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ASSESSING THE EFFECT OF COMMUNITY SERVICE ORDERS PROGRAMME ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN KIBERA SUB-COUNTY, NAIROBI COUNTY, KENYA

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ABSTRACT

Community service was introduced in Kenya as an alternative to custodial sentence. However, there is limited empirical evidence regarding its impact on socio-economic development. The study therefore sought to establish the effects of Community Service Orders (CSO) programme on socio-economic development in Kibera Sub-County anchoring on Restorative Justice and Social Control theories. A descriptive survey design was used and the target population of the study was 12 probation officers, 8 assistant chiefs, 16 village elders, 42 Nyumba Kumi representatives and 14 religious organizational leaders totaling to 92 respondents. A sample size of 63 respondents was obtained through Yamane formula and then sampled randomly through stratified random procedures. Both qualitative and quantitative data collected through semi-structured questionnaires and Focused Group Discussions (FGDs) were used.



Thematic analysis was used to analyze the qualitative data while Statistical package for social sciences (SPSS) Version 24 was used to analyze the quantitative data to obtain the descriptive statistics and Spearman Rank Order Correlation. The results of the study indicated that community members understand and accept the community service programme. As a result, most of them participated in the CSO programme albeit moderately. This in turn had a positive and significant relationship with capacity building of the offenders, probation officers as well as supervisors, savings for the Nairobi County Government and employment creation for community members. It was also revealed that various projects conducted under CSO such as maintenance of markets and public spaces, projects in health facilities, construction and repair in schools, maintenance of roads as well as construction of public toilets had a positive and significant relationship with capacity building of the offenders, probation officers as well as supervisors, savings for the Nairobi County Government and employment creation for community members. The study has recommended for an improvement in the expansion of the activities conducted through CSO through priority allocation as well as enhanced community involvement in CSO in order to realize its significant benefits in socio-economic development in the society.

Key Words : *Community Service Orders (CSO) programme, Socio-Economic Development, Community Participation, Kenya*

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Community service orders is a judicial sentencing program in which offenders already convicted of an offence are sentenced to carry out unpaid communal work in a public facility or a non-profit-making establishment whose services directly benefit members of the community (Morris et al 1990). The sentence takes the form of a specified number of hours and has a time frame within which it should be completed. The Modern-day Community Service by offenders' legislative framework was in the onset witnessed in Alameda County in California, U.S.A, in 1966. A trial was done on persons who had committed traffic offences and a requirement was placed on them by the courts to perform unpaid work for the communities they hailed from (Institute of Education in Democracy, 2008). In the early 1970s, United Kingdom Parliament enacted legislation which gave the courts precise powers to use community service as an option while sentencing (Prison Fellowship International, 1996). More recently, community service has been legislated in several Western, Asian, and, a number of countries in Africa (McIvor et al, 2010; PRI, 2007). In Africa, community service was first introduced in Zimbabwe in 1994. Prior to its introduction, the prison population in the country had risen dramatically due to rising crime and inability by increasing numbers of offenders to pay the fine imposed by the courts leading to the option of imprisonment (PRI, 1997). Following the success of the Zimbabwe scheme, community service was discussed at various regional forums before it was introduced into the penal codes of a number of countries in the region; Kenya included (PRI, 2007).

In Rwanda, Community service was introduced in the year 2005 as a cure to the legal crisis that arose following the 1994 genocide in the country. It was used in specially constituted traditional community courts known as the "Gacaca" which were established as part of justice and reconciliation efforts. About 1.2 million persons accused of participating in the genocidal crimes confessed to the crimes; repented and sought reconciliation with the community and hence became beneficiaries of community service (<http://www.un.org/en/preventgenocide/Rwanda> acc.2.5.2017).



In Kenya community service as a sentence was introduced through the enactment of the Community Service Orders Act, No. 10 of 1998 as part of penal reforms initiated by the government following concerns by human rights watchdogs and other stakeholders in the criminal justice administration on the rising prison population, the deplorable living conditions, and human rights issues (GOK/PRI, 2001). In Nairobi, which hosts Kibera, the community service programme was introduced with the enactment of the CSO Act no. 10 of 1998. The same applied to other parts of the country whereby the enactment of the Act automatically converted all probation officers to community service officers. Its implementation involves multiple level agencies. Administratively, Probation officers maintain an oversight role in the execution of community service orders while the day to day supervision of the offenders is carried out by staff members of the agencies in which the offenders perform the community service work. (CSO Act, No 10 1998). Socio-economic development has been defined as a process of change that brings positive and measurable transformation to a community (Bellu, 2011). The change according to Fritz, (2004) influence life conditions and may encompass actions meant to meet human needs and other logical and communal ideas (Litwinski, 2017).

