was successfully entertained. Insurance claims for spare parts were made in 43.8% of all cases, for the victim either felt it was not necessary to claim or did not want the claim to impact on their premiums.

It was also noted, that in 50% of all the cases of vehicle theft, the vehicle was relatively unscathed when recovered.

Type of Area Where Vehicle Thefts Occur



5.5.3 Police Response, Recovery, Assistance and Behaviour Changes.

Police were contacted in 53.3% of all spare parts thefts and in 94.7% of vehicle thefts. Their success rates in terms of recovery were much higher than for other crimes, successfully recovering the vehicle in 47.4% of all reported cases. This results in an 83.2% police satisfaction rate amongst victims. There was a somewhat lower success rate in apprehending perpetrators, who were caught for 15.1% of all vehicle thefts and 5.2% of all vehicle part thefts.

Assistance is generally sought from police and family, and is usually given in the form of practical advice and emotional support. In the case of car theft, legal advice is also given and remains the type of advice that victims would most prefer. 70% of all victims claimed to have altered their behaviour following either incident. Generally this meant being more careful, but also not travelling with their vehicles to what they perceived to be dangerous places.

5.6 CONCLUSION – PROPERTY THEFTS

If the situation does not worsen and remains static, then 1 in 3 households in Nairobi is likely to be a victim of a burglary during the next 12 months. Almost 1 in 10 houses will have household items stolen from their property, the same number will have livestock stolen, whilst 1 in 5 motor vehicle owners will have vehicle parts stolen and a little fewer will have their vehicle stolen during the same time period.

Households located in formal upper and lower income suburbs were more likely than those in other areas to fall victims to a burglary, whilst almost half of all these burglaries are committed

during Fridays and Saturdays. In three-quarters of all burglaries the victims are at home and the burglar/s spotted. For the most part, most security features are absolutely no deterrent to the home being burglarised, with only those houses with burglar alarms and intercoms showing some resilience to burglaries. Violence is used in 4 out of every 10 burglaries. An injury is reported in close to 2 incidents in almost half of the cases where violence is used.

Vehicle parts thefts are most likely to happen in public parking lots and vehicle thefts most likely to occur outside a person's home – in the driveway, garage or garden.

COMMERCIAL CRIMES



CHAPTER SIX: COMMERCIAL CRIMES

6.1 INTRODUCTION

- ◆ 30% of all enterprises experienced a burglary
- ◆ 28% were involved in bribery
- ◆ Robberies amongst commercial enterprises located in informal settlements are more likely to occur than in any other area.
- ◆ 61% of the respondents claimed that either their staff or customers have been robbed at least once either inside or immediately outside their commercial premises during the previous year.
- ◆ Customers and staff of inner city commercial enterprises comprised 57% of all assaults and 50% of all robberies.
- ◆ Almost half (49%) of all shoplifting was reported in inner city stores, as was 56% of all thefts involving loading and unloading.
- ◆ 67% of all respondents felt that crime against the commercial sector had increased during the past year.
- ◆ 23% of business people worried about crime all the time and 31% often.
- ◆ 82% felt that crime happened because of poverty, unemployment and an under-performing economy.
- ◆ In order to both reduce crime and allay feelings of insecurity just over four-fifths of all business installed special security locks, special window grilles and employed a security guard.
- ◆ As a means of enhancing their safety, 6% of the respondents carry a weapon and 4% a firearm.

All respondents in the commercial sample were asked whether their enterprises had been victims of burglaries, whether shoplifting was in evidence, goods stolen whilst loaded into or from the premises and whether credit card fraud was prevalent. Furthermore, they were asked whether their staff or clients had ever been physically assaulted, or had their personal belongings stolen whilst at work. Finally, all commercial respondents were asked whether they had partaken in any activity that might be classified as a bribe, been asked to pay a bribe or had been boycotted by people trying to bribe them. This section shows the results of these questions.

The main study sample undertaken amongst 300 enterprises was divided accordingly to enable for a representative sub-sample to be drawn from the production, services and retail sectors and to allow for the above generic criteria – locality, age and size.

6.1.1 The Scan

The scan, which comprised 667 interviews revealed that crime against the commercial sector in Nairobi is high – with burglaries 29.8% and bribery 27.7% leading the cluster of various crimes. Shoplifting and thefts from staff by others was experienced by 19% of all commercial enterprises interviewed, whilst physical assaults (13.4%), thefts whilst loading and unloading goods from the premises (8.6%) and commercial card fraud (3.1%) were also crimes committed against commercial enterprises in Nairobi. Locality, was perhaps the single most

influential determinate variable, although a slight correlation was found on the length of time that the firm has been operational and its size.

This chapter records and analyses the data collected from the 300 interviews, including an analysis on corruption and then detail experiences of burglaries against commercial enterprises.

6.2 RESPONDENT DEMOGRAPHICS

This section includes a brief description of the people and the types of enterprises interviewed and also looks at victimisation rates amongst different types of commercial enterprises in Nairobi.

6.2.1 Age, Race, Gender and Employee Status

In an attempt to ensure that opinions expressed were made by commercial sector participants who could be classified as decision makers, an attempt was made to ensure that at least 80% of the overall sample comprised either owners, shareholders or managers at the commercial enterprises where the research took place. This target was just about reached, with 42% of all the respondents interviewed claiming to be owners of the enterprise where they worked, 37% were at a managerial level and the remaining 21% ordinary employees.

In addition, to overcome a slight gender bias that was experienced during the scan, interviewers were instructed to ensure at least one-quarter of the sample be comprised of women. Exactly half of the sample fell in 25 to 39 year age groups and 43% in the 40 to 59 year age group. In terms of a racial split, 71% of all respondents were African, Asians comprised 23.7% and Whites 4.3% of the sample, with the outstanding few classifying themselves as being of Arab origin.

6.2.2 Type of Commercial Enterprise, Size and Length of Existence

Results of the scan showed that victimisation rates differ by type of commercial enterprise. As a result, an equal quota of one-third for each of the retail, services and production sectors was drawn for the commercial crime survey. The following table shows the breakdown by type of entrepreneurial activity.

Type and number of Commercial Enterprises Interviewed				
Type of Entrepreneurial Activity	Retail	Services	Production	Total
Electronic Goods & Hardware	25			25
Supermarket & Malls	20			20
Market Stalls	18			18
Textiles Sales	10			10
Printing Press	11			11
Chemists, Agro-Chemicals	7			7

NAIROBI VICTIMISATION SURVEY

Stationary	7			7
Household Goods /Office Furniture	4			4
Food & Beverages		27		27
Salon Beauty & Model		14		14
Repair & Maintenance		14		14
Communication Services		11		11
Consultant		9		9
Personal Services		8		8
Banking & Related Services		7		7
Transport Services		7		7
Laundry		7		7
Education		2		2
Insurance		1		1
Plastics & Rubber Production			19	19
Textile Industries Manufacture			16	16
Food & Beverage Production			15	15
Motor Vehicle, Plant & Machinery			13	13
Production - Other			10	10
Building Materials Production			8	8
Chemical Industries			6	6
Printing & Stationary Production			4	4
Total	102	107	91	300
Percentage of overall sample	34.0%	35.7%	30.3%	100.0%

Due to the fact that it is impossible to ascertain financial information during such a study, the size of the workforce is used as a yardstick to measure how big the enterprise is. Respondents were asked the number of both full-time and temporary staff they had working at the premises where the interviews were conducted. Included in the definition of staff were family members and owners of enterprises who also worked either full or part-time. The findings are shown in the following table.

Staff Size	Full-Time Staff		Part-Time Staff	
	Frequency	Cumulative Percent	Frequency	Cumulative Percent
none	0	0.0%	122	41.1%
1	10	3.3%	26	49.8%
2	28	12.7%	27	58.9%
3	34	24.0%	28	68.4%
4	21	31.0%	8	71.0%
5	19	37.3%	5	72.7%
06 --10	65	59.0%	20	79.5%
11 -- 15	21	66.0%	13	83.8%
1 -- 20	18	72.0%	10	87.2%
21 -- 30	19	78.3%	8	89.9%
31 -- 50	16	83.7%	9	92.9%
51 -- 100	24	91.7%	12	97.0%
101 -- 200	8	94.3%	7	99.3%
201 -- 500	17	100.0%	1	99.7%
501 -- 1000	0	100.0%	1	100.0%
Total	300		297	

From the above table, it can be observed that the majority of commercial enterprises interviewed had on average less than 10 permanent employees, with the average being eight and the median seven. In terms of part-time or casual labour, 41.1% of all the commercial enterprises interviewed claimed to have none, with a further 30% saying that they had less than 5 such employees. Both the mean and median number of non-permanent staff employed was one.

Respondents were also asked to state how long their respective enterprises had been operating from their current premises. The mean time of operations was 8 years and 8 months, with the median being nine years. A little under one-tenth (8.7%) of the enterprises had been in operation for two years or less, whilst a similar number, (8.3%) had been operating for over 20 years. A little over one-fifth (21.6%), were in existence for three to five years and just over one-quarter (26.7%) for between 6 and 10 years. Further analysis showed that any correlation that exists between crime and the size of the firm or the number of years in existence is limited. As such it is not used for further analytical purposes in this report.

6.2.3 Location of Enterprise

The scan found that the location of the enterprise was one of the major determinate variables impacting on victimisation rates within the commercial sector. It was therefore decided to

stratify the sample by the different types of area found in Nairobi. A detailed scan of secondary data revealed that almost 40% of all businesses were located in the city centre, just under 10% in a number of industrial areas found around Nairobi and the rest within Nairobi's suburbs. It was therefore decided to stratify the sample accordingly. The following table gives a detailed breakdown of enterprise location by different types of areas in Nairobi.

Place Enterprise located	
Inner City	40.3%
Formal Middle Income Suburb	23.3%
Formal Lower Income Suburb	21.8%
Industrial Area	7.3%
Informal Settlement	7.3%
Total	100.0%

From the above table it can be seen that 40.3% of the sample was drawn from the inner city, 23.3% from within formal middle income suburbs, 21.7% from formal lower income suburbs and 7.3% each from within informal settlements and industrial areas. The lack of commercial activities found in formal upper income areas is reflected by the fact that no commercial enterprises were found and interviewed.

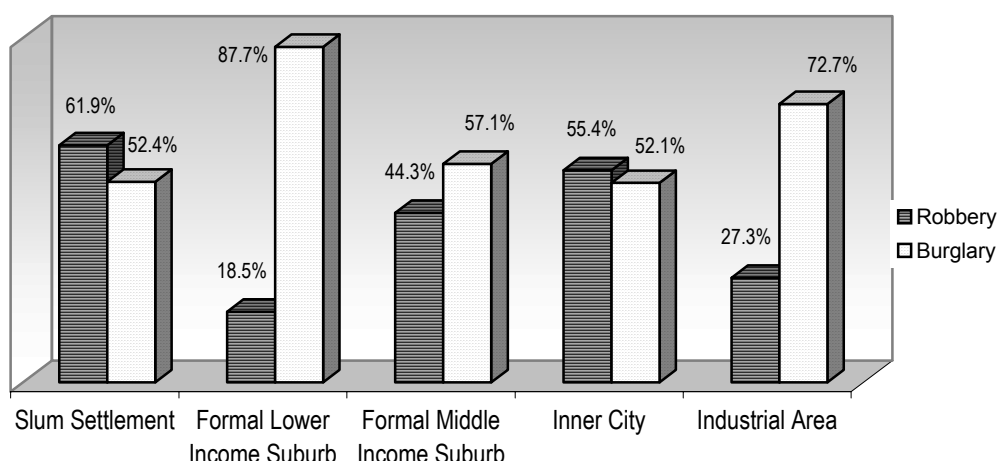
6.2.4 Victimization Rates

The main study on commercial crimes, unlike that of personal and property crimes found that a greater number of commercial enterprises had been victim to a burglary or a robbery than in the scan. From the following table it can be seen that, for the year preceding the survey, 62.3% of all enterprises had been victims of a burglary and 43% of a robbery. The vast majority of these enterprises had only been victimised once, but a small minority, of 6.6% and 7% respectively had been victimised twice or more.

Number of Incidents	Percentage of burglaries	Percentage of robberies
None	37.7%	57.0%
Once	55.7%	36.0%
Twice	6.6%	7.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%

From the chart that follows it can be seen that burglaries are more likely to occur to commercial enterprises located in formal low-income suburbs (87.7%) than in any other areas. Burglaries are also high in industrial areas (72.7%) lowest in the inner city (52.1%).

Commercial Robberies and Burglaries by Location



Robberies amongst commercial enterprises located in informal settlements are more likely to occur than in any other area. Inner city commercial enterprises follow next, with 55.4% having been robbed at least once during the past year. The chart above shows a close correlation between robberies and burglaries, such that when one is high the other is low.

In trying to understand the criminal activity that is directed at members of the public and not necessarily directly at the commercial enterprise itself, respondents were asked the number of times staff or customers had been victims to a robbery or an assault, either inside or immediately outside their premises. In addition, they were also asked on how many occasions during the previous year, had the business been victim to shoplifting, theft whilst bringing goods into or taking them out of the premises and credit card fraud. Responses to the above are shown in the table below.

