



**COMMUNITY POLICING AND CRIME REDUCTION IN INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS: A CASE OF KOROGOCHO SLUM,
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ABSTRACT

This study was undertaken to research on community policing and crime reduction in informal settlements with reference to Korogocho slums in Nairobi City County, Kenya. The specific objectives were to: find out the types of crimes and determine state security interventions in crime reduction. The study adopted a descriptive survey research design. The targeted population was 11090 households in Korogocho as well as key informants in the informal settlements. Simple random sampling technique was employed to select a sample of 384 heads of households from the population. Purposive sampling was utilised to select a sample of 3 key informants that were crucial to the study. Mixed methods (mainly quantitative and qualitative) were employed for data collection and analysis. Qualitative data was analysed thematically while quantitative data was analysed using descriptive statistics mainly frequencies and percentages. This was through the assistance of data analysis software (SPSS). Some of the key findings were that numerous crimes existed in Korogocho but stealing was experienced daily according to 58.5% of the respondents. The study also established that although there were state interventions in crime reductions only 2% and 12% of respondents rate the interventions as excellent and good respectively. Findings from this study were expected to contribute to policy, scholarly works on community policing and crime reduction.

Key Words: *Crime Types, State Security Intervention*

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INTRODUCTION

Community policing is expected to involve members of the community in policing activities with the expectation of reducing crime. Braga et al., (2015) notes that community policing is an old concept that has been implemented by most governments aimed at making policing more responsive to community needs and more important to effectively prevent crime. Besides, Gill et al., (2014) states that community policing has been adopted by concerned communities to address local dispute resolution needs and enforce behavioural norms of their members.

According to Sozer et al., (2013) community policing is emerging as a promising complementary approach to more traditional forms of policing. They point out that by bringing the police closer to the people and developing partner relations with citizens; such an approach restores trust between civilians and the police. In addition, it assists in gaining community support for police reforms especially in settings where the police services are perceived as brutal, corrupt and unaccountable.

Ellison and Pino (2012) and Green (2010a) have noted that within the field of socio-economic development, community policing has emerged as a popular government strategy among communities inhabiting crime prone areas aimed at restoring community confidence in the police, improve police responsiveness to crime and as a means to ensure adherence to human rights and professional standards. Sembojo, Silla and Musuguri (2016) assert that community policing is democracy in action. They explain that it requires the active participation of all stakeholders such as local government, civic, business leaders, public, private agencies, residents, churches, schools and hospitals. Equally, those who share a concern for the welfare of the neighbourhood should bear responsibility for safeguarding that welfare.

Elsewhere in South Africa according to Marius & Johan (2011) community policing emerged following high incidences of crime and international trends in community policing. Police management decided to experiment with community policing as an official response to the fact that traditional methods of policing, which depended on the police alone to maintain law and order, were not achieving the desired results. Steinberg (2004) reports that the police in the country are required by law to consult with local communities. He reports that the relationship between the police and the community has undergone considerable change including the police service being more accessible and closer to residents, in particular through the institution of Community Policing Forums (CPFs), and later through the extension of sector policing. However, Burger (2007) claims that experts' reports show that community policing has been a failure in South Africa. Some sceptics, including Altbeker (2007), view community policing as a model that is too all-embracing and unreliable for countries struggling with basic governance issues.

In Kenya, Kiprono & Karungari (2016) notes that in COP initiatives begun taking shape in the early 2000. This was the time when a blue print for policing termed "Policing in Democratic Societies" was adopted by Kenya (Bloom & Currie, 2001). COP initiative was implemented in Kenya in May 2001 through the establishment of COP units in Nairobi's Kibera slum, Ruai, Ziwani and Isiolo (Kiprono and Karungari, 2016). COP initiatives were rolled out by the then Commissioner of Police, Maj. General Hussein Ali and were aimed at incorporating local community members in ensuring secure neighbourhoods through crime prevention and control.

Through this model, security personnel under the leadership of police station commanders were required to form security groups comprising of police officers and civilians, but unfortunately these

initiatives faced numerous challenges. The Kenyan Constitution 2010 introduced many reforms, one being the reformation of the National Police Service and the integration of Community participation in security matters. It is against this background that this study sought to establish the effect of community policing on crime reduction in informal settlements in Kenya with specific reference to Korogocho slum in Nairobi City County.

Statement of the Problem

Following failure by conventional policing strategies to adequately address crime reduction, contemporary policing is gaining momentum in most parts of the world. One of such contemporary initiatives that has been adopted to deal with crime is community policing. However, Nadenge (2015) notes that today, despite the various initiatives including community policing programs that have been undertaken to reduce crime especially in the urban informal settlements, high poverty level and increasing crime rates have continued to adversely affect their lives.

