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Crime Mitigation Strategies Utilised in Slum Areas of Nairobi, Kenya

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ABSTRACT

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The increase in urban population, occasioned by the rural-urban migration of young people has resulted in the expansion of informal settlements to accommodate the large numbers of low-income earners and the unemployed. This trend is replicated all across developing economies and in Kenya, it has resulted in the establishment of informal settlements such as Kangemi, Kawangware, Mathare, Mukuru, Korogocho, and Kibera, which is the largest in the whole continent. One of the negative implications of the growth of the informal settlement is the increase in criminal trends as most residents, particularly the youth resort to criminality as a way of making a living. In response, various strategies have been adopted to mitigate or rather prevent criminal activities in these informal settlements. This study focused on such strategies as used in four slums, which include Kibera, Mukuru, Mathare, and Korogocho. The study adopted the descriptive research design, which involved the collection and analysis of quantitative data using questionnaires. The data was collected from a sample of 659 residents of the four informal settlements who were randomly sampled. The data was input in the Statistical Package of Social Science (SPSS) and then analysed using the descriptive method whereby the data was presented on tables based on percentages. The study concluded that crime was a big problem for informal settlement residents. However, one of the most prevalent crimes included illicit brew, general robbery, muggings, and burglary. The residents claimed that the government was less concerned about resolving crime. The residents, however, acknowledged the significant role that they can play in solving crime in the slums and that community participation was critical in bringing on board all stakeholders. They have, therefore, organised themselves as communities to tackle crime and insecurity in their neighbourhood. Some of the crime prevention programs adopted include community policing, police patrols, vigilante groups, erecting gates and fences, village security committees, and the employment of night guards. The study recommended increased collaboration between state and non-state actors to combat crime in informal settlements and the enhancement of the existing community policing initiatives.

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INTRODUCTION

Crime occurs due to the intersection of three critical factors: desire, ability, and opportunity. Crime is better controlled with the use of effective crime mitigation strategy the higher chances of controlling or preventing high rates of crime (Wortley & Mazerolle, 2013). Fisher and Lab (2010) note that for each crime there is a competing and often contradictory justification for offender justification and victim. In the same vein, the legal, individual, and social responses to crime and victimisation are also influenced by various theories.

Micro-level crime prevention strategies normally focus on community-based, neighbourhood-oriented, offender-oriented, victim-oriented, and situational approaches to preventing crime. The prevention, therefore, involves the use of target hardening, education, access control, neighbourhood cohesiveness, or environmental design to address either specific or individual vulnerabilities in particular locations (Wortley & Mazerolle, 2013).

In this case, crime prevention is categorised as primary prevention that aims at reducing vulnerability at a particular location or for individuals or groups or addressing the perception of offenders regarding opportunities to prevent the occurrence of crime. The micro-level crime prevention also involves a secondary prevention

category that aims at reducing vulnerability on the potential crime locations or potential victims and addressing the community issues that encourage offenders to engage in criminal activities (Coomber et al., 2015). Besides, there is the tertiary prevention category which addresses the sites or individuals who have been victimised or deals with those offenders who have committed crimes in particular locations or within a community (Fisher & Lab, 2010).

The victim-oriented primary prevention approaches at the micro-level are aimed at preventing crime from occurring by reducing the target attractiveness or vulnerability. They include self-defence training, crime awareness programs, and residential security, which deters or reduces the vulnerability of specific locations or individuals (Wortley & Mazerolle, 2013). The offender-oriented primary prevention approach at the micro-level focuses on reducing the potential perception of the offenders to succeed in committing particular crimes (Fisher & Lab, 2010). They, therefore, involve any activities that make the targets less attractive to offenders or rather reduce the opportunity for the offenders to succeed. They include the presence of security personnel, additional people around the potential victim, or aggressive police patrols (Coomber et al., 2015).

The secondary prevention approaches at the micro-level aim at addressing the obvious or identified vulnerability by promoting awareness about the

crime to the potential victims. They also include the provision of training programs such as self-defence, rape awareness, home security service, promoting self-cash handling for businesses, and afterschool programs that are designed to address their known deficiencies that translate into criminal behaviour or delinquency (Fisher & Lab, 2010). They also include the provision of educational or recreational programs which provide alternative activities to the at-risk youths. Besides, they also encompass policies that are aimed at reducing the deleterious effects of poverty in some designated areas, neighbourhood crime watches, vocational and job training, and other community enhancement initiatives (Coomber et al., 2015).

The victim-based secondary prevention approaches at the micro-level are aimed at reducing the trauma of victimisation of individuals and reducing the potential for any further victimisation. They include child protection programs, domestic violence programs, crime mediation, financial aid for the enhancement of security, victim restitution and compensation programs, neighbourhood crime watches, and environmental design (Wortley & Mazerolle, 2013). Besides, the offender-based tertiary prevention approaches at the micro-level consist of restitution programs, restorative justice programs, counselling, community corrections, mandatory prosecutions, education and training programs. They also include any other correctional approach that aims at preventing individual offenders from becoming further involved in criminal activity (Fisher & Lab, 2010).

The mesa-level crime prevention strategies focus on potential crime targets and victims within the broader community level, suburbs, small cities, or rural counties. The strategies are adopted in areas that require prevention programs that are beyond the micro-level scope and could include areas such as public housing, shopping centres, sports arenas, and convention facilities (Coomber et al., 2015). In this case, programs such as police-community initiatives, civic awareness, community

development, and neighbourhood watch have become increasingly relevant (Fisher & Lab, 2010).

Notably, extensive planning and greater coordination are required to adequately use resources in addressing crime within complex larger facilities, involving expanded geographical areas and diverse political subdivisions among a large number of people. Therefore, the secondary prevention approaches at the mesa level are quite different as compared to that at the micro level. The mesa-level approaches entail greater coordination of programs that are designed to tackle issues that effects identified categories, institutions, and communities of people to reduce or eliminate the potential for criminal behaviour or victimisation to occur (Chui & Lo, 2013). However, the tertiary prevention approaches at the mesa level are similar to those at the micro-level though they put significant demand on the limited resources of the justice system and the victim support programs. This is evident considering the increased number of offences that can be captured within a larger jurisdiction (Coomber et al., 2015; Fisher & Lab, 2010).

The macro-level crime prevention aims at addressing individuals, groups, and locations within the largest cities, international settings, nations, states, or counties. Therefore, macro-level strategies are those that are adopted by large cities, nations, states, countries, or international organisations to reduce or prevent the occurrence of criminal activities or victimisation (Fisher & Lab, 2010; Wortley & Mazerolle, 2013). Notably, this study focused on the prevention strategies at the micro and mesa level as adopted in the slums within Nairobi city.

