



## THE NATIONAL POLICE RESERVE: POLICING PASTORALIST NORTH WESTERN KENYA

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### **Abstract:**

The National Police Reserve (formerly Kenya Police Reserve) is a complementary police reserve force that provides the bulk of policing in the hard-to-reach pastoralist areas of north western Kenya. The NPR, although a formal police service, operates largely informally, and mired in dire deformities. The paper presents its origin, legal basis and its deformities including: haphazard conditions of service, politicization, lack of training, discriminatory tendencies in the recruitment. Tenets of the broken windows theory are used to account for crime and conflict in neglected areas occupied by pastoralists in Kenya. The paper concludes that NPR holds the key to restoring law and order in the lawless pastoralist north western Kenya region if supported by the central government of Kenya.

**Keywords:** police reserve, pastoralist, suitability, broken window, deformities, north-western Kenya

### **1. Origin of the National Police Reserve**

The National Police Reserve (NPR) originally Kenya Police Reserve (KPR) and sometimes referred to as Kenya Home Guards (KHG) was formed in 1948 to assist the regular police in the maintenance of law and order. The Kenya Police Reserve Ordinance was passed to effect the KPR, and, it was open to all races in Kenya (Campbell, 1986). In 2014, the name was officially changed from Kenya Police Reserve (KPR) to National Police Reserve (NPR) in line with the provisions of the new national constitution.

The KPR later became the originator of the Kenya Police Reserve Air Wing (Campbell, 1986). The NPR was initially created to serve both urban and rural areas. In 2004, the urban component of NPR was disbanded (by the Commissioner of Police) out of what was largely described as a result of indiscipline. From its beginning and given

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their reserve nature they often worked with obsolete and outdated rifles and were mainly used as a defense against cattle rustlers and bandits in the lawless northern Kenya (Foran, 1962). Therefore from its origin, the NPR was never at the core of policing, it never attracted the attention of police authorities and was largely neglected apart from whenever cattle rustling incidents occurred or other incidents that were too complicated to be handled by regular police or army. The contemporary neglect has its roots in the manner it was formed. At best, the NPR serves as the back-water of policing in Kenya. A question that keeps begging for answers is why NPR should provide security in pastoralist areas while the mainstream police is concentrated in urban and agricultural rich areas of the country. In addition, why should the same citizens be policed in two different ways?

