

Emergence of Youth Criminal Groups Popularly Known as Panya Road and Ubaya Ubaya in Tanzania: The Case of Dar es Salaam City and Zanzibar Town

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Abstract

This paper focused on analysis of emergence of criminal groups in Dar es Salaam city and Zanzibar town. Data collection was based on in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. Content analysis was used in analysis of data collected from the study. The study findings revealed that youths are vulnerable and susceptible to criminal activities due to corruption, fake promises from politicians, education systems, laxity of parental or guardians' care and inspiration of children to live luxurious life. In addition, the study recommended to take proper moves that police operation and other government authorities undertake on use of force that cannot end such societal challenges. Instead, the government should provide education system, which is skilled oriented to enable young people to employ themselves. In addition, more efforts are needed to fight corruption from low level to high level of government system.

Keywords: Crime; Community policing; Criminal gangs.



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1. Introduction

Emergence of criminal gangs is a topical issue in both developed and developing countries where many criminal gangs emerged. It is particularly important for researchers who are social workers, sociologists, lawyers, political scientists and criminologists to identify such deviant groups so as to provide solutions to their control and eventual end. The issue is so important because criminal gangs are considered to constitute a greater societal problem than crimes committed by single individuals (Rostami *et al.*, 2018). Most researchers are eager to know the origin and organization of criminal gangs and the way forward to solve their aftermath.

Scholars accepted that both developed and developing countries have experienced criminal gangs in their countries. For example, a country like Mexico had experienced Mexican criminal organization known as the Zetas. The group was one of the most violent criminal groups in Mexico at about 1990s. The gang was known for dangerous forms of violence, including killing their victims and leaving them for the public to see. The gang is still employed to enforce the Gulf of Mexico Cartel to transfer illicit drugs at El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras (Godnick, 2018).

The same was experienced in Brazil where a violence gang group was established in 1990s. The group was known as the Primeiro Comando da Capital, literally means First Capital Command. The gang was famous because of its attacks against state officers and institutions in Sao Paulo, Brazil. It was recorded that in May, 2006, the gang operated 50 prison rebellions and 251 attacks. Such operations resulted to 90 buses being burnt down, 453 dead and 53 wounded among police officers, suspects, civilians as well as criminals (Resk, 2016). The group is still strong continuing its operations and increasing its businesses to drugs and arms smuggling across Brazil as well as abroad (Ferreira, 2018; Neher, 2017; Ribeiro, 2016).

Similarly, Britain had experienced gang culture for a long time. Criminal gangs have long occurred in Scotland and the country's largest city like Glasgow (Davies, 2013; Deuchar, 2009;2016; Fraser, 2015). According to McLean (2018), there are three types of criminal gangs in Scottish cities and Britain. First, Young Street Gang, which mainly enjoys fighting groups. The second one is the Youth Criminal Gang, which is mostly involved in highly active crimes and lastly, there are serious organized crime groups engaged in illicit drugs and, in some cases, illegal governance for communities (Campana and Varese, 2018; McLean *et al.*, 2018).

In Sweden, the criminal gangs were known as Werewolf Legion Rostami *et al.* (2018), Black Cobra and Hallunda as well as Syriac Mafia (Rostami *et al.*, 2018). The groups were experienced in two municipalities of Södertälje and Botkyrka of south of Stockholm. The Syriac Mafia has been labeled as a mafia due to their characteristics and operations, which look like mafia organizations of Italian, Russian, Japanese, Chechen, Albanian, and Turkish mafia (Gunnarson and Rostami, 2017). Like other gangs, Syriac Mafia devoted to criminal activities such as illegal gambling, extortion and violence. In response to violence acts of such groups, Police increased their operations to fight against them (Rostami *et al.*, 2018).

Werewolf Legion criminal gang in Sweden, emerged as a prison gang in the prison facility of Tidaholm. The purpose of the group was to protect members of gang inside the prison. But when the leader of the gang was released, they spread the gang outside the prison. The gang started as a street gang while so many individuals from

different suburbs in Stockholm joined the group in 2006. It had 31 full members and a network of 280 co-offenders (Rostami and Mondani, 2015). The gang declined in 2012 due to internal disputes and police operations to intervene the gang (Rostami *et al.*, 2018).