According to the National Crime Research Centre (2017), various strategies are used to prevent crime in Kenya. The most common among them include community policing and Nyumba Kumi [*Ten Houses*] initiatives; police patrols; community sensitisation; street lighting; civic education

programs; disarmament initiatives, and the punishment of offenders. The other strategies include community-based conflict resolution mechanisms; deployment of security officers; economic empowerment programs; establishment of recreational facilities and activities for engaging the youth; adoption of technology to curb or fight crime; religious advocacy against crime; and crime reporting mechanisms within the Police service.

Additionally, the improvement of the communication and transport infrastructure; resourcing of the National Police service; rehabilitation of offenders, and periodic transfer of police officers have also proved integral in terms of preventing crime. The report also indicated that some of the organisations that are involved in crime prevention include the National Police Service, the Office of the Director of Public Prosecution, the judiciary, Kenya Prison services, probation, and aftercare service, local community, civil society, and County government (National Crime Research Centre 2017).

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to examine the strategies used to mitigate crime in slum areas in Nairobi. The objectives of the study were to examine the types of crimes prevalent in the slum areas in Nairobi and establish the strategies used to mitigate crime in the slum areas in Nairobi.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Youth Support Programs

Extant literature has looked at the various mitigation strategies that are adopted in the informal settlements in the urban contexts in Kenya. For instance, according to Yiaile et al. (2017), the adoption of afterschool programs was quite effective when it comes to helping at-risk youth from engaging in criminogenic activities or behaviour. The afterschool programs are designed to include academic, recreational, and cultural

activities through which the youth are engaged within a supervised environment. The programs, therefore, provide the youth with alternative activities for their leisure time and have proved effective interventions for involvement in violent behaviour. In this way, rather than indulging in self-destructive, risky behaviour, or violent activities, the youth can develop their soft skills or academic skills and enhance positive relations with their peers through academic programs, recreational activities, and other sports. In most instances, the afterschool programs consist of academic assistance which includes language classes, tutoring, and homework assistance. They may also include leadership-building programs, volunteering programs, drug and alcohol prevention programs, life skills training programs, and community service programs. The other programs featured include computer training, cultural activities such as drama, music and arts, mentorship programs, and guiding and counselling. These programs are normally structured and provide the youth with multiple learning opportunities which have them to grow and develop physically, mentally, and emotionally. They have therefore proved effective in terms of dissuading the youth from engaging in criminal activities.

In their study, Kågesten et al. (2021) also established that empowerment programs provided to youth in the informal settlements in Nairobi contributed to the acquisition of positive behavioural changes that led to the prevention of engagement by youth in sexual violence. The study found that the programs helped both genders in different ways: girls were empowered to recognise and resist sexual assault through physical and verbal strategies such as exercising agency, negotiating sexual consent, and self-protection. On the other hand, boys were empowered with the consciousness to avoid engaging in risky behaviour and bowing to pressure from their peers. They were also dedicated to respecting and understanding consent. Through these programs, the self-confidence in girls was strengthened while the interventions also enhanced

the gender equality attitudes of the boys even as it boosted their positive life values. The success of these empowerment programs was attributed to interactive and relevant content that was delivered by skilled facilitators. The study however recommended the expansion of the curriculum to include additional content on sex and reproductive health and the rights of young people. They also recommended the engagement of out-of-school youth in the programs and to also include parents, teachers, and members of the community.

Mutua (2017) looked at the halfway house program that is used to rehabilitate neglected children in the Mukuru slum in Nairobi. The study found that the program was effective in empowering, reintegrating, and influencing behavioural change in the beneficiaries of the program. The program aimed to provide these street children with competencies that make them capable of desisting from engaging in delinquent behaviour and therefore, becoming a menace to the residents in the slum. The program adopted transformative strategies to engage with their children, targeting behavioural change and the development of their identity, knowledge, awareness, and independence. The provision of these competencies involved guiding and counselling sessions and also tutorial programs, which proved effective when it came to transforming the behaviour of the beneficiaries. The rehabilitation provided to the beneficiaries was intensive and included deliberate strategies that were aimed at giving the children guidance to become self-reliant and self-aware of the individual capabilities that may help them to cope with mainstream society. The training and education that was provided to these children and the street families were considered necessary for empowering them to engage in constructive economic activities and earn a decent living, and therefore dissuade them from becoming criminals.

In another study, Mutai et al. (2020) associated the high crime rates in Mukuru Kwa Njenga slums in Nairobi with the proliferation of drugs and

substance abuse, particularly among the youth. The study noted that high poverty levels and the lack of opportunity for the youth are some of the key factors that influence them to indulge in drug abuse and crime. The researchers observed that drinking alcohol was common among the adults living in Mukuru Kwa Njenga and this was occasioned by its availability since the households are congested and the selling points are quite numerous and easily accessible. The social conditions in this informal settlement have significant implications for the risk of substance use by the youth since they shape the social norms, influence the perception of substance use risks, force the patterns of social control, and influence the physiological and psychological stress responses. This, therefore, implies that the establishment of programs to help youth who are addicted to drugs and substances is critical when it comes to containing the rates of crime in informal settlements such as Mukuru Kwa Njenga. Therefore, the identification of vulnerable groups is critical when it comes to channelling and directing drug policy responses to these groups or the geographical areas where they are located.

Community Policing

Kiprono (2007) established that community policing had been broadly adopted in the informal settlements in Kenya as one of the major strategies for combating crime and insecurity. The study pointed out that the implementation of community policing in Kenya was adopted in May 2001 when community policing units were set up in Isiolo, Ziwani, Ruai, and Kibera. The implementation involved the collaboration of the Kenya Police Service, the Nairobi Central Business Association, and the UN-Habitat Safe-World.

The experimentation of the concept in these areas, and more particularly, the Kibera informal settlement has played a critical role in the development of urban best models for community policing. They have provided invaluable experience and knowledge that has informed the subsequent

setting up and implementation of community policing programs in Kenya at large. Community policing programs have facilitated the partnership between the police and the public in the enforcement of law and order in the areas where the programs have been established. In particular, the police have had the opportunity of boosting their trust in the communities that they serve, a factor that has increased the sharing of information between the police and the public, which is vital when it comes to combating and preventing crime (Kiprono, 2007).