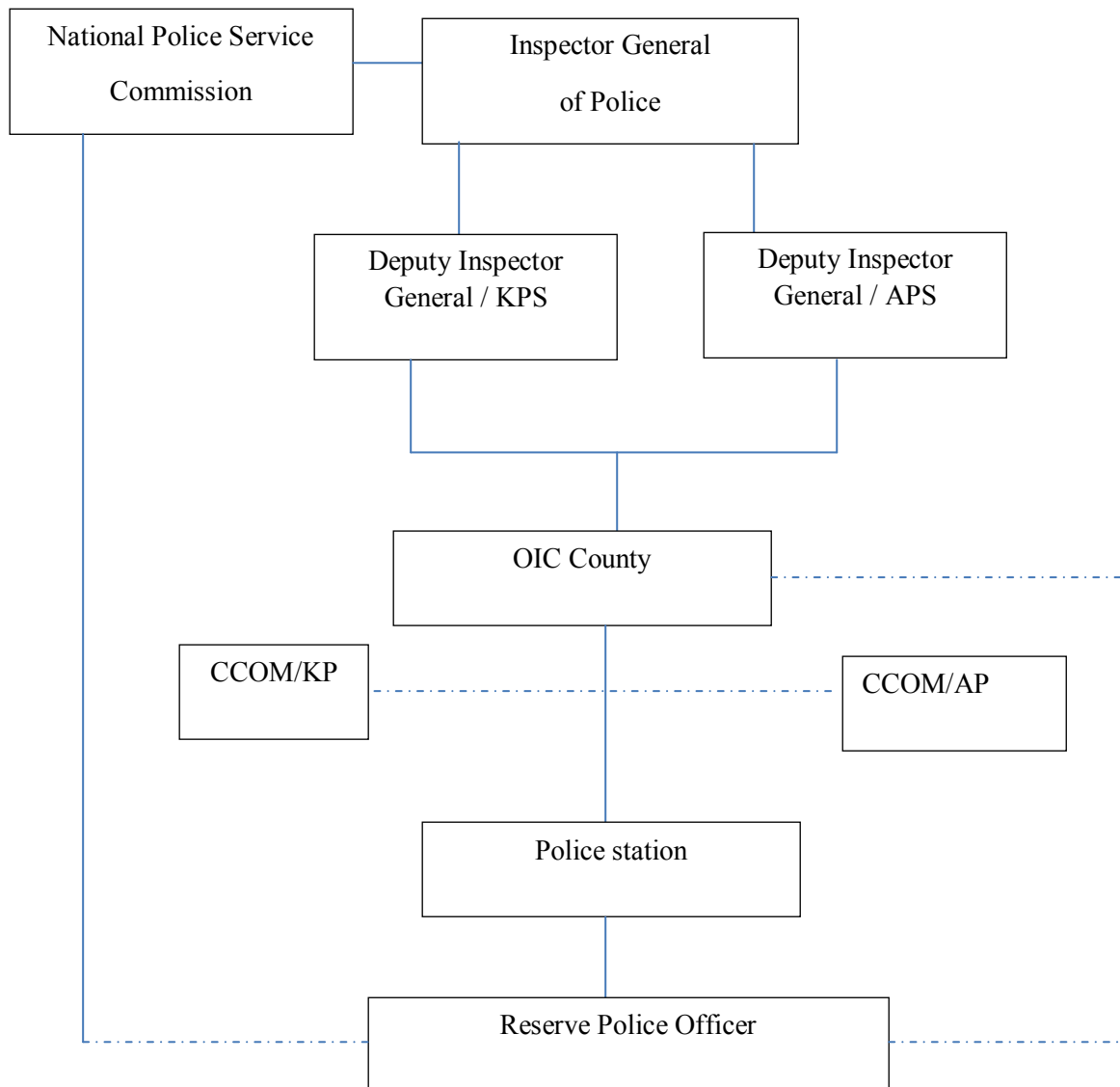
## **2. Legal Basis of the NPR**

The National Police Service Act 2011 Section 110 provides the basis for the policy and legal framework of the National Police Service (NPS). It provides that the National Police Reserve (NPR) is part of the formations of the NPS. This places the NPR under the overall command and structure of the NPS. The Act provides for the establishment of the NPR which may be deployed to assist the Kenya Police Service (KPS) and Administration Police Service (APS) whenever need arose in regard to maintenance of law and order. (The KPS and APS are combined to form one NPS). The Act provides that the NPR officers are bound by the same requirements on the NPS officers, but work under different terms of service. This implies that the terms and conditions of NPS employment also apply to the NPR. Therefore, in theory, the policies, rules and regulations for which the NPR is bound by e.g. vetting, recruitment, deployment, enlistment, training, pay, discipline and leave are those of the NPS.

In 2013, the government developed a National Police Reserve Policy Framework. The purpose of the framework was to ensure effective and efficient management of the NPR under the supervision of the NPS (GoK, 2013). It put in place administrative measures designed for better coordination among the relevant institutions with the responsibility for vetting, recruitment, training, supervision and discipline of the NPR. The framework notes two things: the first is that the NPR has a critical role to play in national security; and secondly, that it is vital in providing first and fast responses to insecurity prone, neglected and hard-to-reach areas where it would be futile for regular police to do so. Although the framework presents the NPR as part of the NPS officers whose terms of engagement are clear, it also presents that NPR provides an opportunity of employment for those willing to volunteer service to the public. The framework also notes that NPR suffers from several deformities which include: lack of accountability, lack of clarity in recruitment, management and deployment; political interference; uncoordinated command and control; and confusion. Other deformities mentioned include inadequate or lack of supervision, poor or absent records, inappropriate training or lack of it, poor kitting, inadequate funding and lack of professionalism. The framework reiterates that the National Police Service Commission (NPSC) has the final