The same experienced patterns occurred in Asian countries. Criminal gangs had been experienced in Japan and Malaysia for different reasons as well as methods of operations. In the country like Japan, for example, Japanese criminal organization was known as Yakuza. It was a criminal group that looked like Mafia of other countries such as Italy. The group used violence to make criminal acts like Italian Mafia were doing. Yakuza in Japan used to steal violently and killed people. The group came to an end after the Japanese government applied severe punishments to eradicate Yakuza criminal group (Godnick, 2018).

There is dearth of literature in Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa, in particular, about the criminal gangs. Little literature is found in South Africa where criminal gang activities are not a recent phenomenon. According to Der Linde and Cole (2018), criminal gangs started in 1990s and between 1997 and 1999, gang membership increased to 32 percent. It was estimated that gang membership ranged between 80, 000 and 100, 000 gang members in the Cape Flats alone (*ibid.*). They (*ibid.*) reported further that criminal gangs contribute up to 70 percent of all crimes committed within the Cape Flats area in the Western Cape alone, which experienced about 130 criminal gangs. In the area, 28 percent of assaults, 40 percent of sexual assaults and 41 percent of robberies were criminal gang-related (*ibid.*). Between 2011 and 2015, 8.3 percent (23541 assault incidents) and 12.8 percent (2317 murder incidents) were a result of criminal gang activities (*ibid.*). Because of such prevailing situation, in 2016, the South African Police Service declared criminal gang-related offences as a priority crime-type (*ibid.*).

Tanzania experienced emergence of some criminal gangs identified with different names like panya road, simba mwitu, ubaya ubaya and the like. Due to lack of literature, it is difficult to know their origins and effects of their operations. This study strived to assess some issues related to origins and operations of panya road and ubaya ubaya. The paper also recommends the way forward to eliminate some kinds of such gangs in future. It takes criminal gang as social challenge and therefore, it is based on social work perspective to curb the problem as well as provide solutions.

2. Objectives of the Study

2.1. Main Objective

The main objective of this study was to assess emergence of youth gangs in relation to criminal practices in Tanzania:

2.1.1. Specific Objectives

- i. To assess the emergence of Panya road in Dar es Salaam City and Ubaya ubaya groups in Zanzibar Town; and
- ii. To suggest the way forward to overcome criminal gangs in communities.

2.1.2. Significance of the Study

Findings from this study in the first place, will shed light and inform policy makers in Tanzania how to overcome criminal gangs in the streets. Secondly, they will be used and enable legal institutions in Tanzania such as police force to realize the extent to which criminal gangs disturb wellbeing of people and their *modus operandi* to commit crimes. Also, the findings will be used by law enforcers as empirical information to monitor criminal gangs and how they can be eliminated. Thirdly, the findings will raise the government's awareness about prevalence of criminal groups that Tanzanians are faced with. Lastly, findings from this study will serve as a reliable source of information and an addition to the dearth of literature about criminal gangs in the Tanzania context, specifically in Dar es Salaam City and Zanzibar Town.

3. Literature Review

Studies indicate that there are different scales of criminal gang organizations (Harding *et al.*, 2018; Von Lampe, 2016) that include well-organized criminal groups as well as disorganized ones (Decker *et al.*, 2008). Criminal gangs have no clear specific number of membership but what matters is gang members to maintain gang identity (Klein and Maxson, 2006). Criminal gang activities are like gang structure different from one criminal gang to another but gang members collectively engage in crimes verbalized by all members, depending on aims and stage of gang (Densley, 2014). In early stages, gangs engage more with robbery crime but as gangs mature, criminal gang members engage in financial gains (Densley, 2014). As more gangs get matured, they engage in organized crime (Varese, 2017).

There is lack of understanding about how different levels of gang organizations affect levels and types of gang offending (McLean, 2018). Some studies indicated a connection between organizational arrangement of the gang and level of organization in doing offences mostly violent crime (Bouchard and Spindler, 2010). Decker *et al.* (2008), showed that the more the gang is organized, the more likely its members involve in violent offences like drug sales and violent harassments.

