



**THE EFFECTS OF ORGANIZED CRIMINAL GANGS ON THE
LIVELIHOODS OF THE URBAN RESIDENTS: A CASE STUDY OF GAZA
GANG IN KAYOLE ESTATE, NAIROBI**

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ABSTRACT

The main purpose of this study was to investigate the effects of organized criminal gangs on everyday lives of residents of Kayole estate. The specific objective of this study were; to establish the motivating factors that compel youth to join the criminal gang, to determine the effects of the organized criminal gang on the everyday lives the residents of Kayole estate, to find out how the gang recruits and maintain its membership and to establish the avenues through which the gang generate money to finance its activities. The research design used in this study was descriptive survey method, This design involved triangulation where by the qualitative and quantitative data collected was checked for validity by observing the shortcomings and success of each method. The target population was adult family members (both male and female). They consisted of victims both affected directly and indirectly. Other respondents were business people, government officers and civil society. The quantitative and qualitative techniques were used to analyse the data. The study findings showed that there were fear of criminal gangs by Kayole residents, residents and business people. Business people closed their businesses earlier than usual and there were some places where residents avoid security officers were also overwhelmed to deal with the gangs due to few number of police officers in the area. The study also revealed that many people know the gang members and that most of them are young educated secondary school leavers. Collusion between police and gang members exists in Kayole. In addition, many other gangs exist besides Gaza. The study concluded that there were inadequate police officers to deal with the threat caused by criminal gangs in the area, parents and residents were not willing to give the detailed of members of criminal gangs even if they were aware of them and no one was ready to be a witness in court in a case where any member of criminal gang had been arrested, for fear of victimization. The study recommends that: The county government and police used to regulate and monitor places/venues where youth meet; there is need for government to develop programs for youth to gain skills; need for more police officers in Kayole and families need to play their role over guidance of children.

Key Words: Organized Criminal Gangs, Livelihoods and Urban Residents

INTRODUCTION

Background of the Study

In the United States of America gangs have been the focus of so many studies. Most of the research has defined gangs in two ways: either as a gathering of individuals with a specific negative set of personal attributes or a group of individuals who act in a deviant and or a criminal manner, (Bear, 1996). The number of youths involving in criminal in modern society has been on the rise. This menace has been attributed to different factors. During the last decade of the twentieth century, people began searching for answers to this dilemma which has become a source of headache even to a superpower like USA. Within the last decade, many tragic schools shooting have occurred. This has attracted the attention of the public. As of now, no one can give the reason for the rise in crime rate or even offer some tangible solutions to this problem. All they have to go by are the opinions of different people, (Robert, 1981).

The History of gangs in the United States of America goes back to the 1800s. The USA became a melting pot in the nineteenth century as the people of diverse ethnicities and religions entered the country. To ensure their security, some immigrants joined gangs to gain group identity, defend themselves against other groups, and establish a unified presence. For instance, recently an increasing number of American gangs such as Mara Salvatrucha or MS 13, Barrio 18” or the “M-18, and the Aryan Brotherhood are committing violent crimes (McCleam and Johnson, 1998. Ogidefa).

The America Cosa Nostra or Italian-American Mafia continues to dominate organized crime in the US. It has also maintained control over much of Chicago’s, Boston, Philadelphia, Providence and New York City’s organized criminal activity, as well as criminal activities in many other cities in the North-East and across the country, such as Las Vegas and New Orleans, (Roberto M. Dainotto 2015). Barrio Azteca is among the most feared gangs in the US and intentionally. This gang is so dangerous because they are affiliated to the ruthless Juarez Drug Cartel in Mexico. This cartel has a militant arm called La Linea and this sub-collective often hires gangsters and thugs from Barrio Azteca to their dirty work. The gang has been implicated in cocaine trafficking, high profile murders and even prison massacres (Gardiner, Sean 2012). One of the road blocks in the quest to fight gangs in Africa is the lack of detailed information on youth criminal gangs. Consequently, countries such as Tanzania, Namibia and South Africa are beginning to collect information to map future trends (Chepesiuk & Ron, 1999). Nevertheless, there is evidence of increasing law-breaking among young people. According to Victimization surveys in several countries, as well as qualitative observations, delinquency among young people (12-25 years) is increasing at a much higher rate than in the developed north. This includes in particular violent behavior, drug-related offences and gang activity (Ogidefa 2008).

In Douala Cameroon for example, crime violence and insecurity have increased in recent years especially in informal settlements and difficult neighborhoods. One of a major influence on young people has been the so-called Feyman. These are white collar criminals who are able to get away with offence without prosecution and have become a source of admiration and inspiration for the young, (Nwankwo, 2006). Since the 1990s petty theft, breaking and entering, the use of violence, threats and intimidation by young people has become the norm in Dakar, Senegal. Generally, insecurity in the urban areas has increased. Attacks on people on the street have included homicide and violent or armed robberies which has led to the increasing use of private security and

protection. Most of these urban crimes in Africa is largely a youth related phenomenon (Nwankwo, 2006)

In Nairobi Kenya, a survey on effects of violence on the youth by (UNICEF 2005), found that young people are left to take care of themselves in violence-torn communities that do not provide services. To cope with the devastating circumstances in the urban set-ups youth often exhibit risky behavior including substance abuse, gang membership, aggressive and violent actions against others, stealing and other criminal activities or early pregnancy. (Sifuna 1980) found that many of Nairobi's youth from poor families and even from middle and upper class are being drawn into these lifestyles. In the urban set-ups the rate of unemployment is high. This inevitably results in the formation of youth groups which may develop into gangs as a means of economic survival.

In Nairobi, the breakdown in the transmission of social values and norms which should take place through the family and local community. He further argues that this is made worse by the often-poor physical environment, inadequate or poorly distributed economic and recreation opportunities and the lack of social support. The breakdown of traditional sections to combat the culture of violence enables it to thrive. This has resulted in the movement of youths to the street. The family and school have ceased to operate as primary socializing agents and many youths in Nairobi have opted for a life in street gangs or in social groups which are similar to gangs. The street culture or gangs has become the primary socializing agents and friendship support networks, (Sifuna, 1980).

The new law on the Prevention of Organised Crimes 2010, gazetted by the Minister in charge of Internal Security and Provincial Administration, aims at enhancing the prevention, investigation, and punishment of organized crimes in the country. The law spells out tough measures to deal with criminal gangs by imposing jail terms ranging from 14 years to life imprisonment for those found guilty. It provides a harsh penalty for anyone who fundraises, organizes or directs members of a criminal gang to commit a serious crime and/or for those taking or administering oath as they are liable upon conviction to life imprisonment. An example of a feared organized crime group in Kenya was the outlawed mungiki sect. Internal Security permanent secretary added the Organised Crimes Act 2010, which outlaws the groups would be complemented by the Counter Trafficking in Persons Act 2010 that was assented by the President on September 13. The government listed about 30 active organized criminal gangs has listed in appendix 1. Government also warned that they would not tolerate criminal activities and urged elders and leaders in affected areas to advise the youth against kidnappings, piracy, illicit drugs, carjacking, money laundering, illegal arms, extortion, and oathing.

But recently Kenya has witnessed the increase of organized criminal gangs mostly in major cities and towns especially in slum and semi-slum areas. The government of Kenya via gazette notice No. 10427 of 2016 issued on December 30 2016, declared several organized criminal gangs including Gaza gang among other, the gazette notice indicated that the number of organize criminal gangs that terrorist the major town and cities in Kenya were ninety (90) as indicated in appendix 2.

Statement of the Problem

Fear of youth joining criminal gangs is a constant concern for millions of people all over the world. Youth seem to take up crimes that are usually committed by adults over the age of 18 years. Statistics confirm that more horrendous crimes are being committed by increasingly younger children (Levine, 2007). Some of the increases in youth crime

have resulted from changes in the way violent youth behaviours have been responded to (Levine, 2007). An organized criminal gang is a recent phenomenon in Kenya. Increasing numbers of youth are joining or forming organized criminal gangs which is of concern to Kenyans. There has been significant increase in violent criminal gangs in developed countries. Kenya has been no exception to rising youth violence because of the increasing economic hardship experienced in many parts of the cities. Levels of youth joining criminal gangs appear to continue to increase everywhere in the world (Levine, 2007). In Kenya, it is even more apparent particularly in Nairobi's informal settlements especially in the eastern sector of the city. However, the extent of the effects of organized crime on society in the areas they operate is not yet clear. This study was designed to provide information on how organized criminal gangs (Gaza) has affected the people's everyday life in Kayole.

General Objective

The general objective of this study was to investigate the effect of organized criminal gangs in Nairobi.

