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"SLUMS AND CRIME RATE": CASE STUDY OF KANGONDO CELL

Thesis dissertation submitted to the University of Rwanda, in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the Award of a Masters' degree of Arts in Peace Studies and Conflict Transformation

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DECLARATION

This dissertation is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university or institution of higher learning for any academic qualifications. It is a result of my own independent research effort and investigations. Where it is indebted to the work of others, the acknowledgment has been made.

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DEDICATION

By order of precedence, I dedicate this research product to: My wife Justine Mukeshayezu and our lovely daughters Mugeni N. Melinda and Ineza N. Melissa for their moral and family support through the entire effort; My parents; Mzee Nyiridandi protaz and Kavara specioza for their invaluable role in my upbringing, moral campus and parental guidance to the present; Brothers; Nyiridandi Kibasha, Nyiridandi Bahizi and Nyiridandi Mugabo for their good will, material, advisory and "rear" support throughout the course program; In-laws; Kanzayire Matron, Kazayire Judith and Kembabazi Rachel for their love, "rear support'' and good heart towards my success; Sisters; Nyiridandi Immaculate, Nyiridandi Annet and Nyiridandi Ngabire for love, well wishes and prayers for my success.

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ABSTRACT

The research was aimed at establishing whether slum areas in Kigali City have got a high rate of crimes and the possible causes. The study focused on; Kangondo Cell, in Nyarutarama Sector, Gasabo District as the case study.

Qualitative research approach was used, sample size was chosen using purposeful sampling and data was collected using; interview, questionnaire, focus group discussion and documentary reviews.

The research was mainly hinged on the model or theory of social structure and social learning (Akers as cited by G Lee et al. 2004, p.18). The theory generally indicates that the behavior of human beings is shaped by the social environment and conditions therein. I found it relevant to way slum conditions shape people mostly the youth to adopt criminal behavior.

Research findings indicate that crime rates are high in the area of study and that major causes include; poverty, influence of drugs, degeneration of values and poor settlement patterns. Majority of the people in slums mostly the youth lack occupation, are redundant and end up in crimes for survival or under the influence of drugs. There is acute degeneration of values and morals in slums which leads to breakdown of social order; some slum dwellers no longer differentiate between wrong and right while others can hardly recognize or respect any basics of Rwandan norms.

Basing on the above findings, several recommendations were made but all were resonating around the following pillars; relocating people in slums to standardized settlement quarters or places and social-economic interventions to uplift the wellbeing of underprivileged categories of urban communities who makes the bulk of the slum population. Rural development programs are also paramount to discourage the influx of rural-urban immigration.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CoK   :   City of Kigali

GoR   :   Government of Rwanda

RIB   :   Rwanda Investigation Bureau

RNP   :   Rwanda National Police

SAQ   :   Self-Administered Questionnaire

CHAPTER ONE : GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

Over a period of five years back, reports from Rwanda National police (RNP) and local leaders indicated that crime statistics were consistently increasing in the urban areas with; congested populations, poor housing patterns, low standards of living and other hallmarks of slums RNP reports (2017 p. 37 & 2018 p. 19). Regardless of the size of the population, when compared with other places which have got standardized settlement planning, the presumed slum areas have higher crime statistics. This is why I developed interest in wanting to understand this trend. The purpose is to establish whether slums have got higher crime rates and if so, what could be the causes, using one area in Kigali City (CoK) as a case study.

Globally, half of the world has become urban and the number of people living in cities is only projected to continue growing and the most rapid growth is expected in developing countries which will contribute to more slums (Weerd, 2011, p. 14). Slums may become better or worse depending on Urban planning, capacity of the local government and stakeholders of governance, the level of involvement in decision making of the urban poor and the distrust of police and justice system when authorities increase inequality and amongst slum dwellers, the risk of crime and violence increases (Weerdt, 2011, p.15).

In my opinion, the above author is indicating that sometimes the slum dwellers can become hostile to the police or other authorizes due to desperateness and perceived mistreatment; and the hostility can limit or deter access which can increase the rate of crimes due to lawlessness.

Slums are not a good thing; the term describes low-income settlements in urban areas, usually characterized by poor human living conditions often with lack of clean water, electricity, sanitation and other basic services (Mwaura, 2013). One of the reasons slums came about, among other factors, is rapid rural-to-urban migration; which the post-1994 Rwandan government unleashed with the freedoms accorded the people to seek their fortunes wherever they want in the country, and slums are now a fact in Kigali today (Mwaura, 2013).Accordingly, slums are a real issue in Kigali City.

Compared to cities in other developing countries, a key distinguishing characteristic of informal settlements in Kigali is that the vast majority of the households except those in 'hazardous' locations have land titles (Mathema, 2015, p. 4). This is an outcome of the national level land titling program. Titles have been awarded to every property owner to make sure that no household is unfairly displaced (without due compensation) as the development stipulated in the District Masterplans starts to happen. Yet, despite having titles, households are not making improvements or additions to their homes which increase potential for harboring criminals (Mathema 2015, p. 4). This indicates that there is a clear link between slums and crimes in Kigali City, as presumed.

According to Tumwebaze (2013, p. 8),

> " Bannyahe is a not so polite name given to a slum in Nyarutarama, Remera Sector in Gasabo District. It is believed that the area got its moniker 'Bannyahe' (loosely translated as where do they defecate from?) because of its lack of pit latrines. Visitors there would wonder where the inhabitants go to if they want a toilet. Although the proper name of this neighborhood, which is home to about 4,000 people, is actually Kangando cell, most of its resident's don't actually know it. The toilets (thankfully they were present) attached to main houses, which, truth be told, were about the same size of a normal storeroom. No one deserves to live in a slum let alone raise children in such an environment". Kangondo Cell in Nyarutrama Sector, Gasabo District is the location of my research and the conditions there are really as described above.

Pressures of poverty and slum circumstances increase frustration levels and the chance on gender based violence, domestic violence or simply the lash-out to anything that is more vulnerable than the perpetrator (Weerdt, 2011 p.18). Crowdedness can have the disadvantage of exposing children to witnessing violence. When mothers and fathers both have to work, this could leave less time for upbringing contributing to a diminished sense of belonging for a child, which is very important in the risk of children becoming victims or perpetrators of violence (Salzinger et al. as quoted by Weerdt, 2011 p.19) .