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The community service orders programme introduced in the year 1998 was intended to save the tax payers money, decongest prisons, rehabilitate petty offenders who cannot afford fines imposed on them and maintain family ties. To date, CSO program in Kenya has an average of 25,000 community service supervisees annually, demonstrating that it has gained recognition and relevance over the years. The programme is promising and can result to significant changes in the lives of offenders and communities if well handled. Some of the projects accomplished through the CSO project are environmental conservation, afforestation projects, cleaning services in government offices and institutions, floods control through drainage maintenance, repair works in public facilities and roads, government construction projects in the counties and provision of unpaid professional services. Despite this contribution, the projects have not been classified alongside other community development projects and the supervisees have not been classified along other community players, which makes it hard to quantify its socio-economic impact.

Additionally, the program faces the problem of underfunding in seed capital and supervision costs. Additionally, the programme nor its projects face low publicity due to lack of advertising funds. It can also be ascertained that available discourses on the CSO program fail to provide clarity of the program's contribution to socio-economic development in the areas where it is executed. This makes it hard to champion for the improvement of the programme in order to realize more of its initial mandate of which socio-economic is a part. As a result, there was a need to establish the effect of community service orders programme on socio-economic development focusing on Kibera, with an aim of unearthing key areas for policy improvement.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

- i. To establish the extent of community participation in identification of projects implemented under the CSO programme in Kibera sub- county
- ii. To determine how projects implemented under CSO programme have contributed to socio-economic development in Kibera sub-county.



EMPIRICAL LITERATURE REVIEW

Implementation of CSO Programme in Kenya

Probation and aftercare service is the embodiment of community corrections one of which is the CSO programme (UNAFEI, 2011). Kenya boasts of one of the well-functioning community correction systems in Africa. There are fulltime personnel also referred to as community service officers employed by the government, whose average distribution is approximately three officers per court area, and stationed in all the over 122 court areas in the country to oversee the operations of the service. A community service officer is an officer appointed under the probation of offenders Act Cap 64 and the CSO Act no. 10 1998 Section 12 (2). Community service officers' role is to provide liaison between work agencies and courts, assist supervisors of institutions in supervising offenders, set up case committees in consultation with the magistrates.

The community service orders Regulations 1999 formalized the whole community service structure and its operations in Kenya. Case committees manage community service operations in every district/division and are established under section 11 of the Act (Republic of Kenya, 1998). District committees are established at magisterial stations country wide. Membership is representative of a wide spectrum of the communities and members do the work on a voluntary basis in accordance with the provisions of the Kadoma declaration of which Kenya is a signatory. Membership is by gazettelement, cooption or invitation. These committees were established on the realization that it was essential for local communities to be involved if CSO was to be a success. Hence the inclusion of community leaders, heads of governmental and non-governmental organizations, local authorities and heads of religious organizations (GOK, 2009).

The duties of the committees are to identify public, charitable, local authorities and other institutions in the areas where magistrates can post offenders to perform Community Service. The role of the case committee is clearly spelt out in the community service orders Act (Case Committee) Regulations, 1999. A community service order necessitates a reprobate to perform specific work without pay for a specific pre-determined number of hours. The service rendered is free and directly beneficial to the community. According to UNODC, this sanction avails an opportunity for regaining status in the community and as a proof of an offender's intention to change behaviour. (UNODC, 2012). The practice guidelines for community service state that in consideration of work agencies and work to be performed, all private and public institutions should be considered as work sites on condition that the public directly benefits from their operations (GOK, 1999). In the rural areas, the involvement of district administrators has helped identify work that can be performed for the benefit of the public for example filling in potholes on roads, building toilets in local schools etc. In urban areas, public amenities such as hospitals, dispensaries, clinics, schools, public parks and other facilities that directly benefit the public should be considered. The practice guidelines for the Kenya national community service orders programme, offer the roadmap for determination of work placement for community service offenders (GOK, 1999).



Community Service Orders Programme and Socio-Economic Development

The emphasis on the CSO Programme emanates from its conceived benefits which include: rehabilitation and reintegration of offenders who have committed petty offences in their own communities and most of who are poor and marginalized and cannot afford imposed court fines; individually, an offender pays back to the community for their wrong doing by providing free labor and sometimes their expertise (for those who already have skills and expertise) in education, health and environment projects; deterrence of recruitment of petty and first offenders by those already hardened; maintenance of family ties while still serving the sentence; promotion of reconciliation between the offender, victims, and the larger community hence harmonious existence; opportunity to acquire life skills and linkages of lawbreakers to potential employers thus improving the socio-economic status of the community (UNAFRI, 2011).

Community service supervisees acquire useful skills during the implementation of community projects. They can transfer the same skills for their self-employment, and this helps in poverty reduction in their families and the community (Kenya Probation Service, 2014; PRI, 2012). Gitao (2017) interrogated the extent of adoption of CSO programme in Kibera probation office. The study was a qualitative study where interviews were used. It was established that courts in Kibera use the CSO programme. The programme was mostly applied to short term offenders where it lasted for a day. Long term offenders were mostly not beneficiaries of the programme. However, it was established that there was community involvement. Kimemia (2012) conducted a study to find out the barriers to effectively implementing the CSO programme in Makadara Law Court. The study was a qualitative study where the prosecutors, magistrates and probation officers were interviewed to determine the extent to which the programme had been implemented, its effectiveness and the challenges the programme faced. It was agreed that indeed the programme experiences various challenges ranging from inadequacy of resources, legal framework and community involvement.