	Number of times in the previous year that				
	staff or a customer had been either inside or just outside the premises.		the business has been victim to		
	robbed	assaulted	shop-lifting	theft during loading	credit card fraud
n=300					
None	39.3%	73.3%	69.3%	72.0%	87.3%
Once	27.3%	16.3%	12.7%	8.3%	4.0%
Twice	12.1%	3.7%	4.7%	4.3%	3.0%
Thrice	9.3%	1.0%	4.7%	4.7%	2.0%
Four times	2.3%	1.0%	1.3%	3.3%	1.7%
Five times or more	9.7%	4.7%	7.4%	7.3%	2.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

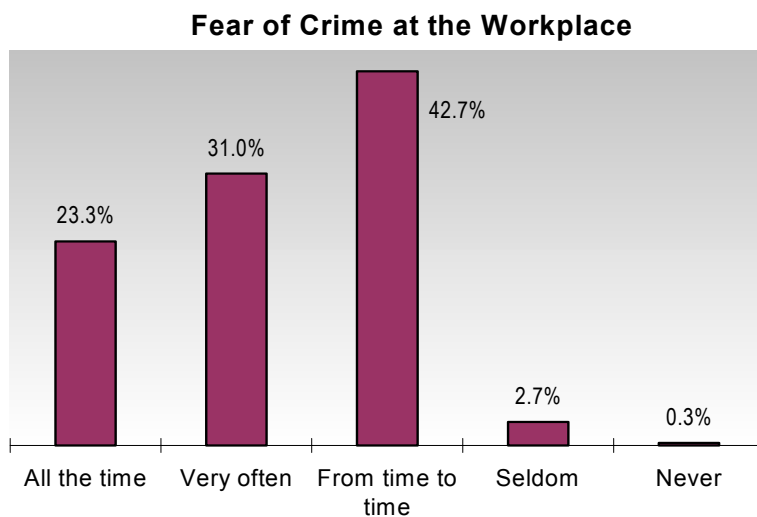
The previous table shows that 60.7% of the respondents claimed that either their staff or customers have been robbed at least once either inside or immediately outside their commercial premises during the previous year. Of this group, just over half or 33.3% of the total had been robbed more than once. The respondents reported a much smaller incidence of assault – 26.7%, of which 10.4% had been victimised more than once. Shoplifting was reported by 30.7%, theft during loading and unloading of goods 27% and credit card fraud 12.7% of all respondents.

The dispersion of the crimes however differs enormously with the vast majority crimes occurring in the inner city. Customers and staff of inner city commercial enterprises comprised 57.4% of all assaults and 50.1% of all robberies. Almost half (49.1%) of all shoplifting was reported in inner city stores, as was 55.6% of all thefts involving loading and unloading.

6.3 PERCEPTIONS OF CRIME IN THE COMMERCIAL SECTOR

All respondents were asked a number of questions related to their feelings and perceptions of crime, including which crime concerns them the most. This was followed by a discussion on the issue of safety and safety measures employed by commercial enterprises. Finally, they were asked a number of questions about street children and what they perceived their links to crime might be.

6.3.1 Fear of Crime

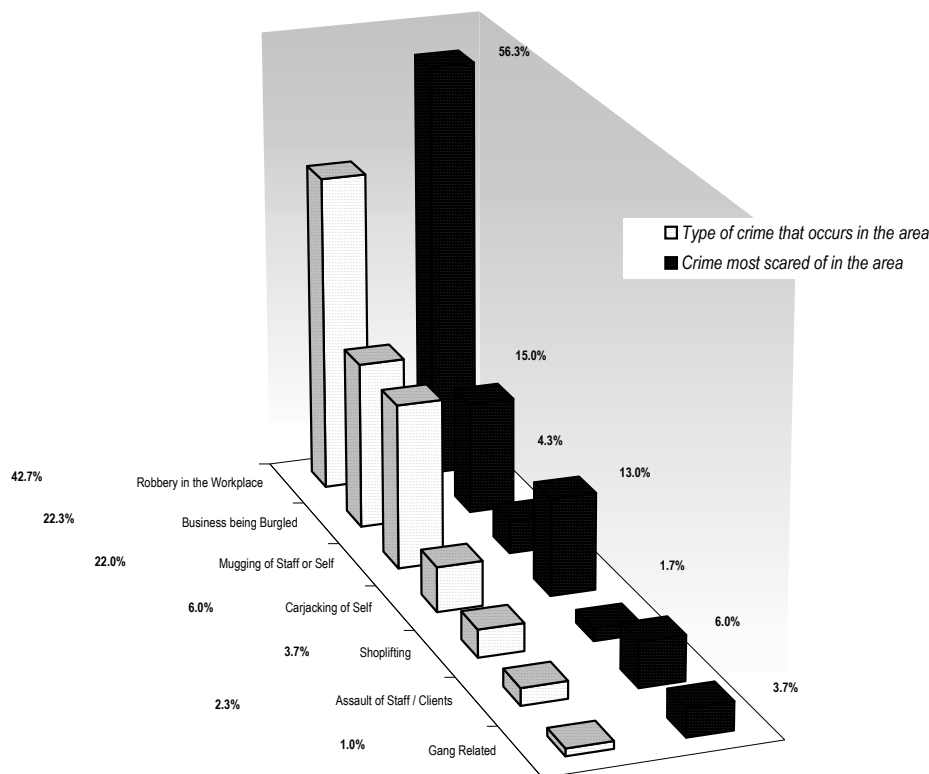


Two-thirds (67%) of all respondents felt that crime against the commercial sector had increased during the past year, whilst almost one-quarter (23.3%), thought that it had remained fairly steady at the same levels of the past few years. Only one-tenth (9.7%) felt that crime was on the decline.

As a result of this perceived increase the respondents were unanimous in their expression of constant worry, with 23.3% saying that they worried all the time and 31% worried often. A total of 42.7% worried from time to time, whilst only 3% either seldom worried or never at all.

In attempting to understand exactly what people worried about, the respondents were then asked which type of crime did they feel occurs most often in their area and which crime were they most scared of at the workplace.

Most frequent Business related Crime versus Most Feared Crime



From the above chart it is evident that there is a correlation between the types of crime that occurs mostly within the commercial sector and the type of crime most feared by people working there. Namely, robbery is considered to be the most frequent crime by 42.7% of the respondents interviewed and is feared by 56.3%. This is followed by the businesses being burgled and the staff being mugged – both 22.3%. However, whereas 15% of the respondents feared burglary most (predominantly amongst owners), only 4.3% feared being mugged. On the other hand, only 6% of all respondents felt that car-jacking was the most frequent crime, but more than double that amount, 13%, worried most about this crime. Shoplifting, assault of staff and gang related crime were also mentioned as being both typical of the area where they were located and also rated as the most feared crime amongst a minority of respondents.

When questioned as to whom they felt committed most crime in their precincts, almost three-quarters (73.9%) felt that there was no single entity. Of the rest, 17.7% were adamant that most crimes were committed by people outside their areas, whilst only 8.4% felt that they were committed internally. Interestingly, the respondents in the business sector were seven times more likely to think that insiders committed the crime than outsiders were. However, when correlated against the size of the firm, it was found that the larger the firm the more likely the opinion would be that favoured insider crime. These organisations were also located predominantly in the inner city.

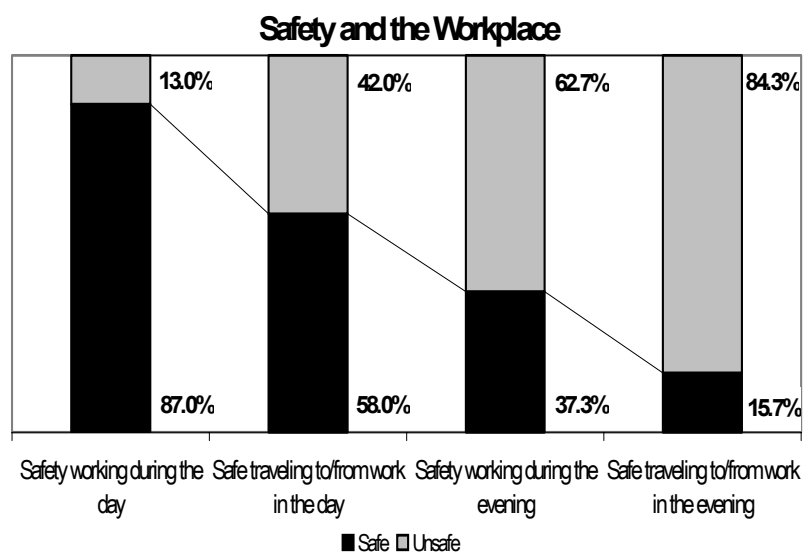
When asked to give their causes of why crimes were committed, almost half of all respondents (81.7%) said it was due to poverty, unemployment and an under-performing economy. A

small percentage - 10.3% blamed poor governance, whilst the balance offered a diverse set of opinions which amongst others included: a decline in societal and moral values, the lure of easy money, the rise of organised crime and an increase in refugees and foreigners into the country. Interestingly, unlike respondents in the other survey, only 0.03% of all the business sector respondent's noted laxity or corruption in the police force as a cause of crime against the business sector.

6.3.2 Issues of Safety

Following the set of questions on what crime was most feared amongst working people, respondents were asked a number of questions on safety issues and what security measures they might employ to increase their sense of feeling safer.

Largely, the vast majority of workers (87%) felt that their workplace was safe during the day, although a diminished number (58%) felt that travelling to and from their workplace was safe. A little less than two-thirds of all the respondents felt unsafe working during the evening and 84.7% felt unsafe travelling to work after dark. Interestingly,



the differences between men and women were marginal, with a fractionally higher percentage of women as opposed to men feeling unsafe during the day. As a consequence of feeling unsafe at work during the evenings, two-thirds of all the respondents (67.7%) did not work after dark, regardless of the circumstance.

In order to both reduce crime and allay feelings of safety and insecurity, just over four-fifths of all business installed special security locks and special window grills (81.3%) and employed a security guard (81.7%). A high fence or wall was found around 39.3% of all businesses, a burglar alarm at 36.3%, and armed response at 18% and an intercom at 14.3%. As a means of enhancing their safety, 6.3% of the respondents carry a weapon and 4.3% a firearm whilst on duty at work. In addition to this respondents mentioned the need to continuously be alert and proactively look out for crime.

6.3.3 Street Children

Finally, before completing this section, respondents were asked a number of questions relating to street children. These questions were similar to those asked for the previous

individual and household sample, except that they were related to the commercial rather than the ordinary citizen level.

Street Children and the Commercial Sector in Nairobi			
	Percent of crimes by street children in the area	Percent of crimes against business committed by children in Nairobi	Percent of street children who become criminals
None	48.5%	15.8%	1.0%
01% to 20%	44.8%	54.7%	10.0%
21% to 40%	4.0%	23.2%	14.4%
41% to 60%	2.0%	4.0%	22.1%
61% to 80%	0.3%	1.3%	33.1%
81%to 100%	0.3%	1.0%	19.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n=	299	298	299

From the table above, it can be noted that a small percentage of crime against business in the area where the respondent's enterprise is located is attributed to street children. This is perceived to rise when crime in other parts of Nairobi is considered and a much greater proportion of street children are thought of as criminals when compared to the proportion of overall crime that they are thought to have committed. Like the perceptions of respondents from the individual and household surveys, people in the commercial sector also hold an imbalanced set of perceptions on street children. They are believed to belong to a criminal class, and are believed to commit crimes, but when asked what proportions of these crimes are committed in the immediate environs of the respondents, most respondents find it difficult to make an appropriate correlation.

Regardless of the extent of the problem, respondents were asked their opinions to the solution of the street children problem. The vast majority – 83.7%, favoured a form of positive intervention, suggesting a policy that incorporated some form of rehabilitation, humanitarian assistance, the creation of special schools and vocational training centres and a strategy of employment creation. The rest who were reactionary in their approach strongly argued, amongst a variety of proposals, for a deliberate policy of forced removal and a focused strategy promoting restrictive legislation on child-birth.

6.4 COMMERCIAL BURGLARIES AND ROBBERIES

- ◆ 82% of burglaries are more likely to take place in the evening and 72.8% of robberies during the day.
- ◆ 76% of all burglaries resulted in the theft of stock or electronic goods - computers, printers, modems, calculators, etc.
- ◆ During 42% of all the burglaries and 86 of all robberies, either staff or staff and customers were present.
- ◆ Firearms were used in 70% of all robberies
- ◆ In 40% of all robberies an injury was sustained by customers, staff or owners.
- ◆ 50% of respondents claimed that police patrols occurred all the time
- ◆ 39% were emphatic that police effectiveness had decreased,
- ◆ 65% of people in the commercial sector say that between 50% and 100% of police officers are corrupt
- ◆ Successful apprehension of perpetrators was limited to 16% of all incidents.
- ◆ Only 4% of all the respondents were confident that any of the perpetrators still at large were likely to ever be arrested.

Both the results of the scan and the main survey show that where the commercial sector is concerned, there is a high incidence of both burglaries and robberies committed against them. In addition, the steering committee strongly suggested that this be the one area that the main study focuses on. As a result, 300 enterprises which had either experienced a burglary or robbery were asked a number of questions relating to their experience.