In relation to the above, the increase of violence and crimes in slums was also established in Nairobi by some researchers. It is reported that Rapid urbanization process has been accompanied by key challenges including inadequate shelter, unemployment, environmental degradation, increase in crime, poverty and poor infrastructure and social facilities. The acute

shortage of adequate housing in urban areas is seen in the proliferation of slums and informal settlements where the majority of urban residents now live (K D Wairimu, 2014, p.12)

In Nairobi alone, about 60% of the population lives in informal settlements and the number is expected to double within the next 15 years. In general, urbanization has outstripped the capacities of the Government of Kenya and local authorities to guide the physical planning and growth of urban areas and to provide essential services including safety and security. Other factors include failure to incorporate security/safety related issues in urban management policies, strategies and programs (K D Wairimu 2014, p.12)

Slum -violence can create risks for police officers and which can severely impair their ability to do their duty properly. There are cities where some slums are simply deemed inaccessible for police (Hawrylak et al as quoted by Weerdt, 2011, p. 15). Personal assault risk, reprisals or causing a shoot-out are reasons for policemen not to interfere (Winton as quoted by Weerd, 2011, p.15).

Violence can be of great influence on policies and interventions, where slums are seen as 'breeding grounds' for violence and crime. This can be used to defend clean-up actions like using bulldozers to flatten all the illegal sheds or military-like actions of the police entering an area with full force (Amnesty International as quoted by Weerdt, 2011, p. 15).

In the same context, slums caused rise in crime and violence in Medellin City, Colombia. According to P Lucci et al. (2015, p. 15), the City's (Madellin) population grew as a result of an early industrialization process, urbanization was not properly managed and many migrants looking for job opportunities ended up occupying land and building their own houses in slum settlements. This created unemployment and contributed to safety concerns in the city, particularly in low-income settlements; in fact, Medellín became known as the 'murder Capital of the world'

More so, the very institutions which cities have at their disposal to curb violence can sometimes be the source of increased violence. Police can use harsh measures, which can evoke equally or more violent retributions. Also there are numerous stories about corruption of police, their cooperation with drug cartels or vigilante groups, being responsible for extra-judicial killings seemingly with impunity (Winton as quoted by (Weerdt 2011, p.15).

1.2.Statement of the problem

The government of Rwanda's (GoR) most important aspiration is to ensure protection of people living in Rwanda. It is believed that peace and security will always be a foundation for the growing investment and trade (Rwanda National Police five years Crime Reduction Strategy 2013-2018, p. 9).

However, according to Rwanda National Police (RNP) five years Crime Reduction Strategy (2013-2018, p. 9) "despite the considerable successes in the fight against crime, we should not be complacent about the enormous task that faces us, we must also take stock of issues and areas that still require our attention".

According to the Rwanda National Police Annual Crime Statistics (2018), "Kigali City alone recorded 6737 criminal cases; thefts (1,861), assault (1,056), narcotic drugs abuse (799), defilement (497) and gender violence (119). Around 85 % of all the total cases were committed within slum areas, or by elements from Slums who steal from middle class areas and items hidden in such slums."

According to Malik (2016, p.2),

> *"unemployment and income inequality, Poverty, residential mobility, ethnic heterogeneity, bad housing, and weak social relations indicating disorganization do not allow stable communities in neighborhoods; after several years of decline, a greater number of offenders will settle in such neighborhoods, and this in turn explains the neighborhoods higher crime rates, the concept of social disorganization has been further elaborated in recent decades"*

There is little literature on the subject matter regarding the specific Rwandan/Kigali context, but even on global and regional perspective, authors still contradict each or suggest further research on the matter.

Therefore, this research was intended to examine whether slum areas in Kigali have got higher crime rates and if so, what could be the causes? This research was conducted in Kangondo Cell, Nyarutarama Sector, Gasabo District, as a case study.

1.3. The General objective

The grand objective of this research was to examine whether slum areas in Kigali have got higher crime rates and if so, what could be the causes with a view to arriving at academically accepted findings; which may enrich the existing knowledge on the matter in the field of security and peace.

1.3.1 Specific objectives

   i. To examine if there higher crime rates in slum area of Kangondo Cell, Nyarutarama Sector.
   ii. To examine the possible causes of crimes in Kangondo Cell,Nyarutarama Sector.

1.3.2 Research Questions

The research intends to answer the following questions:
   i.Is there high crime rate in this locality/Cell?
   ii.What could be the causes of crimes in this locality/Cell?

1.4. Purpose of the research

The purpose of this study is to find out whether there higher crime rates in slum areas and the possible causes. The research will also fulfill my requirement for a master's degree in Peace studies and conflict transformation.

1.5. The significance of the study

The findings may enrich the existing knowledge on the matter in the field of security and peace in the aspect of slums and the rate of crimes. The research product can also form a basis for further research and where necessary, the National Police College may share the findings with relevant security and social-Economic planners in Rwanda for reference in crime management or slums transformation.

1.6.Scope and delimitation of the study

This study will be confined on slums and crime. The study was carried out in Kangondo Cell, Nyarutrama Sector in Gasabo District, City of Kigali. This place has been nicknamed "Bannyahe" due to over -crowdedness and lack of toilets.

I chose the area because the police station in Kimironko, which covers Nyarutarama, and local leaders' monthly reports indicate that at least between 40-50 criminal cases are recorded there on monthly basis and on consistent note throughout the whole year (RNP annual crime report 2008,p.15).

1.7. Organization of the study

The study is organized in five chapters presented in sub-chapters and sections. Chapter one is an introductory part composed of the background of the study, statement of the problem, purpose of the study, research objectives, research questions, scope and delimitation of the study, the significance of the study, organization of the study and research methodology.

The second chapter is composed of the literature review, definition of concepts and my own observations or opinions on the theories or literature covered. Chapter three shows the research design and methodology used throughout this research while Chapter four will present the findings, analysis and interpretation of the findings and Chapter five reflects deductions and conclusions in the general perspective, recommendations and creates basis for further research.

CHAPTER TWO:LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0. Introduction

This part covers literature that has been put forward by other people on the same subject matter. It is very important for a researcher to see what others have written in order to check if s/he is going to make duplication or otherwise get the general idea on the subject under research.

2.1. Definition of key concepts (variables)

In order to avoid ambiguities, key concepts are defined as indicated below.

2.1.1. Slums: Slums are generally considered to be places in cities where the poor are concentrated in substandard condition. Slums are characterized by lack of basic services, substandard housing, overcrowding, insecure tenure and poverty (World Bank, 2000/2001, p.1). Similarly, The UN-Habitat report as quoted by P Lucci et al. (2015. P. 1), defines a slum household in operational terms, as " lacking one or more of the following indicators: a durable housing structure; access to clean water; access to improved sanitation; sufficient living space; and secure tenure."

According to Weerdt (2011, p.1), "Slums are the home of the urban poor, of people in search of a better life or without a better place to go to. Slums in themselves are not new; they have been around as long as there have been cities and the problems in slums are also not new; poverty, overcrowding, lack of hygiene, social upheaval, violence".

Drawing from the above conceptual definitions, slums are residential places in cities or towns where houses are so concentrated, living conditions poor and characterized by high crime rates.

