

THE ROLE OF LOCAL COMMUNITY POLICE RESERVISTS (NPR)
IN MANAGEMENT OF SECURITY IN THE CONTEXT
OF DEVOLVED GOVERNANCE



A photograph of Select National Police Reserve officers in Turkana- Source, Turkana Archives- Radiojambo.co.ke

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List of Acronyms

CBOs	Community Based Organizations.
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
CPA	County Policing Authority
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
HRW	Human Rights Watch
ICT	Information and Communications Technology
IEBC	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
IG	Inspector General
KHRC	Kenya Human Rights Commission
KIIs	Key Informant Interviews
KNBS	Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
KNFP	Kenya National Focal Point
KPR	Kenya Police Reserves
LEA	Law Enforcement Authority
NDMA	National Drought Management Authority
NGAO	National Government Administration Officers
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NLC	National Legislative Council
NPR	National Police Reserves
NPS	National Police Service
NPSC	National Police Service Commission
OCPD	Officer Commanding Police Division
OCS	Office Commanding Station
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
VIP	Very Important Person

Introduction

In majority of pastoralist communities, security is provided by the National Police Reserve officers¹ (NPR). NPR play a critical role in safeguarding community livestock and maintenance of general security, identifying and tracking illegal firearms held by the pastoralist communities and has been commended for providing first line of response during attacks.

However, despite all the successes, NPR officer have a multiplicity of challenges. Lack of clear legal framework on NPR' recruitment, training and management has resulted into misuse of the service by different factions. For instance, lack of clear operational framework has blurred the role of NPR, from that of traditional community and livestock security to currently being hired for private purposes, such as offering security to private mining companies, NGOs, County authorities and wealthy businessmen. In general there is lack of control over NPR, in terms of recruitment, mandate, record keeping, personnel management and firearms control. Politicization of the NPR management in various regions has also created conflicts; politicians' at times recruit NPR for their own private and personal security needs.

Research on the role of NPR in security management in Kenya has widely been done but their role in the context of devolved governance is yet to be determined or documented. The role of the service in the new devolved governance has so far remained a subject of conjuncture and speculation probably making both levels of governance - National and County - averse to committing resources towards this end. There was therefore need to conduct an assessment on how the service fits within the new devolved governance.

Study Objectives

The overall objective of the study was to determine the role of NPR in security management in the context of devolved governance. The study was guided by the following specific objectives.

1. To measure people's perceptions on the role of NPR in community security management
2. To determine the relevance of NPR in the new devolved governance structures.
3. To identify priority areas for NPR support by both County and National government.
4. To recommend policy options for NPR management

¹ The National Police Service Act; 2011 changed what was formerly KPR to NPR.

Literature Review

The history of the National Police Reserve (NPR) cannot be dissociated from the evolution of the National police service. The NPR are part and parcel of government's efforts to boost security and policing of ungoverned spaces- particularly communities prone to cattle rustling, highway banditry and community raids. History has it that NPR officer have been in existence since the colonial period. Sources indicate that, informal conscripts known as "Askaris", who served on voluntary basis existed as early as in the 1920s².

In 1943, the National Legislative Council passed the National Service Act, which recognized the existence of NPR and allowed for compulsory conscription of Kenyan Europeans³. This act was later on reviewed in 1944 under the Auxiliary Police Ordinance creating provisions for conscripts to serve in the National Service as auxiliary units, mainly to boost police efforts of maintaining law and order⁴. In 1948, the government of Kenya undertook major transformations in the regular police force. One major outcome of this transformation was the formalization of NPR as an auxiliary police unit to backstop police efforts in combating crime and maintaining law and order⁵. NPR officers were mainly deployed in troubled regions. They had a command structure and they were fully equipped and uniformed just like the regular police force.