Objectives of the study

The study focused on the following research objectives

- 1) To establish the motivating factors that compel youth to join the criminal gang.
- 2) To determine the effects of the organized criminal gang on the everyday lives the residents of Kayole estate
- 3) To find out how the gang recruits and maintains its membership.
- 4) To establish the avenues through which the gang generate money to finance its activities.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Motivating Factors that Compel Youth in Joining Gangs

There is no simple answer as to why youth get involved in different types of gangs. The motivation to join component outlines factors that encourage youth to become involved or affiliated with gangs. Theoretical explanation differentiates between push and pull factors that lead to youth engagement in gangs, Mathews (1999). Push factors are the reasons within the person that draw them to become involved with gangs, for example, the desire for a sense of belonging, or respect and status while pull factors are those external motivating factors such as seeking protection or making large sum of money by being involved in gang.

Social factors

Gang members have been found to come from a background of low socio-economic status (Rizzo, 2003), neighborhoods with existing gangs (Spergel, 1995) and high in juvenile delinquency (Hawkins, 2001). Family factors such as poor parental management (Sharp et al., 2006), familial criminality (Sharp et al., 2006), and gang-involved family members (Spergel, 1995) provides young people with a home environment that reinforces gang-related and delinquent behavior (Thornberry et al., 2003). Also, delinquent peers and pressure from these peers increase the likelihood of antisocial behavior (Cauffman, 2009) and gang membership (Thornberry et al., 2003). However, consistent with the delinquency literature (Steinberg, 2006), no single factor can fully explain gang membership. On the African continent, countries are increasingly confronted with socioeconomic frustration. The introduction of a political or religious ideology can allow poor socioeconomic conditions to throw up individuals who have nothing to lose in other words, to be radicalized to join criminal gang, World Bank (2006). According to the research done in Kenya by Independent Police Oversight Authority (2014), revealed that unequal access to resources and expertise contributes

to a state being vulnerable to gang. Rapid population growth and unequal development which is widening the gap between the poor and the rich was also found to be a key factor in facilitating youth to join gang according to the same research.

Psychological factors.

Low self-esteem has a significant relationship with delinquency, antisocial behavior, and aggression, elements characteristic of gang membership (Caspi, 2005). Some research supports the premise that youth with less confidence and self-esteem, and weak bonds with a prosocial environment and network (i.e., schools and family) are more likely to look towards gangs than youth who are more confident (Martinez, & Stein, 1997). Furthermore, self-esteem has a dynamic relationship with gang membership. It plays a central role in whether a young person joins a gang, participates as a member, and decides to leave the gang (Dukes et al., 1997). To illustrate, a young person with low self-esteem could look towards a gang for support and consequently as the group esteem goes up (due to success in delinquent and antisocial activities), that individual's esteem parallels. However, if ever a gang member wants to leave the gang, it would require a high self-esteem in order to resist the pressure from the gang.

Additional psychological constructs that have been linked with gang membership and its related criminal behavior include: impulsivity, risk-seeking, and peer pressure (Esbensen & Weerman, 2005). Also, gang members cope with their behavior by neutralizing the negative consequences of their actions (Taylor, & Freng, 2009), and, most disturbingly, they are guilt-free of their criminal behavior (Esbensen et al., 2001; Esbensen et al., 2009). To date, we know very little about the psychological processes that Thornberry and colleagues (2003) discuss as facilitators of gang membership. In their research they discuss delinquent beliefs (defined as the belief that it is acceptable to be delinquent) as causes, correlates, and consequences of delinquent behavior and gang membership. These beliefs, similar to self-esteem, play a dynamic role developmentally. They have been found to interact reciprocally with associations with delinquent peers and delinquent behavior (Farnworth, & Jang, 1994). However, we argue that these beliefs need further examination as they are more resistant to intervention (Browne, & Palmer, 2002).

The motivation factors to join criminal gangs may be because criminal gangs offer youth the potential to gain status and respect, Anderson (1999) and Klein (2006). Knox (1994) described gangs as exerting two types of social power that attract youth: Coercive power; the threat or actual use of force and violence and the power to buy, pay, impress and to delegate status and rank to its members. As such, gangs reflect universal needs among young people for identity, status and companionship, Klein (2006).

The youth especially the men look upon gang members with aspirations to joining the gang membership. This has been noticed as they mimic them, (Hughes & Short, 2005) and watch gang films depicting characters rewarded for gang-like actions (Przemieniecki, 2005). It is therefore tempting for a youth to easily join a gang. The offenders are known to be more bully, (South & Wood, 2006) and this much inclined and associated with gang membership (Wood, Moir, & James, 2009). The gang members will adhere to the status of being bully as they consider it crucial other than non-gang members. A research conducted in Kenya by Musumba Denzil (2014), indicate that the Muslim youth in Kenya like in other parts of the world have been made to believe that the wars in Iraq, Afghanistan and the Palestinian- Israel are part of the broad global campaigns against Islam. In Kenya, the youth viewed the situations in

Somalia and Palestine as problem affecting all the Muslims worldwide hence worthy their involvement.

Influence from other gang groups

Some gang members alias 'reluctant gangsters' where neighbourhoods peppered with gangs and crime make youth fearful of victimization leading to perceptions that their world is a dangerous place (Pitts, 2007). In such cases, threats can be witnessed taking place majorly on the roles played, within and between gangs. These threats from neighbourhood gangs can force certain youth groups into joining a gang, which can also reinforce the collective identity and group cohesion. Again, it can further lead to increased further gang violence (Van Winkle, 1996).

Therefore, it is understood that different gang members experience threats from other groups of youths, and thus see gang membership as offering them protection. In 1995, Klein made the following observations;

- In the gang there is protection from attack
- A gang provides what he has not obtained from his family, in school, or elsewhere in his community.

It is therefore considered that the youth who become involved in gangs may be those who experience most threat from others.

How Organized Criminal Gangs Fund their Activities

Organized crime groups generate large amounts of money by activities such as drug trafficking, arms smuggling and financial crime, Salter, F (2002). This is of little use to them unless they can disguise it and convert it into funds that are available for investment into legitimate enterprise. The methods they use for converting its 'dirty' money into 'clean' assets encourage corruption. Organized crime groups need to hide the money's illegal origin, Salter, F (2002). It allows for the expansion of organized criminal groups, as the 'laundry' or 'wash cycle' operates to cover the money trail and convert proceeds of crime into usable assets. Money laundering is bad for international and domestic trade, banking reputations and for effective governments and rule of law. Accurate figures for the amounts of criminal proceeds laundered are almost impossible to calculate, and the Financial Action Task Force on Money Laundering (FATF), an intergovernmental body set up to combat money laundering, has stated that "overall it is absolutely impossible to produce a reliable estimate of the amount of money laundered and therefore the FATF does not publish any figures in this regard" FSA.gov.uk (2013) However, in the US estimated figures of money laundering have been put at between \$200 – \$600 billion per year throughout the 1990s (US Congress Office 1995; Robinson 1996), and in 2002 this was estimated between \$500 billion to \$1 trillion per year (UN 2002). This would make organized crime the third largest business in world after foreign exchange and oil Robinson (1996).

Human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation is a major cause of contemporary sexual slavery and is primarily for prostituting women and children into sex industries by criminal gangs to fund their activities Siegel & Nelen (2008). In 2001 International Organization for Migration estimated 400,000, the Federal Bureau of Investigation estimated 700,000 and UNICEF estimated 1.75 million (UNODC, 2006). The most common destinations for victims of human trafficking are; Japan, Israel, Italy, Thailand, Belgium, Netherlands, Germany, Turkey and the United States, according to a report by UNODC. In Nigeria for example The Black Axe a Nigerian criminal network that rules by fear - is involved in drug dealing, prostitution and the fraudulent transfer of money between Europe and Nigeria to fund their activities. And now working alongside the Sicilian mafia - the notorious

and powerful Cosa Nostra - after striking a deal with underworld bosses in the island's capital Palermo and buying the rights to operate in designated areas.

Just like any other country in the world Kenya case is not such unique and most criminal gangs in Kenya gets their funds from different dimension research done by professor Maupeu (2013) noted that most of organized criminals gangs in Kenya are mostly active during election period since that is the period they get fund and protection from influential politicians who used them to caused havoc and intimidation of their opponent and also the report released government of Kenya (2009) revealed that criminal organized gang exhost money from public vehicles, operating major routes in Nairobi as well as operating illegal activities like robbery, in fact the government of Kenya (2009) through ministry of internal security gave warning to those behind funding and protecting organized criminal gangs. In Kenya, challenges posed by organized criminal gangs include terrorism, maritime piracy, humans/arms/drugs trafficking and cybercrime. The crime situation in Kenya is not unique within itself – many of the problems that face Kenya on criminal and development level are for the most part identical to those facing the surrounding countries in East Africa (UNODC, 2002) In Kenya, the organised criminal gang has been associated with the native communities, thus gaining protection and making them complicated.