2.1.2. Crime: A crime is any act or omission prohibited by public law for the protection of the public and punishable by state in a judicial proceeding in its own name (Marshall and Clark as quoted by (Malik 2016, p. 2). A crime is an instrumental act or omission in violation of criminal law, committed without justification and sanctioned by the state as felony or misdemeanor (Tappan 1960) as cited by (Malik 2016, p.1). The two definitions are in agreement with the prescription of crime under Rwandan criminal laws.

A crime is an act prohibited or an omission which manifests itself as a breach of the public order and which the law sanctions by a punishment (Rwandan Penal code art. 115). I agree with this definition as it is aligned with the context of my research.

2.1.3. Crime rates: According to Dr S Trappen (20018, p.1), "when talking about crime rate, keep in mind this number is expressed as a ratio of crimes in an area to the population of an area in a given period".

2.2 Literature Related Key Concepts and Objectives

When dealing with urban areas pervaded by illicit economies, violent criminality, and inadequate state presence, the government needs to pursue two interrelated objectives, which includes ensuring dominance or presence and social welfare improvement. Establishing such presence may entail demonstrating that the preponderance of physical power, if not actual monopoly of violence, lies with the state and its law enforcement apparatus (Brown, 2011, p.4)

The above author tries to indicate that crimes increase in slums because of reduced presence of the police or the state in such areas. He goes on to argue that state presence may entail use of force to curtail crime. However, in my own opinion, use of force is not sufficient to tackle crime in such areas, the best strategy would be to address other structural causes like poverty, housing and income generation issues.

Sponsoring illicit economies and using the proceeds to deliver otherwise absent socioeconomic goods and other public goods, non-state entities, such as criminal gangs, drug trafficking organizations, or urban militias, step into the stateless void. Paradoxically, these non-state entities often provide at least a modicum of security for the residents of the areas they control. They are the sources of insecurity and crime in the first place, but they often regulate the level of violence and suppress street crime, such as robberies, thefts, kidnapping, and even homicides. Their ability and motivation to provide public goods vary, of course, but such provision often takes place regardless of whether the non-state entities are politically-motivated actors or criminal enterprises (Brown 2011, p.4)

I agree with author where he says that in some circumstances, criminal gangs may take control of vacuum spaces within a state and later start to deliver services which were otherwise supposed to be provided by the state. Criminal gangs or non-state actors use

blackmail to extort money from the community as a pre-condition for their (community) safety. However, when the state fails to organize and regain full control over own territory, people will lose trust in it and its legitimacy is eroded.

Some writers have also indicated that slums in Kigali city are crime infested. Some areas like Cyahafi slums are insecure and people are robbed of all money by criminal elements; Slum Residents, pay Rwf 20,000 (US$ 30) or less for a one-roomed house, a plate of food goes for Rwf500 (80 US Cents) and a haircut costs 300 to 400 francs (40 to 60 US Cents). This should keep city planners in Kigali and on the continent on their toes with an eye on the Millennium Development Goal to manage the situation, and significantly improve the lives of slum dwellers by 2020 9 (Mwaura 2013, p. 6) .

More to the above, some other authors have written about a possible connection between slums and crime; there is a widely-held consensus in crime studies that crime and fear of crime are unequally distributed across cities, and that areas of higher poverty are likely to be areas of high crime incidence as well. This conclusion rests on the view that poor areas of cities characterized by high unemployment rates, family breakdowns, delinquencies and general social disruptions tend to produce alienation and consequently criminal behavior (George Owusu 2016, p. 3).

The above authors conclude that slum areas with high levels of unemployment and poverty produces criminal behavior. Their conclusions have much truth since slum areas are prone to high crimes rates.

It is also said that while the prevailing conditions of poor areas may produce criminal behavioral tendencies, these tendencies can only manifest in the absence of law enforcement agencies such as the police. For example, households and neighborhoods in urban Ghana felt insecure and responded by target hardening their homes (use of metal burglary proofs) which resulted in negative consequences such as weakened community bonding and social cohesion. In other instances, households and neighborhoods have resorted to extra-judicial and instant justice measures such as lynching of crime suspects or the use of the youth as discussed in, other measures including the employment of the services of private security guards especially in wealthy households and neighborhoods, with cost implications for these households (George Owusu 2016. P. 5).

In my own view, it is true that whenever the members of community (mostly in urban areas) feel insecure, they device self-protection mechanisms some which –costly, illegal or counterproductive. This is the reason why, the state has to do whatever it takes to provide security in collaboration with the public.

On the other hand, the legal uncertainty faced by slum dwellers relates very closely to institutional constraints, Land titling programs that can be successfully implemented may be part of the solution, other issues facing water and sanitation programs include market failures, coordination problems, free riding, and moral hazard. Addressing the coordination problem would be particularly important to ensure the sustainability of a community-level program. In particular, interventions should take into account incentives for cooperative behavior, group size and heterogeneity, and well-defined rules and monitoring. The author goes on to say that there may be existing small-scale water and sanitation providers, who may discourage the development of water and sanitation services; on the other hand, they may be part of the solution. It is unclear what role small-scale providers would play in improving access to water and sanitation. Finally, governance and political economy would have to be taken into account since politicians partly respond to voters (M Triyana 2014, p. 7).

I concur with the author that governance or administration policies are in most cases responsible for poor conditions and behavior of slum dwellers. Lack of food security, shelter and other social basic needs may force people to involve into criminality.

Some tour associations have also been attracted by the poor life of people in slum areas across the globe and Rwanda particularly. Slum tours in Kigali Rwanda and across the cities to travel to in the entire world is an activity that calls for volunteer visitors and tourists who are in the dire need to travel and feel the true aspect of slum life experienced by people not only in Kigali Rwanda but across Africa. This includes the people who have a heart for the poor, the forgotten members of the society and the sick (outbound tours 2013).

There are a couple of slums that are in Rwanda where you can learn more about the lifestyles that these humble people are going through. This is one of the activities that many people find fascinating as much as many set up means and ways that can change their lives. A visit to the hard hit areas of Rwanda not only gives these people hope but also inspires them to belief that one day everything will change for the better (outbound tours 2013).

This is an area that has been capitalized since the 1990's thereby making it difficult for visitors to distance themselves from the dark sides of Rwanda and fall on the good side only. This is the epitome of postmodern tourism in Rwanda. In the slum visits and excursions, tourists and visitors are predisposed to the economic degradation of states, villages and towns amid cultural exploitation and neo-colonialism. And this is where volunteerism term and government intervention comes in to rescue the people with dying hopes in the slums (outbound tours 2013).

