



Voices from the Past: Examining Some Unintended Consequences of Search for Cultural Antecedents The Mungidi Gang in Kenya

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Voices from the Past--Examining Some Unintended Consequences of Searching for Cultural Antecedents: The Mungiki Gang in Kenya

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Introduction: The Origin of the Mungiki

African nations were preceded by cultures that were hundreds of years old that were absorbed by the nation states that emerged from the colonial period in the 1950's and 1960's. Much of Africa, to varying extents, has adopted the characteristics of nation states found in Europe, Asia, and the Americas. Common institutions such as education and government, a national language and currency, social welfare support programs, and a national identity have developed. However, tensions often remain between the nation state and the pre-existing cultures, and those tensions may present considerable challenges for professionals such as social workers, teachers, and police that provide human services. Kenya's history is like that of much of Africa. It has an ancient past of thousands of years, and it is still largely agricultural but with rapid movements of rural populations to urban areas. One ancient cultural group, the Kikuyu, provides the basis of a sect that challenges the modernism of Kenya. The Mungiki, whose name means "a united people" or "multitude of people," (Phombeah, 2003) initially emerged as a cultural group whose ideals were supported by some members of the Kenyan parliament who complained about the adulteration of Kikuyu culture, and wanted Kikuyu youth to shun Western ways and instead learn the original Kikuyu values (Kikechi, 2007).

The University of Nairobi sociology lecturer, Ken Ouko, concurs that the group first projected itself as quasi-cultural and this could be the reason leaders from Central Province embraced it. At the time, it had distinct leadership, with Maina Njenga as its spiritual leader and Ndura Waruinge as co-coordinator. Njenga operated from behind the scenes (Biketi 2007).

According to Dr. Karuti Kanyinga, a political scientist, the sect mushroomed when it migrated from the rural areas to urban centers (Kikechi, 2007). After that, the sect's involvement in the political arena began to evolve. One theory claims

that the sect was, at one time, associated with Mwakenya, an underground movement formed in 1979 to challenge the former Kanu regime (Phombeah, 2003).

It is also believed that the aim of the Mungiki sect, which in 1987/88 was comprised of some young university students from Central Kenya, was to topple the government of former President Daniel Arap Moi, the second president of Kenya. Mungiki's intent was to reclaim political power and wealth, which its members alleged had been stolen from the Kikuyu, the largest tribe in the country. Consequently, this led many people to believe that the sect was a politically motivated wing of a religious organization (Phombeah, 2003).

Generally, what began a decade ago as a benign traditional religious grouping has evolved into a frightening, multi-faceted, urban terror. The Mungiki has become Kenya's worst nightmare. It has unleashed terror, pain, and suffering on innocent people-- beheading, killing, and maiming those in its path (Sunday Standard Correspondent, 2007). Crime experts now liken the Mungiki gang to an urban guerrilla force (Ombati, 2007).

Group Membership

As described by Phombeah (2003), the sect is more like an army unit, inspired by the bloody Mau Mau rebellion of the 1950's against British colonial rule. Mungiki tends to be a very segregated sect with thousands of its members drawn from the Kikuyu tribe, although it also includes people from certain tribes in Eastern Province who share a similar culture with the Kikuyu.

As mentioned, its members are mostly youth who have dropped out of school or are unemployed. Clearly the failure of the nation state to provide adequate opportunities for employment becomes an engine of separatist acts. The sect also is comprised of university graduates, for instance the self-proclaimed former secretary of the group, Mr. Ndura Waruinge. Some high profile

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Central Province Members of Parliament (MP), including cabinet ministers, also form part of the gang (Miring'uh, 2007).

Meanwhile, educated women, such as journalists, may be welcome to join as they would provide the gang with the much-needed publicity. One journalist confessed her fear of being recruited into the sect, since the first thing she would have to do, prior to taking an oath, is undergo forced circumcision. According to the sect, it is a taboo for sect members to associate with uncircumcised women (Sunday Standard Correspondent, 2007).

The above journalist reported that initially sect members lived in communes, some of which were located in Mukuru kwa Njenga, the Mathare Valley, and the Korogocho slums. Life in these communes was normal, although men and women were somehow segregated and men enjoyed a free reign over the women folk. The men could eat and sleep wherever they liked, provided they were within the same group. Meanwhile, appointed teachers socialized the children of the communes by teaching them the Kikuyu traditions and customs (Sunday Standard Correspondent, 2007).