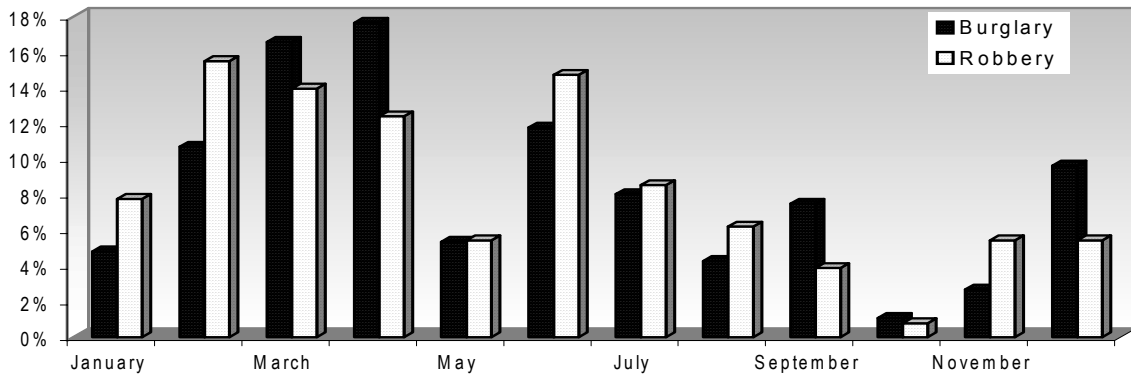
Of the 300 selected commercial enterprises, 9% had been both robbed and burgled during the year preceding the study, 36% had experienced at least one robbery and 55% at least one burglary.

In order to simplify the analyses, the results are treated collectively; however, in those sections where the issues are crime specific, namely where injuries occur, which can only happen during a robbery, they are analysed accordingly.

6.4.1 Time of Occurrence

A scan of the months in which both burglaries and robberies occur reveals a steady rise in the occurrences of both from October through to June, with only May showing a counter-trend. There would seem to be little difference between robbery and burglary trends, with the former peaking during February and the latter in April.

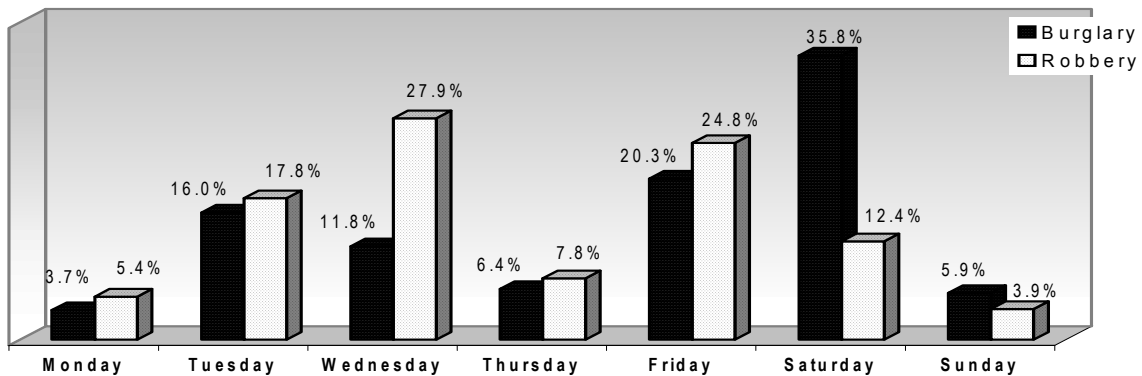
Commercial Robberies and Burglaries by Month



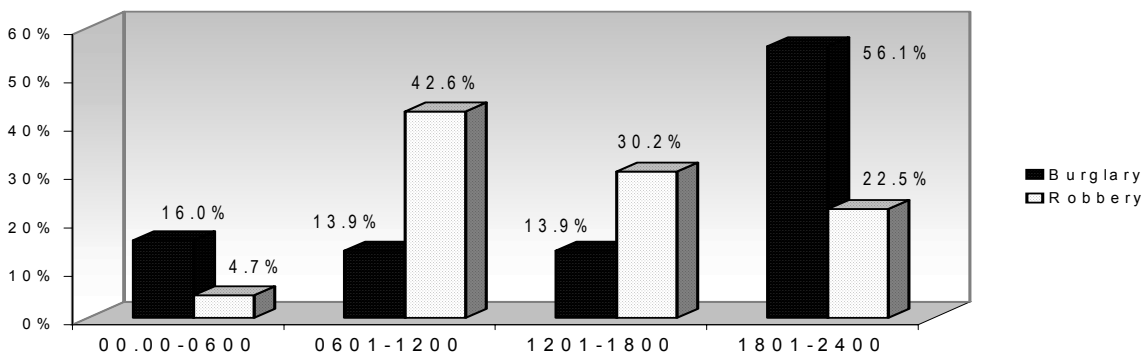
The following table shows burglaries and robberies by each month.

When the same trends are plotted across the days of the week, there are distinct differences between robberies and burglaries, with burglaries being highest during Saturdays and robberies peaking during the mid-week – on Wednesdays. This is illustrated in the following table. Combined, just over one-quarter (26.3%) are committed on Saturdays.

Commercial Robberies and Burglaries by Day of Week



The table below shows the times of the day that crimes are committed and here it can be seen, that burglaries are more likely to take place in the evening (82.1%) and robberies during the day (72.8%).



6.4.2 Circumstances in which the Crime Occurred

A fraction over three-quarters (76%) of all burglaries resulted in the theft of stock or electronic goods, like computers, printers, modems, calculators, etc. Money alone was stolen in 11.5% of the cases and money and goods in the rest. On the other hand, money is the main motivation of robbers, and was the only thing stolen in just over two-thirds (67.4%) of all robberies. Money was also stolen together with other items in 15.5% of all incidents, whilst in 17% of all robberies, only merchandise was removed.

During 42.2% of all the burglaries and 85.9% of all robberies, either staff or staff and customers were present. During the remaining 14.1% of all robberies, only management/owners and security guards were present. Violence was used in 67.4% of all robberies and the threat of violence in 24.4%, whilst during the remaining 8.1% of all cases, the robbers simply brandished their weapons and asked staff and customers to part with either merchandise, monies or both. It should be noted that in many instances personal property belonging to staff and customers was also taken during the robbery. Unfortunately this question was not explicitly asked, but qualitative responses would seem to suggest that this was “common”.

Firearms were the most common weapons used during robberies, and a combination of revolvers, shotguns and semiautomatic rifles were used in 69.9% of all robberies. Knives and machetes were the form of weapon used by robbers in 12% of all incidents, whilst axes, sticks or clubs were used in 7.6% of all robberies. In 4.4% of all the incidents the robbers used brute strength and in a similar number of robberies, the respondent was too afraid to identify the weapon used.

Respondents were asked to describe the reactions of victims and bystanders during the incident. These are documented in the table below.

Robbery - Reaction of ...	victims when incident was happening	bystanders when incident was happening	bystanders after incident happened
Shock – froze, did nothing	71.3%	64.6%	41.1%
Ran away	11.5%	14.2%	8.5%
Chased away or accosted the perpetrators	9.0%	8.7%	7.8%
Shouted for help/called police	5.7%	4.7%	11.6%
Ignored it	2.5%	1.6%	1.6%
Assisted me	N/A	6.3%	29.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n=	122	127	129

As is evidenced in the table above, fear was the over-riding emotion that gripped most of the victims (71.3%) and bystanders (64.6%), rendering them unable to react to the situation. Indeed, fear remained the most common emotion after the robbery was over.

6.4.3 The Perpetrators

Respondents were asked to recount the number of robbers that were present during the incident and on average most of the respondents claimed that there were six (5.9%). The median was five robbers, and in only 3.3% of the cases was there just one robber, in 4.1% two and 13% three robbers. Four robbers were responsible for 23.6% of all incidents, five for 15.4% and six for 25.2%. It should be noted however, that qualitative responses would seem to suggest that in many cases the respondents were not really sure and were estimating their responses. This was also found to be the case in similar surveys in South Africa and Tanzania.

In the overwhelming majority of cases (84.5%), the robbers were unknown to the respondents. Of the remainder of robberies, the perpetrators were known by name in only 4.7% and by sight in 10.9% of the cases. The vast majority of respondents (78.6%) described the robbers as smartly dressed men and in 3.6% of the cases as smartly dressed women. Masked gangsters made up 8.9 and shabbily dressed men 6.3% of the cases.

When questioned whether the offenders were under the influence of alcohol or drugs, 69.5% of the respondents were unable to give a response, but of those that could one-third or 7.6% of the total said that this was the case.

6.4.4 Degree of Injury and Type of Assistance Sought and Received

A total of 16.5% of all the respondents said that they had personally sustained an injury during the robbery and in 31% of the cases somebody else had sustained an injury. When correlating the two sets of injuries it was found that in 40.4% of all commercial enterprise robberies customers, staff or owners sustained an injury.

In 89.6% of all robberies, the respondents claimed that the victims suffered physical injuries and although some of these victims were also psychologically traumatised, a further 9.8% suffered from only psychological trauma. Medical help was sought in 95.3% of all cases where a physical injury was sustained and 57.1% where a psychological injury occurred.

Following the event, either burglary or robbery, all respondents were asked whom they turned to for assistance or comfort. Two-thirds (66.3%) of all respondents turned to the police with the balance turning largely to family, friends and neighbours. The type of help they received as opposed to the type of help they would have liked to receive is listed in the table below.

Type of support /help the business ...		
	... received	...would have liked to receive
Legal	45.7%	57.7%
Practical advice	27.9%	26.0%
Financial	14.9%	13.3%
Emotional	9.1%	1.7%
Other	2.5%	1.35
Total	100.0%	100.0%
n=	265	300

Unlike individual cases, what respondents generally sought and received was similar to what they would have liked to receive, with perhaps a little more legal assistance and less emotional support preferred.

Respondents were asked whether they felt that they had been deliberately victimised and thus might have known why their particular business was targeted. 19% said that they knew the reason to be the desire to have monies and merchandise stolen from them. Interestingly 10.7% said that someone known to them and motivated by jealousy maliciously committed the crime.

As a result of the crime, just over three-quarters (76.3%) of all the respondents said that they had changed their behaviour. For 65% this meant a modification of their daily conduct and for 15% a change in how money was kept, however, for 12.6% the change was more extreme and they either changed jobs or closed down the business. In only 6.1% of all the cases the tightening up of security measures, such as installing an alarm or employing a security guard followed the response to a burglary or robbery.

6.4.5 Perceptions of the Police

When listening to business people either during direct contact or through the press, talking about the police in Nairobi, the impression is given that their perceptions are overwhelmingly negative. With this in mind the survey set out to objectively measure these opinions.

The first question asked was the frequency at which the police patrolled the districts in which the businesses were located. Surprisingly, over half of respondents claimed that such patrols occurred all the time in 13.7% and often in 49.7% of all the cases. A further 27.7% said that patrols did take place but these were erratic and best described as sometimes. A minority 7.3% declared that they seldom patrolled the area and 1.7 claimed never.

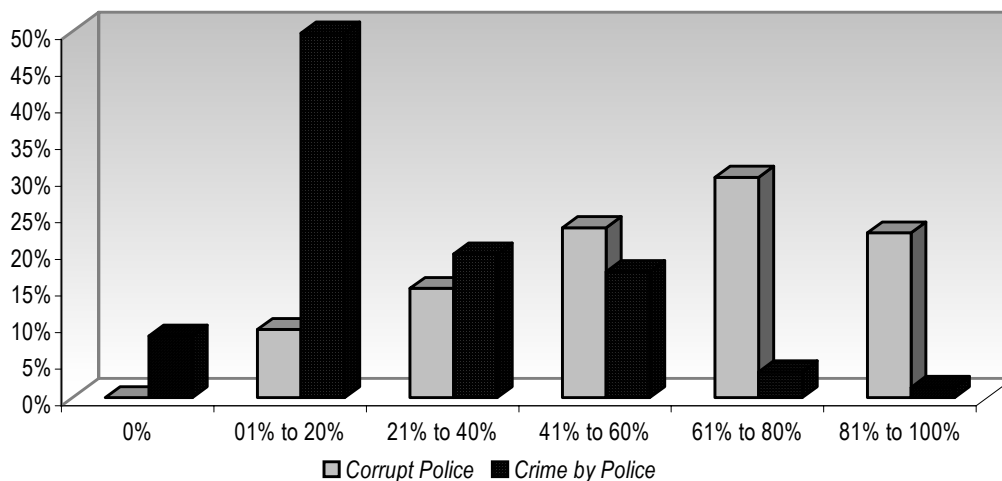
Police patrols however are not the same as police efficiency, and on being asked whether police might have changed during the 12 months preceding the survey 39.4% said that

nothing had happened. Of the rest 38.7% were emphatic that police effectiveness had deteriorated. However, 21.9% were equally vociferous in stating that they felt that the police had improved during this time period. This latter group felt that police had become more vigilant and better motivated since their packages had been improved. The majority of those who had noticed a decline in standards reasoned that this was primarily because of endemic corruption in the police force, as well as on an increasing trend of the police to collaborate with criminals. Political instability, general laxity and poor remuneration and equipment were other reasons given for the decline in standards.

Given that the issue of corruption in the police force was raised so often, respondents were asked their opinion on what percentage of the police force they felt was corrupt and what percentage of crimes were committed by the police.