More so, out of the research done in India/Delhi, it was established that none- inclusive urban planning and poor service provision is increasingly contributing to fear of violence in public spaces in Delhi, which is likely to affect vulnerable groups like economically weaker sections, women and children more severely; women and girls have been experiencing actual violence or fear from sexual harassment and assault. These perceptions of fear and risk get exacerbated in the absence of gender sensitive planning and lack of essential public services such as street lights and safe public toilets. Over 1500 areas (including areas near colleges, schools, residential areas and metro stations) in the city that were unlit and hence regarded as unsafe, areas around metro stations at Shadipur and Patel Nagar in West Delhi are perceived as unsafe by commuters and residents due to the presence of wine shops, sex workers and badly maintained roads which are isolated. Vendors reportedly sell alcohol at night which adds to the sense of insecurity in the area (S Satija 2016, p. 4)

The author brings out the negative impact of poor planning in cities which leads to the exposure of vulnerable people like women and girls to risks of crime. This is a common phenomenon, and similar cases happen in Kigali Slums including my area of study where some cases of rape or defilement are recorded.

In the same context, lack of proper functioning, clean and safe public toilets are also a major concern as women and girls are exposed to health risks, sexual harassment and even violence, most public and community toilets are reportedly non-functional and the ones that do work suffer due to chronic lack of cleanliness, forcing women to use open spaces to relieve themselves, which exposes them to risk of physical and sexual violence. As a result of this fear, many women reported going out early in the morning or after dark to avoid being seen, all of which heighten risks to their safety. Incidents of males harassing women, using toilets meant for women were widely reported (S Satija 2016, p.5).

The above author argues that the problem of boundary walls and setbacks around residential spaces in Delhi, have been contributing to a feeling of un safety, particularly among women, along with rise of anti-social activities like urinating, these high walls block visibility and isolate pedestrians which lead to a feeling of being unsafe. These coupled with lack of street lighting lead to a situation that is often avoided by many; all this brings focus on the need for inclusive planning which will allow 'urban advantage for all and address an issue which is much in debate today and that is, safety for whom? . He says that "rapid urban growth is likely to create enormous challenges in terms of planning and distribution of resources for expanding urban populations, which risks deepening existing disparities and thus creating ground for future conflicts and contestations, violence in urban spaces, particularly in the fastest growing metropolises has been increasing, and its impacts will be most severe on the economically weaker sections. There is thus an urban dilemma, as a result of massive urban growth and economic development along with increasing urban violence.

  Urban centers are increasingly being associated with a steady rise in poverty and inequalities which are attributed to many factors, including exclusionary planning which in unresponsive to the needs of gender and socio-economically weaker groups who specific and unique needs are not met. In Delhi specifically, such an approach could result in poor populations living in informal spaces getting excluded from the planning process, even illegalized through measures like demolitions, dislocations, and relocations, which are often violent in themselves as seen in the past   (S Satija 2016, p. 6)

The above author is right, it is a fact that forceful approaches by the government to evict slum dwellers may generate violence or increase their suffering. There is always need for the authorities to involve the stakeholders in the process of coming up with strategies or policies to improve their living conditions.

The differentiated use of space in the city by men, women, children, different socio-economic groups is a case in point where the socio-economically vulnerable groups use public space in multiple ways such as carrying livelihood activities and sleeping which exposes them to physical and sexual violence. Lack of equitable service provision and infrastructural deficit is also a feature of inequitable and exclusive planning and has an impact on cost of living, employment opportunities and travelling time which impacts the socio-economically weaker sections. As women reported feeling more unsafe as they move away from their localities and into public spaces which result in women perceiving public spaces as negative, thus curtailing

their mobility which impacts their participation in the life and opportunities that a city has to offer (S Satija 2016, p. 6)..

In my deductions and summary of the above literature, the authors indicate that slums can sometimes produce unruly groups which behave as if they are independent of state authorities. The situation becomes worse when the state authorities are no longer present or not accessing the slums

However, some authors conclude that slums become crime infested because of poor administrative policies by city authorities where slum dwellers feel neglected and their social -welfare status not lifted. Some authors suggest that there is need for further research to establish the link between slums and high crime rates because their own findings were not concrete enough to that effect.

2.3.Theoretical perspective

I was guided by various theories related to social-environmental factors and crime.   For example, "broken windows" theory,which the Harvard political scientist James Q. Wilson, and the Rutgers criminologist George Kelling introduced in 1982.

According to Wilson and Kelling as cited by Eric Klinenberg (2018, P.1), "criminals perceive broken windows and other forms of disorder as signs of weak social control; in turn, they assume that crimes committed there are unlikely to be checked". These authors further argue that, "it is more likely that here, rather than in well-built places, criminals can regulate public behavior by informal controls, drugs will change hands, prostitutes will solicit, and cars will be stripped."

The 'broken windows' theory gives an explanation on how crime and violence can increase in poor neighborhoods if the physical appearance of the neighborhood is in a bad shape (Weerdt, 2011, p. 19). In a vicious cycle the visual signs of a deteriorated area attract more serious crime, which induces more fear for residents and therefore a smaller incentive to be in this area (UN-Habitat as quoted by Weerdt 2011, p. 19).

What the author says has some truth because criminals exploit abandoned houses and use them as shelter or hiding places to execute their criminal plans. Such ramshackle or un-occupied old houses are common in poorly built-up up areas in Cities which increases crimes in such areas.

Similarly, there is psychological attitude toward the possibility of success in moving up through the class structure by assimilation or acculturation to full participation in the economic and social life of the community. The other is a measure of socio-economic handicaps and barriers to such movement, horizontally, we distinguish slums of hope and slums of despair, and vertically, escalator and non-escalator classes; the distinction between hope and despair is one which to some degree must be intuitive (CJ Stokes theory of slums 1962, p. 190)

The author adds that hope is based on the assumption that quality of psychological response by the inhabitant of the slum which indicates both his intention to better himself and his estimate of the probable outcome of such an effort; despair by the same token denotes either a lack of such intention or a negative estimate of the probable outcome of any attempt to change status. An escalator class is a group of people who can be expected, barring unusual circumstances, to move up through the class structure. A non-escalator class is one which is denied in some way the privilege of escalation

It is a fact that rural urban immigrants who go to cities or towns are the source of slums. Those who remain poor settle in cheap settlement/low quality houses, congested and their living conditions continue to deteriorate except when they are helped by the government or City Authorities.

The psychological distinction between hope and despair may readily be converted into a distinction between the employable and the non-employable. There may be some fuzziness about the exact location of the boundary line but its nature is clear; what is involved is some social measure of ability seen objectively as well as subjectively. At any moment of time, the city will have determined a minimum set of ability standards, for each job, for example, there may be age limits preventing those who are too old or too young from gaining employment or it may prove difficult to find employment for breadwinners whose education does not go beyond the 8th grade of grammar school. The distinction between escalator and non-escalator classes implies the concept of caste (CJ Stokes 1962, p. 189).