Chui and Khiatani (2018), identified three kinds of organized criminal gangs. The first one is a criminal gang purposefully structured to facilitate self-interest (*ibid.*). The gang of that kind experienced hierarchical structure and centralized power as well as its economic operations that were strategically organized (Benson and Decker, 2010). The gang, in this view, experienced cohesive and rigidity in its group boundaries, it defined its group values and implanted them in its members to ensure their loyalty and thus, gang members are required to meet group

expectations and roles (*ibid.*). Good examples of such gangs are the Sicilian mafia, the Russian mafia, the Japanese yakuza, and the Hong Kong triads (Varese, 2017).

According to Chui and Khiatani (2018), the second kind of gangs is that of unstructured bodies. Such kind of criminal gangs experienced unorganized activities and there are no common agreements as well as controlling returns (*ibid.*). Every individual member follows personal goals (*ibid.*). Youth street gangs are placed in this category because they lack common attitudes, norms and goals as well as experience loosely structured as well as temporary leadership including membership (Densley, 2014; Klein, 2004).

The third kind of criminal gangs is when the gang is at its natural development of its organization (Chui and Khiatani, 2018). The gang of this kind is still at an early stage of development (*ibid.*). Studies show that well-structured gang and street gang are normally evolving from such loosely organized structures (Densley, 2014). During development, the loosely organized structure moves from simple crimes to more organized financial crimes such as robbery and drug smuggling (*ibid.*). The evolution process of loosely organized structure is not simple such that a gang may revert, stagnate or even dissolve and finally, the gang may take form and function of an organized crime group (*ibid.*).

Studies indicated that many criminal gangs are influenced by sense of ownership over a place as means to generate respect and recognition in a certain area (Kintrea *et al.*, 2008; McLean *et al.*, 2018). In the United Kingdom, violent groups are always placed around territorial disputes to build economic and social capital (Valasik and Tita, 2018). Most of them involved local drug market (Decker *et al.*, 2008; Pyrooz *et al.*, 2016). In Scotland, criminal gangs placed in geographical areas (Fraser, 2015; McLean, 2018) are identified as gangs of organized crime, especially in large city of Glasgow (Davies, 2013; Deuchar, 2009; Deuchar and Holligan, 2010).

Looking on pulling factors that interact people to formulate and engage to criminal gangs, many studies have come up with different ideas. Papachristos *et al.* (2013), indicated development of public transportation, spread of private vehicle ownership and policies of desegregation of public schools such that all increased opportunities for different groups to interact and formulate criminal gangs where needed. Cancino *et al.* (2009), point out the influx of new immigrant groups and dramatic change including structure of large cities as core pulling factors of people to form and interact in criminal gangs. Because of those pulling factors, conflict and violence as a result of criminal gangs are generally found to be intra-racial (Becker, 2007; Hipp *et al.*, 2009).

Other studies like that by Body-Grendrot (2008), on the other hand, show other pulling factors such as extreme income gap between the rich and the poor whereby the gap creates socio-economic disturbances that contribute to a high crime rate within communities. Mutarubukwa (2015), also identifies other factors such as breakdown of institutional and community-based control, which is associated with globalization, urbanization and immigration of youth from villages to towns. Lack of sense of community for many town and city dwellers, whereas local institutions such as schools, families, churches and mosques are not strong enough to provide nurturing guidance for youth such that most of them are lacking the family aspect at home (*ibid.*). Lack of interaction between security forces, especially the police force and its communities on how to mutually alleviate the problem of crimes within communities has been alarming (National Victimization Survey Report, 2004).

On specific importance, Mutarubukwa (2015), emphasizes that as society grew, the crime groups emerged with rapid expansion of crime incidents such as theft, house burglary, robbery, armed robbery, rape and other deviant behaviors. Criminals normally use various *modus operandi* as mechanisms to organize criminal groups or street gangs. From criminal's modality of committing crimes, diverse names and allies are formulated as notifying platforms for each other. Therefore, crime is a problem generated within communities that have to be combated by every member in the community. By nature, all people are self-seeking and therefore, liable to commit crime (Henley, 2018).

Studies tried to explain who participates in criminal gangs. Current findings in the social sciences indicate that individuals tend to associate with similar others (Yahagi, 2018). Participants in criminal acts tend to be between individuals with similar age, sex and race/ethnicity (Hipp *et al.*, 2009). Grund and Densley (2015), report that criminal gangs are more likely to be formed among individuals of the same racial and ethnic groups. Criminal gang is also more likely to occur within racial groups and diverse communities (Hipp *et al.*, 2010).