The chart below shows that respondents think that on average more than half of the police force is corrupt, with 64.7% saying that between 50% and 100% of all police officers are corrupt. On the other hand however, the majority of respondents (58.2%) feel that police are responsible for less than 20% percent of all crimes. Nevertheless, 36.8% felt that police are responsible for between 21% and 60% of all crimes.

Perception of Corruption and of Crime Caused by Police



6.4.6 Police Response and Justice

Notwithstanding what was previously said, 100% of all criminal incidents involving robberies were reported to the police, as were 69.7% of all burglaries. Those burglaries that were not reported were usually dismissed as being minor, although some respondents claimed that it would have been a waste of time for the robbers would not have been identified anyway.

In those instances where the incident was reported to the police, satisfaction in the way that the matter was dealt with was limited to 46.2% of all cases. Police ineffectiveness and inefficiency were the overwhelming reasons given to justify their response, although exactly one-fifth of the respondents alluded to police corruption and complicity in the case. In addition

to reporting the incident to the police, 6.7% of all the respondents also sought the help of a private security firm, 3.1% of a vigilante group and 1.8% of the area chief.

Perceptions of justice are always difficult questions to deal with in surveys of such a nature, for pent up feelings of anger often tend to cloud issues at hand. Nevertheless, by traversing through a series of issues respondents often temper emotions in favour of a more rational approach. In this instance, questions on whether the stolen merchandise and/or monies were recovered were initially asked and then followed by a number of questions on the judicial system. In only 10.3% of all commercial robberies or burglaries is the stolen merchandise or money ever recovered. Successful insurance claims are limited to the bigger enterprises and still only 40.9% had experienced a successful claim, although at the time of the survey, a further 13.6% were still awaiting to find out where they stood in relation to their insurance company.

The successful apprehension of perpetrators was limited to 15.9% of all incidents, although in a further 9.3% it was too soon to dismiss capture just yet. In the cases where criminals were apprehended and the respondent knew who caught them, it was claimed that the police were responsible for 85.7% of all arrests, with the balance being effected by professional security firms.

Only 3.6% of all the respondents were confident that any of the perpetrators still at large were likely to be arrested in the future, 61.3% were unsure and 35.1% emphatic that there was no chance of any future arrest. This latter group felt that criminals were largely unidentifiable and that the police were inefficient. In a minority 6.7% of the cases, it was felt that the police themselves were the criminals, so that any talk of an imminent arrest was both futile and ludicrous.

For 46.2% of the cases, information as to what happened to those perpetrators that were arrested remains unknown and there is no notion whatsoever whether the perpetrators were charged in court or not. In only 24.4% of the cases did the respondent know that the arrestees were charged in court. In an almost equal amount of cases (23.5%), the respondents were sure of their response and also stated that the respondents were never charged in court. In a minority 5.9% of the cases, the alleged criminals were "punished elsewhere" after having been apprehended.

In those instances where the alleged perpetrators finally made it to court, 96.3% of all the respondents were satisfied with the outcome of the court action. This was regardless of the outcome, namely whether the alleged perpetrators were found guilty or not. The dissenting voices based their unhappiness on their perception that the alleged perpetrators had bribed their way out of the "system".

6.5 BRIBERY AND CORRUPTION IN THE COMMERCIAL SECTOR

- ◆ 28.6% of the sample reported that their business had been a victim to bribery in the past year.
- ◆ 90% of respondents said that an ethos of corruption and bribery prevailed throughout the sector.
- ◆ 78% said that it was necessary to bribe public sector officials if they needed something to be done.
- ◆ 60.3% of respondents felt that such bribery was the norm and they saw it as part of their business practice, almost as an additional tax that had to be paid to ensure the desired service.

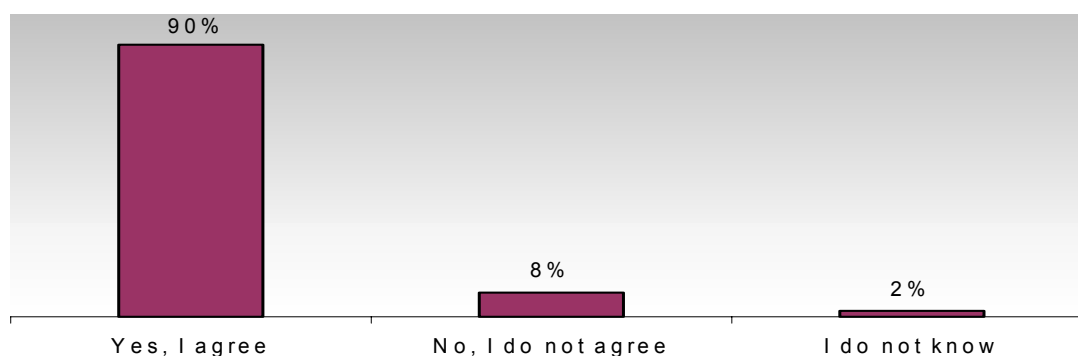
The topic of corruption in the commercial sector was only probed for during the scan, but emerged as a result of it and was requested for by the steering committee. Nevertheless some of the findings of the scan are noteworthy.

6.5.1 The Scan

During the scan respondents were asked whether their businesses had either been pressurised into making cash or in-kind pay-offs to individuals or organisations – ranging from organised crime through to state employees in order to enable the smooth functioning of their business. Furthermore, they asked whether there were ever any boycotts of their businesses the year preceding the survey. Nobody reported any boycotts, and therefore the results shown in the table (following) illustrate only incidents of actual bribery.

A total of 28.6% of the sample reported that their business had been a victim of bribery in the past year. Almost one-sixth (14.4%) of the entire sample stated that the business had been a victim of such a crime more than four times during this period. Bribery would appear to be particularly rife in the following areas where more than half of the businesses indicated that they had been victims of bribery more than four times during the past year. These areas are: Majengo, Bomas, Eastleigh South, Riruta, Embakasi, Garfani/Bondeni and Mukuru wa Njenga.

Is there Bribery in the Commercial Sector in Nairobi



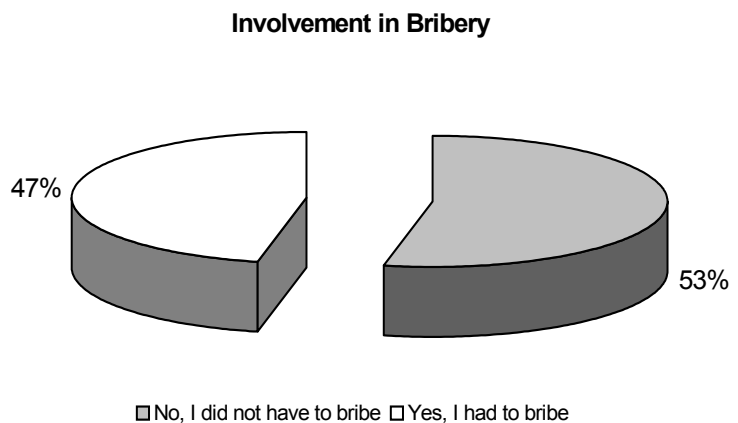
There were no clear trends in correlating bribery to the size of the enterprises, but the study showed that businesses in the service industry were slightly more likely to have been victims of a bribe (33.5%) than their counterparts in the production (29.2%) and retail (26.5%) sectors.

Furthermore, it was shown that the longer commercial enterprises operate from their current premises the more likely they are to be exposed to bribery.

6.5.2 The Main Survey

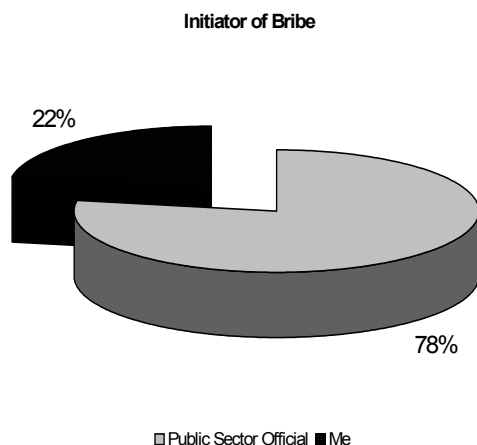
The discussion was initiated with a question as to whether bribery was an integral part of doing business in the commercial sector in Nairobi. From the following chart it is quite evident that the answer is an overwhelming yes. 90% of the respondents answered yes to this question and added that an ethos of corruption and bribery prevailed throughout the sector.

Respondents were then asked whether they had to bribe somebody in the public sector during the course of the last year in order to ensure that some business protocol took place or to ensure a favourable outcome to a business proposal.



A little under half (47%) of the respondents admitted to having been involved in a situation involving a bribe. The reason given by the overwhelming number of respondents was that this was a necessary procedure to follow if the normal course of a business transaction was to be effected. They claimed that they had no alternative (44.6%) but to enter into such an arrangement in order to ensure a faster service (43.2%).

In order to try to further understand how the bribe is initiated, respondents were asked who initiated the bribe, to which 78% said that it was the public sector official with whom they were dealing at the time. Sometimes it was said that the bribe was direct to the person involved or that it was being collected on behalf of somebody else or “others”. A public sector official was said to be a member of the local government or City Council in 48.3% of the cases, immigration department 14.5%, income tax or customs 11.7%, police 9.7%, electricity or telecommunications provider 9.7% and mix of others 6.2% of the cases.



The majority (60.3%) of respondents felt that such bribery was the norm and they saw it as part of their business practice, almost as an additional tax that had to be paid to ensure the desired service. The balance (39.7%) said that although bribery happened it was not normal and only occurred sometimes with ‘specific’ sectors. These were not detailed.

Respondents were also asked whether they ever had to bribe somebody else in the private sector. Here the response was an overwhelming no (93.7%). For those 18 cases where bribery took place, the vast majority was concerned with attempting to secure sub-contracts or in the building and construction sector. In this instance, 57.1% of the respondents claimed that they were the initiators of the bribe, which they made in order to ensure a faster service (50%) or because they felt that they had no other alternative (11.1%).

As with the public sector, exactly two-thirds of all the respondents felt that bribery was commonplace in commercial dealings between private sector participants. A total of 58.4 argued that they had considered “doing something” about corruption because it was “rampant”, “affected business growth”, “was immoral and evil” and it “exploited and oppressed” the business community. However none actually mentioned what precisely they intended to do. The remaining 41.6 were quite candid in their response by saying that bribery and corruption are normal so they would simply deal with it and with doing business as usual.

6.6 CONCLUSION – COMMERCIAL CRIMES

In concluding the questions to respondents in the commercial sector, they were asked what actions they felt were appropriate for the government to take, if they were to make Nairobi a safer place for business to operate in. Good governance in the form of tackling corruption was proposed by 28.7% of the respondents, to which a further 13.3% said that a better-motivated and remunerated police force would go a long way towards achieving this aim as well. The creation of employment opportunities was proposed by 29.6% of the respondents. A total of 13.3% said that the situation would improve if government had a better recruitment and staffing policies from within. Stiffer penalties for those found guilty of crime and the repatriation of refugees were just two of the punitive measures proposed by the respondents.

When asked what they could do to change the Nairobi commercial environment into a safer one, one-third exactly said nothing, whilst 26.6% said that better co-operation with the police would help. Involvement in community policing (9.1%), social responsibility programs (8.4%) and political lobbying (6.7%) were other actions proposed. A minority 5.4% felt that they could contribute to creating a safer environment by expanding their business and creating further work opportunities, to which a further 2.7% would do so by hiring additional private security.

CRIME IN NAIROBI



CHAPTER SEVEN: CRIME IN NAIROBI

7.1 SUMMARY

The UN-HABITAT Victimization Survey of Nairobi is the most comprehensive undertaken to date, being administered in two discrete phases over a four month period. Throughout the study over 10,500 ordinary residents of Nairobi contributed their effort by offering opinions and experiences to a number of different issues concerning safety and crime. This study is an interpretation of what they said about their city and unfortunately it is not an encouraging one.

7.1.1 Personal crimes

About 37% of all respondents have been victims of robbery and 22% victims of theft at least once during the previous year. Of the latter, 68% of victims of theft had also been robbed. About 18% of respondents had also been personally physically assaulted.

If trends simply remain at current levels during the course of the following year, 1 in 5 residents will be a victim of physical assault, a further 1 in 5 residents is likely to fall victim of snatching and 2 in 5 residents could be victims of robbery. In addition, during the following year, 1 in 4 women would be victim of physical, economic or emotional abuse and a further 1 in 4 women victim of sexual harassment. Furthermore, a little over 1 in 10 women would be sexually abused.

In the case of snatching, men are more likely to be victims than women, whilst almost 1 in every 10 people over the age of 60 is likely to get mugged three or more times every year. Almost two-thirds of all snatches occurred in the street and just over one-quarter on public transport. Men are also more likely than women to be victims of robbery, whilst physical assaults affect both equally. The inner city tops the list of areas where snatching is most common, but robberies and physical assaults are most likely to occur in low income areas.

There is also a pattern of abuse of various kinds against women. 17% felt that they had been sexually harassed either in the workplace or at a place of education whilst 14% also asserted that they had been sexually abused during the same time-period. Women either living alone or with family are more likely to be physically, economically, emotionally abused or sexually harassed than those residing only with one partner.