NPR officers in the postcolonial period have evolved in a number ways. In 2004, the government of Kenya disbanded the role and function of NPR in urban towns, noting that various city units had become corrupt and unmanageable⁶. Today, NPR operates only in rural areas especially in the arid and semi –arid regions, whose main economic activity and livelihood is pastoralism. These regions are characterized by frequent conflicts and violence mainly over grazing fields, water, cattle raids and human-wildlife competition- intensified by the high rates of civilian firearms in circulation⁷. In most of these regions NPR are the most visible and dependable form

² Askaris were used to provide security and guard property for the colonial masters, for instance, during the construction of the Kenya –Uganda Railway.

³ Handbook of Information for the Guidance of members of the Kenya Police Reserve and Special Police Officers" (Nairobi: English Press) - an official NPR publication, although undated it can be located in the period 1950-52.

⁴ It is believed that the regular police force was under pressure for wartime commitments.

⁵ Common Wealth Human Rights Initiative; the Kenya Police Strategic Plan 2003-2007, a commentary by Kagari, M. (2003). Available in: http://www.humanrightsinitiative.org/programs/aj/police/ea/articles/strategic_plan_analysis.pdf. Accessed on 15th April, 2016

⁶ *ibid*

⁷ Mkutu K and Wandera G (2013) Policing the Periphery: Opportunities and Challenges for Kenya Police Reserves.

of security and they are the first in line of defence against bandits and cattle raiders. Some of these counties include: Marsabit, Samburu, West Pokot, Isiolo, Mandera, Wajir, Tana River and Turkana.

NPR Recruitment and Operational Framework

NPR officers are recruited from local pastoral communities and therefore speak the same language, understand the local security context and are familiar with the geography, terrain and climate⁸. According to the government of Kenya, NPR is a cost effective means of reinforcing security especially, in remote areas where cattle rustling and banditry are the major security concerns. There have however been challenges in documentation making it difficult to know the exact number of NPR in the country. Nonetheless, Mkutu and Wandera estimate that there are about 16,500 NPR in Rift Valley, North Eastern and the Coastal regions of Kenya⁹.

The management of NPR is currently under the office of the officer commanding police division (OCPD). This office is in-charge of identification and training of new recruits, as well as issuance of firearms and maintenance in consultation with the office of the Inspector General of Police. In addition, community chiefs are also responsible for the management of NPR and regulation of firearms' use. The reason for engaging the chiefs is based on the fact that police officers are transferred regularly and therefore it would make sense that chiefs manage them, because they are based at the community level, and know NPR by location and name.

Legal Framework and Guidelines

Since 1948 after the establishment of NPR, there has been no policy review about their operation and management. In 2005, one year after the government disbanded the role of NPR in urban towns; there were suggestions to review the policy guidelines and frameworks to accommodate the changes.

In July 2014, parliament passed an amendment to the National Police Service Act. Section 110, 111, 112, 113, 114 and 115 of the Act sets guidelines on the recruitment, training, deployment, command and structure, discipline and enumeration of NPR.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

Over the last two years, county governments – especially from the pastoralist communities - have expressed interest in the management of NPR, through identifying and recruiting reserve police officers to assist in security management within their counties. This has created significant discomfort in the national government since the constitution rests the management of the service under the national government through the National Police Service (NPS). In order to streamline the management of the service, there was need to carry out an assessment of the whole NPR management regime so as to establish their role in security management, their relevance in the current dispensation, roles of both national and county governments in the management of the service and finally establish levels of control for the service.

Study Methodology

The study targeted NPR in Turkana County. The research process involved a desktop review touching on different studies conducted by various researchers in order to highlight key security issues necessitating the existence of NPR and how the service had been managed since the pre-independence period. The study made use of the following methods in collecting primary data to meet the study objectives:

Desktop Review

This involved reviewing different reports on NPR management in the country. The rationale was to understand the historical circumstances as well as political exigencies - and context - that informed the establishment of the service, how it had been managed over the years and their relevance in the current devolved governance system.