A study by Oxfam (2009) opined that insecurity and violence are cited as the major problems that slum dwellers in Kenya face. Their report affirmed that two-thirds of residents in slums did not feel safe in their own neighbourhoods. Similar results yielded from a survey by World Bank (2010) carried out in Korogocho and Viwandani that affirmed that crime and violence were the most serious problems that they faced. In a bid to enhance security, several initiatives have been done by the government. Among the initiatives that forms interest in this study is community policing. In Kenya, Ruteere, (2011) argues that community policing was initiated by the Nairobi Central Business District Association (NCBDA) in collaboration with Kenya Institute of Administration (KIA), Safe world and the Ford Foundation. Kiprono (2007) explains that later, the government proceeded and established the National Community Policing Strategy in Ruai. In 2013, *nyumba kumi* was then adopted gazetted through a

presidential order of the President of Republic of Kenya. The initiative was meant to anchor community policing at the household level in a bid to achieve a safe and sustainable neighbourhood (Otieno and Mavole, 2017).

However, despite adoption of community policing and the *nyumba kumi* initiative, little impact had been seen as far as crime reduction is concerned especially in the informal settlements of Kenya. A study by Oketch & Mutisya (2012) shows that Korogocho is still ranked at number 48 out of 49 in the Nairobi locations' wealth index with its residents being afflicted by crime and as a result experiencing low socio-economic standards exemplified by high poverty, youth unemployment, school dropouts among other social indicators. It is in cognizance of these attendant depravities and vulnerabilities that exist in Korogocho slum, coupled with the fact that limited studies had been undertaken in the said area that this study sought to delve into community policing and crime reduction in informal settlements of Kenya with specific reference to Korogocho slum in Nairobi City County.

The purpose of the study was to examine Community policing and crime reduction in the informal settlements of Korogocho slum in Nairobi City County, Kenya. The specific objectives were:-

- Find out the types of crimes in Korogocho slum, Nairobi City County.
- Determine state security interventions in crime reduction in Korogocho slums, Nairobi City County.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Personal Construct Theory: The Personal Construct Theory was developed by Kelly (1967) and it presupposes that individuals actively interpret reality and guide their behaviour according to the kind of reality they construe. Criminal activities within the slum areas in Kenya are a reality, and different people look at it from different perspectives. It has been

argued by Odegi-Awoundo (1993) that crime as a deviant behaviour that is not considered a serious threat to group life can be tolerated. The second category of deviance involves behaviour that is perceived to threaten the group life and need to be punished. According to Quinney (1970), crime can be viewed as people's behaviour as perceived from other people's perspective. Crime can be viewed in terms of social construction. Sociologists have examined crime as a human construct. Its definition comes from individuals and social groups and involves a complex social and political process that extends over time. Individuals and groups create crime by making rules through two models, the consensus and conflict perspectives. According to Kelly (1967), personal constructs are retained only as long as they are believed to be accurate. This implies that when individuals get new information on a particular issue, they are likely to use that information to re-evaluate their constructs. Depending on the strength of the new information, individuals can retain their constructs or revise it. Going by this theory therefore, it is possible to change the constructs of the community to view any form of crime as a negative thing and instead adopt community policing as a new construct for their own benefits. If members of the community are educated on the concept of community policing and its accrued benefits, it is possible for them to adopt and maintain a cordial relationship with the security agencies in the spirit of community policing. It is therefore assumed that this case would apply in the Korogocho slums, Nairobi City County.

The Path Goal Theory: The Path Goal Theory of leader effectiveness or Path Goal Model was developed by House in 1971. The theory states that leaders' behaviour is contingent upon the satisfaction, motivation, and performance of his or her subordinates. The theory is based on the earlier work of Martin (1970) in which the leadership behaviour and followers' perceptions of the degree to

which following particular behaviour (path) will lead to a particular outcome (goal). The path-goal theory assumes that leaders are flexible and that they can change their style as situation require. The theory proposes two contingency variables such as environmental and followers' characteristics that moderate leader behaviour outcome relationship (House and Mitchell, 1975).