4. Methodology

This study was based on in-depth interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs). In-depth interviews were conducted with police officers, parents of criminal gang members and members of criminal gangs themselves. Interviews focused on obtaining in-depth realities of the criminal groups' operations. Focus Group Discussion participants were members of both criminal gangs of panya road and ubaya ubaya. Mainly, FGDs were geared to corroborate some information obtained from interviews. The data collection methods enabled to create understanding of the current thinking of young criminal groupings and may justify future research undertakings into this previously overlooked, unversed or understudied area of youth involvement in crimes in Tanzania. This study used content analysis to make replicable and effective inferences from data to their context. The main purpose of using this analytical technique was to provide knowledge and new insights to the issue under study.

5. Results from the Study

5.1. Panya Road (Road Rats)

Results from this study indicated that *Panya Road* literally means "Road Rats." It essentially included unemployed street youth gangs or street criminal gangs situated in Ilala, Kinondoni and Temeke Districts in Dar es

Salaam city. The “*Panya Road*” label or nick name came about as a result of the culprits’ tendency when confronting people from whom they intended to steal something. This was explained during in-depth interviews that, “They used to invade someone in a group of more than fifteen people and made harassment similar to when rats invade a piece of cereal crops in farms and make significant destruction for a short period of time. The ‘panya road’ practice led to panic, fear, violence and chaos among many city residents” (interview/police officers).

Other comment were elaborated by another participant in interviews that,

“‘Panya road’ group was comprised of diverse groups of young men. While some were energetic young men, but without the necessary support to get employment because they had not even attended primary schools, some had dropped out of primary schools and others were failures from secondary schools” (interview/police officers).

The *panya road* practices constituted a “cult” situation, for instance, receiving and concealing stolen goods and properties, as it was noted in FGDs with panya road criminal gang member that,

“Most of us came from Temeke District. We are members of panya road and involving, in one way or another, in Panya Road practices. We used to receive and conceal stolen goods and properties by using harsh and violent ways. We were very harsh in various streets such as Buguruni, Mwananyamala, Tandale, Sinza, Kigamboni, Kigogo, Tabata, University of Dar es Salaam, Kimara as well as Mbagala where we attacked people and stole their belongings” (FGDs/panya road).

According to information received from police during interviews, *Panya Road* members essentially were teenage armed gang groups with shared values and knowledge, normally, holding machetes and knives. In FGDs, a member of criminal gangs revealed that,

“As a group we had disposed to criminal gang involvement because most of us thought to be marginalized, socially excluded, alienated or rejected from our families and such patterns made us as a group to be vulnerable to ‘panya road’ formation” (FGDs/panya road).

This was commented in interviews by one family member who revealed that,

“The group was a loosely-organized group that existed through social learning processes in the corrective system experienced by youth, family or peer involvement in crimes” (interview/family criminal gang member).

The situation could be further proven through a scenario of burial of one of *panya road* group member who was killed by mob justice. One family member from criminal gang narrated during interviews that,

“On 1st day of January, 2015, one of ‘panya road’ perpetrators were attacked and killed by mob justice in Tandale area after being involved in a crime incident. Police officers arrived at the crime scene and took the dead body to Muhimbili National Hospital for postmortem. On 2nd January, 2015, the doctor conducted the post-mortem of the dead body and submitted the remains to his grandfather for burial process” (interview/family criminal gang member).

Another member during interviews said that,

“The deceased was a Muslim, So Al Rahman mosque at Magomeni Kagera was used for last prayers. When the dead body was taken to the mosque, the grandfather openly told the mosque leaders that the deceased person was involved in criminality during his life. The statement came after a group of youth, more than 300 individuals, surrounded the mosque area (interview/family criminal gang member).

The participant further explained that,

“Soon after the last prayers and the coffin brought out the mosque, that group of youth took charge of carrying the coffin to the cemetery. After final petition and burial of the dead body, the group took charge of filling soil in the grave. In the course of filling the grave, some of them were found with catapults, knives and machetes tied around their waists and were calling themselves ‘commanders.’ Nobody out of commanders had allowed participation in filling the grave” (interview/family criminal gang member).