responsibility for making and maintaining a record/database of all the NPR as well as recruitment and training. Other legal responsibilities of the NPSC in regard to NPR include: setting qualification requirements for recruitment, determination of the pay and allowances, formulation of procedures for recruitment and discipline, development of training curriculum, investigation and evaluation, reception and forwarding of civilian complaints to the relevant state agencies. The framework also creates the office of the National Police Reserve Unit to be headed by a Director and the respective county officers in charge of NPR.

**Figure 1:** National Police Reserve Organizational Structure



Source: GoK, 2013

The draft framework sets out the criteria for recruitment of NPR. This includes: suitability and competence to serve as a volunteer, knowledge of the law, medical fitness, trained and possession of a certificate of appointment. The framework also

provides for payment of allowances but only when formally and actively engaged on particular assignments. In order to operational the NPR, the framework envisages the following: the NPSC to determine the county specific establishments and maximum numbers of NPR, undertake a head count of the existing NPR as well as assessment of their suitability, determination of their knowledge of the law, issuance of standing orders and allocation of funds to operationalize it.

### **2.1 Broken windows theory of policing**

The theory is associated with Kelling and Wilson (1982) who first published it in the Atlantic Monthly Magazine. It uses broken windows as a metaphor for disorder in communities and argues that property that looks unattended to be vulnerable to plunder. The anonymity of an area, frequency of being taken over, abundance of abandoned territory, the notion that no-one is caring for what goes on encourages disorder. Criminal activity rises in a place as long as the existing barriers and a sense of obligation are lowered by actions that are seen to demonstrate that nobody is in control. A stable pastoralist range that has families that care for their livestock and other range resources, mindful of the symbiosism it has with its neighbors can change suddenly into an inhabitable range. Once elders lose control of the youth, neighborhoods are abandoned; groups of organized rustlers and bandits emerge to terrorize neighboring communities in an environment that is not controlled or uncontrollable by mainstream policing. In this environment where "nobody cares" local people as police reserve are found appropriate and their role restricted to maintain order and safeguard property but not to fight disorder causing behavior. Disorder flourishes in pastoralists' areas where behavior is largely unchecked. Community withdrawal from the hard-to-reach areas under the prowl of bandits and cattle rustlers creates more disorder. The disorder is at two levels: one is physical which is exemplified by abandoned rangelands and settlements, and the second is typified by social variables such as marauding gangs of cattle rustlers and other hordes of bandit groups that frequently terrorize road travelers. Each member of the reigning gang becomes a broken window which is joined by other broken windows consequently leading to lawlessness. Broken windows theory argues that evident signs of crime, criminal behavior, anti-social behavior and general disorder create an environment that elicits more disorder (Kelling and Coles, 1996). The theory posits that the presence of police functions to create an atmosphere of order thereby checking the frequency of disorderly/criminal activity. Although the broken windows theory was developed to fix the problem of crime in urban areas, its basic premise can also be applied to fix lack of safety in neglected areas occupied by pastoralist communities in the north western region of Kenya. Pastoralists' areas have similar characteristics that border on neglect and abandonment. Such areas are characterized by a stark absence of visible police. Urban attributes of crime include: abandonment of neighborhoods, vacant houses, broken windows, abandoned streets, criminals ruling streets and absence of visible police. In pastoralist's areas similar attributes are: absence of visible police, abandoned neighborhoods, roaming gangs of cattle rustlers and bandits and absence of other forms of government. When communities neglect broken

windows it shows that they lack concern for community safety and become vulnerable to aggression. A clear ownership structure for the area is crucial for safety to prevail but the presence of police reserve in the community is in itself not enough to achieve a safe community but people are key to achieving this ideal. Hence, the mere presence of police reserve in the communities does not improve safety without the people themselves changing the deviant violent behavior.