As indicated, to become a bona fide member, one must take an oath, and the MP's are not exempted. One MP narrated how during a meeting in Central Province, thirty sect members stormed the hotel they were staying in, abducted them, dragged them into a separate room, and forced his nine colleagues to take an oath. The new recruits swore to protect the sect and its secrets and also give a monthly contribution of Ksh.6, 000, about \$91.00. This MP's refusal to be recruited cost him a heavy beating, and he has since been threatened with his life (Miring'uh, 2007).

Meanwhile, in an interview, Waruingi, Mungiki's self-proclaimed past secretary, spoke with pride not only of the sect's tremendous growth and wealth, but also the sect's success in pulling into the fold powerful politicians and wealthy individuals who heavily fund the sect behind the scenes. Consequently, the sect has been able to acquire huge tracts of land in Molo and Njoro, among other areas, where they grow cash crops. Presently, the Mungiki leadership claims to have two million members around the country and they claim they have infiltrated government of-

fices, factories, schools, and the armed forces (Sunday Standard Correspondent, 2007).

Norms of the Group

The sect has the hallmarks of a cult. The doctrines and inner details are shrouded in mystery and secrecy, and they are based on traditional practices. As mentioned, all members are forced to take an oath, and those who stray or divulge secrets of the sect face dire consequences (Sunday Standard Correspondent, 2007).

The sect is deeply spiritual. Mungiki members prostrate themselves and pray strange prayers in forests, along rivers in Central Kenya, and while facing Mount Kenya, which they believe to be the home of their God, *Ngai*. Their prayers consist of chanting *thaai, thaathaya Ngai, thaai*, [Hail God, hail God]. They also compose and sing praises, but mainly lamentation Mungiki songs, and offer sacrifices. The lamentations decry the suffering of the Kikuyu "nation," and ask their god to come down and rescue them (Sunday Standard Correspondent, 2007).

In an interview, Waruinge attempted to relate the sect's way of doing things to that of the Muslims. He cited among other things that just as the Muslims pray facing Mecca, the sect followers pray facing Mt. Kenya. And just as the Muslims are prepared to die for their faith, so the Mungiki would not hesitate to defend what they believe in (Sunday Standard Correspondent, 2007).

Their holy communion consists of tobacco-sniffing. During worship and meetings, there is the passing around of the small black gourd, containing tobacco, which is shared (Sunday Standard Correspondent, 2007). Other rituals consist of grown-up men with loincloths wrapped around them, standing bare foot in rivers, engaging in snuff sessions and bathing in blood mixed with urine and goat tripe (Phombeah, 2003).

Meanwhile, their hairstyle is that of the Mau Mau dreadlocks. However, due to easy identification by authority, the members have stopped wearing dreadlocks (Sunday Standard Correspondent, 2007). Mr. Ken Ouko, a University of Nairobi sociology lecturer, stated that it was now difficult to know who is a member since they have no physical identity signs (Kikechi, 2007).

Roles in the Group

One of the roles of the gang is to control private minibuses (matatu) business in some parts of Nairobi and the Central Province of Kenya. In these affected areas, the sect members have teamed up to terrorize operators. For every new matatu, the gang demands an initial payment of Ksh40,000 (~\$610) and another Ksh.200 (~\$3) daily tax for plying the affected routes. Failure of matatu drivers and touts to comply leads to their bloody and gory deaths (Kikechi, 2007; Ombati & Gikandi, 2007). For instance, a human head, tongue and teeth plucked off, and stuffed in a polythene bag was found along Nairobi's Kirinyaga Road. It lay on the road and no one knew the owner, or where the rest of the body was. In another incident, police stumbled on a skinned human head on the roadside of a Nairobi backstreet. The head and the tongue were tied in a green paper bag and deposited off River Road (Ombati & Opiyo, 2007).

Initially, the gang used clubs, machetes, swords, and axes to attack and maim its victims, but it has since assumed a modern face, using AK-47 assault rifles, explosives, and hand grenades to stage indiscriminate attacks on people who defy their orders (Ombati, 2007). It is certain that one of the gang's roles is to instill utmost fear in citizens. And they have accomplished their goal with the constant reports by the national press describing their grisly murders, with bags of dead bodies collected in bushes and streets, including those of motorists sprayed with bullets (Ombati & Opiyo, 2007). As a concerned Kenyan (2007) cried out, we should be very afraid that Mungiki chops its victims' heads and leaves heads and torsos outside police stations, chiefs' camps and bus stations.