A study by Kavutai (2002) to establish the contributions of Community Service Orders Programme in Community Development in Kitui County indicated that the programme has had significant contributions to the community development. They argued that through the programme, pit latrines dug improved the hygienic standards of the institutions, the free work saved both the government and tax payers a good amount of money which they could have paid had they engaged the services of casual laborer's, the planting of the flowers brought about beautification of the environments, planting of trees enhanced environmental conservation while the fencing of the school and dispensaries compounds enhanced their securities.

A study by Ang (2003) which evaluated employment of community service programmes in rehabilitating offenders established that from offenders and agencies viewpoints, CSO programmes empowered them and provided an opportunity for employment creation. Amongst the benefits cited by the offenders and agencies were the acquisitions of new skills among the offenders, improved intra-family relationship through better communication, becoming more useful at home, responsible, considerate and mindful of others. The acquired skills enabled them to engage in self-employment activities. In their study, Weisburd *et al.* (2008) found out that some offenders found community service activities to be enjoyable, with some continuing to donate their time or finding employment with community service agencies even after their community service obligation were completed.



In their study, Ngetich, Murenga and Kisaka (2019) sought to establish the effectiveness of community service orders in rehabilitating offenders behaviour in Kericho County, Kenya. The study established that the programme has helped build the capacity of both offenders and supervisors. It was revealed that trainings and regular capacity building empowers supervisors with necessarily skills in proper training on offender supervision and management. Additionally, it provides offenders with skills which can enable them to engage in meaningful economic activities to enable them have a source of income to survive in the community. Kurui (2019) conducted a study Community Service Order in Uasin Gishu County in Kenya through a meta-analysis. The study established that the programme has provided empowerment of the offenders as well as helped the government to cut its spending which in turn enhances its savings.

Zondi (2012) established the link between community participation in community correction operation and offender re-integration. The study established that together with many helping hands from the community, this provides a great opportunity to do more and do better in intervention work with offenders during and after probation. In the long run, it enhanced community development. Oketch (2019) indicated that community involvement in CSO programmes has a number of benefits such as potential to help reduce remand homes and prisons population with more offenders being accorded community supervision supported by VPOs, improved caseload management resulting into improved supervision of offenders, reduced recidivism (re-offending) owing to close supervision and acceptance of offenders in the community, improved relationship between Probation officers, offenders and the community and harnessed community based resources for rehabilitation of offenders.

THEORETICAL LITERATURE

This research was anchored on the Restorative Justice Approach and Social Control theory. The proponents of Restorative Theory advanced that the aim of sentencing should focus towards restoration of any harm inflicted on both victim and community through restitution and reparation measures. (Zedner & Braithwaite, 1994). The focal point of restorative theories is an emphasis on the significance of stakeholders in the harm in addition to the state and the offender. The interests of the community are put into consideration. This theory recognizes the importance of the stakeholders' response while taking into consideration the restorative goals to be achieved by that response. Braithwaite (2002) points out that, restorative justice practices have been entrenched in the laws of some countries while others are still under experimentation. Maguire, (2002) argues that whichever the case they are anchored on the premise of deterrence and esteeming compensation and restoration above punishment of the wrong doer and encouraging maximum participation so as to achieve cohesion and social development.

Restorative theory brings relevance to the study as it tries to place the CSO supervisees within the spectrum of the community. The penalty of the community service programme according to Raynor (2001) is both reparative and restorative. Combination of actual reparation of harm and having effective community programmes in place contributes to safety in the community and other socio-economic development agendas. Operating on the premise that all conflict inflicts harm, the theory advocates for personal responsibility over this harm and reparative measures by the perpetrator. Community service programme provides such an opportunity because aggrieved community members feel that the supervisee has paid for the harm done through performance of unpaid work that benefits the very community that he aggrieved. The theory further recognizes that the supervisees under CSO are socially constructive contrary to common



thinking that wrong doers are trouble makers within the community.

In regard to Social Control Theory by Hirsch's (1969) "control theory", it argues that state intervention in criminal justice cannot compare to the power of social ties and community willingness to control misbehavior. Williams (2005) advances the concept of community control which comprises of individuals and families who wield power to promote positive change. Williams argues that if community members have the right attitude, they can re-moralize society. A community-based society relies on trust, respect, participation, responsibility, solidarity and mutual support, as opposed to threat, coercion or fear (Williams, 2005). This theory places the responsibility for dealing with wrong doing solely in the purview of individual communities wherein it occurs, with minimal use of the state's judicial system. Karp and Breslin (2001) have a similar argument that a response to wrong doing should have its focus on the harm inflicted and the circumstances. On the other hand, the perpetrator of harm should be encouraged to initiate a process of making amends, through restoration, restitution and/or reparation. Communities should be encouraged to provide support to the perpetrators so that they are able to successfully repair the harm and deal with the antecedents. Karp and Breslin, (2001) posit that victims should also be supported as they recover from the aftermath of wrong committed against them. Emphasis of this theory lies on the community's role as a significant player in crime control.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study employed a descriptive survey design (Mangeni, 2018), whereby the researcher was interested in gathering information on the effects of community service orders programme on socio-economic development (Mangeni, 2018). The location of study was Kibera Sub- County which is served by the Kibera law courts. The target population was 12 probation officers stationed in Kibera probation office and community members living around the agencies where CSO supervisees perform work. Additionally, the assistant chiefs in the area were 8, village elders were 16, 'Nyumba Kumi' representatives were 42 and the religious organizational leaders were 14. In total, 92 respondents were targeted as shown in Table 1.