Environmental factors determine the type of behaviour required of a leader if the follower outcomes are to be maximised. The follower's characteristics are the locus of control, experience and perceived ability (Avolio et al., 2009). Effective leader clarifies the path to help their followers achieve goals and make the journey easier by reducing roadblocks and pitfalls. According to Northouse (2007) the theory is useful because it reminds leaders that their central purpose of a leader is to help subordinate define and reach their goals in an efficient manner. The main argument of the theory is that leaders can facilitate the task performance by showing their subordinate staff how good performance can be instrumental in shaping an organisation's growth. This theory points out that people are satisfied with their work and work hard if they believe that their work leads to things that are highly valued (Shin et al., 2014). This study would adopt such a view in reference to community policing as far as the security agencies' goal is in tandem with that of the community they serve which is to ensure a better and peaceful environment. Equally, that the security agencies portray a behaviour that inspires their community to collaborate with them.

Empirical Review

Common Types of Crime: Crime remains a challenge in all countries of the world regardless of whether developed or developing. However, developing countries and disorganised societies remain most vulnerable to crime. It is however important to note that even in any individual Country, crime is more prevalent, severe and acute in poor-urban informal

settlement areas that are popularly known as slums (SRIC, 2014).

Kimberly and Vaughn (2018) report that the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) classifies crime into two major categories. The first category is what they refer to as property crime that includes such crimes as: larceny-theft, burglary, motor vehicle theft and arson. On the other hand violent crime constitutes forcible rape, murder, robbery, and aggravated assault. A study done in four slums in Kenya by SRIC (2014) identified many forms of crime in the four slums. However, the study concluded that 84.9% of the cases of crimes reported in the slums were attributed to burglary/break-ins (10.7%) robbery (15.6%), mugging (23.2%) and theft (35.4%). They also asserted that the remaining 15% constituted of conning, pick-pocketing, murder and SGBV. In regard to frequency of crimes, Karuga (2014) noted that 33% of the crime occurred daily, 24% weekly and 18% monthly. Few but significant percentage of crime occurred every four months with a percentage of 9, and a percentage of 5 every 6 months while a percentage of 11 once a year.

Crime has mainly been attributed to the youth and has largely been linked to unemployment levels. For instance, a study by SRIC (2014) attributed crime in slum areas of Kenya mainly to youth unemployment, poverty and engagement of the youth in illicit brews and drug abuse. The study also highlighted the easy availability of arms and peer pressure as minor causes coupled by inadequate crime control by the police and the community, and also divisive politics. Similarly, Sana and Okombo (2012) pointed out that unemployment is posing a great risk to security and stability in the slums of Nairobi. They claim that youths took up to two years upon arriving in Nairobi to get employment. Thus, the idleness and need to meet basic needs become the push factor to crime. They affirm that even those who may be lucky to find some semblance of employment earn so little that

they occasionally engage in crime in order to supplement their meagre incomes.

State Security Intervention

Action aid (2013) and Casey (2010) state that there is a growing trend within communities to be involved in the fight against criminal enterprises due to the recognition that traditional methods of fighting crime are proving to be ineffective. Community policing is defined in part by efforts to develop partnerships with community members and civic organisations that represent many of them collectively. It requires that police engage with the public as they set priorities and develop their tactics. Effective community policing requires responsiveness to citizen input concerning both the needs of the community and the best ways by which the police can help meet those needs. It takes seriously the public's definition of its own problems. This is one reason why community policing is an organisational strategy but not a set of specific programs—how it looks in practice should vary considerably from place to place, in response to unique local situations and circumstances. Listening to the community can produce new policing priorities.

According to the U.S Department of Justice, Community Oriented Policing Services (2014), the concept of community policing is premised on three core components that support the principles underlying community-police relationships. These include community partnerships, problem solving and organisational transformation. It is critical that the community at large and the police come into the realisation that public safety and crime prevention is best achieved through collaborative efforts. Norman and Massoi (2010) have noted that the concept of community policing is premised on the idea that the police and the community have to work together to define and find solutions to a common problem.

METHODOLOGY

A descriptive survey research design was adopted for this study. The study was carried out in Korogocho slum, Nairobi City County in Kenya. According to Beguy et al., (2015), the population of Korogocho numbered 27,365 individuals living in 11,090 households by the year 2012. As such, the study focussed on 384 heads of households found within Korogocho slum selected from the villages. The study also targeted key informants that included the area chief, *nyumba kumi* initiative chairperson, and the police. Simple random sampling procedures were then applied to ensure that a proportionate sample size of 384 heads of households is proportionately distributed among the 11,090 households. Purposive sampling technique was also employed to select 3 key informants including the *nyumba kumi* initiative head, the Officer Commanding Korogocho police station (OCS) and the chief. The study used a questionnaire (structured and semi-structured) and a key informant interview guide in order to obtain the most accurate and valid responses from the sample that could be generalised to the entire population. The questionnaire was made user friendly for the respondents since many factors could affect the probability that a respondent would complete a questionnaire. Secondary data was collected through review of literature from libraries, on-line and off-line browsing of international journals and peer reviewed journals, reports and publications on community oriented policing and community development projects in Kenya and in other nations. These corroborated the information received from respondents and the key informants. The primary and secondary data enhanced formulation of useful recommendations of this study. The collected data was coded, edited and tabulated to ensure consistency and completeness. Data analysis involved establishment of categories, application of these categories to raw data through coding, and tabulation. Descriptive statistics were applied to analyse quantitative data which was done through