The members are also involved in antisocial acts. They harass women, for instance, stripping those wearing miniskirts and trousers in public, and they forcibly impose female circumcision. They also raid police stations to free their own members who are in police custody. Additionally, the sect has been accused of raping women. For instance, on June 21, 2007, they raped the wife of an assistant chief after killing him (Ombati & Opiyo, 2007).

Besides extorting money from matatu owners, drivers, and touts, villagers and residents have also

encountered similar extortion. For instance, in Central Province, where entrepreneurial village women raise money amongst themselves, the gang is known to demand a share of the proceeds (Kareithi & Gikandi, 2007). Potential in-laws have not been spared either. According to the Kikuyu custom, a groom must pay dowry to the bride's parents. In these circumstances, parents and elders have been forced to pay a tax each time they receive a dowry. The consequences of not paying are serious and could cost one's life (Kareithi & Gikandi, 2007).

Meanwhile, villagers and residents buying land where the gang members are concentrated are expected to part with a percentage. Likewise, anyone putting up a house or building must pay a certain fee. As one villager elder said, "It is Ksh. 8,000 (~\$121) for a permanent commercial building in a trading centre as protection fees. Timber houses cost less. The amount is determined by size and value." Failure to pay up results in your construction materials spirited away and sadly you have no one to report to. A cross-section of villagers who talked on condition of anonymity said they have been making these payments to the sect for the last seven years (Kareithi & Gikandi, 2007).

Village children have also fallen victims to the gang. Kareithi and Gikandi (2007) reports indicate that small boys have to pay Ksh.100 (~\$2) as license fees to be allowed to hang out in trading centers. Those who fail to pay are beaten. Meanwhile, last December, boys who had just undergone customary initiation rites were barred from venturing out of their homes until they paid up. While two dollars may seem a negligible amount, it is a goodly sum for parents who live in a daily struggle to fend for their families.

According to Kikechi (2007) the Mungiki gang have also taken the role of providing security and forcing residents to pay protection fees, while also collecting money from tenants and landlords (Ombati, 2007). For instance, in the Mathare slum, the gang fought bloody turf wars with the Baghdad Boys (no affiliation with Muslims) with the intent of providing security to the slum dwellers for a fee. Also, those who drink

late in Mathare are escorted to their houses at a fee. Failure to pay up results in orchestrated muggings by sect members (Kikechi, 2007).

Mungiki not only levies money for provision of security but also takes charge of public toilets, charging fees for their use. Reports from Mathare also indicate that the gang has started supplying electricity, compelling residents to switch to illegal installations at a fee, besides forcibly providing illegal water connections at a fee. Meanwhile, to settle rent and family disputes, the gang has formed what they refer to as Kangaroo courts (Kikechi, 2007). Clearly, the gang has paralyzed the basic and normal activities of both rural and urban dwellers.

The gang is also known for defending their own that have been arrested or killed by police. In June, 2007, following their leader's, John Maina Njenga, arrest and sentence of a five-year jail term for being found with the possession of a gun and bhang, the members went on a merciless spree of killing at random (Ombati & Opiyo, 2007). Similarly, the gang guards their turf jealously. For instance, on November 8, 2006, the brutal killings in Mathare slums are believed to have been conducted by Mungiki members in an area believed to be under the control of the rival Taliban gang. Sources suspect the motive was to avenge the weekend attack in which the Taliban burnt houses in an area considered Mungiki territory (The Standard Team, 2006).

Status Hierarchy in the Group

Since the gang evolved, it has had a leader. The finer details of the sect and what goes on inside is not divulged to non-members. The members are ranked in seniority, where certain things considered sensitive remain known only to the leaders. The leaders are invisible but powerful people, some in government, and are involved in recruiting hundreds of youths, both men and women (Sunday Standard Correspondent, 2007).

In an interview, Waruinge, Mungiki's self-proclaimed past secretary, likened their then leader, Maina Njenga, to the Son of God, Jesus, or Moses. Waruinge asserted that Maina Njenga was the son of the founder and spiritual leader, and that

he had been chosen by God and his father to liberate the Agikuyu people (Sunday Standard Correspondent, 2007). He further likened the leaders of the sect to the notorious Al Qaeda leader, Osama bin Laden, with Moi's government being their sole enemy at the time. Meanwhile, Waruinge's role was to entice and befriend journalists to gain Mungiki publicity, while also denying the gang's association with anarchy (Sunday Standard Correspondent, 2007).