Table 1 : Target Population

Strata	Population
Probation officers	12
Assistant chiefs	8
Village Elders (chief's office)	16
Nyumba Kumi	42
Religious Organizations Leaders	14
Total	92

This research work adopted a multi technique approach where both purposive sampling, stratified sampling and simple random sampling techniques were employed. Probation officers were selected purposively because they are the administrators of community service orders in that locality. Opinion leaders living in the localities where there are active worksites in Kibera were also selected through purposive sampling to represent community members. There were three categories of opinion leaders comprised of sub-location administrators (Assistant chiefs), elders attached to the chief's office, 'Nyumba Kumi' members and leaders of mainstream religious organizations (churches and mosques) represented in this locality.



To determine the sample size, Yamane formula recommended by Wisken (2001) was used as shown:

$$n = N / 1 + N(e^2)$$

Where n is the sample size ; N is the population that is 92 ; e is the error term set at 10% using 90% confidence level as recommended by Mugenda and Mugenda (2009). Replacing the values in the formula, gave a sample size of 63 which was stratified and then sampled randomly. The data collection instruments for the study were questionnaires and FGDs which collected both quantitative and qualitative data. The questionnaire was constructed using both open and close ended questions. In total, two FGDs comprising of 20 members each with a mix of assistant chiefs, village elders from the chief's office, 'Nyumba Kumi' representatives and religious organizations leaders. The data collected was both qualitative and quantitative hence it was analysed separately. Content or thematic analysis method was used to categorize the main themes in the qualitative data and then presented in a narrative format. On the other hand, Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) computer software version 24 was used to analyze the quantitative data. To test the relationship between the study variables, Spearman Rank Order Correlation, suitable for categorical data was adopted.

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

A total of 63 respondents were targeted by the study and out of this number, 8 responded to the questionnaire while 40 participated in the two FGDs, comprising of 20 members each. This translated to a response rate of 48 out of 63 which is 76%. According to Orodho (2009), a response rate above 50% is acceptable for a survey to make generalizations.

Community Participation in the CSO programme

The respondents were asked to indicate whether the community participates in the programme and the results are presented in Figure 1. It was indicated that majority of the respondents, 91%, that is probation officers who participated in the study stated that indeed the community members in Kibera participated in the CSO programme. This implies that the community members in Kibera appreciated the importance of the programme and thus participated in it. The study by Oketch (2019) indicated that even though common in Kenya, community involvement in CSO programmes had been facilitated to a moderate extent.



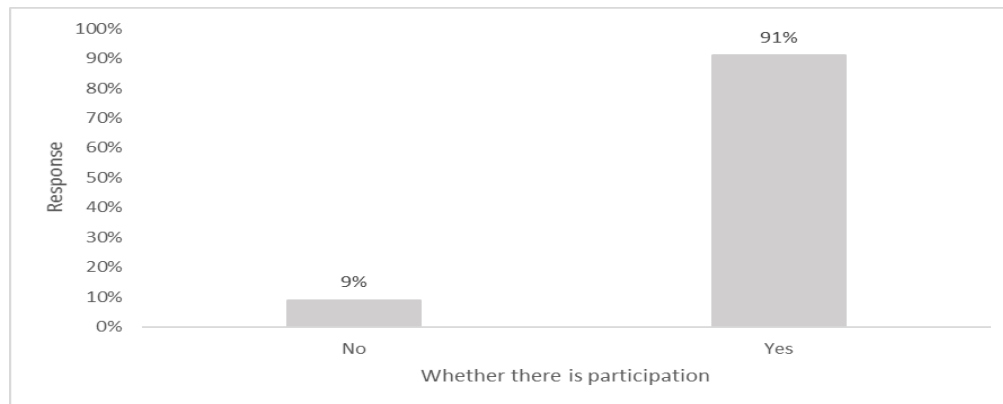


Figure 1 Whether the Community participates in the CSO Programme

Additionally, the discussants in the FGD indicated that the community participates in the programme through representation by the various community leadership cadre that also doubles up as either supervisors or community service committee members. They also indicated that previously, participation was through chiefs barazas which are now rare because of Covid 19. One of the respondents, shared their views:

“...we are normally involved in rating the progress of the offenders behaviour as to whether they are improving or not. We are also involved in supervision of the offenders at the community level...”