The majority (90%) of the respondents suggest that all personal crimes occur in the open when residents are in transit to and from work or school. Largely victims are alone when most incidents occur and in the instance of snatching and robbery, money was the item most often taken. Residents either residing or passing through low-income areas were more likely to be victims of physical assault than those in any other area of Nairobi. In two-thirds of all the cases the respondents were alone when the attack occurred. Physical strength was the most common weapon used against women and knives against men. Women were more likely to be attacked by fewer perpetrators than men whilst the respondent's partner or spouse comprised a little under half of all known perpetrators involving women. Half of all the

respondents felt that they had been attacked because they were either in the wrong place at the wrong time or by angry relatives or friends.

Most respondents are also most likely to be victims of snatching, robbery and hijacking whilst in transit from work or school. In the case of robbery, violence was used in two-thirds of all instances, whilst in contrast to other crimes, a significant number of offenders were said to have been under the influence of some substance. Nearly 40% of all victims were injured as a result of violence used in the robbery. In four-fifths of all the cases, the victims claimed behavioural changes in the aftermath of the incident. In 60 of all cases, bystanders watching the incident chose to ignore it.

A fraction over one-half of all victims did not report the incident to the police, whilst only one-fifth of all men and one-quarter of all women went to the police to report the crime. Overwhelmingly most victims felt there was need to support efforts, both by the state and non-governmental agencies, to improve the capacity of the police to address victims' cases, citing as their reasons inefficiency, lack of interest and suspected collusion with criminals. A few also expressed the need to speed up the reform of the criminal justice system. However, most are unaware whether the process even took place. Most victims get adequate emotional support and practical advice, but what most would have liked is legal support.

7.1.2 Property Crimes

A total of 29% of all respondents' homes had fallen victim to burglary. About 23% of all respondents households who had household or farm equipment on their properties, experienced theft during the same time period. A cross-tabulation of the data, reveals that many of these households were the same as those that were victims of home burglary. Livestock, vehicle parts and vehicle thefts affect 16%, 15% and 9% of all those that either own livestock or motorised vehicles, but impact on only 8%, 8% and 3%, respectively, of the total population.

Similarly to personal crimes, should the trend remain static, then 1 in 3 households in Nairobi is likely to be a victim of burglary during the next 12 months. Almost 1 in 10 houses would have household items stolen from their property, the same percentage would have livestock stolen, whilst 1 in 5 motor vehicle owners would have their vehicle or parts of it stolen.

Households located in formal high and low-income suburbs were more likely than those in other areas to fall victims of burglary. Clothing and linen on a washing line are the most likely items to be stolen that are unlikely to be insured. The type of livestock most likely to be stolen is poultry.

In three-quarters of all burglaries known to the respondents, the victims were at home and the burglar/s spotted. The respondents suggest that largely most security features are absolutely no deterrent to the home being burgled, with only those houses with burglar alarms and intercoms showing some resilience to burglaries.

Violence was used in 4 out of every 10 burglaries, the threat of violence in almost 2 out of 10, whilst in almost half of the cases where violence is used, an injury was reported. An average of five offenders took part in each burglary and in most cases, the offenders were unknown to the victims. Machetes, axes and wooden clubs were the weapons of choice for almost half, a gun in one-third and a knife in one-quarter of all the burglaries. 1 out of every 8 victims reported an injury inflicted on them, also claiming that in one-third of all incidents someone else was also injured.

Vehicle part thefts are most likely to happen in public parking lots and vehicle thefts most likely to occur outside a person's home – in the driveway, garage or garden. Two thirds of all burglaries were reported to the police but in only one-quarter of reports were the victims satisfied by the police response to the circumstances. Almost all car thefts were reported, as this is mandatory for insurance purposes.

7.1.3 Commercial Crimes

A total of 30% of all respondents in commercial enterprises revealed that they had been victims of burglary during the year preceding the survey. In addition, 29% admitted to having given a bribe in order to either do away with a problem or as part of their operational activities. Between 9% to 19% of all enterprises were victims of shoplifting, theft of goods being delivered or sent out as well as thefts from and assaults on employees and staff.

Two-thirds of all respondents felt that crime against the commercial sector had increased during the past year, whilst one-quarter of all business people and their employees worried about crime all the time and one-third thought about it often. As a means of enhancing their safety some business people carry firearms. Robberies against commercial enterprises located in informal settlements are more likely to occur than in any other area. Customers and staff of inner city commercial enterprises comprised nearly three-fifths of all assaults and half of all robberies. Almost half of all shoplifting was reported in inner city stores, as were just over half of all thefts involving loading and unloading.

Over four-fifths of all burglaries took place in the evening whilst three-quarters of all robberies occur during the day. In three-quarters of all burglaries, stock or electronic goods, like computers, printers, modems, and calculators were stolen. During 40% of all the burglaries and over 80% of all robberies, either staff or staff and customers were present. Firearms were used in almost 80% of all robberies, whilst an injury was sustained by customers, staff or owners in 40% of all cases.

Nearly 75% of all respondents reported that their business had been involved in bribery in the past year, with almost everybody claiming that an ethos of corruption and bribery prevailed throughout the commercial sector. Over three-quarters of the business people said that it was necessary to bribe public sector officials if they needed something to be done. Three-fifths of the respondents felt that such bribery was the norm and they saw it as part of their business practice, almost as an additional tax that had to be paid to ensure the desired service.

In concluding the questions to respondents in the commercial sector, they were asked what actions they felt were appropriate for the government to take, if they were to make Nairobi a safer place for business to operate. In line with current Government initiatives on tackling corruption, a little over 25% of the respondents supported efforts aimed at better governance, to which a further 11% said that a better-motivated and remunerated police force would go a long way towards achieving this aim as well. While supporting the ongoing civil service reform programme, respondents proposed tougher measures to stamp out nepotism and enforce equal opportunities in recruitment and staffing policies for civil servants. Stiffer penalties for those found guilty of crime and the repatriation of refugees were just two of the punitive measures proposed by the respondents.



When asked what they could do to change the Nairobi commercial environment into a safer one, one-third exactly said nothing could be done, whilst one-quarter felt that better co-operation with the police would help. A bundle of suggestions ranging from community policing to social responsibility programs to political lobbying were other actions proposed.

7.2 PERCEPTIONS OF SAFETY

The most common causes of crime given were identified by respondents as unemployment and poverty, although general idleness and the quick rewards that crime brings were also noted. A very small minority mentioned the increase in foreigners as the major cause of crime. Just over half of the all the residents of Nairobi worry about crime all the time, whilst a further one-third think of it sometimes. There was very little difference between men and women and across different age cohorts. Generally, people think that most crimes are caused by people within their neighbourhood.

About 75% of all respondents feel unsafe in their homes during the night and more than half feel unsafe during the day. Just under half consider that they live under siege and would avoid going out during the day unless it was absolutely necessary, whilst just under three-quarters feel the same about travelling and working after dark. The vast majority of residents would not go into the City Centre during the evening at all.

Nearly two-thirds of all respondents' link crime to the fact that they felt that during the past year the number of illegal firearms had increased. The vast majority of these respondents felt that these increases were due to smuggling from Somalia. To substantiate their claims a little over half of all the residents of Nairobi claim to regularly hear gunshots. Only a tiny fraction of all respondents admitted that occasionally they carried a firearm, but 10 acknowledge knowing a friend that owns a firearm. Most disturbing was the fact that one-third of all Nairobi's residents would own a firearm if they had the opportunity to acquire one.

On the police force, half of all respondents argue that although the terms of service and conditions of the police force are consistently reviewed by Government, efficiency levels of police service had worsened during the past few years. The overwhelming majority of respondents suggest that the police institution is one of the major casualties of bribery at the individual level, attributing one in three crimes either directly or indirectly to police officers.

Nearly two-thirds of all respondents argued for the need to set-up some form of assistance group to help people who are victims of crime. Just over one-third felt that complementary measures such as security guards or vigilante groups or simply setting up neighbourhood watches is essential to enhance community - police relations in addressing crime, for the police alone were incapable of dealing with crime.

The issue of street children is an emotional one in Nairobi, and it is not uncommon to find residents attributing a good proportion of crime to this group of Nairobi citizens. However, the portion of crime perceived to have occurred in the respondent's neighbourhoods bears very little resemblance to the kind of crime people think street children commit elsewhere. Generally, respondents felt that street children are not responsible for more than one-in-ten crimes in the neighbourhood. Yet they feel that street children may become the criminals of the future. Because of this, one-quarter of all respondents felt that the best solution to the problem of street children was to forcibly remove them from the city. This was however balanced by the views of the rest of the respondents who feel that positive interventions are possible and must be attempted if the street children problem is to be solved.

Almost all the respondents felt that that bribery has assumed alarming levels of acceptability among residents in Nairobi, with half admitting to having actively participated in some form of behaviour that might be classified under the broad category of bribery. Furthermore, nearly one-quarter of all residents felt that residents of the city are catalysing the culture of bribery among the police force, with just over 25% claiming to have in fact bribed a police officer during the past year.

While noting government efforts on the poverty reduction strategy, respondents emphasised the creation of employment opportunities and policies to reduce poverty should take precedence in government policy. However, when asked what they could do to fight crime, 20% of all respondents had never seriously thought about it, whilst just over 25% said that there was nothing they could do.

MAIN CONCLUSIONS



CHAPTER EIGHT: MAIN CONCLUSIONS

The victim survey raises the following four main points about crime and crime control in Nairobi:

Nairobi's crime profile, in terms of the types of crimes that are most prevalent, and the circumstances in which they occur, is similar to that of other cities surveyed using similar methodologies in Africa, namely in South Africa and Tanzania

Nairobi's crime profile resembles that of the major metropolitan areas in South Africa and Tanzania to the extent that the following crime types were prevalent in all the cities: robbery, burglary, theft, and assault. The main difference is that robbery – a violent crime - is the crime reported most often in Nairobi, whereas in the other cities burglary – a non-violent crime – was the most prevalent crime category recorded in the victimisation surveys.

This is an important indication of the extent to which violent crime is a problem in Nairobi. It suggests that rates of violent crime in Nairobi are more comparable to those in cities in South Africa than they are to those in Dar es Salaam. This is further illustrated by the fact that although car theft occurs far less often in Nairobi than in South African cities, levels of car hijacking (which is a violent means of stealing a car) were much higher in Nairobi than in South African cities surveyed.

Related to this is the trend for personal crimes and burglaries to occur most often on Fridays and Saturdays. In the case of burglaries, these are the days of the week when people are most likely to be at home. The presence of people in the home is usually considered a deterrent to would-be burglars. But the survey data suggests that in Nairobi, like in South Africa, this is not the case. This suggests a lack of concern among offenders about the justice system's ability to apprehend and punish them. Related to this, a culture of impunity could have developed, which creates an environment in which wanton violence is perpetrated against crime victims without concern for the consequences. This weakens the potential synergy between government and its citizens, thereby undermining the development of a culture of civic action in support of government efforts.

Other characteristics of Nairobi's crime profiles were similar to those recorded in the surveys mentioned above: men were more likely than women to be victims of robbery and 'snatching'. In the case of assault, the risk faced by men and women was more even.

As in the other cities surveyed, firearms tended not to be the weapons that most victims said were used against them when the crime was committed. Instead, it was more likely that blunt or sharp objects were used. Nevertheless, the perception among the public surveyed was that illegal firearms are linked to the increase in crime levels in Nairobi.

Reducing the availability of firearms should be a concern for crime reduction practitioners in Nairobi – not only because of public perception around the problem. More important are the

already high levels of violence in the city. If most of this violence is currently being perpetrated with knives and blunt objects, the impact of the violence is likely to escalate if firearms are used in future because the latter typically result in higher fatalities.

Compared to similar cities, crime levels are far higher in Nairobi.

The high level of violent crime recorded in Nairobi raise two issues for practitioners and decision-makers. On the one hand, these levels should encourage efforts in prioritising crime reduction on government's agenda and lobbying for support of crime prevention initiatives because of the social and economic costs of high crime levels. On the other hand, to the extent that these high levels of crime have come to be accepted as a way of life by the residents of Nairobi, the survey results suggest that a degree of social 'paralysis' may have set in, which limits the society's ability to participate in crime reduction initiatives.

A significant proportion of people in Nairobi believe there is 'nothing' they can do to help reduce crime in the city.

When asked what they could do to make Nairobi's commercial environment safer, one third of respondents in the commercial sector said 'nothing'. When asked what they could do to fight crime, one-fifth of all respondents said they had never seriously thought about it, and just over one-quarter said that there was nothing they could do. That most of those interviewed think crime is caused by poverty and unemployment no doubt adds to this 'paralysis'. International research strongly suggests that poverty is not a direct cause of crime. Crime is more a consequence of exclusion from social services, education, health care, governance and politics. The extent to which people feel valued, respected and recognised by society determines the extent to which they themselves value society in return. This situation requires government to take the lead in reducing these problems.

Similar trends were noted in the Victimisation Survey in Dar es Salaam where up to one quarter of respondents said there was nothing they could do to improve their safety in the city. In South Africa by comparison less people said there was nothing they could do to enhance safety. In that country, significant proportions said they could take precautions against crime and be more alert (30% said this in Pretoria for example). This suggests that knowledge about alternative means of preventing crime or changing behaviour to reduce risk of victimisation is limited in Nairobi compared to South Africa.