Adhiambo (2017) found that community policing has been in operation in the Kibera slum since 2001 and that it involves collaboration between community members, civil society members, and the police. It involves training to equip community members and steering committees with an understanding of the principles and practices of community policing. The study also found that despite efforts to sensitise community members regarding community policing, there are still low levels of understanding of the concept among the Kibera residents. In particular, the study established that community policing is helpful in educating youth about the significance of refraining from criminogenic behaviour, thereby enhancing the security and safety of both individuals and communities. Community policing also helps community members to watch out for one another thereby reducing the fear of crime or victimisation. Therefore, community policing improves information sharing about crime and the confidence of community members regarding their safety and security. However, despite the sensitisation of community members regarding community policing in the slum, there is little evidence indicating that it has helped to prevent crime associated with sexual and gender-based violence.

Ogutu et al. (2017) also found that as a crime and security intervention, community policing focuses on Supporting problem-solving approaches which involve the partnership between the police and

community members in terms of addressing the causes and reducing the fears of crime and social disorder. The success of community policing is underpinned by its promotion of informal interaction between the police and members of the community and through the formation of informal groups that protect the community members. The major objectives of community policing in Kenya have included the promotion of long-term conditions that support community safety and development and the building of the capacity of the local enforcement institutions and communities to coordinate and implement community policing. Furthermore, community policing has also aimed at enhancing partnership and corporation between the police and members of the public in the process of promoting safety, peace, and democratic policing.

In the long run, community policing has resulted in the improvement of trust between the police and the community members. Besides, it has also resulted in the development of linkages between the key stakeholders within the community which has proved critical in curbing crime and insecurity. Some of the key activities that characterise community policing include neighbourhood security meetings, police patrols, community-police meetings, cooperation between the community with police reservists, and public campaigns regarding community policing (Ogutu et al. 2017).

Economic Empowerment Program

Adino (2010) established that violence was one of the major challenges for the residents of the Mathare slum and would continue to negatively impact their lives if it was not contained effectively. The study noted that violence in Mathare slums is manifest in various activities including individual confrontations at residential and public places, organised gangs that attack and murder people, grabbing of property and rape, zoning of the residential places, and forceful eviction of tenants from their houses. The study also established that effective containment of violence in the informal

sector would entail initiatives that address the predictors of violence such as economic deprivation. This manifests in terms of low-income earners among the residents, high levels of unemployment among the youth, with a significant number of youth being underemployed or rather engaged in the informal sector of the economy. This makes it imperative for stakeholders to come up with economic empowerment programs for the slum residents, which include educational opportunities for the youth to learn relevant, marketable skills and provision of loans to small businesses, which is accompanied by business training for the business operators. This will ensure that the knowledge and resource gap that the residents manifest is adequately addressed to the extent that they are equipped to better their economic prospects.

There are instances where informal means of crime prevention have become the norm in informal settlements. Mutahi (2011) found that the residents in Mathare and Kibera slums partner with gangs who protect them at a fee from victimisation by criminals. In particular, the residents prefer to hand over suspected criminals to the gangs which makes it increasingly difficult for the suspect to take revenge against them. They trust the gangs to keep the identity of the witnesses confidential, unlike the police who may inadvertently reveal the name of the witnesses during the investigation or even at a fee if bribed by the suspects.

Mutahi (2011) also found that the residents have a high level of mistrust of the police, which is attributed to the high level of corruption whereby the police received bribes to stop pursuing a particular criminal case, thereby endangering community members to further victimisation by the same criminals. This loss of public trust in the police by the public has left gangs as one of the most effective ways that the residents in these informal settlements can handle crying in the long run. While the gangs are swift when it comes to resolving criminal cases, it is worth noting, however, that the

methodologies that they use to resolve these conflicts are often violent.

Murefu et al. (2019) established that state interventions regarding crime prevention in the Korogocho slum in Nairobi included establishing police stations in the area, equipping the police, and conducting police patrols. The study found that the residents of the Korogocho slum were not actively engaged in community policing, and this was due to factors such as the failure of police to respond to reported crimes, further victimisation by perpetrators for reporting crimes, and the fear of the police. The study concluded that government intervention in the Korogocho slum was inadequate to ensure the successful establishment of community policing and therefore recommended a clear framework for operationalising community policing initiatives in the informal settlement. This could be achievable with the provision of adequate funding and equipping of the police officers dispatched in the area.

Mwangangi et al. (2020) looked at the role that the Nyumba Kumi initiative plays in crime prevention in the Kiambu slum in Nairobi County. The findings indicated that the Nyumba Kumi initiative has significantly hacked into crime reduction within the Kiambiu slum. Notably, through the initiative, the slum has witnessed increased street lighting and police patrols in the neighbourhood. The findings also indicated that household meetings and neighbourhood watch were significant in preventing criminal activities in the informal settlement. Additionally, through the initiative, the community members were able to effectively share information and conduct pre-emptive arrests of suspected criminals. The study however recommended more engagement by the police who were perceived to be quite reactive to crime. Besides, the study also recommended the provision of technologies for intelligence to the police for the purpose of intelligence analysis of crime patterns and trends in informal settlements.

In another study, Thuku (2021) established that the involvement of non-state actors in community policing at the Mlango Kubwa informal settlement in Nairobi County involved collaboration with the community members and formulation of plans or strategies for community policing. Besides, non-state actors also engaged in the sensitisation of community members regarding community policing and coordinating community policing activities. However, these community policing practices were moderately adopted at the informal settlement and were therefore moderately effective when it comes to preventing crime.

Thuku (2021) found that community policing engaged most residents and local non-governmental organisations even though the government spearheaded community policing activities in the informal settlement. It also involved the adoption of strategies for reporting offenders in the community and police patrols on the beat. The ineffectiveness of the community policing intervention was attributed to the lack of training of participants. The initiative is also dogged by a lack of cooperation and trust among the community members and the inadequate resources that are required by the police and community members to achieve the objectives of community policing. The study, therefore, proposed enhanced government intervention through the increment of effective resources which would serve as an incentive for interested stakeholders to contribute towards crime reduction in the informal settlement.

Crime Data Banks

Kipyatich (2021) found that various strategies could be used to mitigate crime in informal settlements. One of them includes conducting a demographic analysis to assess the vulnerability of the residents, which keeps varying from one group to another as this provides insight for coming up with proper programs for helping the targeted people. More particularly, programs should be developed to address the at-risk youth considering that prison

convictions in Kenya largely affect persons aged between 16 to 25 years. The police can also adopt the use of geographical data banks and analytical mapping to analyse and evaluate programs that have been established to combat crime. These tools are effective when it comes to understanding crime trends within specific locations and time frames and therefore, identify crime hotspots that should be the focus of prevention programs. The accurate short-term forecasting of crime trends helps the police to adopt tactical actions by increasing patrols in the crime hotspots, deploying special units to conduct surveillance, and providing police with the requisite training for combating particular crimes.