## **2.2 Data Collection**

A phenomenological research design was applied since the goal of the study was to examine the phenomenon of national police reserve in a pastoralist context in the largely un-policed north western region of Kenya, This approach helped to understand reserve policing from a group of individuals and their points of view. This design enabled me to capture their reactions, perceptions and feelings as they experience reserve policing beyond the formal presentations. In designing this study, I drew inspiration from the work of Gaston-Gayles, et. al. (2005) whose study captured the views of college administrators during the time of the civil rights movement in order to establish how their profession was changed as a result. This enabled me to understand the dynamics of national police reservists, the conditions of work, their views on various aspects of their work and the extent to which it had affected their lives. The data collection was organized into three phases. Phase one took place between February-March 2017. It was dedicated to assembly and review of literature on the national police reserve. This yielded scanty information. The main reason was that the subject of national police reserve has not been a favorite topic for scholars despite the fact that the service had been in charge of security for a much longer time. Secondly, the service was largely unknown beyond their villages to be of any interest to researchers since policing was assumed to be a reserve of their uniformed counterparts. The second phase which took place between June-July 2017 targeted (the actual identities of all respondents has been concealed for their safety) police the police reservists in Baringo County of Tugen and Il Chamus extraction. In Elgeyo Marakwet County, the Marakwet community was interviewed. In West Pokot and Turkana Counties, the Pokot and Turkana reservists were interviewed respectively. The sub-counties in which the interviewing took place were: Baringo North, Baringo South, East Pokot/Tiati in Baringo County. In Elgeyo-Marakwet County, the focus was Marakwet West., All the selected sub-counties had experience of police reservists. In West Pokot County, Pokot Central and Pokot North were targeted. Turkana South and Turkana East were selected in Turkana County. Most of them were interviewed individually although in two instances I interviewed a group of 4-5 of them together. In using this approach, I was able to obtain first-hand information about the lives of the national police reserve working in his natural environment but in dire circumstances. In the course of the discussions I stumbled onto information on how they were/are recruited in the different counties and why sections of certain other communities were excluded. It dawned on me that there were no formal or standard regulations to guide the process. The procedure differed from county to county, ethnic group to ethnic group and from

administration to administration. Of the 24 police reservists interviewed 17 (72%) were recruited in different ways. Using this approach, I found out the types of elite who influence the recruitment in different counties or places. The third phase (October 2017) was confined to additional interviews in the respective counties for triangulation of the findings. I also used this time to share the preliminary conclusions of the study with these respondents. They were selected county administrators, county police officers and politicians. The discussions centered on recruitment procedures, terms of service, training and operational issues. This line of interviewing confirmed the findings from the reservists on key aspects of their policing service. It also helped me to conclude that the national police reserve is paraded as part of the mainstream police service but they have nothing to show of it.

### 3. Presentation of Findings

#### 3.1 Ethnic Discrimination

In North-Western region of Kenya, the deployment of NPR is rife with ethnicity. From an ethnic point of view there appears to be preference and/or lack of it towards certain ethnic groups or sections among them. While the NPR are recruited and deployed among the Turkana, Marakwet, West Pokot, Il Chamus, Samburu and Tugen, the East Pokot have none. From an administrative point of view, there are NPR in all the sub-counties in North Western Kenya apart from East Pokot sub-county. The ethnic bias in deployment of NPR is best captured in a speech by the Rift Valley Regional Coordinator, who said as follows,

*“The reservists had uniforms and a firearm each and were at insecurity prone areas in five counties in the region. Some 240 of them have been recruited in Elgeyo Marakwet, 220 West Pokot, 151 Baringo North, 142 Baringo South, 200 Turkana, 200 Laikipia, Samburu 70” (The Daily Nation , April 13, 2017, pp 12).*