Another respondent, a village elder shared their views:

“...we are involved through Barazas meetings. There also exists some forums through which we could share our opinion on the same...”

Ways of Community involvement in CSO programme

The study further established the ways of Community Involvement in CSO programme. Various ways were interrogated as shown in Table 2. It was indicated that majority of the respondents, 72.7%, stated that the community was involved through supervision of CSO offenders, 63.6% indicated that community was involved through the reintegration process, 54.5% of them indicated that the community is involved in identification of work agencies. Only 9.1% of the respondents indicated that the community was involved in giving feedback on behavior of offender and conducting enquiries respectively. These findings imply that the community was mainly involved through supervision of CSO offenders, reintegration process and identification of work agencies. However, they were least involved in giving feedback on behavior of offender and conducting enquiries. Gitao (2017) established that in Kibera, the community was involved in the CSO programme through supervision, identification of work agencies as well as giving feedback on the behaviour of the offenders.



Table 2 Ways of Community Involvement in CSO programme

Ways of Community Involvement in CSO Programme	Yes (%)	No (%)
Supervision	72.7	27.3
Reintegration Processes	63.6	36.4
Identification of Work Agencies	54.5	45.5
Feedback on Behaviour of Probationer	9.1	90.9
Conducting Enquiries	9.1	90.9

Level of Community Participation in CSO

The study sought to find out the level of participation of community members in implementation of CSO programme. The respondents therefore rated the extent to which the community members participated in implementation of CSO programme as shown in Figure 2. The results indicated that majority of the respondents, 63.6%, indicated that the community participated moderately in CSO implementation while 18.2% felt that the community participation is at a low level. Among the respondents 9.1% were of the view that that there is no community participation at all in implementation of the CSO program. The findings are consistent with that of a study by Kavutai (2002) who indicated that in Kitui, the community was highly involved in CSO programme.

The argument advanced by those who said that community participation was moderate indicated that CSO agencies and CSO supervisors are part of the community and they help in identifying work, the agencies and supervising the work done. Respondents who expressed the view that the level of community participation is low reasoned that CSO order is a sentence with clear terms and conditions thus the community has little to do with CSO implementation. Among those who spoke of no participation at all was the view that everything about CSO has been laid down in the court during sentencing of the offenders and so community had no role. The study by Oketch (2019) indicated that even though common in Kenya, community involvement in CSO programmes had been facilitated to a moderate extent.



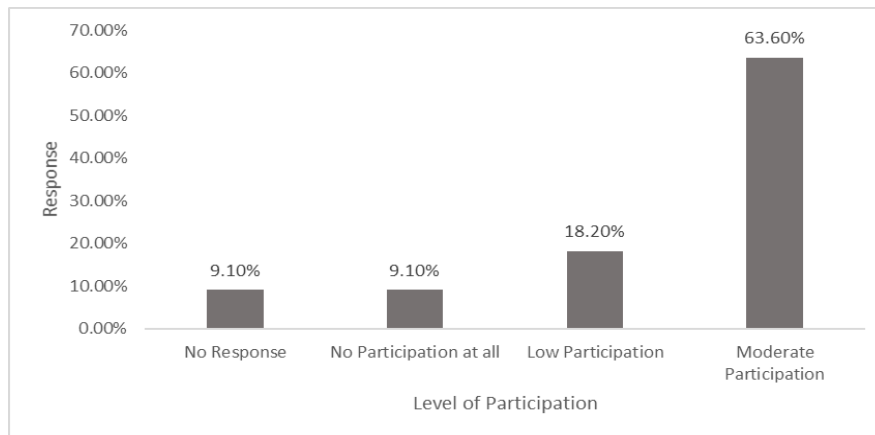


Figure 2 Level of Community Participation in implementation of CSO programme

Similarly, the discussants in the FGD indicated that the community participation occurs in identification of the CSO agency, CSO work, and supervision of CSO work as CSO supervisors are part of the community. Notably, the group members reported that previously there have been forums where the community aired their views especially during chief barazas and open days, but currently there are no forums where the community can air their views in relation to CSO programme. One of the respondents shared their views:

“...previously there existed a forum through barazas where we could share the information on CSO programmes, however after COVID-19, physical interactions have reduced significantly...”

Additionally, another respondent had the following views

“...the existing public forum through which we share information is chiefs Barazas where the progress and importance of CSO projects is discussed...”

Relationship between Community Participation in the CSO programme and Socio-Economic Development

The study adopted Spearman Rank Order Correlation to establish the relationship between Community Participation in the CSO programme and socio-economic development indicators (Savings on County government expenditure, employment creation and capacity building). The results are presented in Table 3.



Table 3 Community Participation in the CSO programme and Socio-Economic Development

		Community Participation	Level of participation	Y ₁	Y ₂	Y ₃
Community Participation	Correlation Coefficient	1				
Level of Participation	Correlation Coefficient	.514**	1			
Y ₁	Correlation Coefficient	.339*	.817**	1		
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.020	0.000	.		
Y ₂	Correlation Coefficient	.673**	.763**	.504**	1	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	0.000	0.000	.	
Y ₃	Correlation Coefficient	0.230	.553**	.677**	.341*	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.121	0.000	0.000	0.019	.