Key informant interviews

A total of ten (10) key informant interviews were conducted in Turkana County targeting key resource persons working in institutions that deal with security issues. The interviews targeted senior police officers, County government officials, CBOs, NGO, NPR, Elders, women and youth.

Focus Group discussions

The research conducted four (4) focus group discussions in select locations. The FGD's targeted members of the civil society, peace committees, business people, and NPR, women and youth groups.

General Questionnaires

A total of 335 questionnaires were administered to members of the public in the selected locations. Respondents were randomly selected from a sample population of those aged 18 years and above. Also in the letter and spirit of the Kenyan constitution, gender balance and sensitivity were put into consideration during the administration of the questionnaires.

Section Two: Research Findings

The study generated both qualitative and quantitative data. The quantitative data was organized, cleaned, coded and analysed using Microsoft Excel, 2010 and Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS, 20) to help generate summaries in terms of tables and graphs for easy analysis and interpretation. The qualitative data was analysed through interpretation of the responses and used to firm-up interpretation of the quantitative data.

Respondents Profile

The study interviewed 335 respondents spread across Turkana County. Some of the areas selected for sampling included Kanam, Nakwemikwi, Turkwel, Lorugum, Lake Turkana area among many others. The areas were selected based on security dynamics, geographical spread of NPR and rural-urban considerations.

On gender distribution, majority of residents interviewed were male, 52.24% while 47.76% were female. This being a patriarchal society, the difference could be attributed to the fact that in every sampled household chances of interviewing the lady of the house in the presence of the man was highly minimal. Some other plausible reason could be that security matters in the County seemed to be dominated by men and therefore women were not as enthusiastic as men in taking part in the study. The difference between male and female was also consistent with the general male-female ratio in the county where 52% of the County population were male and 48% female.¹⁰

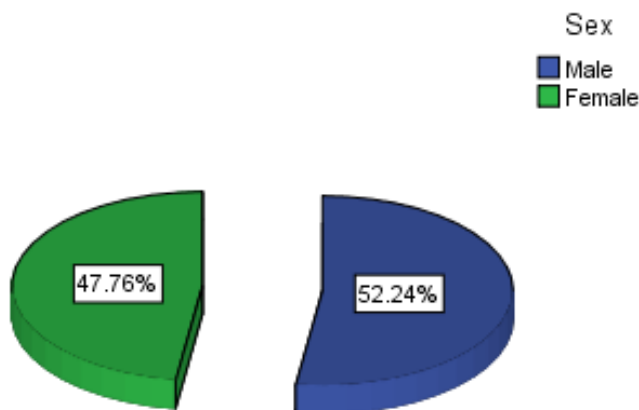


Figure 1: Gender distribution

¹⁰ Kenya information guide. Overview of Turkana County. Retrieved from: <http://www.kenya-informationguide.co.m/turkana-county.html> on 2nd April, 2016.

Age Distribution

As shown in the table below, majority of the respondents were between the ages of 26 – 35 years, 32.2%, followed 36 – 45 age group as represented by 28.7% of the respondents, 18 – 25 and 46 – 55 age groups tallied 19.4% and 14.3% respectively. People aged more than 56 years were the least totalling only 5.4% of the respondents. It can generally be pointed that majority of the respondents fell between the youth bracket of 18 – 35 years as represented by 51.6%. This is a true reflection of the Kenyan population pyramid which is wider at the base because there are more people in the younger age groups than in the older age groups for both sexes¹¹. This means that, the probability of selecting someone within the youth bracket was higher than any other group.

Age Group	Frequency	Percent
18-25	65	19.4
26-35	108	32.2
36-45	96	28.7
46-55	48	14.3
56+	18	5.4
Total	335	100.0

Table 4: Age distribution

Levels of Education

On levels of education, the study established that majority of respondents, 47.76% had no education. Further analysis indicates that the number of respondents increased with a decrease in education level. The findings corroborate similar ones from KNBS in 2013 which showed that Turkana County had the highest illiteracy levels in Kenya with over 82% of the residents reported to be unable to read or write¹².