The author further indicates that there are two categories of jobs one of which permits escalation and another which does not and it is important to make a careful difference between caste and ability in this model, Caste membership need not mean residence in a slum provided adequate opportunities for employment exist on this side of the caste line. This in no

way denies that some form of racial or religious integration may be a more effective method than separate-but-equal job opportunities, adequate job opportunities within the caste lines will, however, work to eliminate slums if permitted to do so. The slums of hope have an additional characteristic of importance; they are the home of the stranger, the in-mi-grant, the recent arrival

I was also be guided by the relative deprivation theory. Relative deprivation is judgment that one or one's group is disadvantaged compared to a relevant referent and that this judgment invokes feelings of anger, resentment, and entitlement. In addition to the fundamental feature that the concept refers to individuals and their reference groups, note that there are three critical components of this definition that are frequently overlooked (Smith et al. as cited by TF Pettigrew 215.p.13).

The above author says that Individuals undergoing RD experience in turn three psychological processes: (1) they first make cognitive comparisons, (2) then cognitive appraisals that they or their group are disadvantaged, and finally (3) that these disadvantages are seen as unfair and arouse angry resentment; if any one of these three requirements is not met, RD is not operating . He (author) to say that in short, RD makes the claim that absolute levels of deprivation of individuals' much less collective levels of deprivation only partly determine feelings of dissatisfaction and injustice. Imagined alternatives, past experiences, and comparisons with similar others also strongly influence such feelings.

In my own assessment, it's a fact that poor people become aggrieved and develop criminal tendencies on the feeling that they have been deprived of their rights by either the government or influential individual actors. Social inequalities are the common cause of conflicts and violence in society.

The theory of social control is also relevant to my research topic. According to *J Schubert* (2018, p. 1) Social control theory was developed by Travis Hirschi in 1969; it's also known as the social bond theory. Under the social control theory "individual's break the law due to a breakdown with their societal bond, there are four elements which constitute the societal bond which include: Attachment to other individuals, Commitment to following rules, and Involvement by typical social behaviors and Belief - a basic value system".

J schubert (2018, p.1) goes on to indicate that "Social control theory is used to help us understand and reduce levels of criminal activity, it's based upon the idea that an individual's basic belief system, values, morals, commitments and relationships foster a lawful environment. Individuals who have these beliefs and commitments often have a level of self-control over their actions or are in control of their lives - they are accordingly prepped to stay on the right side of the law". Furthermore, J Schubert says that "social control theory examines how society influences criminal behavior, it also underscores the idea that when individuals are involved and in touch with their community, they are less likely to commit criminal acts".

The above theory is relevant because people who feel rejected or desparate without a strong social bond to their society tend to be unruly and violent mainly because of being hopeless and lacking any reputation to defend.

The social structure and social learning theory also indicates a relationship between poor living conditions and criminal behavior of individuals or groups. According to Akers as cited by G Lee (2004 , p.18), "the probability that persons will engage in criminal and deviant behavior is increased and the probability of their conforming to the norm is decreased when they differentially associate with others who commit criminal behavior or espouse definitions favorable to it; or are relatively more exposed in-person or symbolically to salient criminal/deviant models, define it as desirable or justified in a situation discriminative for the behavior, and have received in the past and anticipate in the current or future situation relatively greater reward than punishment for the behavior"

Akers as cited by G Lee et al. (2004 , p.18), maintains "that these social learning concepts identify the principal (albeit not the only) variables in the process by which social structure influences individual conduct, structural variables affect behavior through their impact on the social learning variables of differential association, differential reinforcement, definitions and imitation; the various dimensions of social structure provide the general context that increases or decreases the probability of crime and account for variations in group, community, or societal rates of crime and deviance. This context affects an individual's likelihood of committing crime by having an impact on the nature and content of the learning processes to which he or she is exposed"

I concur with the author that Social structure affects someone's behavior because people tend to copy or adapt to what they perceive as accepted norms of any given society. In this context, many people in slums mostly the youth tend to adopt criminality due such social-structure influence.

Akers as cited by G Lee et al. (2004, p. 20), says that "socio-economic status would be expected to influence crime and deviance to the extent that it is associated with different patterns of association, reinforcement, imitation, and definitions. One route by which social class might affect social learning is class-related interpersonal stresses, for example, hostile fathers provide their sons with poor behavioral role models against which to pattern their future adult conduct- to the extent that fathers from lower class households undergo more stress due to financial hardship and hence may be more likely to have negative family relationships, the role models they provide their children may be more conducive to criminal behavior"

The above author indicates that another way in which social class may influence social learning variables is through social capital. If members of middle and upper class groups have more extensive social networks, then these associations should offer adolescents and young adults concrete economic opportunities as well as role models for attaining success through legitimate activities, disadvantaged families with sparser social networks are less able to provide their children with these associations or role models, likewise, conformist behavior is less likely to be reinforced if there are fewer individuals within a social network who can or would provide that encouragement. Class might also affect social learning processes by having an impact on what behavior, conforming or deviant, is more likely to be economically or socially reinforced for persons in different class positions, lower status youth may have fewer opportunities for conforming behavior to be rewarded and lower expectations that conventional educational and occupational behavior will pay off. In contrast, middle and upper status youth may have more to lose by engaging in deviant behavior.

2.4. Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework below tries to practically indicate how some constructs like close buildings, impassable roads, congested cheap rooms for rent and negative solidarity between or among slum dwellers hinder crime fighting strategies such as; tactical operations to detect/ arrest criminal suspects and collaboration between local leaders and police which consequently leads to high crime rates.