Today, a relatively new and threatening trend in East Africa is the attacks by pirates' in the coast of Kenya. Young adults, who are generally poor and uneducated, are recruited by crime lords in Somalia and Kenya in an attempt to extort money from commercial and private ships in the Indian Ocean. The immense coastline and porous borders of Kenya makes it a prime location in trafficking in humans, weapons and drugs. It is however not clear whether there are pirates in Kenya or their activities are purely coordinated from Somalia, United Nation on Drug and Crime (2002)

Roots and Effects of Organized Criminal Gang in Society

Organized criminal gangs usually involve in activities which are prohibited. This incite activities are mainly planned, designed and funded by large organisations who are seeking to maximize their profitability. The models use both offender-availability features which are suggested to forecast the prevalence of organized criminal activities. UN Habitat (2007) stipulates the factors leading to crime among them being poverty, administrative democratization, rising gap between the poor and the rich, radical urbanization and poor planning and design of urban areas. Impelling cause of prearranged crime is categorized as follows: -

Societal factors and crime: these involves family setups and relationships, peer-group relation, and work status related to social factors of crime. There exist institutional arrangements that expedite the increase of the likelihood or even root of crime. According to Cloward and Ohlin's social structures as they presently exist, chunk the opportunity of many persons to reach success. People who are distinguishable by their socio-economic traits find it so hard to reach their success by acceptable means; if they are blocked from legal success they will try to achieve success by breaking the laws. Institutional arrangements affect wide range of people within a group. Political structure in society splits people into groups which are competitive and therefore crime is a product of this accomplishment. The struggle between people who are not in power and those in power is as a result of crime.

Physical factors and crime: most crimes are tending to happen most in cities than in the rural areas for a wide-range of reasons. Residential crime rates tend to be higher than rural crime rate however still considerable lower than urban crime rates. Main cause of increasing crime rate in urban area is the existence of slum dwelling (ghetto)

characterized by overcrowded and poor living standards due to unemployment which result in crime, Gordon (1967). Economic factors and crime: unbearable living costs and financial crisis has also been categorized as a cause of crime. This is justifiable by Karl Marx's theory of economic determination which leads to conflict. Karl Marx's argued that ownership of private property leads to poverty that distinguishes the ones who own means of production from their laborers. Poverty makes the latter to engage in criminal acts. Opportunity factors and crime: crime is also related to other factors among them socio demographic and socio- economic factors. Criminal acts usually involve an individual and an opportunity. Where there exist loopholes, the individual will take advantage to commit crime.

Demographic factors and crime: due to increasing population people are bound to change. The demographic factor is mainly affected by fertility of the population, the mortality rates, migration of people from one place to another and ethnicity. In the current generation crimes rate can also be determined in relation to populations of male to female determined by age, sex and race. Ecology and crime: Ecological is concerned with system. Human ecology is concerned with the effect of position in the ecosystem, time, institutions and behavior. The ecosystem comprises of environment, people, mental factors, social factors and technological factors.

Organized crimes have caused so many losses to people and economy in general. Some of the causes of loss of lives and traumatization is associated with gambling and drug trafficking. Poor use of land and illegal trading has given rise to increased food prices, declining business, rising monopolistic companies, youth unemployment, and misuse of public funds and high tariffs and taxes. Unethical business dealings like scams, counterfeit products and blackmailing is also as an organized crime.

Law enforcers in East African region. Have a faced challenge in curbing the increasing crime rates due to advanced technology used by criminals. This can be evident here in Kenya where there exist terror attacks in malls and designated places where people are busy, maritime privacy, drug trafficking and cyber-crimes. Native communities have been associated with organized crimes in Kenya. (UNODC, 2002).

Mungiki sect has been one of the violent and widely talked about organized criminal gang in Kenya. Mungiki is a politico-religious group that was outlawed by the government of Kenya following atrocities committed against its victims. The members of Mungiki claim it is a 'home-grown 'religious organized committed to upholding the traditional 'African way of worship, culture and lifestyle.' It began as a local militia to protect kikuyu farmers in disputes over land with the Kalenjin and draws inspiration from the bloody Mau Mau rebellion of the 1950s against the British colonial rule. In recent years, it has been associated with a political group known as the Kenya National Youth Alliance, Institute of Security Studies (2006). In addition, the successive encounters with the police and assassinations committed by the sect, Mungiki is identified to have been likeable in other anti-social events such as undressing women public for wearing miniskirts and trouser; forcing women to undergo female genital mutilation and invading police stations set free their fellow supporters who were under arrest. The sect has also been assuming a contemporary face using AK-47 assault rifles instead of clubs, machete and swords. Other organised criminal gangs in Kenya such as sungu sungu, chinkororo and Taliban have followed in the footsteps of Mungiki in unleashing their terror.

Recruitment of Membership

The Recruitment category describes how youth are brought into a gang or how adolescents gain access to gangs. The recruitment process varies dramatically

depending on the type of gang one joins. Recruitment practices range from friends coming together because of shared interests to formal recruitment through the sponsorship of youth by existing gang members or recruitment in correctional institutions Esbensen & Carsen, (2009). In many cases youth have indicated that there was no formal recruitment, pressure, or coercion for them to join a gang by existing members. Instead, joining a gang is seen as a natural process whereby new member gradually increase their level of involvement as they are integrated into the gang by family members or friends who are already members. Mathews (1993: 23) refers to this process as “drifting,” rather than a planned progression. “Drifting” can occur for a number of reasons: because of challenges from other groups of youth who see the assemblage as a gang; the perception of gang membership as a natural phenomenon where gang involvement is part of a neighbourhood’s culture; labelling by outsiders (e.g., police, media, etc.); or escalating levels of collective criminal behaviour and violence when the group/gang gets into altercations with other groups of youth. “Drifting” into gangs may also be more prevalent among youth who have no access to, or are not encouraged to join, prosocial, legitimate-type gangs such as sports teams or community groups (Gordon, 2000:43).

In other instances, organized crime syndicates require youth recruits to perform specific tasks in order to carry out their criminal activity. In such cases, active recruitment takes place. Youth are required to prove themselves as worthy of being taken into the gang by committing criminal or sexual acts as directed by gang leaders. The recruitment tests can range from thefts, assaults, armed robberies, murders, drug dealing, and prostitution (Criminal Intelligence Service Saskatchewan, 2005: 4). Sometimes the recruit requires to “Presenting Papers” involves showing police record with multiple offences. In many cases there is an established protocol for being recruited and inducted into these types of gangs.

Categories of Organized Criminal Gangs

Categories of youth groups/gangs is developed from reviewing and synthesizing relevant literature, this category supports and builds on previous exploratory models of youth gangs/groups Mathews, (1990); Hébert, Hamel & Savoie, 1997; Gordon, 2000). Based on the unique situational factors of distinct regions, communities and individuals (Mathews, 1993: 72), the typographic categories are intended to provide a general description that highlights what appear to be the most prominent features of the various types of gangs. The typographic categories provide a five-part multidimensional model that highlights the different types of gangs that seem to exist in world. Although there can be progressions and movements between groups, this framework does not assume a gang model where youths progress from petty crime gangs to criminal organization-type gangs, since there is little evidence to support this. However, we do recognize that youth become more entrenched and committed within their individual gang types if their criminal activities go unchallenged (Mathews, 1999: 10). The five categories of criminal gangs according to Mathews (1999) include;

Type A: Group of Friends: These peer groups consist of collections of youth who spend time together on a regular and on-going basis. They engage in little to no criminal activity as they build healthy and positive social relationships

Type B: Spontaneous Group/Gang Activity: This group of youths is largely social in nature as they congregate to spend time together and “hang out.” The purpose of spending time together is generally not crime focused, although criminal activity sometimes occurs spontaneously and is situation motivated (Gordon, 2000: 48).

Type C: Purposive Group/Gang Activity: These groups are often smaller in size than Type B gangs/groups, and the size is contingent on the type of activity that is being conducted or the purpose of the gang.

Type D: Youth Street Gang: This is the category of gang that Gaza gang fit into, it is usually made up of groups of young adults that come together as a semi-structured organization to engage in profit-driven criminal activity or organized violence against other gangs (Gordon, 2000: 48). Street gangs identify themselves as such through the adoption of a gang name; common brands, styles, colours of clothing, and/or jewellery; and tattoos to openly display gang membership to other gangs. These gangs are not part of a larger criminal organization and often have a definite territory or “turf” that they claim and defend as their own (Hébert et al., 1997). Graffiti is often used as a form of marking a gang’s territory and as a means of communication. Known examples of Type D Gangs include the Jane-Finch Posse, the Asian Assassins, and the Black Dragons, all of Toronto, Ontario. There exist multiple levels of involvement (Winnipeg Police Service, 2005; Public Safety Branch of Manitoba Justice, 2001):

Affiliate/associate members: These are people who hang out with the gang but are not fully initiated or considered as main or central members. They do not know about all gang activities, but receive some gang benefits, i.e., protection and access to drugs and weapons.

Hardcore/made members: These individuals have full membership in the gang and offer their complete loyalty and devotion. Their daily activities involve furthering the interests of the gang. They have significant influence within the gang and are privy to all information and benefits of the gang.