This presents enormous challenges to decision-makers. In order to succeed, 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 (both central provincial, and local) and civil society around crime prevention projects. This is particularly true in Nairobi where the survey showed high levels of distrust in official institutions, particularly towards the police. Without a partnership approach, it seems unlikely that the authorities alone will be in a position to

combat crime effectively. However, the survey suggests that few people know how to approach crime reduction themselves or, alternatively, that they believe that it is worth pursuing.

Broadly, the key crime problems that require attention from decision-makers and crime reduction practitioners in the city are violent crime and its social and institutional causes.

With respect to **social** causes, it is important to highlight social exclusion as an important cause of crime. Social exclusion has eroded moral values and broken down social support structures, such as the family and the community, generating groups at risk of falling into crime and violence.

With respect to **institutional** causes, it is necessary to mention that the criminal justice system has neither kept pace with the changes in society nor with the changing trends in criminality over time. There is a perception that:

- the criminal justice system is inadequately resourced, lacks adequate co-ordination and collaboration between responsible and relevant institutions such as central government, local government, police, prisons, courts, the corrective institutions, the schools, the communities and families,
- as far as youth delinquency is concerned, the criminal justice system mainly deals with poor children (i.e. street, abandoned or orphaned children) and therefore tends to disproportionately criminalise young people living in poverty,
- the criminal justice system in general and the police in particular tend not to prioritise the categories of crime regarded as important by the community.

The consequence has been the distancing of the criminal justice system from the citizens. This is shown in respondents' perception of police response to reported crimes in Nairobi. Central to improving levels of reporting to the police will be improving public perceptions of police integrity and accountability. Respondents mentioned that they suspected that police were colluding with criminals, and turned a blind eye to particular crimes.

The extent to which victims said they reported the crimes to the police are similar to those recorded in the other victim surveys. More specifically, reporting levels were low in the case of violent crimes, but high in the case of the more serious property crimes: most victims did report burglary and car theft for example. The reasons given for not reporting, such as that it is 'not worth it' are also like those recorded elsewhere. In victim surveys world-wide, the most common reason offered for not reporting an offence to the police is that it is 'not serious enough'. In both cases, victims do not believe that the police can assist them in dealing with the matter – either because there seems to be no chance of them resolving the crime, or because they do not believe that the police are competent enough to help them.

General public opinion in Nairobi (people that may or may not have had any contact with the police) follows a similar trend. Respondents believe that bribery is entrenched in the police

force to the extent that one in three crimes were attributed either directly or indirectly to the police. Just over 25 claimed to have bribed a police officer during the past year.

Of most concern is that respondents say bribery seems to have become not only part of the crime problem in Nairobi, but also part of “the solution”: the commercial crime respondents reported using bribes to reduce the risk of their premises being burgled. The ‘ethos’ of bribery prevails in the commercial sector to the extent that public sector officials need to be bribed in order to get something done. This is regarded as ‘part of their business practice’ – an additional tax required to obtain the desired service.

Given both crime rates and perceptions of police, it is not surprising that high levels of insecurity and fear of crime were reported in Nairobi. In this environment, it makes sense that just over 25% of respondents would suggest good governance in the form of tackling corruption as the strategy needed to improve safety in the city. A better-motivated and remunerated police force would go a long way towards achieving this aim as well.

8.1 THE WAY FORWARD: THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CRIME PREVENTION STRATEGY FOR THE CITY OF NAIROBI

In view of the above, it is clear that a crime prevention strategy needs to be elaborated for the city of Nairobi. It should aim at progressively developing a culture of prevention.

Building a culture of prevention requires time and a threefold consensus. Firstly, the inhabitants need to be convinced of the possibility of reducing crime and diminishing its causes through a prevention policy. Secondly, the feelings of insecurity need to be overcome, because they have a paralysing effect on society and they drive the public to focus solely on repression or to take justice into their own hands. Finally, the urban stakeholders need to be organised to adequately address crime, its causes and effects.

Governmental authorities, at central, provincial and city levels, need to develop long and short-term strategies involving many stakeholders and related action plans to address the causes and occurrences of urban crime. The long-term perspective of this partnership is to create a culture of prevention within the community. Ideally, this involves the creation of a prevention culture regarding crime, causes of crime, groups at risk and insecurity.

The success of prevention policies depends on the capacity to analyse crime and its causes without being paralysed by fear. Furthermore, it depends on the participation of the civil society, the criminal justice system, and the private sector, in the search for responses to crime and its causes.

In order to be credible, priorities should correspond with the most urgent problems, perceived by the population. In the case of Nairobi, the focus should be put on 3 main areas:

- Violent crime and its manifestations, resulting inter alia from the proliferation of arms trafficking

- Actions towards groups at risk, namely the issues of violence against women and youth in conflict with the law,
- Strengthening the capacities of the police and the local and provincial government to tackle crime effectively through training, innovative forms of policing and learning from international good practices.

The success of a crime prevention strategy relies on partnership. Partnership provides and assigns competencies and means. Secondly, it entrenches the crime prevention approach within civil society, thus ensuring sustainability. The partners should identify their capacities, ensure their public legitimacy (through involvement of community leaders for example), and strengthen their structures for efficient and effective collaboration.



HIJACKING AND MURDER



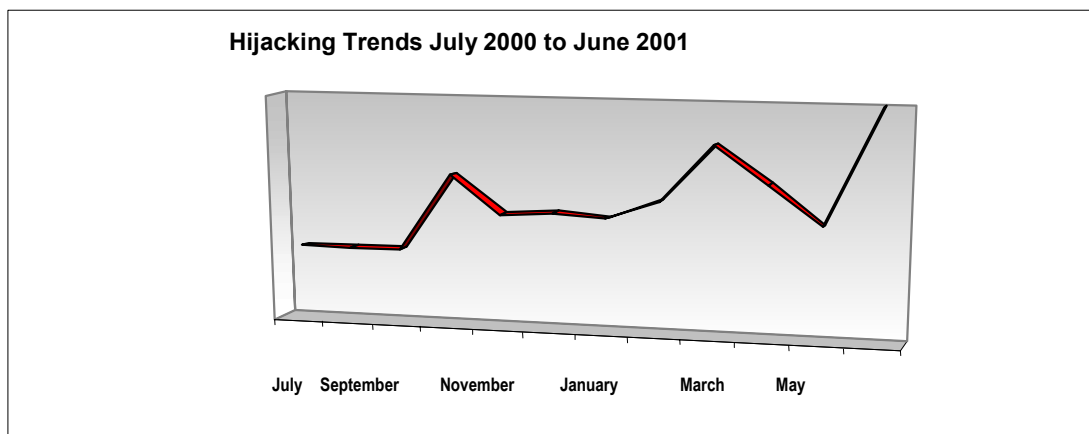
APPENDIX ONE: Hijacking and Murder

A1.1 HIJACKING

- ◆ 7.6% of all the respondents claimed that they had been a victim of a hijacking during the year preceding the survey.
- ◆ There is an increasing trend in this phenomenon.
- ◆ 55.3% of all the victims were passengers, of which one-quarter were travelling on public transport.
- ◆ 34.2% of all hijackings occurred immediately outside the driver's or passenger's home
- ◆ 41.9% of victims were hijacked when returning home from work as opposed to going to work – 6.8%.
- ◆ In 60.4% of the incidents, the victims were taken hostage.
- ◆ 10.8% of victims were raped after taken hostage.
- ◆ Most victims would have liked legal support.
- ◆ Following their hijacking, nearly two-thirds (65.5%) fitted safety “gadgets”, like alarms to their vehicles.
- ◆ 13.8% of the victims have stopped driving during the evening.

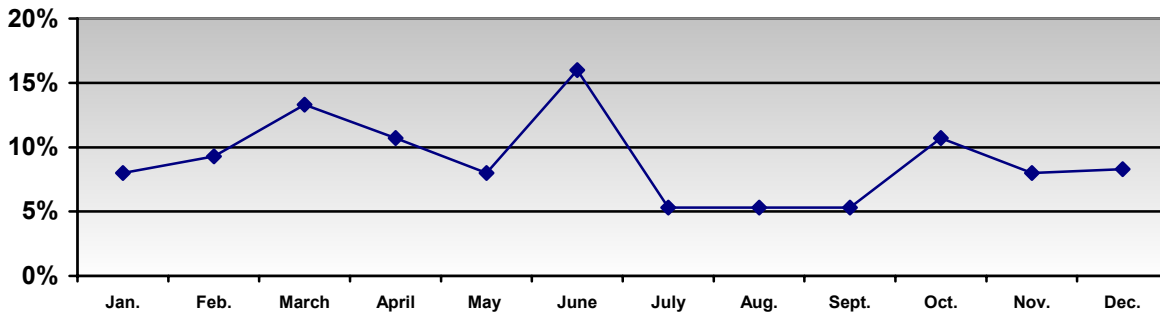
For the purposes of this study **(car-) hijacking implied that the vehicle was taken from the person using force or threat of force.** The person may have been either the driver, passenger or in the company of the owner and/or passengers standing by the vehicle, when the incident occurred. The vehicle being stolen may have been a private, company, government or public transport vehicle. Furthermore, the hijacking could relate to any family member residing with them in Nairobi and must have occurred within the city limits during the 12 months preceding the survey.

The results of the scan were unsatisfactory, for respondents exaggerated their claims resulting in figures that were absurdly high. This was mainly due to respondents misinterpreting “family” to include close friends and acquaintances, as well as in some cases, reporting third party hijackings of people to whom they had no relationship to. Special emphasis was given to ensuring that such a problem did not exist in the main survey.



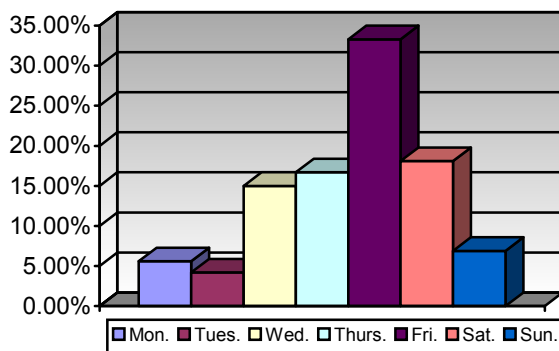
From the following three tables, it is apparent that there are no clear patterns as to whether hijackings rise and fall by different months. However, unlike other crimes that have been at play for much longer, hijacking is a recent phenomenon, and when viewed over a 12-month period beginning from July 2000 through to June 2001, then a very different picture emerges. The previous table shows a possible increasing trend in this phenomenon.

Hijacking Prevalence By Month

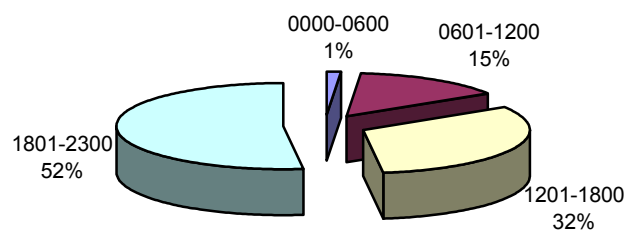


The tables below show the day of the week and the time of day when hijacking occurs. In terms of the day of the week, there is evidence of a steady rise from Tuesday through to Friday and then a decline back down to Monday.

Hijacking Prevalence by Days of the Week



Hijacking Prevalence By Time of Day



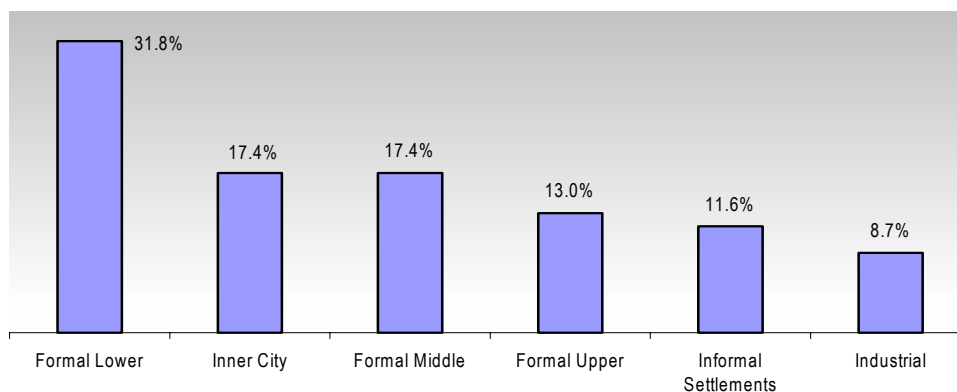
Likewise, a very clear increasing trend can be seen in hijackings throughout the day, rising from 1.3% during the six hour spell 0:00 to 06:00 up to 52% for the 18:00 to 24:00 period. It would be fair to say that the risk of being hijacked increases as the day evolves.

Just over half (55.3%) of all the victims were passengers, of which one-quarter were travelling on public transport. The balance were drivers of private vehicles, which were either theirs or their company's.

The place where most hijackings occur are immediately outside the drivers or passengers home – with 34.2% of all hijackings taking place in a driveway and 26 in a street outside the home. A further 19.2% occurred whilst the respondent was either parked or entering or alighting from the vehicle outside shops or offices, or when parked near “open” spaces – 4.1%. An insignificant 1.4% were hijacked from inside a public parking area, but a more significant 15.1% were hijacked whilst travelling on public transport.