Independent Variable (Slums)   Dependent Variable (Crime Rates

Poverty: -**Food Scarcity** -**Limited Income** **Congested Houses:** -**Limited Access** -**Harboring Suspects:** **Degenerated Values/Culture** -**Drugs Consumption** -**Youth Delinquency**	-High Chances of Stealing - Hindrance to Security Operations -Failure to detect and arrest Suspects -Violent behavior - Crimes by delinquents - Cases related to immorality
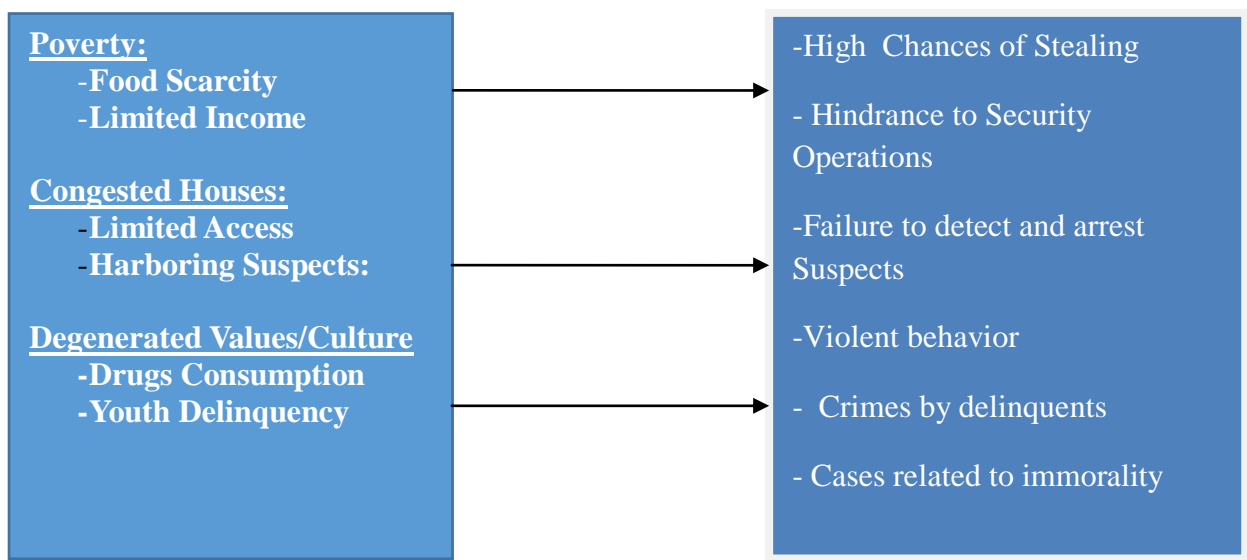
My own assumptions in the above conceptual framework are that slums have got congested houses and filthy impassable paths or entrance/exit roads. This hinders accurate anti-crime operations due to lack of sufficient area for maneuvers by security personnel, vigilantes or local leaders.

More so, the researcher assumes that slums have got cheap rooms for rent where potential criminal elements or even suspects of crime live in groups under hiding which complicates crime detection. Some of such groups evolve into violent unruly elements who confront whoever they suspect to be trailing them (including security personnel). Some locals leaders also get compromised by the environment and shield such criminals; either because of bribes or fear of reprisals from such hostile groups.

In summary of the literature I reviewed, the authors indicate slums are areas with poor living conditions which are prone to crimes. Some authors have also indicate that Kigali City have got good/beautiful places and other bad slum areas which are crime infested.

The authors indicate that poverty influences slum dwellers to get involved in illicit economies like drug dealing, forming gangs/militias for stealing or other forms of violent crime and illegal sources of money. The literature is relevant to my topic because it covers both variables; slums conditions and increase in crime rates as I assume. However, as indicated in the general introduction, the authors did not tackle the element of limited access as a major cause of high crime rates in slums. This remains my area of interest in this research.

CHAPTER THREE:RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0. Introduction

This chapter will describe the research design and methodology used in order to effectively collect data from my area of study. The design and methods will correspond with nature of my target population, time and resources and the consideration that I have to minimize errors along the way.

3.1. Research Design

A research design which gives the smallest experimental error is supposed to be the best design in many investigations; a design which yields maximal information many different aspects of a problem is considered most appropriate and efficient design in respect of many research problems (Akhtar, 2016, p.72). Drawing from the above academic knowledge coupled with the nature of this research topic and the population of study, I preferred using **qualitative approach**.

3.2.Targeted population

The target population was 100 residents of KANGONDO Cell; NYARUTRAMA Sector in GASABO District, City of Kigali. The sample size was 70, who were selected using purposive sampling because they were resourceful and potential in relation to the interest of the study. In this study, the targeted population is comprised of; Police officers, RIB staff, local leaders, ex-convicts, suspects, victims of crime and residents.

3.3.Methods of data collection and procedures

In my view, various research approaches and methods exist and researchers choose each technique in relation to the nature of the unit of analysis, the size of the population, the school of thought (positivism or naturalism), time/space, resources and other intervening factors in relation to the achievement of the goal. I believe that each method has got benefits and challenges and the researcher has to device means of mitigating the gaps in an attempt to achieve his objective. Taking into consideration the nature of this topic and the corresponding research questions, I used the following methods/techniques:

3.3.1. Interviews

To decide on the people to interview, I used purposive sampling where resourceful people like local leaders, police commanders, ex convicts, business people, victims of crime and the youth were chosen and interviewed. The unstructured interviews were used since they are more appropriate to such categories of people who don't have time to fill questionnaires. Besides, some of my respondents like criminal suspects and ex-convicts are illiterate who comfortable with interviews.

In my view, interview increases the interaction between the researcher and the interviewee also increases the rapport between them which leads to more chances of getting much/truthful data. Interviews are flexible and useful method of data collection and are especially appropriate for collecting information participants' experiences, beliefs and behavior. The flexibility of the interview structure is one of its greatest strength (Tod as quoted by Ryan et al. 2009).

3.3.2. Questionnaire

I formulated a questionnaire in line with my objectives and research questions which were given to respondents, and they gave feedback. Stefan Debois (2019, p.1) says that "first of all, questionnaires are a cost-efficient way to quickly collect massive amounts of information from a large number of people in a relatively short period of time. A questionnaire can be placed on your website or emailed to your customers".

He adds that "this method have little to no cost, though strong targeting is necessary if you want to have the highest possible response rate receive the most accurate results. Still, no matter what type of questionnaires you pick, it will be more affordable than outsourcing to a market research company; apart from being inexpensive, questionnaires are also a practical way to gather data, they can be targeted to groups of your choosing and managed in various ways. You can pick and choose the questions asked as well as the format (open-ended or multiple choice), they offer a way to gather vast amounts of data on any subject and can be used in a wide variety of ways".

I formulated a questionnaire with questions regarding crime rates in Kangondo Cell, and respondents were required to fill it according to their own thoughts or amount of truth they had on particular questions. The questions required answers either in affirmative or otherwise. The questionnaires were distributed and later picked after they had been filled.

3.3.3. Documentary

I read reports from police field commanders, registries for local leaders and policy papers related to the research topic and area of study. Authentic written materials related to the population of study or case study were consulted for the purposes of data collection.

Documentary research method refers to the analysis of documents that contains information about the phenomenon we wish to study (Bailey as quoted by Ahmed 2010 p. 16). The documentary research method is used in investigating and categorizing physical sources, most commonly written documents, whether in the private or public domain (Payne as quoted by Ahmed 2010 p. 16). The author adds that this research method is good and sometimes even more cost effective than the social surveys, in-depth interview or participant observation.

Documentary research has been a staple of social research since its earliest inception. Documentary products are especially important for the ethnographer, providing a "rich vein for analysis". Along with surveys and ethnography, documentary research is one of the three major types of social research and arguably has been the most widely used of the three, throughout the history of sociology and other social sciences. It has been the principal method, sometimes even the only one - for leading sociologists (Hammersley and Atkinson as quoted by Ahmed 2010).

3.3.4. Observation

Some of the people I interviewed, like grassroots local leaders, heads of community patrols (Irondo) stay within the slum, which necessitated the researcher's visit to the area of study. During such visits, I made some observations on some issues such as housing settings, paths, roads (if any), patrols of security services and any other vital sceneries to augment the data from interviews and questionnaire.