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Key: Y_1 = Capacity building of the offenders, probation officers as well as supervisors, Y_2 = Savings for the Nairobi County Government and Y_3 = Employment Creation for Community Members.

The results indicated that community participation had a positive and significant relationship with capacity building of the offenders, probation officers as well as supervisors ($r = 0.339$; $\text{Sig} < 0.05$) as well as savings for the Nairobi County Government ($r = 0.673$; $\text{Sig} < 0.05$). These findings mean that increasing community participation in the CSO programme in Kibera led to a significant improvement in capacity building of the offenders, probation officers as well as supervisors. Through the involvement of more community members, the need for more capacity building of the probation officers as well as supervisors is required. This in turn leads to a significant improvement in their capacity development. The study findings additionally imply that increasing community participation in the CSO programme in Kibera led to a significant improvement in savings for the Nairobi County Government. Involvement of more community members ensures that the labour costs goes down because of the extra voluntary labour force which in turn ensures that the county government significantly saves more. The findings are consistent with that of Zondi (2012) who established the link between community participation in community correction operation and offender re-integration and indicated that together with many helping hands from the community, community involvement provides a great opportunity to do more and do better in intervention work with offenders during and after the sentence which improved community development in the long run.

The results also indicated that the level of community participation had a positive and significant relationship with capacity building of the offenders, probation officers as well as supervisors ($r = 0.817$; $\text{Sig} < 0.05$), savings for the Nairobi County Government ($r = 0.763$; $\text{Sig} < 0.05$) and employment creation for Community Members ($r = 0.553$; $\text{Sig} < 0.05$). These findings imply that increasing level of community participation in the CSO programme in Kibera led to a significant improvement in capacity building of the offenders, probation officers as well as supervisors, savings for the Nairobi County Government and employment creation for community members. Through the involvement of more community members to a higher extent, the need for more capacity building of the probation officers as well as supervisors is required. This in turn leads to a significant improvement in their capacity development. The study findings additionally imply that increasing community participation in the CSO programme in Kibera to a higher extent led to a



significant improvement in savings for the Nairobi County Government. Involvement of more community members to a higher extent ensures that the labour costs goes down because of the extra voluntary labour force which in turn ensures that the county government significantly saves more.

Similarly, higher level of community participation is associated with greater employment creation since more community members get a chance to participate in CSO projects. A high extent of community participation increased the chances of being offered employment in the institutions they had worked in, getting empowered with skills to be self-employed as well as being equipped with entrepreneurship skills to start small enterprises. Similarly, Oketch (2019) indicated that community involvement in CSO programmes has a number of benefits such as potential to help reduce remand homes and prisons population with more offenders being accorded community supervision supported by VPOs, improved caseload management resulting into improved supervision of offenders, reduced recidivism (re-offending) owing to close supervision and acceptance of offenders in the community, improved relationship between Probation officers, offenders and the community and harnessed community based resources for rehabilitation of offenders.

Respondent's Perception on Contributions of CSO Programme on Capacity Building

The study established the respondent's perceptions on the contribution of CSO programme towards capacity building of the offenders, probation officers as well as supervisors in Kibera Sub county. The results established that up to 55% of the respondents agreed that indeed the programme has helped the offenders develop various capacities which raised their awareness through community-based crime prevention programs largely carried out at community level. It was indicated that CSO offenders benefited through trainings on entrepreneurship, skills transfer in areas like bead making, detergent making and urban farming, empowerment through provision of tools and business startup capital. Additionally, the supervisors were beneficiaries of capacity building through trainings and seminars on how to carry out supervision. Similarly, probation officers were beneficiaries of capacity building through the programme. The findings are consistent with the findings of a study by Ngetich, Murenga and Kisaka (2019) which similarly established that the programme has helped build the capacity of both offenders and supervisors. It was revealed that trainings and regular capacity building empowers supervisors with necessarily skills in proper training on offender supervision and management. Additionally, it provides offenders with skills which can enable them to engage in meaningful economic activities to enable them have a source of income to survive in the community.

Respondent's Perception on Contributions of CSO Programme on Savings for the Nairobi County Government

The study established the respondent's perceptions on the contribution of CSO programme towards quantifiable savings for the Nairobi County Government. The results showed that up to 82% of the respondents agreed that the CSO programme has realized quantifiable savings for the Nairobi County Government. This was through free/unpaid labour that translated to savings on wages which would otherwise have been spent in employment of casual workers to do the work that the CSO offenders were performing considering that their projects were targeted in the public sector facilities. These findings are consistent with that of a study by Kurui (2019) which indicated that the programme has provided empowerment of the offenders as well as helped the government to cut its spending which in turn enhances its savings.