Filippi et al. (2020) established that the integration of various data sources was critical in addressing urban insecurity and more particularly in informal settlements such as Kibera. The study analysed the relationship between criminal activities and the configurational and spatial features of the street network in the informal settlement. The study established that the occurrence of crime is a result of a combination of factors that are interrelated simultaneously within a particular context. The study found that hotspots within the Kibera slum are often located along street sections that have moderately high integration value which implies that criminals mostly operate in secondary streets that are connected to main movement ways, where they can easily access their potential targets and also reduce natural surveillance. The collection of such data is instructive when it comes to designing the spatial configuration, integration value of the street network, and movement flow that can aid in reducing or rather preventing criminal activity in the Kibera slum.

Slum Upgrading Programs

Mgele (2014) notes that slum upgrading programs are the in-situ development or rather improvements on the households and living conditions of residents in slums. These developments are characterised by the provision of better sanitation and water supplies,

including other basic services. They also cover the improvement of the housing infrastructure and the provision of residence tenure security to the occupants of the houses. Slum upgrade programs are increasingly important in Kenya where rural-to-urban migration has seen an explosion in the urban population, leading to congestion in the informal settlement, which has significantly lowered the living status of the residents. In a bid to reverse these negative trends, the Kenyan government has partnered with various stakeholders to undertake major slum upgrading initiatives. Notably, these initiatives are operationalised through the Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme which has been operational since 2000, and the Kenya Informal Settlement Improvement Project which was established in 2011. In this study, Mgele (2014) found that the slum upgrading programs in Majengo slums had resulted in a significant reduction in the levels of crime and insecurity. With the improvement of the physical environment of the informal sector, various incentives for conducting crime are invariably eliminated, thereby improving the security and safety of the residents.

In his study, Obare (2015) acknowledges that the unprecedented growth of urbanisation is associated with massive rural-to-urban migration and has led to challenges in urban planning which has contributed to environmental and social constraints. These constraints are evident in terms of poor housing and lack of basic infrastructures such as access to clean water, sanitation, and drainage, which in most cases affect low-income earners in urban contexts. The surge in crime in these informal settlements has drawn the attention of both state and non-state actors who have adopted various strategies to prevent and contain criminal activity in the areas.

Obare (2015) found that one of the approaches adopted includes slum upgrading initiatives, which are aimed at improving the living conditions of the slum residents and therefore, minimising or removing some of the environmental incentives that

contribute to the adoption of criminogenic or delinquent behaviour by the residents in the slums and more particularly the youth. The study found that the ongoing slum upgrading program was supported by most presidents because they acknowledged that it had improved their living conditions. Deciding the upgrading initiative also reduced crime rates since most youths in the community were engaged in meaningful activities and even helped with solid waste management.

Mitra et al. (2017) found that numerous slum upgrading initiatives focused on addressing various developmental challenges that residents of informal settlements such as Kibera are currently underway. The design and implementation of these upgrading projects are to a significant level aimed at dealing with various conflicts that residents of the informal settlement encounter daily which include crime and insecurity among many others. Even though, these slum upgrading projects are not expressly developed for enhancing the resilience of the residents or resolving their conflicts, they however contribute towards reducing youth unemployment and poverty. Besides, they deliver improved quality housing for the residents, enhanced water and sanitation services, and reduced environmental hazards, all of which contribute towards improved safety and security. For example, programs such as the National Youth Service (NYS) have significantly contributed to strengthening community resilience by providing the youth with income opportunities. The program has in the long run positively contributed to the reduction of insecurity and crime in the Kibera slums. The program has also been used to improve the living conditions of the residents through solid waste management and improved sanitation. It also addresses some of the environmental predictors of crime and insecurity in informal settlements.

According to Skilling (2018), some of the crime prevention measures that residents of Kibera have adopted include getting back home before it is dark, becoming friendly to the offenders and pain the

youths who are involved in protection rackets for residents and businesses within the settlements. The collective response to crimes such as burglary, stealing, and robbery involves community volunteer patrols and collective violence. There are also situational crime prevention approaches that have been adopted in Kibera which include the installation of streetlights which increases security by increasing surveillance. The limited access to the informal settlement which has largely made it accessible only to pedestrians, is currently being improved through the construction of roads that are also expected to increase surveillance and the access of mobile police patrols. Evidently, investment in public infrastructure is a critical foundation for preventing crime as it is a salient component of slum upgrading programs that targets enhancing the informal settlement environment and therefore increasing surveillance even as it deters criminals from victimising their potential targets. In particular, the upgrading program invariably changes the power dynamics for the residents by eradicating the slum landlords who in some cases oversee the criminal activities in the neighbourhoods.

In another study, Metobo et al. (2021) acknowledge that the government and local authorities in Kenya grapple with serious challenges when it comes to regulating the physical growth of urban spaces and providing residents with adequate services that are commensurate with the urban population growth. Notably, the current urban population represents about 40% of the total population, with more than 70% of the urban residents living in slums in environments that are characterised by poor housing, limited access to water and sanitation, and lack of secure tenure. The informal settlements have poor environmental conditions and this is associated with increased levels of crime and insecurity.

Metobo et al. (2021) found that the slum upgrading project in the Kahawa-Soweto slum in Nairobi has resulted in improved housing and the upgrading of learning institutions, which has improved the living

conditions of the residents and provided opportunities for young people to acquire land, thereby taking them out of the streets where they could have engaged in delinquent behaviour. The more children access learning opportunities, the better they are equipped to make constructive decisions about their lives and desist from engaging in delinquency. In particular, the slum upgrading program reduced crime by increasing access to low-cost housing, which assured the residents of security from crimes such as burglary.

Solymári et al. (2021) observed that the increasing number of city residents is putting pressure on governments and more so in developing countries to review their existing urban planning frameworks. The high unemployment rates in most cities and the increased cost of living have brought about high poverty levels which leave urban residents with little chance of living in standard neighbourhoods and accessing better social amenities. Kenyan cities such as Nairobi and Mombasa have distinct informal settlements which have become the target of the government in terms of introducing upgrading programs. These programs include both social services and physical infrastructure, which are aimed at improving the living standard of the informal settlement residents. The study established that apart from improving the sanitation and housing conditions of the residents, the slum upgrading programs have proved effective when it comes to containing crime levels in informal settlements. The particular, the improvement of the housing conditions has removed the physical conveniences that used to encourage criminals to target the residents, and residents have included the adoption of lighting along the streets in the settlements, which also serves as a deterrent to criminal activity.