¹¹ Kenya population Data Sheet (2011). Retrieved from: <http://www.prb.org/pdf11/kenya-population-data-sheet-2011.pdf> on 5th April, 2016.

¹² Standard digital report (November 26th, 2013). Reporting on findings of a KNBS report on “Society for International Development”. Retrieved from: <http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000098680/turkana-and-wajir-counties-have-highest-levels-of-illiteracy> on 3rd April, 2016.

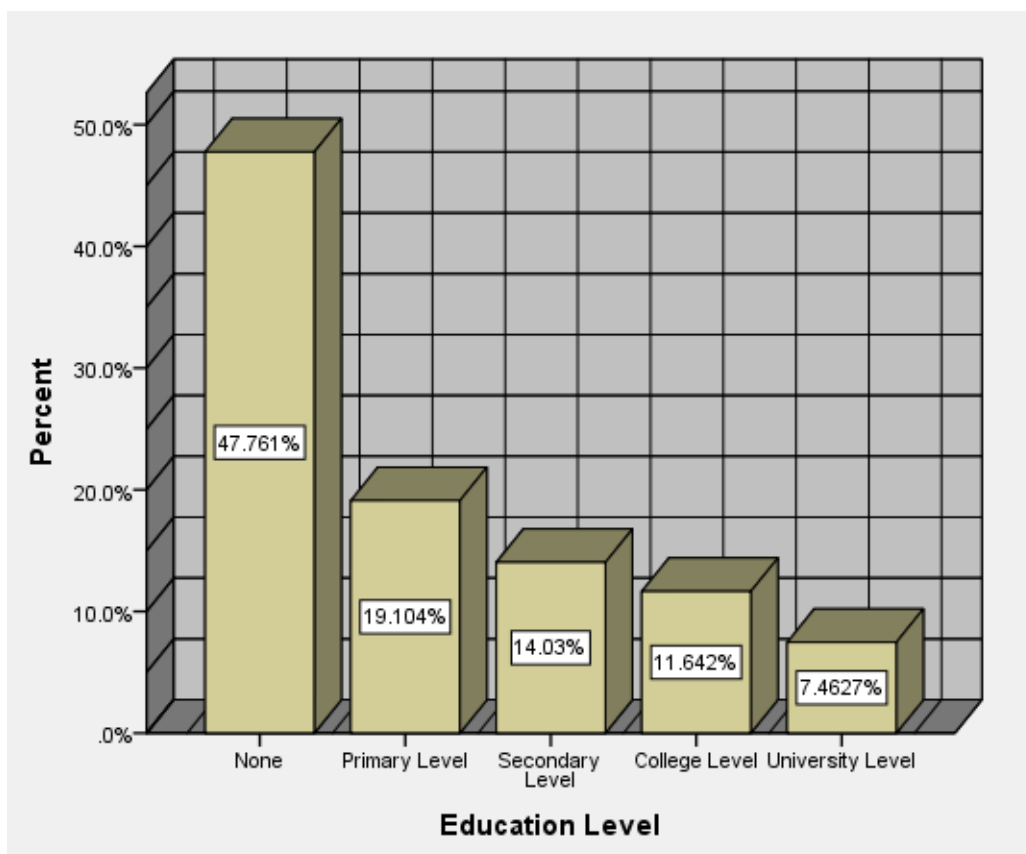


Figure 2: Education Level

Occupation

In assessing whether the role of NPR was relevant in the current devolved governance, it was deemed important to establish residents' occupation. It was found that majority of the respondents were cattle herders followed by the unemployed. Other notable occupations were business persons, students, fishermen and casual labourers. The findings confirm the widely held notion that Turkana residents were herders and fishermen. Indeed according to the existing literature about the County, the warm and hot climate coupled with unreliable rainfall pattern, forces majority of the residents to depend on nomadic pastoralism and fishing as the main sources of their livelihoods¹³. Fishing is practised in the waters of Lake Turkana. With devolution, the otherwise quiet towns of Turkana are now active, creating spaces for businesses which, about 27% of respondents' said occupied their day.