the assistance of a Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS).

RESULTS

Dominant Crimes in Korogocho Slums

The objective of the study was to find out the types of crimes in Korogocho slum, Nairobi City County. The research question to which response was made was: What are the types of crimes in Korogocho slum, Nairobi City County?

Information was sought from respondents on the types of crimes that are common in Korogocho slum. Respondents were to select from a list of crimes the one they thought to be most common. The study was able to establish a common trend in the types of crimes mentioned by respondents. The most common form of crime was stealing at 39% followed by mugging at 23%. Other forms of crime such as fraud and rape were not very common constituting only 1% and 2% respective. The results showed close resemblance to a UN Habitat victimization survey carried out in 2001. The survey established that 37 per cent of all respondents had been robbed in the 12 months preceding the survey, 22 per cent had experienced theft from their person, 18 per cent had experienced physical assault, and 29 per cent had experienced burglary on their property (UN Habitat, 2002).

Respondents were asked to identify who were mainly involved in crime between men, women and the youth. Information obtained from respondents established that 91% of youth were involved in most of the reported crimes while 6% were committed by men with only 3% of the crimes reported to have committed by women. These views were supported by the Officer Commanding Station who states, "Even school going children of 15 and 16 years were involved in crime including armed robberies." These results were in resonance with the findings of the report by SRIC (2014) that states that "90% of crimes in slum areas are committed by youth aged between

18 and 30 years.” It is attribute the youth involvement in crimes to idleness and high rates of unemployment. Also states that, “the youth find it difficult to avoid crime for survival.”

The study also sought to establish the frequency of crimes in the sampled area. Responses from household heads were analysed and presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Frequency of Crimes in Korogocho

Frequency of Crime	Freq.	%
Everyday	161	58.5
Weekly	73	26.5
Fortnightly	24	8.7
Monthly	12	4.4
Yearly	5	1.8
Total	275	100.0

Source: Field Data (2019).

From Table 1 above, majority of sampled household heads (58.5%, n=275) reported that crime happened on a daily basis in Korogocho while 26.5% said that crimes occurred weekly. 1.8% of respondents reported that crimes only happened once per year. This concurred with a research that was carried out in Mukuru slums by Karuga in 2014.

Respondents’ views on the concept of Community policing were that it was the collaboration between police and the community in combating crime. It was evident that the key informants, though they differed in their definitions, had an idea of community policing. However, 62% of the household heads did not attempt a definition of the concept of community policing. In addition, those who attempted to define it had vague ideas and others none at all. This

supported the findings of a study by Otieno and Mavole (2017) that pointed out that respondents for the study did not understand the structure of Community policing

State Security Intervention Strategies

The research question to which responses were sought was: What state security interventions for crime reduction are there in Korogocho slums, Nairobi City County?

In order to understand the community’s perception of how the state intervenes in providing security, respondents were asked whether they experienced crime before and whether they reported the same to the police. The responses were articulated in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Crime Reporting in Korogocho

Statement	Yes	%	No	%	Total
I have experienced crime in the past	202	73.5	73	26.5	275
I reported to the police	115	41.8	160	58.2	275

Source: Field Data (2019).

Table 2 above indicated that majority of the sampled residents (73.5%, n=275) had experienced crime in the past while only 26.5% had not. However, when the same residents were asked whether they had reported the said cases to the police, only 41.8% agreed to have reported while 58.2% said they had not reported.

Respondents were asked to express their opinion on why they failed to report crime to the police. The responses to this question were analysed and the results are captured. 36%) of the respondents reported to have failed to report cases to the police for fear of the police. Accordingly, 34% indicated that cases earlier reported had not being acted upon.