Respondent’s Perception on Contributions of CSO Programme to Employment Creation

The study established the respondent’s perceptions on the contribution of CSO programme to employment creation for residents of Kibera Sub – County. The results showed that only 36% of the respondents indicated that the programme has created employment for residents of Kibera Sub – County. This is so considering that the programme is suited to involve offenders. The respondents who viewed CSO as having created employment said that some CSO offenders had been offered employment in the institutions they had served their sentence if/when their work was evaluated as very good, some had been empowered with skills and had become self-employed using the skills they had learnt while serving CSO. Others were able to start small enterprises after being empowered with entrepreneurship skills and start-up capital by the department of probation or its partners. In addition, others had been connected to employers both locally and abroad. Respondents who felt that CSO programme had not created employment argued that some CSO supervisees have lost their jobs because they had to attend to their sentence first which affected their employment. The findings are consistent with that of a study by Weisburd *et al.* (2008) which found out that some offenders found community service activities to be enjoyable, with some continuing to donate their time or finding employment with community service agencies even after their community service obligation were completed.

Relationship between CSO projects and Socio-Economic Development

The study adopted Spearman Rank Order Correlation to establish the relationship between CSO projects and socio-economic development indicators (Savings on County government expenditure, employment creation and capacity building). The results are presented in Table 4.

Table 4 Relationship between CSO projects and Socio-Economic Development

		X ₁	X ₂	X ₃	X ₄	X ₅	X ₆	X ₇	Y ₁	Y ₂	Y ₃
X ₁	Correlation Coefficient	1									
X ₂	Correlation Coefficient	.799**	1								
X ₃	Correlation Coefficient	.674**	.843**	1							
X ₄	Correlation Coefficient	0.219	0.274	.325*	1						
X ₅	Correlation Coefficient	0.219	0.274	.325*	1.000**	1					
X ₆	Correlation Coefficient	.397**	.497**	.589**	.552**	.552**	1				
X ₇	Correlation Coefficient	.301*	.376**	.446**	.729**	.729**	.757**	1			
Y ₁	Correlation Coefficient	.799**	0.786**	.843**	0.274	0.274	.497**	.376**	1		
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.062	0.062	0.000	0.009	.		
Y ₂	Correlation Coefficient	.630**	.504**	.425**	0.138	0.138	0.25	0.189	.504**	1	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	0.000	0.003	0.354	0.354	0.09	0.202	0.000	.	
Y ₃	Correlation Coefficient	.541**	.677**	.802**	.405**	.405**	.734**	.556**	.677**	.341*	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.005	0.005	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.019	.
	N	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8



Key:

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

X_1 = Maintenance of Markets and Public Spaces, X_2 = Projects in Health Facilities, X_3 = Construction and Repair in Schools, X_4 = Vegetable farming in schools, X_5 = General duties in public offices, X_6 = Maintenance of roads, X_7 = Construction of Public Toilets, Y_1 = capacity building of the offenders, probation officers as well as supervisors, Y_2 = Savings for the Nairobi County Government and Y_3 = Employment Creation for Community Members.

The results indicated that maintenance of markets and public spaces ($r = 0.799$; Sig < 0.05), projects in health facilities ($r = 0.786$; Sig < 0.05), construction and repair in schools ($r = 0.843$; Sig < 0.05), maintenance of roads ($r = 0.497$; Sig < 0.05) as well as construction of public toilets ($r = 0.376$; Sig < 0.05) had a positive and significant relationship with capacity building of the offenders, probation officers as well as supervisors. These projects required that the probation officers as well as supervisors be trained more hence a significant improvement in their capacity. Ang (2003) similarly indicated that CSO programmes have empowered the offenders and the supervisors through acquisitions of new skills among the offenders, improved intra-family relationship through better communication, becoming more useful at home, responsible, considerate and mindful of others. The acquired skills enabled them to engage in self-employment activities.

The results indicated that maintenance of markets and public spaces ($r = 0.799$; Sig < 0.05), projects in health facilities ($r = 0.786$; Sig < 0.05), construction and repair in schools ($r = 0.843$; Sig < 0.05) as well as maintenance of roads ($r = 0.497$; Sig < 0.05) had a positive and significant relationship with savings for the Nairobi County Government. The use of CSO offenders in these projects which are mostly the work of the county government, ensures that the county government saves more in terms of labour costs. The findings are consistent with that of a study by Kavutai (2002) which indicated that through the programme, pit latrines dug improved the hygienic standards of the institutions, the free work saved both the government and tax payers a good amount of money which they could have paid had they engaged the services of casual laborer's, the planting of the flowers brought about beautification of the environments, planting of trees enhanced environmental conservation while the fencing of the school and dispensaries compounds enhanced their securities.

The correlation findings also showed that maintenance of markets and public spaces ($r = 0.541$; Sig < 0.05), projects in health facilities ($r = 0.677$; Sig < 0.05), construction and repair in schools ($r = 0.802$; Sig < 0.05), vegetable farming in schools ($r = 0.405$; Sig < 0.05), general duties in public offices ($r = 0.405$; Sig < 0.05), maintenance of roads ($r = 0.734$; Sig < 0.05) and construction of public toilets ($r = 0.556$; Sig < 0.05) had a positive and significant relationship with employment creation for community members. This implies that participation in these projects enabled creation of more employment opportunities for both the offenders and the community members in Kibera.