Much as the data from observations may not be absolutely accurate, the method remain useful since the researcher can build from it to get more corroborative data through other methods like interviews or documentary. Observation as a method helps the researcher to understand the phenomena under study, validity is stronger when observation is used with other additional strategies such as interviewing and document analysis (DeWALT as quoted by B Barbara, 2005).

3.3.5. Focus Group discussion

In order to conduct successful group interviews, the focus-group moderator should spend a large portion of the discussion time probing participants' experiences, asking them to share and compare experiences, and discussing the extent to which they agree or disagree with each other. It is not until the final third of the interview that the moderator should start to actively engage the participants in the key research questions for which she/he requires the answers. Indeed, many experienced focus-group researchers emphasize the importance of 'warm-up' time. This may require the moderator to provide the participants with some information on the current situation that has led to the important question (T Francis 2007, p. 2).

During formal analysis of focus-group data, much attention should be put on the summary of: the most important themes; the most noteworthy quotes; any unexpected findings. An analysis of focus-group data therefore aims to achieve the same aims as that of one-to-one interview analyses, except that through the process of trying to arrive at group consensus in the session, some recorded comments may change in their level of importance, as they may be made by one individual and then refuted by others. Some of the most interesting findings arise from placing an analytical perspective on the social interaction itself, particularly in heavily politicized environments (T Francis 2007, p. 2).

3.4. Data Analysis tools and Procedures

Data processing involves translating raw information into meaningful and relevant information for easy interpretation. The collected data was categorized coded, edited and later disseminated into themes in reflection with my research questions.

3.5. Research Ethics

I respected all ethical norms through-out the research and even after. Ethical principles and practices which were   strictly respected, including-among others the following:

- Avoiding plagiarism by referencing all the work that is not mine

- Protection of respondents from any harm related to our contact or provision of data

-Respect of people's diverse culture, beliefs and even individual personal integrity and privacy

-Consideration of national laws and international instruments as regards human rights

-Professional interactions with respondents mostly interviewees

The above methods/techniques gave me a reliable data and the ethical considerations ensured the smooth running of the entire data collection process.

3.6 Limitations

The main limitation was that I was carrying out research in crime infested area yet I am a Police officer by profession. There was a possibility of my respondents to fear and not fully cooperate during interviews under false assumption that I was doing investigations. In the same context, as a police officer I had some biases in field of criminality which I had to overcome in order to be balanced.

Another limitation was about my personal security during the process of data collection given my profession and hostile environment I was operating from.

In order to overcome the above limitations, I employed the following strategies; behaved as usual civilian University student who was doing an academic staff with any temptation to mix my profession and the research exercise; created good rapport with respondents through casual talks and humor before indulging in the real business of data collection which highly made them cooperative. For the case of my personal security, I carefully chose for secure meeting places and emphasized on the involvement of the local leaders in the entire process.

I tried to avoid pre-conceived prejudices and conclusions and generally remained balanced to avoid bias mainly at the level of data analysis and themes.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS ON SLUMS AND CRIME RATES

4.0. Introduction

This chapter covers research findings, deductions and gives an overview on the categories of respondents in relation to their occupation, gender and age bracket.

4.1. Demographic data

Table 4.1 Categorization of respondents by Profession/occupation

Category of Respondents	Population
Police officers	13
Local leaders	09
Rwanda investigation bureau field managers/staff	5
Ex-convicts and prime suspects in crime	15
Victims of crime	08
Members of mediation Committees	05
Common residents	15
Total	**70**

The above categories of people were purposively selected because they are credible sources of data on my research subject. For example, Police and RIB officers are the ones charged with prevention and investigation of crime and have got factual records to that effect.

The local leaders are the one charged with administration, social-economic affairs of the people in this area and are also resourceful persons. The residents, mediation committees have got are also fully understands the conditions in my area of research while victims of crime, ex-convicts and prime suspects are like primary sources of data because they are directly affected or involved in crime.

Table 4.2: Gender Identification

Gender	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Male	50	71
Female	20	29
Total	**70**	**100**

Source: Researcher, 2019

The percentage of males was bigger because they are the ones highly involved in criminality compared to females. However, females were also represented as members of the community and sometimes victims of crime and social conditions.

Table 4. 3: Age groups of Respondents

Age group	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Below 14-35	30	43
35-45	25	36
45-55	10	14
Above 55	5	7
TOTAL	**70**	**100%**

I selected the age of 14-35 because below that age, children are taken to be infants and not criminally liable. The age between 14-35 and 35-45 had bigger percentages because they are active in both bad and good activities compared to the old people. They have energy, will and capacity to influence the behavior or social-economic conditions of the community.

4.2 Presentation of the Findings

Table 4.5: High crime rate in Kangondo Cell, Nyarutrama Sector in Gasabo District

Response	Frequency	Percentages (%)
Strongly Agree	18	26
Agree	50	71
Not Sure	2	3
Disagree	-	-
Strongly Disagree	-	-
Total	**70**	**100**

Source: Researcher, 2019

Crime rate in the locality (Kangondo Cell)

Many respondents (71%) agreed that crimes are rampant in Kangondo Cell while 26% strongly agreed that the area has high crime rates. Such percentages signify that Kangondo Cell, which is a slum area, is highly infested with crime.

The causes of crimes in the Locality (Kangondo Cell)

Different respondents gave individual views on the presumed causes of high crime rates in the area of study but some probable causes were revealed by many of them as it is indicated below:

One respondent, a local leader, said "igitera ibyaha byinshi muraka gate numubare dufite winsoresore zitafite akazi, usanga zinwa ibiyobyabwenge, zikiba, zikanakora ibikorwa byurugomo". Loosely translated in English "the main cause of crimes here is the existence of youth delinquents who abuse drugs and later engage in crimes such as theft/robberies and unruly behavior''.

Another respondent who is an ex-convict on the crime of house breaking and robbery said "turiba kubera ubukene, tubana munsu turi abasore batatu kandi twese ntawugira akazi gahoraho keretse ibiraka. Iyo rero dusumbirijwe tujya kwiba kubera gushaka amaramuko". Translation " it is poverty that pushes us into robbery activities just for survival, for example, we stay together in a single rented room/house yet none of us has got meaningful employment or occupation, except may be temporary odd/manual jobs". A police commander running one of the Police stations responsible for Kangondo area said "twakira ibyaha binyuranye kandi byishi bivuye muraka Kagari cyane kuberako nta burere buhagije babyeyi baho baha urubyiruko, abana benshi baba barerwa numubyeyi umwe cyanne abadamu kandi nabo bakora umwuga wuburaya. Ikindi gitera ibyaha nikoreshwa ryibiyobyabwenge nkurumogi ninzoga zinkorano hakiyongeramo ubukene bukabije. Translation; "we record many criminal cases from Kangondo Cell, the main causes are; degeneration of morals and values within the youth because of loose or weak parenting norms, use of drugs mostly cannabi, consumption of illicit local brews and extreme poverty".