Type E: Structured Criminal Organization

Organized crime gangs are criminal business organizations that are highly structured and sophisticated. These groups tend to be led by criminally experienced adults for the purpose of economic or financial gain.

Theoretical Framework

Learning Theory

According to Bower and Hilgard (1981) contend that learning occurs with the adaptation skills and competencies acquired over time in line with the environment. It corresponds to Aristotle’s 384-322BC (1983) observation of learning as an instinctive thing guided by four laws of association. The learning process is multifaceted, with social learning theory positing that through reward or punishment of behaviour that is pro expectation or against yields certain conformity by adaptation. Learning can also be passive (Classical conditioning) or active (operant conditioning). Passive conditioning means that the creature is inactive and learns what to expect from the surroundings while in operant conditioning, the creature is active and learns how to get what it wants from the environs. Reinforce and behaviour result in reward and punishment. Therefore, operant conditioning is a way of learning through suggestion. Social learning theory stresses the fact that behaviour may be reinforced not only through actual rewards and punishment but also through expectation that are learned by watching what transpires to other people.

Crime according to Vine (1972) citing the works of Tarde (1843-1904) contend that crime is a learned behaviour. It is context specific and one adapts to behaviour in an environment according to proximity. Most of the crimes cascade from imitation of royal families. The proliferation of criminal activities in Kenya can be attributed to learning

theory. The distribution of punishment on errand groups is not commensurate with their deeds and these discriminative tendencies vis a vis the total blindness of the law enforcement groups on errand groups has whittled the fight against crime. In fact, as a reaction, crime has risen.

Sutherlands Differential Association Theory.

Sutherland (1924) postulated that criminal behaviour is learned. Through social interaction, individuals and groups learn new behaviours through imitation of new techniques, that are varied and at times simple but channelled through attitudes and other intrinsic values like motive and drive. The principle of differential association contends that the attributes of duration, frequency and priorities dictate the behaviour direction. Equally, meaning is attached on the basis of need and specificity of context. However, the general needs and values expressed through the criminal activities, hardly explain the general needs and values.

Sutherland's magnitudes are fairly related in elucidating the evolution in affiliation of the criminal gang in Kenya. It is predominantly pertinent and advantageous in explaining the recruitment of these new-fangled gangs. New members are usually introduced to the sect by often interacting with the older member, there by replicating their criminal behaviours and adapt them. The norm is that the freshly recruited criminals keep on interacting with the criminal gangs closely in order to learn and

Strain Theory

Strain Theory basically states that crime is the result of the strain placed on individuals who are not able to achieve middle class norms through legitimate means. Because they cannot meet those expectations through legitimate means they instead turn to illegitimate means (Akers & Sellers, 2013). The first sociologist to apply Strain Theory to criminal actions in the United States was Robert Merton. Merton's theory basically states that strain occurs when there is a separation between the cultural goals and the means of obtaining them (Akers & Sellers, 2013). In addition, the cultural goals and means are tailored to middle class norms which the lower classes cannot legitimately achieve. In his 1938 article Merton identified five adaptations of individuals who are not able to achieve the societal goals by legitimate means: conformity, innovation, rebellion, retreatism, and ritualism. In conformity the individual accepts that they are unable to achieve the societal goals and continues to endeavor in the limited opportunities available to them. Innovation sees the individual uses illegitimate means to achieve the societal goals. Those in rebellion reject both the approved means and the societal goals, simply striving for a new system to take its place. Those in retreatism reject the goals and means. The final adaptation is ritualism. Those in ritualism simply have given up on the goals, but continue with the legitimate means Merton (1938)

Merton (1938) would address the problem of criminal juvenile gangs by looking at what they are formed for. For those juveniles who joined a gang to achieve the goal of monetary success, Merton would say they have adapted to strain by innovation. They bond together to commit drug crimes, burglaries, and robberies. If they joined together for the use of drugs or alcohol, Merton would say they have adapted to strain by retreatism. Groups of juveniles who reject the means and goals of society group together under the common bond of substance abuse.

After Merton, Albert Cohen (1954) took strain theory and explicitly applied it to juvenile gangs. Cohen's theory splits from Merton's in that it the strain is not on the ability to achieve material success, but rather it is the strain in the ability to gain status and acceptance Akers & Sellers 2013. Cohen examined how the standards of the middle class were imposed on those who are in the lower socio-economic class and

how this leads to status deprivation in lower class male youths. He theorized that the formation of delinquent gangs was the result of this status deprivation. The boys who became part of the gangs tended to aspire toward standards that were opposite to those of the middle class (Akers & Sellers, 2013). The delinquent subculture produced by gang involvement as proposed by Cohen explained the crimes committed by gangs that were not done to achieve monetary success. It explained that the individuals in the gang commit crimes such as graffiti to gain respect and status among their delinquent peers. Strain Theory was once again modified following the research of Cloward and Ohlin by Walter Miller. Miller hypothesized that juvenile delinquency was an adaptation to lower class culture. He found that the delinquent youths simply exaggerated the central values of the lower-class adults: trouble, toughness, smartness, excitement, fatalism, and autonomy (Akers & Sellers, 2013). By demonstrating the central values of the lower-class adults, in an exaggerated way, lower class youths are able to gain status in delinquent gangs.

Strain Theory saw resurgence in popularity in the 1980's. This renewed interest resulted in two major versions of Strain Theory: Institutional Anomie Theory and General Strain Theory. Messner and Rosenfeld broke down Merton's culture assumption into four value orientations: achievement, individualism, universalism, and the fetishism of money (Akers & Sellers, 2013). The achievement orientation of American society places a person's worth on what they have monetarily and what they have achieved. The value of individualism puts people in competition with each other to reach the achievement orientation. The value of universalism dictates that everyone in the society strives for the same goals, even though those at the lower end of the socio-economic ladder cannot achieve them. The fetishism of money refers to the value of money in and of itself rather than what can be purchased with the money. These values and the institutional imbalance that the economy has, result in criminal activity as the byproduct of American society. They theorized that crime can be reduced by instituting safeguards against the impact of the economy.

Agnew's General Strain Theory looks at individual level crime rather than the macro-level that Messner and Rosenfeld studied. Agnew looked at deviance as an adaptation to the stress and identified three types of strain that produce deviance (Agnew, 1985). The first strain is the failure to achieve positively valued goals. Here the gap between the aspirations of the individual and the expectations results from unobtainable opportunities and inadequacies of the individual. Furthermore, there is a gap between the expectations of the individual and what they achieve that leads to disappointment and resentment. Finally, there is a disconnect between what the individual thinks is fair, based on the effort they put in and what they get (Akers & Sellers, 2013). The second type of strain is the removal of positively valued stimuli. This includes all stress inducing events in a juvenile's life such as the loss of a friend or changing schools. The final type of strain identified by Agnew is the confrontation with negative stimuli (Akers & Sellers, 2013). This includes all the stress inducing life events that involve the juvenile's conflict with the negative actions of others. This can include the juvenile's experience with abuse or legal confrontations. As a result of these three types of strain a juvenile will react to them by illegitimate means because they do not have the legitimate means to avoid them (Agnew, 2012). This theory is more relevant in our case, Gaza gang and most of the criminal gangs in Kenya since it explained most of the factors that strained youth to join gang so that they can achieve their goals in life, with the high unemployment rate in the country, youth feel that the only chance to obtain the things that they desire is to join gangs. They see other gang members in the community

with money from things such as drug sales and feel that joining the gang will benefit them in the same way.

Cultural Deviance Theory

Cultural deviance theory combines parts of the disorganization and strain theories. They believe that criminal behavior is the result of the strain people feel and the social isolation that the urban environments put them under. These two things form subcultures within the lower class that adopt values that are much different from the rest of the population (Siegel, 2010). A cultural deviance theorist would say a combination of growing up in deteriorated neighborhoods as well as the strain of seeing no other way out is the reason that people participate in gangs. They believe that it would take both factors to push a person to the point at which they felt they needed to take part in this kind of potentially violent behavior.

Sociologists Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay first penned the cultural deviance theory when studying inner city Chicago between 1900 and 1933. Shaw and McKay discovered that crime rates remained the same in specific neighborhoods, even when the ethnic population changed.

The cultural deviance theory follows a concentric zone model, where crime is most prolific at the center and decreases as the population fans out. The zones, listed from center to outward circle, are the business district, the transitional zone, the working-class zone, the residential zone and the commuter zone. The cultural deviance theory influenced future sociological and criminological analysis of delinquency and crime. Robert Sampson and Byron Groves (1989) analyzed 238 British neighborhoods. They discovered that poverty, ethnic diversity and family disruption in certain locations influenced social disorganization, correlating the cultural deviance theory. Sampson and newcomer Lydia Bean (2006) found poverty and single-parent homes correlated to juvenile violence.