Additionally, the participants in the FGD viewed CSO as a programme which supports institutions like hospitals, markets and schools helping them to save money which would have been spent to employ a labour force. CSO programme is also inclusive of empowerment projects for offenders and ultimately, they are re-integrated to the community with skills which benefit the community.

These findings agree with the report by PRI (2012) which indicated that through CSO programme, community service



supervisees acquire useful skills during the implementation of community projects and can transfer the same skills for their self-employment, and this helps in poverty reduction in their families and the community. Some of the views shared are.

“...the programme has gone a long way in building the capacity of the offenders as well as the supervisors which presents an opportunity to earn a living in future through their skills. ...”

“...through helping in construction and cleaning in schools and health facilities, the CSO programme saves the county government a lot of money which could have been used as wage bills on the county employees. ...”

Respondents who felt that CSO did not make any contribution to socio-economic development argued that the work was not quantified hence not able to assess its socio-economic impact. This category of respondents also said that there were no tangible projects except for routine cleaning activities in government institutions. The beneficiaries of community service are often times government institutions and hence the community may not boast of tangible development brought by CSO programme. Further to this, some CSO offenders have had to leave their jobs to attend to their sentence which in their view is rather a setback than development.

CONCLUSIONS

From the findings of the study it can be concluded that there is a positive association between CSO projects and socio-economic development in Kibera sub-county as outlined below. The CSO programme had contributed to development in Kibera sub-county through tangible projects like construction/repair work in schools, projects in health facilities, construction of public toilets, roads maintenance, maintenance of markets and public spaces, landscaping, unblocking sewer lines and cleaning/sweeping of public roads. It also emerged that government agencies had realized quantifiable savings as they did not incur expenses in employment of a labour force to perform work that was being done by CSO offenders in the above projects.

CSO programme had also created employment with some of the offenders who performed work excellently being employed as casuals in the agencies where they served. Others were linked to employers both locally and abroad. There were reported cases of CSO supervisees working in mosques being linked to employers in Saudi Arabia. Many CSO offenders were able to become self-employed after being empowered while serving their sentence. The skills they brought to the community also benefited the community.

Socio-economic development was also linked to empowerment programmes for CSO supervisees on how to do business through entrepreneurship training, start-up capital by probation department and its stake-holders, provision of tools, re-integration and resettlement of CSO offenders with their families and strengthening of the family fabric, crime prevention hence creation of a conducive environment for business. Additionally, CSO programme had contributed to capacity building of community members, CSO offenders, supervisors and probation officers. This was realized through community-based crime prevention programs largely carried out at community level, trainings mounted for CSO supervisees by the department of probation and its partners with the aim of empowering them so as to dissuade them from crime, supervisors benefited through trainings and seminars on how to carry out supervision while probation officers are periodically trained on community-based rehabilitation.



RECOMMENDATIONS

To revamp the CSO program and feel its effect in the community, the department of probation together with community members need to identify more tangible and visible projects which the community can fully own. Currently, most of the projects of CSO are done in government agencies and the community members feel that CSO is a programme meant to benefit government institutions. There is need for sensitization of the community on the CSO programme by the probation and aftercare service department. Community leaders seem to know about the programme but the same needs to be cascaded to the grassroots level. Community members who were interviewed spoke of a programme that was vibrant and visible in the past but seems to have died off in the last three years. Therefore, collaboration with the judiciary to revitalize the program is necessary.

Public participation should be enhanced on the CSO program and CSO program be revitalized on long term with close collaboration with community policing members to enhance CSO supervision. This can be done by the by the probation and aftercare service department in collaboration with the community leaders. The judiciary should consider longer sentences for CSO offenders if any meaningful project impact is to be realized. Only a few offenders are placed to serve long sentences on CSO with majority serving from a few hours to one day. Other sentencing options for the elderly and sick should be explored so that community service work can be performed by those offenders who are strong and energetic hence realizing some tangible work. The department should in collaboration with work agencies which benefit from CSO work ensure there are sufficient tools for tangible work performance so that the CSO offenders do not end up idling as they wait in turns to use the tools. Perhaps there should be a centralized place where tools of work can be collected for utilization. There is need to have standby transport to the worksites and back.

Specific projects in the community should be identified and set aside strictly as CSO projects so that CSO work does not clash with other work being done by organized and formal youth groups as a means of earning their living. For example, in Kibera, CSO offenders would be seen as a rival group if they engaged in garbage collection in the markets because other organized youth groups have an agreement with the market traders where each trader contributes money towards garbage collection. Monitoring and evaluation of the program should be strengthened with the involvement of all stakeholders. Ways and means of motivating CSO supervisors should be explored for efficient output. A ranking and rewarding system for best performing projects may enhance the CSO programme. The possibility of incorporating development partners in realizing tangible projects should be explored. The CSO supervisees can then be specifically assigned to provide labour in these projects.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST

No potential conflict of interest was recorded by the authors.



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