Surprisingly, 6% of the respondents did not report because the case did not involve them. The Officer Commanding Station affirmed these views by stating, *“There exists a strained relationship between my officers and members of the public which remains a great impediment to successful community policing.”*

Table 3: Interventions to Crime Reduction

STATEMENT	Large Extent		Small Extent	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
There are police patrols to ensure safety	125	45.5	150	54.5
The police are helpful when crime is reported	116	42.2	159	57.8
The police are well equipped to handle crime	81	29.5	194	70.5
The police involve residents in fighting crime	74	26.9	201	73.1
Police don't ask for bribes before responding to crime	55	20.0	220	80.0
The government has established many police stations	133	48.4	142	51.6

Source: Field Data (2019).

Table 3 above indicated that respondents only felt that the government's intervention was only on a small extent in most cases. For instance, when respondents were asked whether the government has equipped the police well enough to handle crime, 70.5% felt that this had only been done to a small extent. Most of all the other responses were also negatively skewed.

Sampled respondents were asked to rate the State's effort in security interventions for crime reduction. Results indicated that most of the respondents remained negative on efforts being done by the State in ensuring security of residents in Korogocho. 35% of respondents rated the government as poor while only 2% rated the State intervention measures as excellent. However, two key informants that is, the chief and the Officer Commanding Station remained non-committal, in rating the government. The chief for instance claimed that efforts had been made and strides achieved as far as provision of security was concerned. However, he did acknowledge the fact that there were challenges that efforts were being made to address them.

The study also identified some of the interventions by the State to ensure security and asked sampled household heads to identify the extent to which they had been implemented. The respondents' views were documented in Table 3.

CONCLUSIONS

In reference to the first objective, the study sought to find out the types of crimes in Korogocho slum, Nairobi City County. It established several forms of crimes that also range in magnitude and frequency of occurrence. For instance, petty crimes such as stealing (39%) were more frequent, happening daily and the more serious ones such as rape (2%) and murder (4%) happening weekly and monthly respectively. These views of this study were in tandem with that conducted by the Security Research and Information Centre (SRIC) 2014, regarding the range in magnitude of crimes and their frequency. The fact that the respondents identified the magnitude and frequency of the crimes, means that awareness has been created regarding what crimes are in their area. This therefore was the starting point for the Security agencies and the public to collaborate towards strategies that will assist in crime reduction.

The study sought to determine the state security interventions in crime reduction in Korogocho slums, Nairobi City County. In reference to this, the study made a conclusion that although respondents acknowledged some form of intervention and measures that have been implemented; the residents

of Korogocho still found them inadequate to guarantee them security. Responses on State interventions in crime reduction included doing patrols, equipping the police, establishing police stations were not well rated. For instance, the respondents rated the police intervention in crime reduction as poor with 70.5% of the respondents commenting that police were only equipped to deal with crime to a small extent. The respondents also highlight the underlying causes as to why the public is not actively engaged in community policing. The responses range from personal dissatisfaction in the way former reported crimes had been acted upon, fear of the police, or victimisation for reporting a crime or attack from the perpetrators. Some of findings tallied with those of a study by SRIC (2014), where the respondent from Mukuru, one of the slums in Kenya, attributed their lack of reporting of crimes to unjust justice system. Equally, they shared that the fear that if they report they can be attacked by a perpetrator of the crime. Also, the cited that they failed to report a crime to the police because of their unfriendly nature of police and also that it was impossible to recover lost goods even after alerting the police. This highlights the need for the security agencies and the residents of Korogocho to meet and come up with a strategic plan to reduce crime in their area. From these responses there was an indication that for community policing to be effective, the security agencies in Kenya have to package community policing differently than is currently done in order to earn the confidence of the citizens.

Based on the findings outlined, the following recommendations were:

- The security agencies in Korogocho should examine the most prevalent types of crime in

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order to deal with them first. The study established that the most common types of crimes in Korogocho involve simple stealing to muggings. The police should intensify patrols in areas where and when these are more prevalent which would reduce such incidences. The county government should also put up lighting in the slums to reduce incidences of mugging especially at night.

- The study established that government interventions were not adequate to ensure successful implementation of community policing. The recommendations therefore are that the government ensures that there is a clear framework for the operations of community policing initiatives. In line with this, the government should also ensure that proper funding is extended to community policing to make it sustainable. The funding should go towards purchasing, fuelling and maintaining police vehicles to enhance patrols and probably extend some token to security volunteers.

This study acknowledged that it was not an end in itself. Therefore recommended for further studies the following areas:

- Comparative studies should be done where community policing may have worked to ascertain what differences exist.
- Studies should also be conducted in rural areas since there are emerging serious forms of crime.
- Studies are also recommended to look into the role of the religious leaders and educational institutions in crime reduction.

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