The apparent government indifference to recruit and deploy NPR among the East Pokot has helped to feed the long held notion of ethnic discrimination against the pastoralist Pokot. A question that still needs to be answered is why the governments does not recruit reservists from among the East Pokot. A prominent leader (01) of the pastoralist Pokot commented on this isolation as follows:

*“The NPR (then called home-guards) were withdrawn from East Pokot in 1995 under instructions of a prominent national leader. Recruitment and deployment of NPR has gone on in Marakwet, West Pokot, Il Chamus, Tugen, Turkana and Samburu but not East Pokot. Government officers are not interested in addressing this discrimination. They often say that the East Pokot have enough guns, they do not need security. For fourteen years, the people of Tiati are still waiting for recruitment of NPR. The police are not interested in pursuing cattle rustlers out of fear especially after the Baragoi and Kapedo incidents. The police are better at pursuing changaa”*

### 3.2 Absence of Recruitment Standards

In the absence of a clear recruitment format, different localized approaches are used. For example in one instance, those who are interested are recommended by elders (often by word of mouth) to the respective Officer Commanding a Police Station (OCS) who with full concurrence and without reflection assigns the recruits with guns and bullets. The elders have no formal or uniform criteria to determine the suitability of an individual but by consensus. Further, the issues considered in one county, ethnic group or location is different from another. Interviews with a Chief in Turkana South (02) showed that the elders present him with the names to forward to the OCS. The OCS issues the recruits with the guns. In Baringo North sub-county, interviews with a Chief (03) showed that he selects those whom he finds fit (sometimes some elders propose names to him), forwards their names to the Sub County Commissioner. The Sub County Commissioner forwards the names to the respective OCS. The OCS adopts in entirety the full list submitted to him/her. In Turkana West, the DO (04) said that the local political leadership are those who determine the people and number to be recruited to NPR. The role of the DO is confined to receiving the list from the respective Chiefs and submitting the list to the respective OCS. The OCS assigns them guns. In all the cases no documentation is made but by word of mouth. Therefore, recruitment of NPR in North Western Kenya is not systematic nor uniform as it is adapted to each area. In Marakwet area, the Chief reported that elders from each location propose names of those to be recruited. The names are then forwarded to the County Police Officer who instructs the respective OCS to issue guns.

### 3.3 Suitability of NPR

Given the aridity and variability of the physical environment of the North Rift local people are best able to provide security. The basis of suitability is based on the following factors: herding experience, moran experience, practical knowledge the local terrain, knowledge of attack and escape routes; understand better the nature of the attacks, likely destinations for rustled livestock; know how to counter the attacks; and are resident in the area in which they provide security. The NPR are strongly favoured by the local people given their knowledge and orientation unlike the police. The government is aware of the superiority of NPR over the police in the pastoralist north western region. On this a government officer attested as follows,

They are more timely in response compared to the police who have to exhaust protocols before responding. As one Chief in Tugen (05) said,

*“The NPR are better. They respond and pursue the attackers as they strike. However, police must first report to Nairobi for authorization to pursue the attackers. They will follow up slowly and often the late. Once it gets dark they retreat till the following day. By then the rustlers will have covered hundreds of kilometers. So we are better off with a better equipped NPR than the mandazi police.”*

### **3.4 Absence of systematic training and issuance of guns**

Indeed NPR play and/or are expected to play a critical security role in pastoralist areas. However, no systematic training takes place or none at all on how the prerequisite knowledge on security. Most NPR rely on their traditional and common-sense knowledge to undertake the security role. What is not in doubt is that there is no formal training. As observed by a Senior Government officer in charge of security and administration in the region he said,