The areas in which residents were most likely to be hijacked are formal lower income suburbs, followed by formal middle income suburbs and the inner city. The results are charted below:

Type of Area where Hijacking is Most Common



The largest single group of respondents (41.9%) to be hijacked were those returning home from work (later in the day as opposed to going to work – 6.8%), Furthermore, 14.9% and 13.5% respectively were hijacked whilst either going to or returning from shops or to school (university, etc.). The remainder were hijacked either whilst out visiting friends and relatives or the 15.1% who were on public transport.

The average number of hijackers was three, with 66.7% of all cases involving between three and four hijackers. The offenders were almost always male (96.1%), well dressed (91.1%), unknown to the respondent (93.2%) and in only 4.1% of the cases were described as being under the influence of either drugs or alcohol.

In just over half (54.7%) of all hijacking, the vehicle taken belonged to the owner, with the rest being equally owned by either a friend or the company for which the owner worked.

In 60.4% of the incidents, the victims were taken hostage. Just over one-third (35.1%) of all hostages were immediately released unharmed, 48.6% robbed prior to being released, 10.8% raped and then released and in 2.7% of the cases one or more hostages were killed.

A total of 43 of the 76 respondents, who were involved in a hijacking, could identify the vehicle they were in. These are listed in the table following:

Hijackings: Vehicles Involved	
Nissan Caravan 1999	4
Nissan Caravan 2000	4
Nissan Sunny 1997	4
Toyota Haiku 2000	4
Toyota Corolla	3
Isuzu Matatu	2
Nissan Sunny	2
Nissan Sunny 1995	2
Subaru Legacy 1998	2
Toyota Corolla 1974	2
Toyota Corolla 1990	2
Toyota Corolla 1995	2
Toyota Corolla 1996	2
Datsun Pickup 1996	1
Nissan Caravan 1998	1
Nissan Pickup 2000	1
Peugeot 504 1990	1
Peugeot 504 Saloon 1978	1
Peugeot Pickup 1998	1
Toyota Corolla 1978	1
Toyota Landcruiser	1
Total	43

Following the crime, victims received a variety of different types of help, of which legal was the most common (39.7%), followed by practical advice (23.5%) and emotional support (22.1%). Largely, more would have wanted legal support – 70%.

The hijacking was reported to the police in 90.5% of the cases (the rest being passenger cases on public transport) and in only 1.4% of the cases were there confirmed reports of an arrest. Only 10.4% of respondents that reported the hijacking believed the police would successfully apprehend the remaining hijackers. Nevertheless, 54.7% of the victims were satisfied by the manner in which the police dealt with the incident, which matches up with 54.7% of the cases in which the vehicle was recovered.

Two-thirds of all the respondents report a change in their behavioural patterns, claiming that they are less likely than previously to drive in the dark and that they were much more security conscious. Following their hijacking, nearly two-thirds (65.5%) fitted safety “gadgets”, like alarms to their vehicles, but for 13.8% the reaction was much more extreme, claiming that they

have either altogether stopped driving or drive only when necessary. A further 13.8% have stopped driving during the evening.

A1.2 MURDER

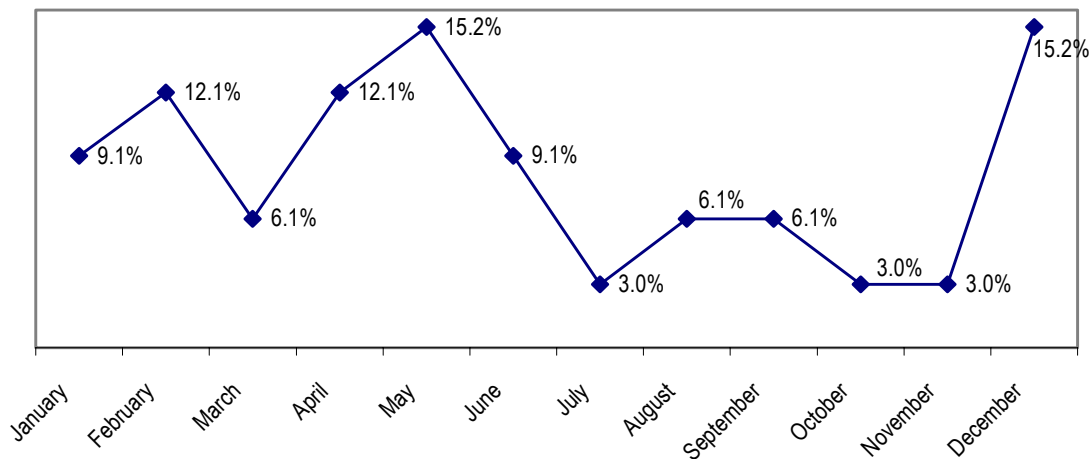
- ◆ 31.3% of all the victims were killed in their home
- ◆ Formal lower income suburbs account for 30.4% of all murders
- ◆ 66.6% of all the victims were shot and a fraction under 20% were strangled to death.

For this survey, respondents were asked to report whether any of their immediate family members residing with them in Nairobi, were murdered during the period July 2000 to June 2001. A total of 3.8% of all the respondents reported a murder of one (87.5%) or more (12.5%) family members who resided in Nairobi during the period June 2000 to July 2001. Because the database is only comprised of 38 respondents and 41 murders, the use of percentages in this section is limited only to those instances where the results illustrated an overwhelming trend. Instead, broad statements are made¹.

There was no specific age spread in which any significant proportion of the victims might have fallen in, but there was a strong gender bias, with 90.6 of all murder victims being male.

The following tables show the incidents by month and time.

Murder by Month

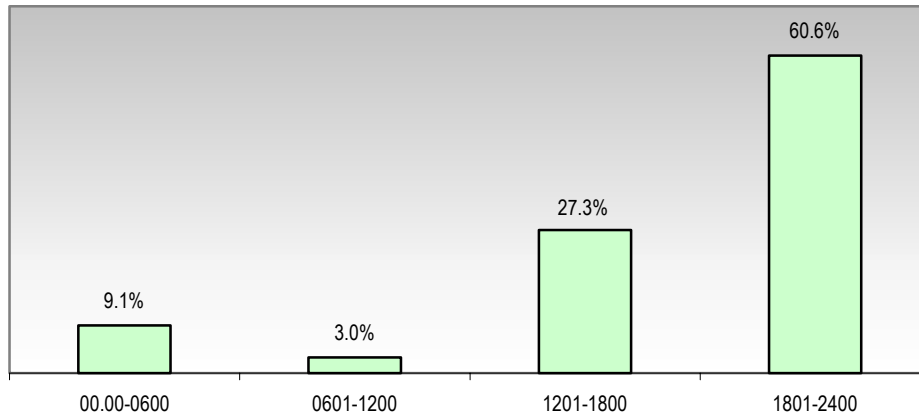


From the above table it can be seen that reported murders peaked during April-May and December, which coincided with the Easter and Christmas holidays.

¹ For this component of the study, the results of the scan were rejected, due to similar problems encountered in the hijacking module. It should be noted however, that utilising the same methodology in five previous surveys in South Africa and Tanzania has produced identical over-reporting in two of them.

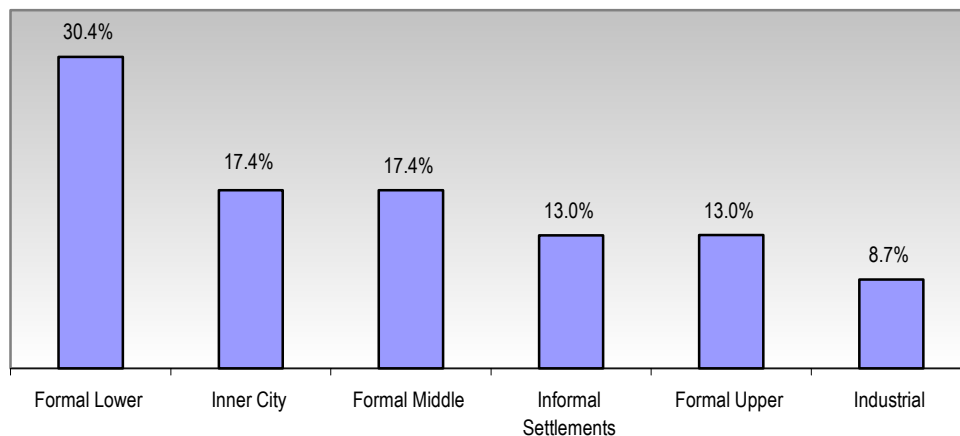
Like with most the other criminal incidents, murders peak over weekends and are much more likely to occur between 18:00 and 24:00 than at any other time of the day.

Murder by Time of Day



Almost one-third (31.3%) of all the victims were killed in their home, 18.8% each in the street or in an open place, 12.5% at a night club, with the rest in an assortment of different places. Formal lower income suburbs are where more murders occur than any other place in Nairobi, followed by formal middle income and inner city suburbs. This is shown in the table below.

Type of Area where Murder is Most Common



Exactly two-thirds of all the victims were shot and a fraction under one-fifth were strangled to death. Of the remaining murders, there were two stabbings/slashings and one poisoning. In just over half of all the murders, the victims were alone. In 70.4% of all the murders, theft was the major motive, with money and personal accessories having also been stolen. In one-fifth (21.2%) of all the cases were the perpetrators caught and one-third of these had led to a conviction in court. In one instance, mob justice was meted out to the perpetrator, who was killed.

DETAILED METHODOLOGY



APPENDIX 2: Detailed Methodology

A2.1 INTRODUCTION

The methodology employed in this study was developed following the Durban Victimization Survey in 1997 and first used in the Cape Town Victimization Survey in 1998. Such a methodology requires that a survey be administered over two distinct phases; it is rooted in the range of rapid assessment surveys which have during the past two decades become increasingly popular as methods of data collection for a number of social service sectors in developing countries. This is because of their low cost and short time from implementation to results. These surveys are generally directed towards generating sub-national estimates and are perfect for estimating trends at a city level.

Most experts on the subject conclude that rapid assessment surveys include five components that constitute a "rapid assessment method." They include: the cost of conducting the method which must be comparatively low (relative to other methods), and the rate of the feedback of results from the field must be fast. A short questionnaire, whether it is composed of closed or open questions and whether it is given to key informants, focus groups or to a probability sample of respondents, is essential. A reduced sample size (reduced from that expected under a more traditional sample survey) is often inherent in the spirit of rapid assessment. This is especially the case in those surveys that seek to generalise to the sub-national or city level^{vii}.

One important distinction must be made here between a sample survey and a rapid assessment survey. A sample survey is "a scientific study of an existing human population which attempts to acquire knowledge by observing the population as it naturally exists and making quantitative statements or estimates about aggregate population characteristics based on a scientifically selected, probability sample," Lessler and Kalsbeek^{viii}. The major criticism levelled at rapid assessment surveys is their inability to generalise most of the results to the region being surveyed. As such, although undoubtedly relevant in some areas, rapid assessment surveys have been of limited use for policy-makers who prefer harder data for most of their strategic decisions.

The success of rapid assessment surveys are rooted in the World Health Organisation establishment of their Expanded Programme of Immunisation (EPI) in 1974 as part of the movement to control the major vaccine-preventable diseases of childhood. To monitor progress towards these goals there was a clear need for a simple survey design to measure immunisation coverage in countries where routine administrative data were unreliable. It is a two-stage cluster design whose origins are based on a technique first used in the early 1960's by the USA for estimating coverage of smallpox immunisation. This has proved so successful that it is now used to measure the impacts of national immunisation programmes in many countries. This type of programme monitoring capability if provided through the conduct of periodic cluster surveys is especially important in developing country settings, where administrative records are often incomplete. In view of the rapid assessment's relative

simplicity and low cost, it is also used to measure the impacts of many developmental and service orientated programmes in developing countries.

Such a methodology is particularly effective if there are different and often multiple measurement objectives within individual studies; for example, the measurement of crime rates and victimisation prevalence and their shifts over time, as well as evaluating the success of police service delivery programmes. In order to ensure that the data gathered can be generalised to the region being studied, the Safer Cities South and East African Victimization surveys have had to adapt the methodology by introducing scanning survey to precede the main survey. The scanning survey is limited to asking a large number of respondents what crimes they have been victims of during a specified time period, and to identifying a number of the respondents demographic criteria. These demographic variables are then corroborated to the main study that is around 10% and extrapolated to the general population of the area being surveyed.

A2.2 THE SCAN

In order to enable the extrapolation of the data that is to be gathered in the main survey to the general population in the survey region, it is necessary to undertake a pre-survey, called a scan. The scan is the first step in the survey process, it aims to provide information on overall crime rates and to enable a selection process of only the most serious and prevalent crimes for further in depth surveying. This information allows the analyst the opportunity to develop a broad profile of the defined constituents, including some select demographic statistics such as age, gender, vocation and place of residence, work and/or study. This profile could then be matched to both the extent and rate of victimisation by different crime category, based on the identification of the ratio of victims to non-victims of different types of crime across all constituents.

With this information, a detailed analysis can identify both the type of victim and/or type of crime for which detailed information is required, and a regular victimisation survey can be implemented dealing with the victims of these crimes only. This is based on the idea that not all crime types will be prevalent in a particular area and that more detailed information will not therefore need to be gathered on these crimes.