Presently, the Mungiki gang has an intricate intelligence network that has enabled its members to outwit the police as they continue to butcher Kenyans. It is this spy-network, fashioned like the government's own National Security Intelligence Service, that gathers information on impending police raids, suspected informers and deserters. Investigation by *The Standard* has revealed that the Mungiki intelligence network, though rag-tag, is webbed across Nairobi and most parts of Central Province (Oywa, 2007).

Meanwhile, the spies, mostly young volunteers, have infiltrated all the major slums in Nairobi and neighboring districts where they disguise themselves as water vendors, street urchins, and waste collectors. In the Kosovo slum, residents say the informers report to a man in his late fifty's who lives within the slum. The man is the leader of the local intelligence network acting as a locational coordinator. He gets information from the informers and passes it over to his seniors. It is after this that the killers swing into action (Oywa, 2007). More senior members of the sect are deployed at the major bus termini, where they collect information on vehicle owners refusing to pay illegal levies. They use coded words and short text messages to communicate with their superiors (Oywa, 2007).

Part B Characteristics: of the Gang or Problem

The gang is clearly a menace to the country. With its gruesome, grotesque, and graphic killings it has caused terror and fear among the citizens. The residents are so horrified that the rule of silence prevails, since "your mouth can cost you your life" (Kareithi & Gikandi, 2007). The situa-

tion is so bad that even family members are scared to talk about the sect, fearing their father, brothers, sons, daughters, or other relatives may be involved and may come after them.

As one mother in Central Province confessed, she is scared of her three sons since she does not know if they are members of the gang. Besides, “who can speak ill of this thing. Even in the secrecy of your house you never know, walls have ears” (Kareithi & Gikandi, 2007).

Having learnt that they can earn a living by forcibly providing security, and engaging in other illegal activities, the gang continues to extort money from people in all walks of life. Meanwhile, it is extremely disturbing that the gang has taken over major sectors and basic services in the capital city and the neighboring districts. As one would imagine, commuters and residents live in abject fear for their lives since the sect lacks feelings of remorse or guilt, and places no value on human life.

Theories: What Theories Explain the Situation?

Several theories, one of which is politically oriented, exist on why the Mungiki has evolved into the monster that it is today. Mr. George Wanjau, a social worker, who has interacted with Mungiki followers, says during the term of the past president, Daniel Arap Moi, the sect enjoyed support because many Central Province politicians believed it would fight for the interests of their people. As a result, the former Kanu government appeared to have largely ignored Mungiki despite its frequent clashes with touts in Kawangware and Nakuru (Kikechi, 2007).

Unfortunately, the support of some influential politicians from Central Province has persisted. These politicians serve as one of the sect’s many financial backers. And in a bid to seek political mileage, these adherents even provide the sect with free reign of their homes to use whenever they are in their towns (Sunday Standard Correspondent, 2007). Additionally, politicians have been known to use the members in campaigns, besides openly allowing them to hold rallies in their constituencies. Meanwhile, Nairobi MP’s who do not come from Central Province have been isolated when-

ever Mungiki is being discussed (Kikechi, 2007). With all the political affiliations involved efforts to crack down on sect members becomes a most delicate, intricate, and insurmountable task. Meanwhile, the present situation gets more complicated as Kenyans head to the polls this December to elect their next president. The gang members are hoping to gain government recognition by heavily campaigning for their favorites.

For the matatu business men who fund the sect, I theorize it as a case of fear and survival since, just like the residents, they have no one to report to since law enforcement has failed them. Besides, their livelihood depends on their matatu business, and that means they must ply the routes to stay in business, which, in turn, means they must comply with the sect forces. In any case, the sight of the demarcated remains of their colleagues and their somber funerals remain a perpetual reminder of what could befall them and their families.