¹³ Turkana Investment Conference (2015). About Turkana County: Retrieved from: <http://www.turkanaconference.co.ke/index.php/about-turkana/about-turkana-county>.

Occupation	Frequency	Percent
Student	60	17.9
Business person	90	26.9
Housewife	20	6.0
Casual Labourer	20	6.0
Civil Servant	11	3.3
Herdsmen	30	9.0
Professional	13	3.9
Farmer	17	5.1
Fisherman/woman	21	6.3
Unemployed	51	15.7
Warrior	2	.6
Total	335	100.0

Table 5: Turkana county Resident's distribution

Perceptions on the Role of NPR in Security Management

In order to establish people's perceptions on the role of NPR in security management, the study began by determining security concerns for the Turkana residents. The study also sought to determine the major security threats, people responsible for the security challenges, main security providers and the work of NPR in the county.

Major Security Threats

The study established that, just like in all other counties, there were several security challenges that threatened the people of Turkana County. Among these challenges; theft of business goods and property especially in urban centres and theft of cattle in rural areas, armed robbery, banditry, cattle rustling, ethnic animosity and availability and misuse of illicit arms were identified as the most serious threats. Further analysis indicated that armed robbery was the biggest security threat in the county, 23.28% followed by cattle rustling with 21.19% and then theft as indicated by 20.30% of the respondents. The identified threats seemed closely related to cattle raids which in some instances turned violent due to availability of small arms. A report by Wepundi, *et.al* (2012) on availability of small arms and perception of security in Kenya found that there was a high likelihood that Turkana held more illegal firearms than other areas. Indeed

during that survey, residents of the county acknowledged the presence of arms in the area and even gave a higher estimation of arms than in other areas¹⁴

Findings from both focused group discussions and key informant interviews indicated that, the main security threats in Turkana County were availability of SALW and cattle rustling. Participants seemed to agree that the issue of SALW was more rampant along the international borders with South Sudan, Ethiopia and Uganda. This was blamed on the unmanned border points and the porosity of the border line.

Other participants suggested that land ownership posed a serious threat to security if not properly harmonized and dealt with. There were reports to the effect that IEBC and the national administrative boundaries were not in-sync and therefore continued to cause tensions in some areas along the Turkana-West Pokot border. Some of these areas were mentioned to include Lorokon area of Turkwel Hydroelectric power, Kaputir, Nakukulas, Kapedo, Lochwakula and Silale. A key informant while commenting on the issue of the boundaries remarked that;

“Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) boundary report has names of Turkana areas in West Pokot County while the national government administrative reports show same areas in Turkana and even appointed Turkana chiefs to administer the areas”¹⁵

The issue of Elemi triangle was also cited as a security threat in Turkana County especially with the oil exploration and the ongoing prospecting.

¹⁴ Wepundi, *et. al.* (2012). Availability of small arms and perception of security in Kenya: An assessment. Retrieved on 4th April, 2016 at: <http://www.smallarmssurvey.org/fileadmin/docs/C-Special-reports/SAS-SR16-Kenya.pdf>.