Another member who participated in interviews declared that,

“This situation created fear to people who attended the burial ceremony. After completing burial, the group of youth and other lamenters headed to grandfather’s house at Mikoroshini Ndugumbi area via Morogoro road. On the way, the group started to threaten and invade people they met in the streets and stole their properties. As a result, they scattered about and created disturbances to many individuals. The police arrived and drove them away with tear gas, arrested some perpetrators and took them to police station” (interview/family criminal gang member).

Findings from this study indicated that panya road was a combination of small groups from different areas within Dar es Salaam city. Through in-depth interviews with police officers, one participant unveiled that,

“At last we came to realized that panya road was an integration of small gang violence groups from different areas of Dar es Salaam zone. Such gangs have names like Wakali wa Danta from Kagera Makurumula, Friend Rangers from Sidadi, Kigogo and Brazilian from Ngugumbi, Tandale” (interview/police officer).

Results from this study further indicated the kind of leadership under panya road. In-depth interviews with members of criminal gangs accepted that,

“Our group has three ringleaders residing in different streets along Tandale, Sokoni and Mburahati. These leaders mobilize other street gangs to accomplice looting shops and robbing people in some parts of the city. We know our practices affected traders to close their business very early, while people rushed home for fear from being attacked by the young thugs, but we have nothing except to do this practice in order to get some money” (interview/panya road).

Study findings showed that despite police operations, many culprits were arrested or killed and set fire at crime scenes by people who were affected by such wrongdoers, in one way or another. During in-depth interviews, one police officer had this to say,

“Over 500 panya road were arrested from various places after gang rampaged through some parts of Dar es Salaam City. The areas where these criminals were arrested were at bus stands, hangouts and others from their homes. Many of them were drug users, especially bhang and illicit liquor locally known as *gongo*” (interview/police officer).

Another participant added that,

“People committed mob justice to panya road thereby portraying that they have strong anger. This happened because whenever panya road were arrested as a result of stealing people’s properties while passing in certain areas, they were not convicted or jailed. Instead, they were getting police bails and returning back to the streets thereby proceeding with criminality. This situation was due to the fact that panya road victims were not ready to appear before the court for evidence and for the long period of time taken before and after the case send to appropriate court” (interview/police officer).

Another participant from FGDs further explained that,

“The very disappointing feature is that most suspects were very young, ranging from thirteen to sixteen years and most of them were supposed to be in schools whether primary or secondary schools. Unfortunately, very few among them were still attending school” (FGDs/police officer).

Study findings revealed that apart from police doing operations to diminish panya road, police used other multi-agency approaches that focused on prevention, intervention and suppression. The approaches involved all community levels to work together to ensure *panya road* gang was addressed jointly and together such as Police officers, religious leaders, politicians, guardians/parents, local leaders and other government officials. During interviews, one police officer explained that,

“As part of police solution, the arrested members from criminal gangs were grouped according to their ages. Thereafter, social welfare officers, local government leaders and parents or guardians were involved in looking for a right alternative to help that group of youth comprised of dropped out from primary or secondary schools. For drug users, especially bhang and illicit liquor known as *gongo*, they were sent to the court of law for criminal charges. From such intervention, 100 parents or guardians from Temeke district, especially from Mbagala ward were summoned and attended at Temeke police station where they were interrogated together with their respective children. They were questioned why they should not be held accountable or even prosecuted for failure to take care of their children” (interview/police officer).

A participant also further explained that,

“The community policing desk from police was used to talk with parents or guardians by looking at the right way to help children who joined Panya road. The intervention helped many youths to re-join in schools with supervision from local leaders, parents or guardians and they were ordered to report progress of those children” (interview/police officer).

Another police officer commented that,

“I acknowledged the fact that community policing where community members were also vibrant in supervision and management of community members is the best strategy for reducing bad behaviour in the neighborhoods. The police and public cooperated to prevent and solve the crime problem. The fact is that over the past two years, crime from ‘panya road’ has been declining such that streets have become safer but still there are signs to reappear in the same way or another one” (interview/police officer).