*“Some of them have been taken to Elgeyo Marakwet, West Pokot, Baringo North, Baringo South, Turkana, Laikipia and Samburu. After the August elections, the Reservists will get training at the Kenya Wildlife Service training camp at Manyani. We know training should have preceded issuance of guns but because reservists know the terrain, we decided to use them right away (Daily Nation April 13, 2017, pp 12).*

Deployment of NPR without training or casual training is a great risk to them as observed by a senior Police officer from north western Kenya. He was quoted as follows,

*“Speaking at Kapenguria police headquarters during deployment of the reservists sent to West Pokot, police commandant said that five of the 240 reservists commissioned by the Deputy President William Ruto in February 2017 in Marakwet East without training had been killed or injured by bandits in Kerio Valley ( Daily Nation April 13, 2017, pp. 12).*

Where some form of training took place, it was a one-time off lasting less than an hour. Discussions with one NPR officer from Turkana County revealed the following.

*“We were trained for about 30 minutes on how to clean the gun. The police who trained us said that as Turkana we already knew how to shoot. We were thirteen of us in that training that took place at Kainuk police station. After that, we were told to go to our homes as we had been initiated to become police officers. That was in 1991 and since then I have not had a direct contact with police. Even the bullets we use are bought for us by the community “(06)*

An interview with a Tugen NPR officer indicated as follows,

*“There was no training of any kind at all. The police officer jokingly told us that since we were cattle rustlers by nature we knew how to shoot and handle guns. We were 23 of us who were given guns on that day. After an address by the police officer we were asked to go back home as askaris” (07).*

In addition a discussion with an Il Chamus Chief on this topic he said that,



*“For NPR there is no training. You see the police know that every Il Chamus youth knows how to use a gun. So police just hand over the guns to the reservists. That is all. What training can a police give to a moran on how to use a gun?(08)*

After discussions with several NPR officers, police, divisional officers and chiefs from Turkana, Baringo and Elgeyo-Marakwet counties it was established that there was no systematic or organized training. Where there was minimal training it was left to the discretion of individual police officers. It was also clear that after issuance of the guns there was no follow up on how and whether the guns were ever used. It was also apparently clear that no record existed at the police stations on those who had been issued with guns nor their number. The police in the four counties ascertained that they had no system in place to track the use of guns once issued by the respective officers commanding station (OCS). An OCS also indicated some guns issued to NPR officers are passed on to their sons without their knowledge or concurrence. Such guns often got lost. They also confirmed that no NPR officer had ever requested for additional bullets once issued with the gun, a factor which lends credence to the view that there is a vibrant bullet market in the region.

### **3.5 Political and Ethnic Influence**

Throughout the survey interviews showed that politicians from various ethnic groups in north western Kenya had a great sway on who gets recruited to NPR as well as the numbers. As noted by a religious leader from the region and familiar with the dynamics of the region,

*“The politicians often employ youth from their ethnic group as NPR after they support him. He has to reward them. They work on his orders. They provide the bulk of his security in his constituency (09)*

The political dimension to NPR is farther reinforced when the Deputy President went to commission the deployment of NPR in Marakwet East region after they had threatened to withdraw government support and vote for the opposition party in the national elections that were six months away. It is quoted as follows,

*“Five out of 240 NPR commissioned by the Deputy President in February 2017 have been killed or injured in Kerio Valley( Daily Nation April 13, 2017, pp. 12).”*

The men who wish to serve often appeal to the reigning senior politician for approval. The member of parliament has the greatest influence on the operations of the NPR in his /her constituency as well as the members. In Baringo County, Il Chamus and Tugen politicians were reported to have the greatest influence compared to the Pokot politicians. As observed by one government administrator (10),

*“The Il Chamus have friends in high levels of government that is why they have the highest number of NPR. Similarly, the Tugen politicians have a great influence at government level to influence the hiring of NPR from their ethnic group. The Pokot have none, because they have weak politicians”*