RESEARCH METHODS

The descriptive research design was used in this study. According to Creswell & Creswell (2018),

the descriptive research design is instructive with regard to the description of the relationship between the key variables in the study. The appropriateness of the descriptive research design was based on the need to describe the relationship between crime mitigation strategies and crime prevention in the informal settlement in Nairobi, Kenya. Notably, the descriptive research design largely adopted the quantitative approach in the collection and analysis of data in the study.

The study was conducted in informal settlements including Kibera, Mathare, Mukuru, and Korogocho slums and involved residents who are aged 18 years and above. The simple random sampling procedure was used to determine the participants in the study. As Mugenda & Mugenda (2003) argue, this probability sampling method provides the research population with an equal opportunity of participating in a research study. The sampling method was therefore instructive in avoiding the researcher's bias with regard to the selection of the respondents. Therefore, a total of 659 participants were eventually included in the study.

The data was collected from the participants using a self-administered questionnaire, with some assistance provided to respondents who expressed difficulty in completing the questionnaires by themselves. The data was subsequently coded numerically and input into the Statistical Package of Social Science (SPSS) software. The descriptive analysis method was used and the findings were presented using tables.

RESEARCH RESULTS

Demographics of the Respondents

The respondents of the study included both genders with men consisting of 53% and women at 47%. As compared to women the male respondents were more in Kibera (52%), Mathare (57%) and Mukuru (54%). However, in Korogocho, there were more female respondents (54%) as compared to male respondents (46%) (see *Table 1*). The percentage

was reflective of the almost equal representation of both genders in the study.

The study was conducted amongst respondents who were aged 18 years and above. The findings showed that most of the respondents (43%) fell within the age bracket of 25 – 34 years. The other significant age bracket included respondents aged between 18 – 24 years, who constituted 33% of the respondents. The two age groups were the dominant ones in all four informal settlements. Cumulatively, the findings therefore were based on perspectives of informal settlement residents aged between 18 – 34 years. However, other age groups were also included which consisted of 15% of respondents aged between 35 – 44 years, 5% aged between 45 – 54 years, 3% aged between 55 – 64 years and 1% aged between 65 years and above (see *Table 1*).

The findings indicated that the education levels of the informal settlement residents varied. Most of the respondents had completed their secondary school education (30%); another 23% had completed their primary school education, while 19% had acquired some secondary school level education (see *Table 1*). Besides, 15% of the respondents had acquired tertiary education, 9% had some primary school education, 3% had never gone to school, and only 1% had university-level education. These findings demonstrate that the literacy levels of the majority of the informal settlement resident were above moderate, as a significant proportion can read and write.

The household of the informal settlements is of various compositions. The findings showed that 51% of the respondents were the head of their households; 24% were housewives; 12% were relatives; 7% were children to head of their households, and 3% were others (see *Table 1*).

The respondents had stayed in their respective slums for various lengths of time. Cumulatively, most of the respondents (47%) had stayed in the slum for more than 6 years; 27% had stayed there for not more than 3 years; 20% had lived there for a

duration between 4 – 6 years; and 6% had lived there for less than a year (see *Table 1*). However, the number of years the residents had stayed in the slum varied from one to another. While in Kibera, Mathare, and Korogocho most of the residents 61%, 43%, and 55%, respectively, had lived for more than 6 years, most residents in Mukuru (40%) had lived there for not more than 3 years (see *Table 1*).

The level of income of the informal settlement residents differed. The findings showed that the majority of the respondents (32%) refused to disclose their average monthly income. About 22% of the respondents earned between 3001 – 5000; 16% earned between 1000 – 3000; 14% earned between 5001 – 7000, 7% less than 1000; and 5% earned between 7001 – 9000 (see *Table 1*).

Table 1: Demographic Distribution of respondents

Demographic attribute		Total	Slum settlement			
			Kibera	Mathare	Mukuru	Korogocho
Total no. of respondents (n)		659	223	152	169	115
Gender	Male	53%	52%	57%	54%	46%
	Female	47%	48%	43%	46%	54%
Age	18-24 years	33%	38%	24%	30%	42%
	25-34 years	43%	42%	44%	47%	37%
	35-44 years	15%	11%	20%	17%	12%
	45-54 years	5%	4%	6%	2%	8%
	55-64 years	3%	2%	5%	2%	0%
	65 years+	1%	0%	1%	0%	2%
	Refused	1%	2%	0%	1%	0%
Education level	Never gone to School	3%	2%	6%	2%	4%
	Some primary school	9%	5%	13%	4%	17%
	Primary completed	23%	22%	32%	15%	23%
	Some secondary	19%	24%	19%	14%	19%
	Secondary completed	30%	31%	16%	46%	20%
	Tertiary College	15%	13%	13%	18%	15%
	University and above	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%
Refused	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	
Household Status	Head of Household	51%	46%	64%	51%	46%
	Housewife	24%	28%	18%	22%	25%
	Relative	12%	11%	7%	20%	6%
	Child	7%	10%	3%	2%	16%
	Other	3%	4%	4%	2%	5%
	Refused	2%	1%	3%	4%	2%
Length of stay in the slum	Less than 1 year	6%	3%	3%	10%	9%
	Between 1 and 3 years	27%	21%	28%	40%	18%
	Between 4 and 6 years	20%	15%	25%	22%	18%
	Over 6 years	47%	61%	43%	27%	55%
	Refused/Missing	1%	0%	1%	1%	0%
Income	Less than 1000.00	7%	4%	10%	2%	20%
	1000.00 to 3000.00	16%	7%	36%	8%	18%
	3001.00 to 5000.00	22%	18%	27%	23%	18%
	5001.00 to 7000.00	14%	14%	12%	21%	5%
	7001.00 to 9000.00	5%	7%	1%	7%	2%
	Over 9000.00	5%	4%	2%	8%	3%
	Don't know/Refused	32%	46%	13%	31%	33%

Security and Crime in the Informal Settlements

Crime and Safety

The perception of the residents regarding crime and safety in the informal settlements varied. However, the findings showed that the majority of the respondents (47%) considered crime and safety in their neighbourhood as a big problem. About 35% of the respondents considered crime and safety as a moderate problem; 15% regarded it as a small

problem, while only 2% claimed that it was not a problem at all (see *Table 2*).