Meanwhile, according to some sociologists, another theory that explains the current situation is that the sect has managed to address a social and spiritual hunger among the young slum dwellers as well as school drop outs and unemployed youth, which the church and the state have failed to feed (Sunday Standard Correspondent, 2007). Another theory is that the evolvment of the sect is a social reaction that has risen due to poverty and unemployment. As some youth members have boldly stated, they feel disinherited by the system, from what they believe is rightfully theirs: a piece of the national cake (Kikechi, 2007). This has been exasperated by the fact that even the highly educated are known to roam the streets without jobs.

Existing Solutions

The Hutu-Tutsi genocide in Rwanda, the brutal slaughter of human lives in Somalia, and Darfur in Sudan are enough pointers to the firestorm that can consume a nation if matters get out of hand. The network Mungiki has displayed, and the organization and resilience of the sect are not to be taken for granted, not by the government or citizens. Just to cite an example, in two months,

Mungiki-related incidents have claimed over a hundred lives, including seventeen police officers and two assistant chiefs (Ombati & Opiyo, 2007).

An organization whose members kill in the most gruesome way is scary, to say the least. It does not help that the gang publicly defies the authorities and kills police officers and provincial administrators with no remorse. Meanwhile, there is the issue of some police officers, politicians, and unscrupulous businessmen financing the sect (Ombati & Opiyo; Miring'uh, 2007).

The majority of Kenyans are in agreement that law-enforcement agencies have lost their grip in combating the sect. However, just recently the Police Commissioner, Mr. Hussein Ali, formed the *Kwekwe* (couch grass), an elite police squad that will operate on code. The squad has been likened to the *Flying Squad* that was formed in mid 1990s to counter runaway carjacking (Ombati, 2007).

The squad will be under the command of the former head of the *Flying Squad*, Mr. Francis Njiru, with over a hundred officers under him. The squad will work closely with the National Security Intelligence Service while incorporating *Rhino Squad*, which was formed two years ago to fight Mungiki. With the formation of *Kwekwe*, police hope to contain the gangs in Nairobi and Central provinces where they have unleashed terror for the past three months (Ombati, 2007).

Kwekwe are under the order to "shoot to kill or immobilize anyone suspected to be a member of the gang who resists arrest." Also *Kwekwe* officers will be deployed at various matatu termini to man them to contain the menace. *Kwekwe* officers also intend to persuade tenants and landlords to cooperate with them by showing them those who collect the money (Ombati, 2007).

Meanwhile, the government has promised to heavily fund the squad enabling it to purchase sophisticated weapons and disguised vehicles to enhance their movement. It is hoped that these resources will help the squad manage intelligence gathering (Ombati, 2007).

And since *Kwekwe's* formation, police in the city have been put on high alert ready to conquer the attacks. In recent weeks, the police have conducted various sweeps, recovering guns, police jungle jackets, and ammunition. During the

sweeps, Mungiki suspects have been killed and over a thousand people have been arrested after allegations they were linked to the killer sect (Ombati & Ogutu, 2007). Meanwhile, General Service Unit (GSU) officers, a paramilitary wing of the Kenyan military generally used for politically sensitive missions, have also been mobilized to join the daily operations to be conducted in the city (Ombati, 2007).

However human rights activists have taken issue with the government over the manner in which police are conducting the operation against members of the Mungiki sect. Led by the chairman of the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR), Mr. Maina Kiai, they called on the government to prosecute Mungiki suspects rather than killing them. Their argument is that it makes no sense to maintain a judicial system if the police have now assumed the power to investigate and execute judicial roles in the society. The activists further feel that if that is the case, the government should dissolve the Judiciary and let the police do everything (Ombati & Ogutu, 2007).

Discussion

Mungiki must be dealt with immediately as it is an uprising against the sovereignty of the nation. With such gangsters spreading terror, nothing can be achieved. While the Internal Security minister, Mr. Michuki, is responsible for maintaining and upholding security in the country and hence is partly to blame, it is time for Kenyans to stop criticizing him since he cannot do it alone. Besides, the gang has its sturdy roots in the former government and affiliations with some of his colleagues, making it increasingly difficult to penetrate due to its strong stronghold.

Hence, every Kenyan should perceive this as their war and combine their efforts and expertise to fight the current menace. To begin with, the politicians, the clergy, and security forces must denounce the sect, while those who pledge allegiance to the gang should face the full arm of the law. The evolvment and thriving of the Mungiki sect largely involves the support of some politicians from Central and parts of Eastern Province. All politicians and leaders irrespective of ethnic-

ity and tribe must fight the common cause of ensuring security in the country. It is extremely selfish of those who are behind the Mungiki for political gain, while they continue to indiscriminately butcher fellow Kenyans.