The politicization of NPR is best captured in this,

*“Lonyangapuo (then an aspiring candidate for the position of Governor, a position which he later won) accused the Deputy President William Ruto of sidelining Pokots in the hiring of NPR” (The Star, August 29, 2017, p. 32).*

### **3.6 Terms of Engagement**

It is an acknowledged fact that NPR provides the bulk of security in over 90% of Turkana, Baringo, Samburu and the Marakwet section of Elgeyo-Marakwet County. However, unlike the police, they do not have any terms of the service or system of motivation. It is they themselves who pronounce to be NPR. In the first instance, they have no official uniform or any other form of formal identification. They have no terms of service or any form of remuneration. Although they are ostensibly hired by the government, provide a service that is supposed to be provided by the remunerated police, they receive no motivation. It is the responsibility of the local people to remunerate them. A discussion with NPR officers, police, government administrators and chiefs in the entire north western Kenya region showed that there is no system of remuneration. A senior Police officer from Marakwet West (11) summarized it as follows,

*“The NPR sometimes benefit from the philanthropy of the local people who occasionally donate a goat to them in December in recognition of their selfless service. The NPR who live at market centres along the insecure roads are occasionally hired informally to provide escort services from which they earn Kshs. 2000 – 3000 (USD 20-30) per trip. This could be a night long trip or even several days. They have to lurk around the road to be picked on for this service. They provide security as members of particular ethnic groups but not as government officers. Sometimes private contractors in the region hire them at Kshs 500 (USD 5) per day or depending on their bargaining power it could be increased. Government has not set the rate payable to NPR when hired”*

A county administrator (12) while commenting on the remuneration of NPR summed it up as follows,

*“Sometimes when there is relief food we ensure that the NPR family receives. Sometimes we give them old police uniform and boots if available. That is all we can do.”*

Many NPR have died or been injured while on duty. However, the numbers are not ascertained as their deaths or injuries are not recorded in official documents. The

high fatalities are often the result that cattle rustlers from either ethnic group often target the NPR in the rescue/resistance group who once disabled the success of the rustlers is assured. The injured or dead rustlers do not receive no compensation (or their families) nor does the state provide or pay for medical expenses. The injured NPR must sell their livestock or depend on family and/or well-wishers contributions for their medication. The risks of being an NPR are real. An NPR (13) at Kapedo since 1993 has had a long experience of killings. He narrated as follows:

*“Since I became an NPR in 1993 I have seen 21 NPR killed by cattle rustlers. In 2015 alone a total of eight NPR were killed by Pokot rustlers.”*

A church leader in Turkana East (14) indicated that in the recent past he had presided over the burial of 21 NPR officers killed by suspected Pokot rustlers. He elaborated the high deaths to the following,

*“The police often push the NPR to the forefront to directly confront the cattle rustlers. The police fear rustlers. Police often use the excuse that they do not understand the local terrain. What kind of police are these? They are fake. Police have abandoned the work for which they are paid and left it to the NPR.”*

A discussion with a prominent politician (15) on this matter showed there was some hope for NPR in the future. He said,

*“In the 2016/2017 budget the parliamentary security committee had petitioned the national Treasury which had set aside a fund to pay the NPR. The fund is yet to be disbursed. This was after realization that NPR play a key role in providing security, law and order in the pastoralist areas where police have been unable.”*

The possibility for future remuneration of NPR was also echoed by a senior government officer as follows,

*“After the August 2017 elections the reservists will be put under a monthly government stipend and it will have a distinct structure with a director at Vigilance house” (Daily Nation, April 13, 2017, pp 12).*

### **3.7 Attachment to Chiefs**

The NPR are attached to the respective administrative areas of their abode. This attachment has functioned to enhance the chief's authority. It has also helped to quicken response against cattle rustlers as they are devoid of the usual police bureaucracy. The withdrawal of the Administration Police (AP) from their chiefs' control and the simultaneous deployment of NPR under the chief helped to raise their profile and improve security. The withdrawal of the AP by the central government implies that security in the north western region is a responsibility of the local people (NPR) but not

for the specialized police agency. The improvement in security as provided by the NPR has led to strong calls that NPR should not be part of the formal police establishment as it would stifle their timely response. The urge for them to remain under the chiefs control still remains strong. A Chief (16) commented as follow,