In particular, the acknowledgement of crime and safety as a big problem in the informal settlement was acknowledged by most residents in Kibera (54%), Mukuru (50%), and Korogocho (44%). However, most of the residents in Mathare (38%) indicated that it was a moderate problem (see *Table 2*).

Table 2: Crime and safety

Crime and safety	Total	Slum settlement			
		Kibera	Mathare	Mukuru	Korogocho
Total (n)	659	223	152	169	115
A big problem	47%	54%	37%	50%	44%
A moderate problem	35%	28%	38%	38%	43%
A small problem	15%	16%	24%	10%	10%
No problem at all	2%	2%	1%	2%	2%
Refused/Missing	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%

Spontaneous Crime in the Informal Settlements

There are various spontaneous crimes that the residents in the informal settlements face. The most prevalent among the four informal settlements included general robbery (59%); mugging 50%; burglary (50%); illicit brew (47%); assault (43%); and drugs (31%). In Kibera, the most prevalent spontaneous crimes that affected men included burglary (59%), assault (49%), and general robbery (46%), while those that affected women included general robbery (51%); mugging and burglary at 48% each, and assault at 43% (see *Table 3*).

In Mathare, men were mostly affected by illicit brew (74%); general robbery and assault (66%), and drugs (60%), while women were mostly affected by illicit brew (77%); assault (72%) and burglary (55%). In Mukuru, men were mostly affected by general robbery (74%), burglary (60%) and illicit brew (52%), whereas women were mostly affected by general robbery (78%), illicit brew (64%) and burglary (44%). Additionally, men in Korogocho were mostly affected by muggings (53%); robbery with violence (51%) and general robbery (42%), whereas women were mostly affected by general robbery (55%); muggings (47%) and burglary (42%) and sexual abuse (42%) (see *Table 3*).

Table 3: Crime faced in the slum areas - Spontaneous

	Total	Slum settlement							
		Kibera		Mathare		Mukuru		Korogocho	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Total (n)	659	116	107	87	65	92	77	53	62
Assault	43%	49%	43%	66%	72%	18%	25%	38%	29%
Pick-pocketing	22%	20%	13%	36%	28%	27%	22%	17%	13%
Mugging	50%	50%	48%	52%	51%	49%	49%	53%	47%
Sexual abuse	13%	5%	11%	13%	12%	7%	8%	23%	42%
Burglary	50%	54%	48%	51%	55%	60%	44%	43%	42%

	Total	Slum settlement							
		Kibera		Mathare		Mukuru		Korogocho	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Robbery with violence	30%	22%	15%	22%	23%	49%	39%	51%	31%
General robbery	59%	46%	51%	66%	60%	74%	78%	42%	55%
Arson	10%	2%	3%	24%	26%	14%	6%	4%	2%
Murder	23%	22%	19%	37%	38%	13%	16%	17%	27%
Car-jacking	2%	0%	1%	5%	6%	2%	0%	2%	6%
Kidnapping	3%	0%	0%	7%	6%	1%	0%	2%	8%
Illicit brew	47%	26%	28%	74%	77%	52%	64%	38%	32%
Drugs	31%	16%	12%	60%	48%	36%	34%	28%	24%
Other	6%	13%	7%	6%	5%	3%	0%	6%	6%
Refused/Missing	2%	0%	3%	0%	0%	2%	5%	0%	2%

Key: M = Male; F = Female

Prompted Crime in the Informal Settlements

The informal settlement residents experienced various forms of prompted crimes at various levels. The findings showed that the most prevalent prompted crimes included drugs (51%); illicit brew (50%); murder (42%); assault (37%); muggings (34%); pick-pocketing (32%); robbery with violence (32%) and general robbery (31%). In Kibera the most prompted crimes were illicit brew

(69%), drugs (68%), and murder (48%) (see Table 4).

In Mathare, the most prompted crimes included pick-pocketing (33%), mugging (32%), and murder (32%). In Mukuru, the most prompted crimes included drugs (41%), murder (40%) and assault (40%), while in Korogocho, they included illicit brew (63%), drugs (59%), assault (56%) and pick-pocketing (55%) (see Table 4).

Table 4: Crime faced in the slum areas - Prompted

	Total	Slum settlement			
		Kibera	Mathare	Mukuru	Korogocho
Total (n)	659	223	152	169	115
Assault	37%	31%	26%	40%	56%
Pick-pocketing	32%	21%	33%	31%	55%
Mugging	34%	33%	32%	34%	39%
Sexual abuse	24%	22%	16%	25%	37%
Burglary	34%	35%	28%	31%	49%
Robbery with violence	32%	31%	31%	25%	46%
General robbery	31%	35%	31%	18%	43%
Arson	16%	4%	22%	21%	24%
Murder	42%	48%	32%	40%	47%
Car-jacking	7%	3%	6%	7%	16%
Kidnapping	9%	4%	11%	5%	19%
Illicit brew	50%	69%	25%	39%	63%
Drugs	51%	68%	30%	41%	59%
Other	0%	0%	1%	1%	0%
Refused/Missing	2%	1%	2%	2%	2%

Most Prevalent Crime

The most prevent crime in the four informal settlements differed from one to another. Cumulatively, the findings showed that the most prevalent crimes included illicit brew (26%);

general robbery (19%); muggings (18%); and burglary (12%). However, the most prevalent crime in Kibera was mugging (25%); illicit brew in Mathare (24%), Mukuru (43%), and Korogocho (23%), though general robbery was also prevalent in Korogocho (23%) (see *Table 5*).

Table 5: Most prevalent crime

	Total	Slum settlement			
		Kibera	Mathare	Mukuru	Korogocho
Total (n)	659	223	152	169	115
Assault	6%	9%	10%	1%	4%
Pick-pocketing	2%	1%	3%	3%	2%
Mugging	18%	25%	20%	11%	13%
Sexual abuse	1%	0%	1%	1%	3%
Burglary	12%	16%	11%	12%	7%
Robbery with violence	6%	5%	9%	2%	12%
General robbery	19%	19%	13%	21%	23%
Arson	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%
Murder	1%	1%	2%	0%	1%
Illicit brew	26%	16%	24%	43%	23%
Drugs	4%	4%	5%	5%	3%
Other	1%	2%	0%	1%	0%
Refused/Missing	3%	3%	2%	1%	10%

Time of Crime

The crimes in the informal settlements were committed at various times during the day. The findings showed that generally, crimes were committed early at night (29%). The other times in

which crimes were committed included the evening (19%), late at night (13%), and early in the morning (13%). Across all four informal settlements, crimes were mostly committed early at night: Kibera (34%), Mathare (25%), Mukuru (30%) and Korogocho (27%).