The function of law enforcement in any country is to provide security to its citizens. As suggested by Ndegwa (2007) to effectively protect the citizens from the sect, the police department needs to be allocated enough resources, which will enable them to carry out police operations of detection, investigation, and prosecution of crime. Effective training of the police is also needed to improve the quality of investigations. There should also be some form of police accountability and measures of effectiveness. And since fighting the gang is a dangerous task, the police should be awarded appropriate risk allowances and suitable life insurance policy covers.

Ndegwa (2007) notes that the lack of material witnesses to testify in courts is undermining police efforts to prosecute criminal cases. Hence, the government should take urgent measures to implement the Witness Protection Act, 2006, to give the necessary incentive and protection to witnesses.

While law enforcement should step up to the plate, conducting sweeps and engaging in suppression activities to control the gang members is not the total answer. In any case, no rehabilitation services are provided to these members while they are in prison. Once their term is over, they are back on the streets possibly smarter and more dangerous. Besides as disclosed by Sheldon, Tracy, and Brown (2001) there is the danger of recruiting fellow inmates into the gang while in prison. It is time for the prison department to collaborate with rehabilitation programs to provide tertiary preventative measures (Esbensen, 2000) that seek to bring positive change in the member's behavior while in jail.

Locking up hardcore sect criminals will be one way to deal with the present mayhem. However, preventative measures must be considered to prevent youth being lured into the gang in the first place. Hence the home, school, and religious and government institutions must join forces. Heads of family and religious leaders must critically reconsider their roles in drawing boundaries of and

maintaining social control. As Thang'wa (2007) asserted, family heads have the first responsibility to ensure that "children leave home with more between the ears than violence...." Religious leaders, on the other hand, must reconstruct the purpose of life here on earth, since the thought of eternal damnation no longer deters evil. Without anything to call their own, many youth are scared of nothing. Morals and the value of human life must be heavily instilled to Kenyan children and youth.

Schools must step in where families have failed, while also ensuring the continued development of positive life principles and a sense of hope. Teachers and the school administration must also remain well informed about student activities. Likewise, they must be alert to any threats of gang formation and affiliation in their schools, and have primary and secondary preventative measures in place (Esbensen, 2000). In the past few years, there have been several cases of school riots, rapes, and the terrorizing of villages by secondary students. Some of those involved have ended up in jail while others have been expelled or dropped out. There is high likelihood of such dropouts joining the sect with the hope that it will provide them some needed excitement and material gain.

The government, on the other hand, has the heavy responsibility of educating its youth and fighting illiteracy at all costs as well as creating jobs. In the recent sweeps, the youth that have been rounded up during the day should have been elsewhere rather than idle in the slums. Gladly, President Kibaki has provided free primary education to ensure that all children have access to basic education (Kigotho, 2007). Meanwhile, the logistics of providing free secondary education is underway (Opiyo, 2007). It is also encouraging to note that in this year's budget a substantial amount of money was allocated to the education sector (The Standard Team, 2007). Regarding job opportunities, it is hoped that the slow economic rise and the increase in foreign investment will create jobs for the masses.

Kenya and the United States of America share a similar explanation for the mushrooming of gangs in their individual countries: the creation of

an underclass largely as a result of poverty and unemployment. However, unlike gangs in United States, the Mungiki has a cultural, religious, and political slant to it.

Either way, efforts should be made to empower the Kenyan youth so that it is less likely that they will join a gang. This means providing accessible educational opportunities and providing jobs that will give them a hope for a sustainable life.

Maslow's law of hierarchy should ring a bell in the ears of Kenyans. Kenyans must remember that without a meal on the table, dignified shelter, and hope for a better tomorrow, the youth consider hell to be already here. Thus, out of desperation and the sense that there is nothing to lose, they continue joining the gang and engaging in the criminal activities. In Kenya, the adage that it takes a village to raise a child needs to take center stage. This means that while leaders must provide the basic necessities-- affordable shelter, education, employment, and security-- the home/community, school, and religious institutions must join in to curb this terrifying Mungiki firestorm. The challenge remains for (a) leaders from various ethnic groups working together, (b) the government providing necessary resources for the masses, and (c) the country generating enough capital to provide the numerous amenities and also form and maintain various preventative programs.

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