In order for a scan to be successful it is necessary to ensure that the entire area in question is adequately covered, which means that each generic group of respondents needs to be regarded as a sample in its own right. In other words the entire scan is the composition of all generic categories of respondent's. In the case of the Nairobi Victimization Scan, which was carried out during April and May 2001, a total of 7,954 interviews were conducted amongst residents in 110 different localities throughout the city. A smaller survey of 667 employees or business owners was conducted at the same number of commercial enterprises at 64 different locations in Nairobi.

Respondents were randomly selected from all residents in Nairobi who were over the age of 17 years. Interviews were undertaken throughout the day and into the early evening on every day of the week. As such, the entire ambit of residents was covered. However, a sample as large as the one undertaken for the Nairobi Victimization Scan would be prohibitively expensive to administer unless interviews are carried out in the 'street' or in the open. As such, the interviews in Nairobi were administered at appropriate social and infrastructure nodal points, namely: shopping centres, transport localities, office blocks, etc. In some instances however, such as, with the elderly, infirm or institutionalised, it was necessary to conduct the interviews at their place of residence.

The findings of the Nairobi Victimization Scan were presented to a select group of interested parties, listed below, who debated the findings and advised the format that the research should use in the next phase.

A2.3 THE MAIN SURVEY

The main Nairobi Victimization Survey was divided into three components – individual residents, households and commercial enterprises, of which 1,000, 500 and 300 interviews respectively were completed. From the outset, it was essential that the sampling frame be clearly defined in order that the results be projected to the entire population of Nairobi. The sample design for the survey was a two-stage design involving the selection of a pre-determined primary sampling units or "clusters" (defined by identified spatial area or units), from which the desired number of subjects within a specific target group (defined by identified demographic variables) was chosen. Using data from the 1999 Census, Nairobi was divided into six spatial units: low-income informal and low-income formal settlements, mid-income and upper-income formal settlements, inner city and industrial/commercial districts.

A2.3.1 Individual Survey

For the individual sample a total of 25 clusters or primary sampling units were then selected through systematic random sampling with probability proportional to estimated size. Survey enumerators randomly selected a quota of 40 respondents in each cluster and administered a questionnaire to all respondents covering topics such as victimisation incidences to different crimes, the fear of crime, perceptions of safety, precautionary behaviour aimed at minimising exposure to crime, and opinions on: firearm controls, bribery and corruption and the police force. In addition those respondents who had been victims to any personal violations had specific modules (one for each violation) administered to them. Personal violations included, theft (purse snatching, pick-pocketing), robbery, assault, hijacking and murder. These were specifically chosen following the scan that determined them to be the most common personal violations in Nairobi. Due to the necessity of having trained councillors to undertake these types of interviews, topics such as rape, physical and sexual child abuse were omitted from the survey. However, a separate gender study was carried out during the same time, detailing physical and sexual abuse, as well as emotional or economic abuse, which were also omitted from this survey. The survey was carried out during June and July 2001.

A2.3.2 Household Survey

For the household survey a total of 25 primary clusters were selected in the same manner as for the individual survey and within each cluster 20 randomly selected households had interviews administered to them. Households in the cluster were noted and an interview interval chosen by dividing the total number of households within the cluster by the desired number of interviews per cluster - 20. The enumerators then randomly selected a household and used a calculated interval to move to the subsequent household.

The second stage sampling methods described above as quota sampling procedures, have some inherent problems that need to be noted. First, quota sampling does not ensure that every eligible member of the target population has a known, non-zero chance of being selected. Hence, the survey design, as it was applied, is not a true probability sample design. Since the theory of statistical inference does not apply to non-probability samples, the use of such a design precludes, strictly speaking, the calculation of standard errors based upon the sample data themselves. As a result, it is formally not possible to construct confidence limits around survey estimates or assess the extent to which observed changes in measured trends may be due to sampling error as opposed to actual changes, although this limitation can usually be overlooked.

A second problem concerns sampling weights. Where the measures of size for clusters in the sampling frame used to choose sample clusters are accurate (i.e. are equal to the actual cluster sizes), it can be shown mathematically that a two-stage cluster sample in which clusters are chosen at the first stage of sample selection with probability proportional to size and a fixed, equal number of sampling units chosen in each sample cluster will result in a self-weighting sample. That is, a sample in which all sample subjects have the identical overall probability of selection. However, given the reality of the situation measures of size in sampling frames will inevitably be inaccurate, not only due to potential census errors, but rather to changes in population size since the census was taken. Therefore, the application of the standard cluster survey method does not automatically result in a self-weighting sample. The survey data must be weighted in order to yield unbiased estimates. In conventional probability samples, this problem is addressed by applying sampling weights, which are equal to the reciprocals of the overall probabilities of selection, to the survey data. In order to put this survey design on a more solid probability footing, the quota sampling procedure often used in the second stage of sample selection in rapid assessment cluster surveys was replaced with a procedure consisting of randomly selecting a cluster of 20 households in each primary cluster and administering the interviewing to all households.

Like the individual survey, each household respondent was asked to complete a questionnaire detailing general crime and victimisation trends and then those who had property violated were administered specific modules pertaining to individual property crimes. The property crimes selected were determined by the reference group to whom the results of the scan were presented, and included: burglary, theft of crops and/or livestock from garden/fields, theft of farm equipment, theft of other movable property, theft of previously thought of immovable

property, theft of motor vehicle parts and theft of motor vehicles. The survey was carried out during June and July 2001.

A2.3.3 Commercial Survey

For the first time, in a Safer Cities victimisation survey, a component to the study was dedicated to the commercial sector. A total of 300 interviews were administered to a sample of commercial enterprises, stratified to include the manufacturing/production, services and retail sectors in 10 primary sampling clusters. The same selection criteria were used as with the household sector, except that in this case, quotas were applied to each cluster. A total of 100 interviews were administered in the Central Business District, 40 interviews in the Industrial Area and 20 interviews in each of 8 other selected areas in Nairobi. The enumerators were also instructed to ensure that at least 80 of all the respondents be owners or managers rather than staff.

The scan apart from covering a number of demography questions also asked entrepreneurs or their staff, how many times: they had their business burgled and been victim to shop-lifting, theft of goods whilst loading or unloading, credit card fraud and to bribery or boycotts. In addition, they were also asked how many times any client, staff member or themselves had ever been robbed, mugged or physically assaulted inside or just outside the premises. Burglary and robbery far outstripped the other crimes and therefore the questionnaire administered to this sample covered the same common general crime module as with the individual and household samples, as well as dedicated modules on burglary and robbery at commercial premises. This component of the survey was administered during July 2001.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS



GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Cluster	Group of research subjects
Commercial Crimes	Includes fraud, credit card violations, racketeering, theft and/or embezzling by staff, possession of stolen goods and shoplifting.
Economic abuse	Includes any coercive act or limitation placed on an individual that has adverse economic implications on the individual and his/her dependants. This includes not allowing an individual to work, forcing her to hand over all or part of her earnings, or drawing from her personal or a shared bank account without her knowledge or consent.
Emotional abuse	Determined to be any act associated with psychological, spiritual, and other forms of abuse that relate to an individual's sense of integrity, freedom of expression and well-being. Also includes acts such as withholding affection by a person in an intimate relationship, verbal attacks, constant belittling, controlling behaviour, insulting behaviour, and threats to harm the recipient, the childrens pets or belongings.
Hijacking	The forcable theft of a vehicle taken from the person using force or threat of force.
House breaking and burglary	An unlawful or forcible entry of a residential property with the intent to commit a felony.
Illegal entry	Breaking into a building with the intent to commit a felony or having committed a felony.
ISS	The Institute of Security Studies
Legislated Illegal activities	Includes such crimes as prostitution, illegal gaming and gambling, bail violations, drugs trafficking and possession of offensive weapons
Multiple measurement objectives	The use of the same data set to measure different data variables such as crime rates and victimisation prevalence and shifts over time.
Personal Violations	Crimes committed on individuals, which may or may not include the threat of or actual violence. Include, mugging, robbery, assault, murder,

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	personal larceny, purse snatching / pick-pocketing, abduction, kidnapping, physical child abuse and emotional or economic abuse.
Physical abuse	Considered to be any deliberate physical assault on an individual's body that harms the recipient in any way. It may or may not involve visible signs of injury. Among others, this may include kicking, hitting, slapping, choking, burning, stabbing and shooting the victim.
Physical assault	The victim is personally attacked or hurt in the incident. Weapons may have been used but no items were stolen.
Pilot survey	Mini versions of the main survey that precedes the latter and is aimed at ensuring that the appropriate methodology is being used and correct interview schedules have been structured.
Postal survey	A survey conducted by sending and receiving the interview schedule through the post.
Property Crimes	Include burglary, household larceny, theft of crops and/or livestock from garden/fields, theft of farm equipment, theft of movable property, theft of what would previously be thought of as immovable property, shoplifting, breaking and entering, malicious damage to property, vandalism, and arson and crimes committed against possessions, belongings, assets and estates.
Qualitative survey	A survey that seeks to collect information that would not later be tabulated into numbers, but rather analysed for its content.
Quantitative survey	A survey that seeks to collect data that would later be tabulated into numbers, for analysis.
Random selection	When every person in the universe has an equal probability of being chosen as a respondent.
Rapid assessment surveys	A "rapid assessment method" that incorporates a short questionnaire, composed of closed or open questions and given to key informants, focus groups or to a probability sample of respondents. A reduced sample size is often inherent in the spirit of rapid assessment.
Robbery	A criminal act where a threat of force or actual force was used to

NAIROBI VICTIMISATION SURVEY

	dispossess property belonging to somebody else.
Sample size	The total number of respondents that would be approached for inclusion into the survey.
Sample survey	A scientific study of an existing human population which attempts to acquire knowledge by observing the population as it naturally exists and making quantitative statements or estimates about aggregate population characteristics based on a scientifically selected, probability sample.
Sampling frame	The setting used to select respondents.
Sampling weights	Where the measures of size for clusters in the sampling frame used to choose sample clusters are accurate (i.e. are equal to the actual cluster sizes) and that it can be shown mathematically that in a two-stage cluster sample in which clusters are chosen at the first stage of sample selection with probability proportional to size and a fixed, equal number of sampling units chosen in each sample cluster will result in a self-weighting sample.
Secondary sample points	The actual respondents chosen from the primary sampling unit.
Selection bias	Choice of respondents is influence by pre-determined criteria.
Sex Offences	Include rape, attempted rape, indecent assault, defilement, other sexual offences including sexual harassment and child sexual abuse.
Sexual abuse	Any unwanted verbal or non-contact physical invasion of an individual's being that is sexual in nature. This ranges from suggesting and threatening lewd acts to denying natural entitlements (job placements or promotions) unless these traded for sex.
Sexual harassment	Any unwanted physical invasion of an individual's body that is sexual in nature. Ranges from touching and kissing, through to forced oral sex, rape and being forced to perform prostitution or bestial acts.
Snatching	The theft of any item from the person, where no threat or force was used. In some instance the crime was described as petty theft, mugging or stealing without force.

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Street children	Children and adolescents living at no fixed abode.
Theft of a vehicle or parts of a vehicle	No force (either implied or actual) was used against the respondent to steal the vehicle or vehicle parts.
Theft of farm equipment or livestock	The illegal removal of farm equipment or livestock from inside the premises or property of the respondent and not if it were left grazing in a field outside the boundaries of the city, being transported or stored elsewhere.
Universe	Apply usually to probability samples and happens as a result of calculating standard errors based upon the sample data itself. As a result, it is formally not possible to construct confidence limits around survey estimates or assess the extent to which observed changes in measured trends may be due to sampling error as opposed to actual changes, although this limitation can usually be overlooked.
Victimisation Scan	A survey that precedes the main survey aimed at providing a broad brush overview of the overall level of crime, and as such the type of crimes that different generic categories of people are likely to fall victim to. It also gives the victimisation ratio.
Vocation	A persons career, profession or occupation (job).

ⁱ Johannesburg and Durban (1997), Cape Town and Pretoria (1998), and Dar es Salaam (2000).

ⁱⁱ Clifford, W. (1976), "Urban Crime in Papua New Guinea," *Crime in Papua New Guinea*, ed. D. Biles, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra, Australia

ⁱⁱⁱ Woltring, H. (1995) International Crime (Victim) Survey, Developing Countries, UNICRI, Turin, Italy.

^{iv} This does not imply that prayer is not a positive response, for indeed given the spiritual and socio-psychological impact, such divine interventions may perhaps be far more far reaching impact on the lives of those effected by high crime rates and violence, than any mortal ones.

^v The 269 households were not randomly selected, but specifically chosen to represent a spatial and settlement mix of homes across Nairobi – see Section 1.3.4.

^{vi} Vehicles included: bicycles, motorbikes, motorcars, pick-ups, vans, trucks, busses, and tractors.

^{vii} Macintyre, K. (1995), The Case for Rapid Assessment Surveys for Family Planning Program Evaluation, Paper prepared for presentation at the Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America, in San Francisco, 1995. 04/03/95

^{viii} Lessler J.T. and W.D. Kalsbeek, (1992), *Non-Sampling Error in Surveys*, Wiley.

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