Since Shaw and McKay, (1994) sociologists have named the areas within the concentric circles. From the center out they are business District, Transitional Zone, Working-Class Zone, Residential Zone and Commuter Zone

The area with the highest rate of crime, generally, is the transitional zone. This is the one just outside the city, far away from the wealthier neighborhoods outside the city. The theorists realized that regardless of ethnicity within this zone, crime rates stayed high. This is the area with the highest ethnic diversity, lowest economic status and the highest incidence of unstable families. This also corresponded to lower educational achievement and highest rates of generalized delinquency and anything from petty theft to murder. The case is not much different in most part of Kenya where organized criminal gangs operates, these are the area all characteristic with lowest economic status, lower educational achievement, high unemployment and these are the area which are inaccessible to security officer due to unstructured settlement hence little accessibility, Institute of Security Studies (2003)

Physiological Needs

When an individual physiological need is not met, one's may seek to satisfy them whatever means they can, Maslow (1943). Poverty has been found to be a correlated of food insecurity and unstable housing, as well as gang involvement, Pyrooz & Sweeten (2015). Thus, while money may not be a physiological need, hunger and housing are related to gang membership where food insecurity and unstable housing are predictive of involvement, Diclemestre & Carry (2014).

Maslow's (1943) theory would suggest a causal relation between these variables in which individuals are using gangs as a source of income to meet their physiological

needs of food and shelter. Because legal means of income may not be accessible to youth under the legal working age of 14 (U.S. Department of Labor, 1938), or simply unattractive due to the long hours and minimal pay, joining a gang may appeal to a youth in need of money. Gangs can provide income through criminal activity such as drug and weapons trafficking (U.S. Department of Justice, 2015). In addition to money, gangs can give members a feeling of protection by providing them with weapons and a sense of safety in numbers, or a sense that they have people who will fight with them if needed (Decker & Van Winkle, 1996). Such provisions may help youth to address their safety needs. A communiqué issued by the Peace and Security Council (PSC) of the African Union (AU) in November 2016 emphasized on pathological, religious, political and economic reasons, as the main factors motivating youth to join Boko Haram and alshaabab in the horn of Africa. It explained that lack of the basic need like shelter and food and decent life may force youth to be more vulnerable and so frustrated to the extent that they only see joining criminal gangs is the only way out of poverty.

Safety Needs

Maslow (1943) explains that all individuals have a need to feel safe in their environment. Youth living in areas run by gangs and violence are at an increased risk of membership themselves (Li et al., 2002), which may be due to safety needs. In other words, youth exposed to violence may feel that their safety is at risk and that they do not have means to protect themselves nor a group of peers to fight beside them. Thus, they may look to gang membership to fill these needs. Studies suggest that for at-risk youth, this lack of safety exists across contexts, including their neighborhood (e.g., Farmer & Hairston, 2013; Merrin, Hong, & Espelage, 2015) and home (e.g., Wood, Furlong, Rosenblatt, & Robertson, 1997).

One recent study found that individuals living in neighborhoods where there was a significant gang presence had a greater likelihood of joining a gang (Alleyne & Wood, 2012; Hill et al., 1999). Alleyne and Wood (2012) suggest that learned behavior is the cause of this relation, where witnessing gang violence leads to engaging in violence. However, the Hierarchy of Needs (1943) illustrates this relation between neighborhood gangs and gang involvement as due to youth feeling unsafe in their environments, thus looking to meet their safety needs through gang membership.

The need to establish safety also exists in the home, as approximately 71% of gang members have experienced family violence (Wood et al., 1997). Wood and colleagues (1997) found that numerous gang members had experienced sexual (22%) or physical (42%) abuse, often at the hands of their caregivers. Moreover, histories of trauma are predictive of gang involvement in girls (Hill, Howell, Hawkins, & Battin-Pearson, 1999; Voisen et al., 2014). Survivors of trauma may look to gangs with the hope of finding protection against another traumatic experience occurring. In addition to providing individuals with a sense of safety, belonging to a gang and the assumed camaraderie that comes with it can also be attractive to those looking to fill their love needs.

Love Needs

Maslow (1943) defines the love needs as a yearning for a sense of belonging and friendship in both groups and one-on-one; both romantically and platonically. He adds that individuals will “strive with great intensity to achieve this goal” (p. 381). Joining a gang, by definition, means being part of cohesive group with a shared identity (U. S. Department of Justice, 2015; Vigil & Long, 1990). Thus, gang involvement is an attractive means of fulfilling the love needs as it allows the youth to have a sense of

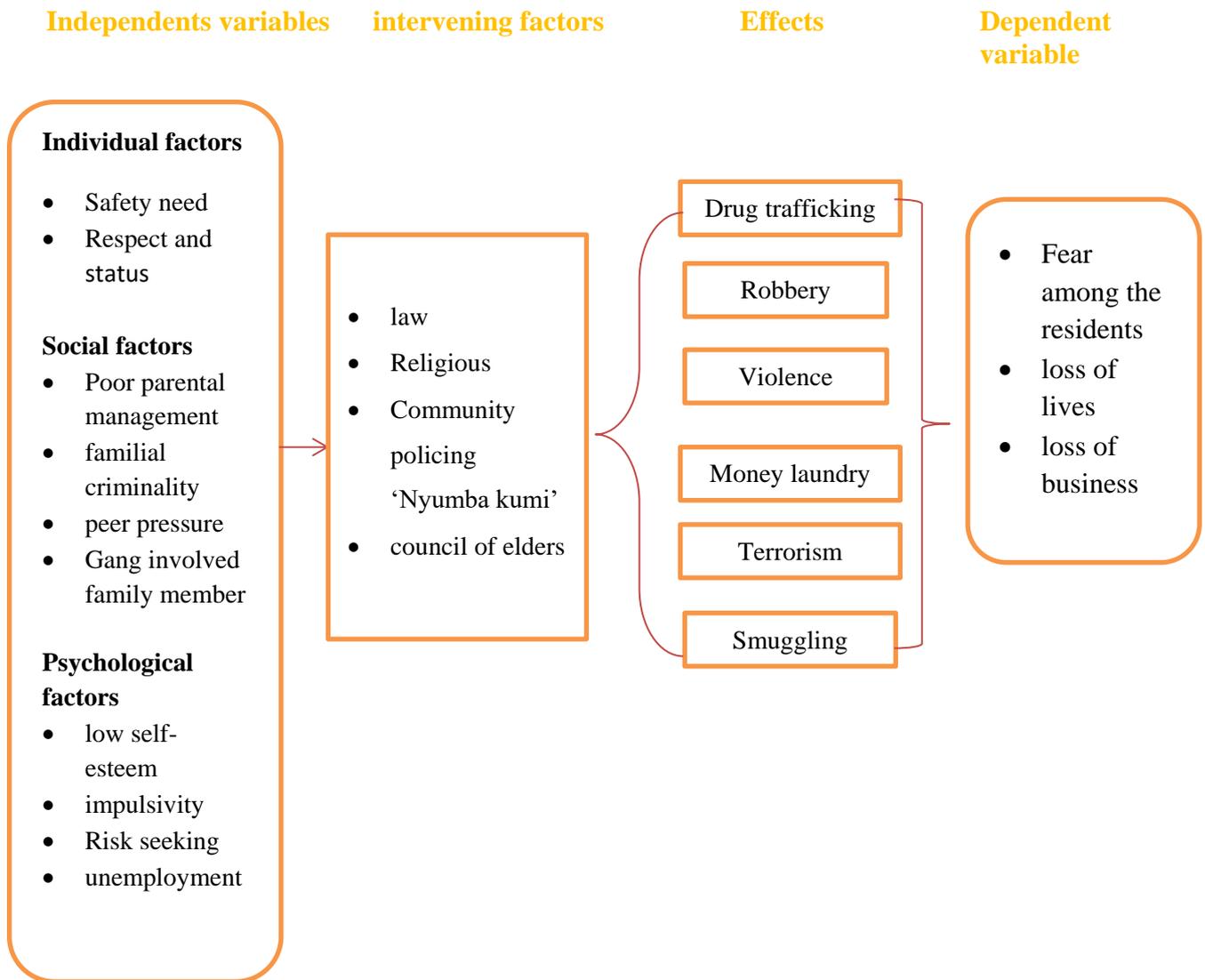
belonging to a group. Research shows that many gang-involved youth lack close ties with their families, friends, and schools (Pyrooz & Sweeten, 2015)

Within families, for instance, a lack of parental support is directly related to gang membership (Lenzi et al., 2015). Specifically, Pyrooz and Sweeten (2015) found that numerous gang-involved youth come from single-parent households, with the mother often being the sole caretaker. This correlation may exist because the single parent is the family's only source of income and may have less time to spend with the child. Additionally, low family involvement, poor communication, and low parental monitoring are all found to be risk factors of gang involvement (Voisen, et al., 2014). Voisen et al. (2014) explains that these factors are indicative of a family relationship in which an individual does not feel a sense of love and belonging, and thus the youth may seek other ways to satisfy the need for familial connections, such as with peers.