5.2. Ubaya Ubaya (Something Bad)

Ubaya ubaya criminal gang literally means something bad. The gang was operated at Zanzibar town mainly at Mji Mkongwe (stone town) and outside urban area. The areas experienced the most of ubaya ubaya activities were Mwanakwerekwe, Kikwajuni, Amani, Mpendae and Shauri Moyo streets. Results from the study indicated that ubaya ubaya *modus operandi* and organization had no significant difference with *panya road* that operated in Dar es Salaam city. During interviews with a policer officer who participated in the study, it was explained that,

“We know ubaya ubaya. They are operating at different areas of Zanzibar, especially in urban and outside urban areas. During their operations of doing criminal acts, they invade people, especially women who are alone. Sometimes they invade men who are walking with their wives. In most cases, they took by force money, cell phones and other properties belonging to people. Ubaya ubaya activities created shock because they used big knives” (interview/police officers).

The same participant further explained that,

“According to reports collected from different ubaya ubaya victims, ubaya ubaya gang members were chiefly young people who ha already finished their secondary schools. Most of them finished

form four level. In their operations of criminal activities, they comprised four to five people with big knives. Sometimes ubaya ubaya criminal gang members were using illicit drug before their actions” (interview/police officers).

Study results showed that there were several pulling factors that make an individual to join in a criminal gang like *ubaya ubaya*. During FGDs, *ubaya ubaya* criminal gang members revealed that,

“Most of us are pulled to be involved in crimes because of unemployment. Many of us remain idle and thus, making it possible to be involved in crime incidents. Causes for such acts include the education system that does not favour youth like us to engage in entrepreneurship after school exit, lack of capital or facilitation from the government and inspiration of youth to enjoy luxurious life ways without potential work to do. Most of these are promised by our leaders immediately before election. Consequently, many youths engage in robbery and other deviant behaviors” (FGDs/*ubaya ubaya*).

Participants from FGDs of *ubaya ubaya* criminal gangs also suggested measures as solutions to their problem. Some suggested measures included the following:

“The central government should provide free entrepreneurship education to youths and employment opportunities should be offered to youths whether in the government or private companies and investors. In addition, there should be provision of capital and markets for their products. Some of us have knowledge of manufacturing JIK but we do not have markets to sell our product” (FGDs/*ubaya ubaya*).

Other FGD participants revealed more solutions that,

“Also, the government should support youth initiative groups and eliminate corruption as well as nepotism in employment. For instance, myself, I qualified as an electrician but I failed to be employed after accomplishment of field work because I have no capacity to pay Tshs 3,000,000 as corruption for employment” (FGDs/*ubaya ubaya*).

Results from this study indicated further that police operations were used to interrupt *ubaya ubaya* activities. But police operations were not successful to delimit the problem. It was explained during in-depth interviews by one police officer that,

“We used to do a lot of operations against *ubaya ubaya* criminal gang by following them at their residential houses during night-times. We were able to arrest most of them with their big knives. But because we lacked good evidence to convict them, their criminal activities continued to occur. In my experience, *ubaya ubaya* activities used to occur until election ends. They start their operations a few months before election” (interview/police officer).

Following failure of police operations, results from this study showed that police decided to join with other institutions’ efforts to delimit *ubaya ubaya* criminal activities. As one community member indicated during interviews that,

“My involvement came after participating at various workshops concerning security issues inside and outside the country. I realized that violent crimes originate from community levels such that dealing with them demands all people to cooperate. From that reality, in 2015, I organized and conducted a joint meeting between *ubaya ubaya* criminal gang, Police officers and civil organizations. During discussions, some *ubaya ubaya* participants declared to stop being violent so as to become good individuals” (interview/community member).

As a temporary measure, study results uncovered that police, jointly with other stakeholders, decided to give *ubaya ubaya* works to do. They gave them works such as cleaning and guarding vehicles, work at market and in some areas, youths were organized to form Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) with small financial capital to produce and sell building materials. However, during interviews, a participant from police explained that some *ubaya ubaya* activities started to reoccur because national election was due next year. The participant explained that,

“We have noticed that some *ubaya ubaya* activities have started. Some people reported their activities at areas such as Mwanakwereke makaburini, Amani and Mpendae whereby two women were injured and their properties stolen” (interview/police officer).

6. Discussion

The literature and ideas from scholars admit that criminal gangs have been emerging from many parts of communities globally for a quite long period of time. The groups were branded with various names according to their purpose and organization such as *panya road* and *ubaya ubaya* to extent that they provided fear and tension to their respective countries. According to results, *panya road* and *ubaya ubaya* are still at the street gangs’ level with some sort of leaderships, which are clearly known and obeyed by their members. They are not so structured to the high stage like mafia criminal gangs operated in Russia, Italy and other areas around the world. In line with these facts, the study by [Campana and Varese \(2018\)](#), and [McLean \(2018\)](#), on the same issue provided such evidence, similarly uncovered by results from this study.