An elder who has lived in the area for over ten years said "aka gace abantu barakenye cyane, ikindi abantu babi biroroshye kwanduza abandi ingesombi kubera dutuye mukajagari, turacucitse kuburyo ingesombi zikwira vuba". Translation: "people in this area are very poor, in addition to that, we are so congested to an extent that many people catch wrong traits from peers or neighbors, criminal behavior is easily spread amongst the community".

Rwanda bureau of investigation officer overseeing the area said "we handle an average of 10 criminal cases a day from Kangondo Cell, common offences are; house breaking and robbery, petty theft, gravious assaults, rape/defilement, domestic violance and drug abuse. Robberies are mostly than in middle class areas like Nyarutarama and Kibagabaga by youth from Kangondo. The main causes of crimes are poverty and influence of drugs and alcohol''.

Another respondent who happens to be a member of the mediation committees said "duhora duhosha amakimbirane, hagati yabibanye, imirwano hagati yabashakanye, ubusambanyi nibindi bikorwa byurugomo. Dutuye nabi kandi umubare munini wabantu baraha nabantu badashobotse ntamuco". Translation: "we always preoccupied with resolving disputes arising from thefts, domestic violence, adultery and public disorder. We have poorly settled, and this area is dominated by wrong characters without values".

A police patrol tactical commander said "biratugora kwinjira muri Kangondo haba turi mumodoka cyangwa kumaguru cyane ninjoro kubera imihanda mibi ndetse nubucukike bwamazu. Ibyo bituma police itahagaragara bihagije muburyo bwogukumira cyangwa kuburizamo ibyaha". Translation; police vehicle or foot patrol find difficulties in accessing the inner parts of this slum mainly at night, due to congestion of houses and narrow entrance routes. This affects police presence and visibility, necessary to prevent or stop crime". In one of the focus group discussion with a group of grass root leaders they in turns said that "ibyaha byinshi biba muraka kagali cyangwase bikorwa nabantu bakomoka muraka kagali biganjemo urubyiruko bikomoka kubukene nogutura nabi" Translation "crimes committed in this cell or by people from here especially the youth, it is all linked to poverty and poor settlement pattern where criminal behavior is easily 'transmitted' from one person to the other".

The above findings indicate that there are high crime rates in slum area and the main causes are; poverty, degeneration of values due to poor family upbringing, influence of drugs and poor settlement settings or social factors where criminal behavior is easily adopted and spread.

4.3. Challenges Related to research objectives

In the view of the above findings, is apparent that there multiple challenges which are associated with the prevalent situation in Kangondo Cell;

Lack of social- welfare or poverty eradication programs to uplift the standards of living for the people in this area more especially the youth. Many youths lack any meaningful occupation, are somehow desparate which lures them into criminality and other forms of unruly behavior

There is also an issue of drug dealing and consumption whereby it is almost becoming an accepted practice within the community. The drugs are sold by retail dealers within the Cell who also buy those (drugs) from distributors outside the area. Juvenile delinquency and general breakdown of social order is also a challenge. Young children and adolescents have abandoned school; have resorted to loitering, sexual activities, drug abuse and other sorts of immoral acts. Shelter and hygiene problem is also vivid; people live in ramshackle houses, congested rooms, surrounded by filthy environs without clear drainage system. The houses and the entire surrounding environment reflect to be a safety and health hazard to the people.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0. Introduction

This chapter covers the conclusion and recommendations to mitigate or where possible eradicate the established challenges.

5.1. Summary of findings

Slums are characterized by unrestricted birth controls, unemployment and overcrowded rented rooms or small houses leading social pressures and eventually crime. The numbers of residents or entire population is difficult to determine as many people live "informal" life and don't present themselves to the authorities

The conditions of living compel slum dwellers to engage in criminality either as source of survival or due to cultural erosion and bad moral acquired from poor upbringing. The houses are makeshift or wattle which themselves are a risk to the occupants because they sometimes swept away by rain water or floods

Most of delinquents in Kangondo Cell are born from single mothers without any meaningful income to sustain them. They consequently lack basic education, food, clothing and other basic necessities; they end up becoming desparate gangsters who are unruly and ready to involve themselves in any sort of violent behavior

In the same context, some of girls born from single mothers are potential victims of teenage pregnancies due to lack of enough parental protection, support and control which makes such problem of single-mothers a cycle

Slums have got spillover effect on the communities in their proximities because elements from slums go to steal from middle class quarters and hide the loot in the slums (cheap rental rooms.

5.2. Conclusion

Kangondo Cell, which is a slum area, has got high crime rates as shown by the research findings. The main causes of these crimes are; poverty, poor settlement pattern, influence of drugs, youth unemployment and cultural erosion. The findings from Kangondo Cell may be generalized to other slum areas because the living conditions and push factors are almost

similar. Slums emerge because of immigrations from rural to urban areas in search of jobs and improved life standards. However, such hopes for employment are not realized and most of the immigrants settle in cheap and underdeveloped parts of the City where rent is affordable and the place eventually becomes over-congested.

In most cases, criminal elements from other places find a safe haven in slums because it is not simple to detect them given the big size of the population and inaccessibility by security services. Such criminal elements recruits other youths to beef up their ranks and networks which may graduate into formidable organized criminal gangs if not contained in time.

On the other hand, poverty can affect peace and stability and creates conflicts in society. People are poor are aggrieved and potential for involvement into any conflict either at community level or national context. The hungry youths can be lured into armed conflicts or negative political activities under false promises of enrichment and better life. The use of drugs which was found as a common problem is slums also intoxicates the youth and makes them violent and useless to society. Drug influence can be a source of any crime or unruly behavior. Youths in such places consume such drugs due to being desparate or peer pressure from their age mates.

5.3. Recommendations

In line with the above indicated challenges, the following are possible recommendations:

The ministry commerce may group people into small scale cooperatives and support them to get startup capital with a view to alleviate poverty and increase their income base.

The ministry of local government, City of Kigali cans device means of uplifting the housing standards of the people in slum areas; either by resettling them or improving the quality of settlement plan in their current locations. The ministry of youth in collaboration with the ministry of education may initiate skills development programs (vocational training) for the youth in order for them to get occupation

The ministry of culture in collaboration with national civic education commission (Itorero Ryigihugu) can initiate a program to rejuvenate norms and values of the people in slums. The National Rehabilitation Service in collaboration with Rwanda National Police may organize a campaign to fight drug abuse and take addicts to rehabilitation centers for further management.

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APENDICES

APENDEX A: Recommendation Letter by National Police College

APPENDEX B: Self-Administered Questionnaire to Respondents