If a youth can find love or belonging among peers in school, he or she will be less likely to be involved in a gang (Hong, & Espelage, 2015). Research also demonstrates that having a poor attachment to school academically (e.g., showing disinterest, low grades, truancy) is predictive of gang involvement (Hill et al., 1999). When youth have low attachment to school and poor relationships at home, they may turn to peers for support. While research shows that peer support can be protective against gang involvement (McDaniel, 2012), associating with delinquent and/or gang involved peers can increase his or her risk of membership (Voisen et al., 2014). Conversely, peer rejection also increases risk for gang involvement (Farmer & Hairston, 2013). These relationships between peers and gang involvement can be explained by Maslow's (1943) theory in two ways. First, as mentioned above, this rejection may negatively influence an individual's sense of belonging and make them feel unloved. Second, such rejection might impact one's esteem, which is another important need in Maslow's (1943) theory. According to Nzes, Fredrick (2014), the role of friends in respondents interviewed in his study on decisions to join the organisations was unmistakable: friends were identified as the most active role players in introducing MRC (66%) and, to a lesser extent, al-Shabaab (38%) respondents to the organisation. Out of the 65 respondents he interviewed between 2012-2014.

Conceptual Frame Work

A conceptual frame work shows the relationship between the independent and dependent variables of the study as put by Vaughan (2008). The Figure 1 gives the relationship of the independent and dependent variables of the study. The independent variables are violence, robbery, money laundry, smuggling, drug trafficking and terrorism while dependents variable is the effects of criminal gangs on everyday lives of the residents (create fear among the residents, loss of lives and forced closure of some business due to monopoly of those business by criminal gangs hence lead to low quality of product at higher prices), the figure also conceptualize the factors motivating youth to join criminal gang which include; individual factors, social factors, psychological factors and physiological factors. Also capture is intervening variables which includes; social turmoil, lack of strong established institution and rule of law, political instability and unstable economy. This suggests that, the security of any state one way or the other depends on the rate at which youth joining organized criminal gangs. In other words, the higher the rate at which youth joining criminal gangs the high the rate of criminal activities hence high insecurity which has impacts on everyday lives of the residents.



RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Site Description

This study was carried out in Kayole Central and Kayole South, in Embakasi Central Constituency of Nairobi County. The area lies to the south east of central business unit (CBD) of Nairobi surrounded by estates like Dandora, Kariobangi and Umoja. The area is a high density with large number of unemployed youth, according to KBS (2009).

Population of Kayole

	Population (National census 2009)	Sq Km
Kayole South	37580	4.6
Kayole Central	37580	1.2
Kayole North	37580	1.2
Komarock	35628	1.6
Matopeni	37580	5.7

Research design

Social survey method was used in determining the attitudes and perceptions of elder persons (over the age of 18 years) on their encounter or experiences of stage managed criminal gangs and resultant effect on their lives. In order to obtain quantitative information under survey research, family members over age of 18 years was selected randomly to participate in the study. The key informant interview comprised of CID, senior government officers from Kenya police, administration and entrepreneurs or business persons. Focused group discussion (FGD) comprised of ordinary citizens. Passive and active organised criminal groups together with the victims and relatives were among the respondents. Records of arrests and conviction of criminal gangs was provided by the police and judicial service respectively which will represent the second-hand data.

Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis of this study was the effect of organised crime on the lives or activities of Kayole residents.

Unit of Observation

The unit of observation is the entities of the effects. These were the adult male and female residents and key informants in the area of study.

Target Population

The target population was adult family members (both male and female). They consisted of victims both affected directly and indirectly and also members of criminal groups. Other secondary sources were business people, government officers and civil society.

Sample size and Sampling technique

Two sampling procedures was applied. First was purposive sampling which was used in identifying key informants and members of focus group discussion. Two locations (Kayole South and Kayole Central) were purposively selected for the study. Also systematic sampling procedure was used to identify survey respondents, the first respondents was selected at random and the every fourth respondent was interviewed until the entire sample was exhausted. The sample size of this study was 204 as indicated in the table 2. All the 204 respondents were members of the public (residents of Kayole). None of the respondents identified himself/herself as a member of Gaza criminal gang.

Sample size.

	Target Population	Sample Size
Police officer	10	10
Religious leaders	10	10
Chiefs	10	10
Kayole central and south residents	75168 KBS (2009)	204

Methods of Data Collection

The study employed both quantitative and qualitative methodologies in data gathering and analysis. The study used survey as one of the quantitative method and also used both key informant interviews and focused group discussion as the qualitative approach.

Survey

Adult members of the public both men and women were interviewed on various aspects of organised crime. They were interviewed at their households and other places they were found. They were interviewed using a questionnaire.

Focus Group Discussions (FGD)

Six group discussions were held. Two for men, two for women and two for youth. In each FGD there were 10 members. They were facilitated by the researcher who led the discussions and the notes were recorded by the Assistant. Each FGD took about 45 minutes.

Key Informant Interview

The Key Informant were those people who had expert or detailed knowledge about organized crime in Kayole. They included police officers, chiefs, youth leaders, religious leaders and business people. They were interviewed on diverse topics of organized crime in Kayole.

Document Review

Relevant documents on organized crime were obtained and reviewed. Further police records were reviewed.

Observation

Observations across the study site were made. Some of the things relating to insecurity observed were: high metallic gate, reinforced perimeter walls, barbed wire and security lighting.

Data Analysis Techniques

Quantitative data were coded in SPSS software for descriptive, the result was presented in tables and figure, frequencies, percentages, mean and standard deviation were used in the analysis. Qualitative data were grouped according to themes and used to support quantitative values.

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

Gaza Gang

Discussions with respondents showed that the name Gaza appealed to the members after reading and watching television on how Palestinian in Gaza strip resist, Israel occupation. They found the name appropriate to their group. According to the respondents, Gaza has a known principal leader who is male and operates a car wash business. They said that under him are two deputies (both male) who are also business people in the area. Each village of Kayole has Gaza member who is responsible for generating income. At the end of every two days they surrender the money to the Gaza leader. Residents also said that Gaza is so organized that some of its members are released from police whenever arrested. They quickly mobilize money to pay fines in police or courts. They also hire lawyers to represent their members who are arrested. The female wing was mainly concerned with identification of targets, inform the male members who execute the plan. Therefore, Gaza gang has a clear organizational structure that they use to execute their operations. The elderly members (all male) were reported to be arbitrators and advisors to the younger members.

Aspects of Gang Membership

In this section the research focused on aspects of gang membership. These are discussed below under the respective subtitles.

Awareness

A total of respondents 102 (50%) indicated that they were aware of some individuals who were members of Gaza gang, 30% appear to know but they were non-committed while 20% were not aware of any person who was a member of Gaza. Those who were non-committal on being probed further indicated that they feared for their lives if they showed knowledge. Others even said that they feared we could inform police.

On gender and membership, for those who indicated that they were aware of members of criminal gang in Kayole, majority 74 (72.6%) of them said that the members of criminal gang they are aware of were male and only 28 (27.4%) were female, this clear indication that though male gender dominate the criminal gangs but their female counterpart were not left out of gang membership. This then demonstrates that organized crime in Kayole includes both male and female members. On this topic a police officer from the area and conversant with Gaza said as follows,

“This day’s young beautiful women are active members of Gaza. Their role is to spy carry and hide stolen goods. Others act as prostitutes in the bars to hide their true identity. They also identity targets, carry weapons and some are wives of the active gang members.”

Age of gang members

When the respondents were asked of the average age of those who join criminal gangs in Kayole estate, 98 (48.1%) of the respondents said that their age range between 13-18 years, 100 (49%) between 19-26 years while only 6 (2.9%) range between 27-32 years. This shows organized crime is mainly a problem of youth. According to a senior police officer from the area

“Most youth joining these criminal gangs are very young youth, mostly primary school drop-out and majority were from single parents who lacks parental guidance and mostly they are being used to spying, drug trafficking and carrying weapon and sometimes to provoke potential victim to react negatively so that adult criminal can intervene and to performed their intended act.”

Level of education of gang members

Education level

Education level	Frequency	Percentage (%)
None	37	18.1
Primary level	62	30.4
Secondary level	100	49.0
College level	5	2.5
Total	204	100.0

According to estimates by respondents regarding the education level of the members of Gaza said the following, 37 (18.1%) never went to school at any level, 62 (30.4%) primary level, 100 (49%) secondary level while only 5 (2.5%) college level. This clearly indicates that majority of those joining criminal gangs either only have basic level of education or never went to school at any level hence they were unable to secure any serious employment hence joining criminal gangs may be the only option for them to earn a living. Low level of education of criminal gangs also explained the reason why most of the crime committed by these gangs did not require technical technological or software application cyber-crime. According to the chief of the area,

“Most members of Gaza are not well educated, they deal in material things only”

Most respondents confirmed that majority 173 (84.8%) of those joining organized criminal gang were not employed in any formal sector.