There are different motivation patterns that accounted for criminal gangs to emerge. They may be considered as categories of criminal gangs; street fighting groups that mostly involve young street gangs, active crimes that involve youth criminal gangs and drug as well as arms smuggling being very serious and organized criminal gang groups. For *panya road* and *ubaya ubaya*, each has different pooling factors that made them to form and join to criminal gangs. Results from this study showed that pulling factors for *panya road* were mainly lack of parenting care, they were marginalized, socially excluded and alienated by their families. Some of them not even attended to school.

Therefore, they had nothing to earn for their daily incomes unless involving in criminal activities. Results from this study are in line with facts from the study by Mutarubukwa (2015). However, this is not the case for *ubaya ubaya* whereby they joined criminal gangs to show their feelings, views and disappointment from actions of politicians and other government institutions due to rampant corruption as well as bad education system. These facts are contrary to findings from other studies in related works (Body-Grendrot, 2008; Cancino *et al.*, 2009; Mutarubukwa, 2015; Papachristos *et al.*, 2013).

Furthermore, development of public transport in urban areas enabled criminals to shift their movement from one place to another looking for opportunities and used public transport like Rapid Speed Buses in Dar es Salaam city to reach places where they believed to be favourable to undergo their missions. Also, in some cases, spread of private vehicle ownership enables partners of gangs to travel easily from one place to another because fuel expenses and other issues would be solved from what will be obtained from their criminal practices such as invade vehicles and steal properties.

Similarly, issues of influx of youth immigrants from village areas running to towns and cities with expectation to get employment and but unfortunately, most of them are unskilled to extent that they cannot be employed. As a result, they experience frustration and ultimately, they drop in hands of bad friends who invite them to join in the criminal gang. Also, issues of geographical change and development of urban areas are among push factors for emergence of criminal gangs. In due regard, many criminals fail to have an alternative plan that will sustain the new fashion of life. Instead, they opt to merge a criminal gang and participate in various criminal practices. The findings did not show any signs to support the facts, but it is recommended to have further study because areas covered by *panya road* and *ubaya ubaya* are victims of youth migration. Decker *et al.* (2009), provided this idea.

On the other side, *panya road* and *ubaya ubaya* were not criminal gangs formulated by groups of prisoners who essentially were jailed from various crimes. They did not organize themselves to protect their criminal members within the prisons and outside the prisons. However, mode of operations was like other criminal gangs formulated at prisons. *Panya road* and *ubaya ubaya* terribly engaged in hazardous crimes, which involved use of violence, invading motor vehicles, stole individuals' properties, illegal gambling and extortion practices. Such practices produce chaos and injuries to victims and effects of their evil practices depend on their organization (Rostami and Mondani, 2015).

As literature enlightens that there is no clear number of criminals to formulate a criminal gang. Findings showed no clear number of *panya road* and *ubaya ubaya* criminal members but there was relationship between the way the groups organized themselves and the way they were involved in violence practices. *Panya road* and *ubaya ubaya* somehow can be said were structured groups that managed to have a clear hierarchy as it was shown during burial ceremony of one *panya road* member. It was contrary to findings from the study by Gravel *et al.* (2018). But the findings did not show that the studied two groups have centralized power as well as economic status that can make them to manage, plan and engage in a serious violence within the communities.

7. Conclusion and Recommendations

Results from this study lead to conclude that criminal groups like *panya road* and *ubaya ubaya* are still to exist because factors, which made them to emerge are persistent. There is still poverty gap between rich and poor, lack of sensitive family institution to take care of youth and control of their children, development of urbanization, marginalization and sense of social exclusion within family members. There is still corruption among government institutions and calls from public that need politicians to meet their promises provided during general election.

From these facts, it is recommended that in order to eliminate these groups, police and other government machineries should use force and police operations. Moreover, the government should provide the education system that will be skilled oriented to enable its young to generate self-employment. Village areas should be modified with provision of social services to motivate youth to remain in their respective villages without moving to town areas. More efforts are needed to combat corruption from all government levels. Leaders should not use political slogans to promise on aspects that are impossible to be implemented.

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