Table 6: Time of crime

	Total	Slum settlement			
		Kibera	Mathare	Mukuru	Korogocho
Total (n)	292	76	68	81	67
Early in the morning	13%	9%	9%	16%	16%
Mid-Morning	7%	3%	7%	15%	1%
Mid-Day	7%	11%	3%	9%	3%
Early Afternoon	3%	1%	4%	0%	7%
Late Afternoon	7%	1%	9%	11%	6%
Evening	19%	18%	28%	6%	27%
Early night Mid	29%	34%	25%	30%	27%
Night Late at night	13%	22%	9%	11%	10%
No idea when crime was committed	2%	0%	6%	2%	1%

Place of Crime

The crimes were committed at various places in the informal settlements. The findings showed that most crimes in these settlements were committed on the way (39%); in the house (31%); outside the

house but nearby (19%); in public places (8%) and at other places (3%). In particular, while most crimes were committed on the way in Kibera (51%); Mathare (29%), and Korogocho (42%); most crimes in Mukuru were committed in the house (42%).

Table 7: Place of crime

	Total	Slum settlement			
		Kibera	Mathare	Mukuru	Korogocho
Total (n)	292	76	68	81	67
In the house	31%	28%	26%	42%	25%
Outside the house but nearby	19%	16%	28%	14%	21%
In a public place	8%	4%	12%	7%	9%
On the way	39%	51%	29%	33%	42%
Other	3%	1%	4%	4%	3%

Mitigating/Preventing Crime

A. Government Commitment to Solve Crime Problems

The perspectives of the respondents regarding the involvement of the government in solving the problems related to crime differed. The findings showed that most of the respondents indicated that the involvement of the government was to a small

extent (34%) and lesser extent (34%), whereas 28% of the respondents claimed that it was to a large extent. However, the perception of government involvement varied from one informal settlement to another. The Kibera residents claimed it was to a small extent (43%); the Mathare resident indicated it was to a large extent (42%); the Mukuru resident claimed it was to a lesser extent (41%), while the Korogocho residents said it was to a large extent (42%).

Table 8: Extent of government commitment to solving the problem of crime in slums

	Total	Slum settlement			
		Kibera	Mathare	Mukuru	Korogocho
Total (n)	659	223	152	169	115
To a large extent	28%	14%	42%	24%	42%
To a lesser extent	34%	39%	30%	41%	17%
To a small extent	34%	43%	26%	33%	32%
No idea	4%	4%	2%	3%	9%

Individual Involvement in Solving Crime

The individual involvement of the informal settlement resident in resolving issues regarding crime and insecurity in their community differed. The findings demonstrated that the majority of the

respondents (54%) strongly agreed that they could contribute to help reducing crime in their neighbourhood; 34% agreed that they could help; 8% neither agreed nor disagreed; 3% disagreed, while only 1% strongly disagreed.

Table 9: I can contribute to help reduce crime

	Total	Slum settlement			
		Kibera	Mathare	Mukuru	Korogocho
Total (n)	659	223	152	169	115
Strongly agree	54%	64%	26%	56%	70%
Agree	34%	24%	55%	39%	21%
Neither nor	8%	8%	18%	3%	3%
Disagree	3%	4%	1%	2%	3%
Strongly disagree	1%	0%	0%	1%	3%

Effectiveness of Community Participation in Preventing Crime

The informal settlement residents acknowledged the effectiveness of community participation in regard to the prevention of crime in the four slums. The

findings showed that 64% of the respondents strongly agreed that community participation is helpful in regard to crime prevention, 32% agreed that community participation was helpful, 2% neither agreed nor disagreed and another 2% disagreed.

Table 10: Community participation can help prevent crime

	Total	Slum settlement			
		Kibera	Mathare	Mukuru	Korogocho
Total (n)	659	223	152	169	115
Strongly agree	64%	74%	50%	56%	76%
Agree	32%	23%	45%	40%	22%
Neither nor	2%	3%	3%	1%	0%
Disagree	2%	0%	1%	3%	3%
Strongly disagree	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%

Community Involvement in Solving Crime

The study was interested in establishing whether the residents of the informal settlements were organised as a community with the aim of addressing issues associated with crime. The findings showed that the

majority of respondents (30%) agreed that they had organised themselves as communities to fight crime; 24% strongly agreed; 21% neither agreed nor disagreed; 22% disagreed, and 4% strongly disagreed.

Table 11: We are organised as a community to fight crime

	Total	Slum settlement			
		Kibera	Mathare	Mukuru	Korogocho
Total (n)	659	223	152	169	115
Strongly agree	24%	34%	11%	18%	28%
Agree	30%	21%	41%	29%	33%
Neither nor	21%	15%	28%	19%	25%
Disagree	22%	26%	16%	30%	10%
Strongly disagree	4%	4%	5%	4%	3%

The Need for More Crime Prevention Programs

The informal settlement residents varied in their views regarding the need for additional crime

prevention programs in their communities. The findings showed that the majority of the respondents (69%) strongly agreed that there was a need for

more crime prevention programs in their communities; 27% agreed, 3% neither agreed nor disagreed, and 1% disagreed.

Table 12: I think that my community needs more crime prevention programs

	Total	Slum settlement			
		Kibera	Mathare	Mukuru	Korogocho
Total (n)	659	223	152	169	115
Strongly agree	69%	82%	61%	58%	72%
Agree	27%	17%	34%	37%	23%
Neither nor	3%	1%	5%	4%	3%
Disagree	1%	0%	1%	1%	3%
Strongly disagree	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Collaboration between Police and Community

The majority of the informal settlement residents concurred that the collaboration between the police and members of the community could be effective in crime prevention.

The findings showed that 83% of the respondents agreed that the police and community could work together to prevent crime; 13% agreed, 2% neither agreed nor disagreed, 1% disagreed, and another 1% strongly disagreed.

Table 13: The police and the community can work together to prevent crime

	Total	Slum settlement			
		Kibera	Mathare	Mukuru	Korogocho
Total (n)	659	223	152	169	115
Strongly agree	83%	89%	78%	73%	89%
Agree	13%	6%	18%	21%	6%
Neither nor	2%	2%	2%	4%	3%
Disagree	1%	1%	1%	2%	1%
Strongly disagree	1%	2%	1%	1%	2%

Spontaneous Mechanism for Crime Prevention

The study sought to establish the spontaneous crime prevention strategies that are used in informal settlements to prevent crime. The findings of the study indicated that the most commonly adopted spontaneous mechanism for preventing crime in the informal settlement was police patrols (69%).