Knowledge of Names of Organized Gangs in Kayole

Majority of the respondents 194 (95.1%) were aware of organized criminal gang called Gaza gang and only 10 (4.9%) were not aware of it. Besides this a total of 140 (69.0%) respondents also said that they knew other criminal gangs operating kayole known by different names. Only 63 (31%) of the respondents were not aware of any other organized criminal gang. Some of the names mentioned are presented in table 6 below.

Other Organized Criminal Gangs Operated in Kayole Estate (multiple responses)

Gangs	frequency	Percentage (%)
Kosovo	37	25.7
Seven Brothers	39	27.1
Starter	15	10.4
The 42 Brothers	12	8.3
Mayakuza	18	12.5
Smarter	20	13.9
Sparter	3	2.1

As shown in table 6 above Kayole estate has some several organized criminal gangs a part from Gaza gang which is the biggest group of organized criminal gang in that area, most of the residents cited Kosovo 37 (25.7%), Seven Brothers 39 (27.1%) Starter 15 (10.4%), Forty-Two Brothers 12 (8.3%), Mayakuza 18 (12.5%), Smarter 20 (13.9%) and Sparter 3 (2.1%). A senior officer in the area communicated on them as follows

“Most of those gangs like Kosovo were only active some years back, but due to their sting operation they managed to kill or arrest most of their members paralyzing their operation completely and now days they are not threat to the residents the way they used to be, also he acknowledges that Gaza gang are still threat to the security but they are also try to paralyze their operation for instant just recently they managed to trap and kill one of their lethal leader in his hiding in Ruiru town.”

A prominent business person from Kayole commented as follows,

“These gangs of robbers keep coming up under new names. The original remains and splinter ones emerge. In fact, now the whole of Kayole is divided up. Each area is under one dominant group.”

Factors that Motivate Youth to Join Organized Criminal Gangs in Kayole

This section answers objective number two which was to establish motivating factors that compels youth in joining organized criminal gangs especially in Kayole estate, the researcher uses closed ended questions to measure the reasons for joining according to respondent’s knowledge.

Factors Motivating Youth in Joining Organized Criminal Gangs

Motivating	Yes (%)	Mean	Std-deviation
There is peer pressure	95.1	1.05	0.216
Unemployment	93.6	1.06	0.244
There is little presence of police officer	86.8	1.13	0.339
Many youths are idle	85.8	1.14	0.350
Low parental control	85.3	1.15	0.355
Police collude with them	78.9	1.22	0.424

Several factors motivate youth in joining organized criminal gangs in Kayole estate in different magnitude as clearly shown in table 9 above, with peer pressure was the leading factors that motivates youth in joining criminal gangs here in Kayole at 95.1% and a mean of 1.05. The second was lack of formal employment at 93.6% and a mean of 1.06. The third was with presence of police officers at 86.8% and a mean of 1.13. Idleness among youth at 85.8% and a mean of 1.14. Low parental control at 85.3% and a mean of 1.15, and lastly collusion with police officers at 78.9% and a mean of 1.22. Therefore, a multiplicity of factors are responsible. Hence one factor explanation is not sufficient but a combination of them. Similarly, no single response will make youth not join but complementary options will be more responsive. On the issue of police colluding with criminal gangs, the security officers denied such a fact. In the words of one of the them

“There is no way police can collude with criminals, police are professional in their work. The main cause is lack of parental control, most parents in Kayole have no control over their children, the children have learnt that the easiest way obtaining money is to join Gaza”

Effects of Organized Criminal Gangs on Residents

This section deals with the objective number two which was to determine the effects of the organized criminal gang on the everyday lives the residents of Kayole estate.

Awareness of Any Victim of the Gangs

	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	146	71.9
No	57	28.1
Total	203	100.0

When the respondents were asked whether they were aware of any gangs victim, majority 146 (71.9%) of the respondents agreed that they were aware of those who had been a victim of the gangs. The high number of the respondents with knowledge of victims demonstrates the widespread nature of the gang activities. Most respondents had chilling accounts of the activities of the gang. In summary they said that the gang spontaneously attacks, little police presence, they easily kill even with little resistance or hesitation.

Most gang activities take place in the night and since more men are outside at right longer than women it is the most likely reason that they were the most victims. One respondent said that

“Men are more likely to resist hence are more likely attacked. But women naturally comply to the gang demands”

Along time resident of Kayole and who had seen Gaza begin and grow was of the following opinion,

“That lack of police presence and visibility had greatly contributed to the growth of Gaza. Kayole has no enough police yet every year the government announces the recruitment of 10,000 police. Where do these police go to if they are not posted to deserving areas like Kayole.”

Discussions with the respondents showed that community policing committees exist in Kayole at sub location level. However, they were moribund and had no influence at all. They said that their weakness had contributed to the spread of Gaza gang to the entire of Kayole. The weak relationship with the police had made the community policing weak since they were unable to enforce any law and order.

Effects of Organized Criminal Gangs in Kayole

Effects	Yes	Mean	Standard deviation
Length of doing business has been shorten	198 (97.1%)	1.02	.169
People no longer go to some areas/ avoid some areas	195 (94.1%)	1.10	.732
Residents are now forming neighborhood association for collective security	189 (89.2%)	1.13	.339
Gates are now being closed earlier than before	182 (86.8%)	1.16	.821
House owners and business people are now employing private security guards	179 (80.4%)	1.20	.398
People no longer visiting their friends in high risk areas	177 (79.9%)	1.20	.402
There has been installation of security lights now than before	174 (77.0%)	1.23	.422
Pupils /students have drop-out of school	169 (73.5%)	1.26	.442
Some schools have closed	89 (44.15)	1.56	.497
Hours of day-schooling have shortened	81 (41.2%)	1.61	.555

Presence of organized criminal gangs in Kayole has affected the residents in everyday life several ways. Majority 198 (97.1%) of the residents saying that the length of doing businesses in some part of the area has been shorten with a mean of 1.02, followed by people no longer go to some areas with 195 (94.1%) and a mean of 1.1, residents are now forming neighborhood association for collective security with 189 (89.2%) and a mean of 1.13, gates are now being closed earlier than before with 182 (86.8%) and a mean of 1.16, house owners and business people are now employing private security guards with 179 (80.4%) and a mean of 1.20, people no longer visiting their friends in high risk area with 177 (79.9%) and a mean of 1.20, there has been installation of security lights now than before with 174 (77%) and a mean of 1.23, while the rate at which the students/pupils drop-out of school was high at 169 (73.5%) and a mean of

1.26. However most of the resident never agreed that the presence of the criminal gangs has forced some school to close or stop operating normally at 89 (44.1%) and 81 (41.2%) respectively with both having a mean greater than 1.5 (No). This concurs with the information we got from Kayole junction chief camp, the police officer in charge of criminal investigation, said that

“sometimes this gangs go as far as stealing even student or pupil’s textbooks and end up selling them in the street”.

He further said that crime has greatly reduced in some areas due to sting operation by police officer hence life in those areas start resuming to normal however some areas are still hotspot area like Matopeni are dangerous area and sometimes even raping do occur or broad daylight robbery, and he further blamed this situation on un corporative from residents, he said that residents on those area were not willing to provide any information who can lead to the arrest of those gangs due to fear of being targeted by those gangs in any case they realized where the information comes from. Kayole junction OCS said that most of the time police officers on those areas never used police uniform or GK vehicle while on patrol since sometimes they be targeted by those gangs, so it is safe for them to be without uniform while on patrol.

Recruitment and maintenance of Gang members

This section presents finding on objective three which sought to find out how the gang recruits and maintain its membership. Also checked was the rate at which youth are being recruited into these organized criminal gangs, closed ended questionnaire was also used in this section.