*“Since the NPR are under my control the security of this area had greatly improved. The NPR live with the people, I can reach them in the shortest time possible. They take straight orders. They can defend the people of their area without obtaining authority from me. Even the people have liked it. But when they were under police it would take even a full day to get permission to pursue cattle rustlers. Most of the time they were too late. If the government is serious about restoring security among pastoralists then NPR should be under the Chiefs’ control”*

**Table 1:** Population and distribution of NPR  
in selected Administrative Regions of North Western Kenya

County	Subcounty	No. of NPR	%
ElgeyoMarakwet	Marakwet North	32	2.4
Baringo	Baringo North	64	4.9
Baringo	East Pokot	0	0
West Pokot	Pokot Central	62	4.7
West Pokot	Pokot North	382	29.0
West Pokot	Other areas	231	17.5
Turkana	Turkana East	179	13.6
Turkana	Turkana South	368	27.9
Total	-	1,318	100

**Source:** County Commissioners of: Baringo, West Pokot, Turkana, Elgeyo Marakwet, July 2016

The recruitment of NPR has always been a contentious issue as some areas are more favored. The exact number of NPR in the north western counties of Kenya is not known due to scarcity of reliable data. However, Ghai MaryAnne (2017) reported that there were additional 850 NPR recruited by March 2017 in the four north western counties of West Pokot, Turkana, Baringo and Elgeyo Marakwet. The additional number number brings the NPR population in the four counties to 2,168. Other estimates put the number at 9,000 in the entire Rift Valley Province (Mkuttu and Wandera, 2013)

#### 4. Conclusion

The NPR remains an indispensable agency in securing the north western region from insecurity. Its local orientation and suitability make it an appropriate instrument. However, the undefined features and work environment as well as its politicization, lack of accountability remain the key deformities to its performance. The paper recommends: a clear motivation structure, regularized terms of engagement, deployment under the chief and allocation of funds for its operations.

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10. *Daily Nation*, April, 13, 2017, pp 12

## List of Interviewees

1. A Pokot elder and Chairman of the Kokwo (a council of elders). Interviewed at Kositei on June 8, 2017).
2. A Chief in Turkana South sub-county interviewed. Interviewed on June 29, 2017.
3. A Chief of Baringo North Su-county. Interviewed at Yatya area. on June 10, 2017
4. A Senior Administration Officer in Turkana South.. Interviewed on July 14, 2017.
5. A Tugen Chies. Interviewed on June 6, 2017.
6. An elderly police reservist in Turkana South. Interviewed on June 21, 2017.
7. An NPR Officer. Interviewed at Loruk on June 16, 2017.
8. An Il Chamus Chief. Interviewed at Mukutani area on July 4, 2017.
9. A Christian religious leader who was conversant with how politicians influence the recruitment of NPR in the region. Interviewed at Masol in Pokot Central on July 21, 2017.
10. A Baringo County Administrator who was familiar with the politics of NPR in Pokot, Tugen and Il Chamus communities. Interviewed on July 17, 2017.
11. A senior police officer, Interviewed at Kolloa area on July 25, 2017.
12. A senior administration official who had served in North Western for over a decade and therefore knowledgeable about NPR and security in the region.
13. An NPR interviewed at Kapedo section of Turkana East.

14. A Church leader from Nadome in Turkana East. Interviewed at Nadome Church on July 16, 2017.
15. A senior politician from Elgeyo-Marakwet County. He was part of the team that discussed NPR in the Legislative Assembly in 2016. Interviewed on July 23, 2017.
16. A chief from Pokot North Sub-county. Interviewed on June 10, 2017.

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