The other spontaneous mechanism included vigilante groups (42%); gates and fences (28%);

village security committees (23%), and the employment of night guards (13%). In particular, the commonly adopted spontaneous mechanisms for crime prevention in Kibera included police patrols (50%) and gates and fences (46%). In Mathare, the most adopted spontaneous mechanisms included police patrols (82%) and vigilante groups (40%). In Mukuru slums, they include police patrols (84%) and vigilante groups (42%), while in Korogocho, they include vigilante groups (61%) and police patrols (48%).

Table 14: Mechanisms of crime prevention -Spontaneous

	Total	Slum settlement			
		Kibera	Mathare	Mukuru	Korogocho
Total (n)	516	123	141	159	93
Police patrols	69%	50%	82%	84%	48%
Vigilante groups	42%	31%	40%	42%	61%
Employed night guards	13%	1%	4%	35%	5%
Village security committees	23%	15%	32%	23%	23%
Gates and fences	28%	46%	13%	38%	10%
Others	3%	10%	0%	1%	3%

Prompted Mechanism for Crime Prevention

The study sought to find out the prompted mechanisms that the informal settlements employ in a bid to prevent crime. The findings indicated that various prompt mechanisms are used even though the erection of gates and fences is commonly adopted (29%). The other prompted mechanisms include village security committees (27%); police patrols (21%); vigilante groups (20%); and employment of night guards (14%). However, most of the residents (35%) claimed that none of the above-prompted mechanisms was used in crime

prevention in the informal settlements. Notably, the prompt mechanism adopted in the informal settlements also differed.

In Kibera, the most commonly used prompted mechanisms included gates and fences (40%) and police patrols (30%); in Mathare, they included village security committees (23%) and police patrols (14); in Mukuru, they included gates and fences (34%) and vigilante groups (25%) while in Korogocho, they included gates and fences (49%); village security committees (49%) and police patrols (43%).

Table 15: Mechanisms of crime prevention-Prompted

	Total	Slum settlement			
		Kibera	Mathare	Mukuru	Korogocho
Total (n)	516	123	141	159	93
Police patrols	21%	30%	14%	7%	43%
Vigilante groups	20%	20%	3%	25%	35%
Employed night guards	14%	6%	5%	22%	26%
Village security committee	27%	20%	23%	23%	49%
Gates and fences	29%	40%	2%	34%	49%
Others	1%	0%	0%	0%	3%
None	35%	20%	62%	37%	11%

The Most Effective Mechanism for Crime Prevention

The study sought to establish the most effective mechanisms used in preventing crime in informal settlements. The findings of the study show that

most of the residents (42%) indicated that police patrol was the most effective crime prevention mechanism in informal settlements. The other effective mechanisms included vigilante groups (23%), gates and fences (20%), village security committees (7%) and employed night guards (5%).

Table 16: Mechanisms of crime prevention-most effective

	Total	Slum settlement			
		Kibera	Mathare	Mukuru	Korogocho
Total (n)	516	123	141	159	93
Police patrols	42%	15%	54%	52%	42%
Vigilante groups	23%	11%	30%	21%	34%
Employed night guards	5%	0%	1%	16%	0%
Village security committee	7%	11%	8%	1%	14%
Gates and fences	20%	60%	6%	11%	2%
Others	3%	4%	1%	1%	8%

CONCLUSION

The study concludes that crime and safety in an informal settlement is a big problem for the residents. The most prevalent spontaneous crimes in the informal settlements included general robbery, muggings, burglary, illicit brew, assault, and drugs. The majority of the prompted crimes in the informal settlements included drugs, illicit brew, murder, assault, muggings, pick-pocketing, robbery with violence and general robbery.

Generally, the most prevalent crimes in the informal settlements included illicit brew, general robbery, muggings, and burglary. The most opportune time when the crimes were mostly committed in the informal settlement was early in the night. Most of these crimes were committed along the way or in the house or nearby the house.

The involvement of the government in the resolution of the problems associated with crime in the informal settlement is perceived as being to a small or lesser extent. Most of the informal settlement residents acknowledge that they can contribute towards resolving issues related to crime and insecurity in their community. The informal settlement residents acknowledged that community participation was effective when it came to solving problems associated with crime and insecurity in their communities. Therefore, in all four settlements, the residents had organised themselves as communities to address the issues that were associated with crime and insecurity.

The informal settlement residents acknowledged the need for more crime prevention programs, which indicated that the existing ones were not adequately addressing all key predictors of criminogenic and delinquency behaviour in these communities comprehensively. The resident acknowledged the need for the police and the community to work together to prevent crime. The most adopted spontaneous mechanisms for preventing crime in the informal settlement included police patrols. However, other spontaneous mechanisms such as vigilante groups, erecting gates and fences, village security committees, and the employment of night guards was also adopted.

Besides, the prompt mechanism that was commonly used in the informal settlements to prevent crime was the erection of gates and fences. However, other prompting mechanisms were used, including village security committees, police patrols, vigilante groups, and the employment of night guards.

Recommendations

There is a need for both state and non-state actors who are stakeholders in matters of crime and security in the informal settlement to diversify the crime prevention programs that are provided to the residents. This will be in answer to that need as reflected by the perspective of the majority of the respondents in the study. The possible adequacy of the crime prevention programs may be attained by ensuring that almost all the predictors of criminogenic and delinquency behaviour in the informal settlement are addressed.

In particular, crime prevention programs should focus on causes of crime such as poverty, lack of education opportunities, influences of social environment on the youth, and domestic violence, amongst many others. The crime prevention programs should therefore, provide the residents with an incentive to address such problems that are highly likely to push the residents into criminal activities.

The community policing initiatives in the informal settlement need to be reviewed and evaluated to ascertain their effectiveness in terms of preventing crime and promoting security and stability in the settlements. This will go a long way in enhancing the trust of the community members in the police, who are mandated by the government to restore or rather maintain law and order in the informal settlement. It can also incentivise the informal settlement residents to stop relying on gangs for protection and resolving crime issues and use more formal and legalised means as can be presided over by the police. There may be a need for retraining police officers working in these contexts to sensitise them on the need for collaborating with community members humanely and harmoniously. Similar training is also relevant for members of the community to orient them to collaborate better with the police.

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