Rate of Youth Recruitment to Gaza

Rate	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Mean	Std-deviation
Very low	2	1.0	3.82	0.811
Low	5	2.5		
Moderate	61	29.9		
High	95	46.6		
Very high	41	20.1		

When residents were asked to rate the rate at which youth being recruited into the criminal gangs in Kayole estate, majority 95 (46.6%) of the respondents rated high, 61 (29.9%) rated moderately high, 41 (20.1%) rated very high, 5 (2.5%) rated low while 2 (1%) rated very low. However, from the average mean of 3.82 (high) it is clear that the youth are highly being recruited into the gangs. This concurs with the information obtained from a religious leader who said

“very young primary going children were being recruited into this gangs at very alarming rate. The church has been appealing to the parents to take responsibility for their children. In one of my church congregation we agreed that parents monitor the behavior and association of children in the vicinity. Any suspicious behavior be reported to the village elder who has a direct link with the police. But this has not worked well too”

Ways of Recruiting Youth into Organized Criminal Gangs

Ways of recruitment	Yes	Mean	Std-Deviation
Do you think playing of pool are ways of recruiting	195 (94.6%)	1.0539	.22642
Pressure from peer	191 (90.2%)	1.0980	.29810
Do you think video shows are ways of recruiting	191 (90.2%)	1.0980	.29810
Do you think sport clubs such as football clubs are venue for recruitment	178 (75.5%)	1.2451	.43120
Do you think being a member of youth club can be a way of recruiting	169 (69.1%)	1.3088	.46314
Is there punishments if one leaves the gang	163 (66.0%)	1.3399	.47485
Are there rewards/incentives for being a gang member	159 (62.3%)	1.3775	.48594

Several ways and venues are used to recruit youth in Kayole area as shown in Table 11. Places where pool sport is played is the venue where criminal gangs recruit youths into Gaza membership with 195 (94.6%) and a mean of 1.05, The second most common way are shops with video shows with 191 (90.2%) and a mean of 1.09. Peer pressure with 191 (90.2%) and a mean of 1.09, football clubs 178 (75.5%) and a mean of 1.25, and youth clubs are the least common way of recruitment. There was consensus among the key informant that the county government and police need to regulate social facilities and venues for sports.

When asked whether there is any punishment if one decides to leave the gangs 66% of the respondents said yes mean of 1.34. The most common type of punishment was death, but those who defect relocate to far off areas including rural to escape reprisal. It was also reported that some defectors adopt pseudo-names wherever they go to in order to hide their identity. Others even change their travel pattern by avoiding places they were used to. Finally, 62.3% agreed that there is a rewards/incentive for being a gang member mostly inform of money to entice young youth into joining gangs. A key informant who lives in Kayole said as follows

“organized criminal gangs in Kayole use the public meeting point such as football clubs, places where pool is played and bars to recruit their friends and other unsuspected youth. And if any member attempts to leave they are often brutally killed. Therefore, defectors often seek protection from police officers while others relocate to other towns for their own safety”.

Oathing

Taking of oath

	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	137	67.2
No	61	29.9
Not aware	6	2.9
Total	204	100.0

When asked whether there is any oath which has to be taken before one become a full member of the gang, 67.2% of the respondents said Yes, 29.9% said No while 2.9%

were not aware of whether they were taking oath or not. Commenting on this topic a senior security officer said that

“The gang members we have arrested before mostly had tattooed on their left arm and they will never reveal their secrecy no matter how much you interrogate them. They would rather die than revealing their secret to police officer. This a clear indication that they usually take the oath before being indulged into gang membership fully”.

Discussions with other key informants showed that oath taking was a key strategy used by Gaza leaders to retain membership. They also reported that elderly members were the ones who administer oaths to bind members. The oath included drinking raw goat blood and swearing by the Bible.

Ways of Generating Revenue by Criminal Gangs

This section deals with the last objective to establish the avenues through which the gang generate money to finance its activities,

Avenue for revenue generation

Way of obtaining money

Ways of Recruitment	Yes	Average levy in Kshs.
Business protection per month	179 (80.4%)	1000
Matatus per day	177 (79.9%)	600
Motor cycle per day	174 (77.0%)	150
Taxis per day	174 (76.0%)	500
Lorries transporting construction material per trip	172 (74.5%)	400
Controlling construction sites per site	167 (69.1%)	3000
Electricity per month	152 (58.3%)	200
Water per month	102 (51.0%)	200
Providing security per month per plot	97 (47.5%)	300

Organized criminal gangs outsource various ways of generating revenue to finance their activities, table 4.8.1 clearly shows the ways criminal gangs in Kayole estate generate revenue to finance their daily activities, ranging from exploitation of business people 179 (80.4%) and a mean of 1000ksh amount of money paid, followed by controlling matatus at 177 (79.9%) and a mean of 600ksh amount of money paid per day, controlling motor cycle at 174 (77%) and a mean of 150ksh, controlling taxis at 174 (76%) and a mean of 500ksh, controlling lorries 172 (74.5%) and a mean of 400ksh, controlling construction sites at 167 (69.1%) and a mean of 300ksh per day, controlling illegal water point per month at 102 (51.0%) and a mean of 200ksh and finally through selling electronic at 152 (58.3%) and a mean of 200ksh. According to a long time resident of Kayole,

“Most of the gangs operating water business and garbage collection in addition to some car wash, but their main source of income are selling drugs using unsuspected newly recruited young children and ladies and robbery either through gun point or snatching, he further said that the water vender business and garbage collection help them to get access to several houses where they spy the valuable items mostly targeting electronics item, which they later come and rob”.

Another key informant said that,

“Sometimes these gangs get funds from politicians or prominent business people who later used them especially during campaign time to caused havoc or intimidate their opponent during campaign time, and this can be witness whenever they made any arrest to any member of the gangs some politicians will come to their rescue by bailing them out”.

A security officer in charge of the area commented as follows,

“Though they operate some water business but majority of them do not involves in any legitimate business as a source of revenue, they purely rely on robbery and selling drug to fund their activities, he further said that most of those gangs live hand to mouth, and majority of them were even HIV positive and they are people who have lose hope in life hence they have no time to invest in any serious legitimate business”.

Therefore, residents of Kayole face many challenges as a result of Gaza gang. They are summarized as: fear, avoidance of areas they previously freely travelled to; increase in the cost of living due to the new unplanned payments, reduce business time for shoppers and business people. The residents also suffer general or overall insecurity.

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Aspects of Gang membership

Majority of Kayole residents were aware of some individuals who were members of Gaza gang, some of the residents appear to know but they were non-committed on being probed further indicated that they feared for their lives if they showed knowledge. Others even said that they feared we could inform police. On gender and membership, men were the predominant members of the Gaza gang but their female counterpart were not left out of gang membership. This then demonstrates that organized crime in Kayole includes both male and female members. Therefore, gang members are people who are known to members of the public. Most gang members are young of the age of between 13-18 years, most have primary and secondary school education so most likely did not obtain formal employment. This shows organized crime is mainly a problem of youth. Therefore, there is a link between being unemployed and becoming a member of a criminal gang. Majority of the respondents were aware of organized criminal gang called Gaza. They were also aware of other gangs in Kayole known by different names, such as Kosovo, Seven Brothers, Starter, Forty-Two Brothers, Mayakuza, Smarter and Sparter

Motivating Factors

Many factors motivate youth in joining organized criminal gangs but peer pressure is the most contributing factor. But not one single factors can explain but a combination of factors such as lack of formal employment, presence of police officer, idleness among youth, low parental control and lastly collusion with police officers. Therefore, a multiplicity of factors is responsible. Hence one factor explanation is not sufficient but a combination of them. Similarly, no single response will make youth not join but complementary options will be more responsive. On the issue of police colluding with criminal gangs, the security officers denied such a fact.

Effects of Organized Criminal Gangs on Residents

There are many effects but most prominent is that businesses closed early and people buy early before sunset while others avoid certain places. Formation of neighborhood associations and gates on plots close earlier than before usually by 10pm latest. Other

residents have hired private security and invested in enhanced security measures such as increased lighting. Organized crime had made life expensive for people. In terms of recruitment many avenues are used but pool playing venues, youth associations, football clubs, video showing shops were the most prominent places of recruitment. Harsh punishments including threats of death ensure low or minimum defection. The use of oath also helped to ensure high compliance. Organized criminal gangs used various ways of generating revenue to finance their activities. For example, different entities paid different fees. For example, some entities pay monthly e.g. water pays kshs 200, electricity kshs 300, business protection kshs 1000. For entities that pay daily the chargers were: motorcycle (bodaboda) kshs150, Lorries per trip kshs.400 and matatu kshs 600. Charges for construction sites were kshs. 3,000 for the entire period.

Conclusion

The problem of organized crime in Kenya is big. Many areas have organized criminal groups and many others keep emerging. This means that the problem is becoming more and more complex. This will require government, communities, and other stakeholders to work together to address the problem of organized criminal gangs in our society. So far existing studies show that organized criminal gangs have become costly to society. Communities are forced to spend much more for their safety even where police are present.

Recommendations

- i. The county government of Nairobi and the police need to regulate spots and venues used in the area as they are the main recruitment centers.
- ii. Since high rate of unemployment was one of the factors cited in the study as one of the major factor motivating youth in joining gangs, the government should put in place better mechanisms to ensure employment are available for youth or government should set up polytechnics in the area where youth can acquire some skills like woodwork at a subsidize cost which can help them to earn a living in future and to avoid involving in criminal activities.
- iii. Government should ensure there is enough security personnel in the area and to ensure that the police were well equip with enough logistic to deal with the crime at now and may be crime in future since crime keep on involving they comes in different tactics
- iv. Lastly the parent should take full control of their children by monitoring their behaviors and activities, who they associate with and properly guide them accordingly, also the resident should work hand in hand by providing crucial information which may led to arrest of this gang members to police officers.
- v. Religious groups in the area could be useful in spearheading counselling of youth

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