¹⁵ A key informant while commenting on the issue of boundaries in Pokot and Turkana being a source of conflict

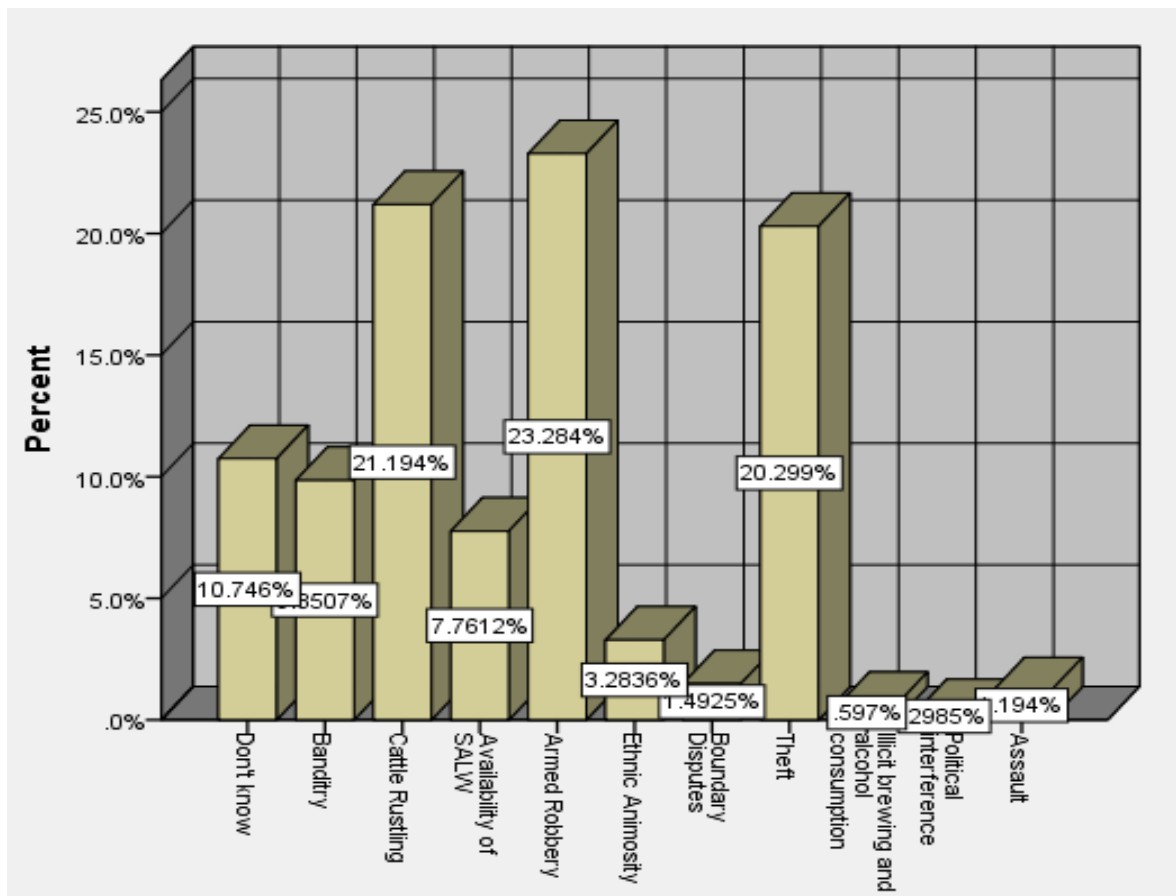


Figure 3: Major security threats in Turkana County

The study also established that the youth/morans/warriors carried the biggest responsibility for the security challenges experienced in the county. Moreover, more than 79% of the respondents mentioned the group as the main perpetrators of armed violence in the County. Other groups mentioned included the politicians (7.46%) and the council of elders and women who were both mentioned by 2.4% of the respondents.

According to key informants interviewed and reports from focused group discussions, politicians were mentioned as the main conflict instigators. This observation corroborates a statement by the Deputy President on 29th July 2015 at Katilia division in Turkana County while launching the registration of illegal arms held by communities. In his address to the communities, the Deputy President retorted:

“I want to make it clear that the Government will not spare any leader whether elected, appointed or nominated and who engages or incites residents to take part in cattle rustling that they will not be spared,”¹⁶

Similarly, during the interviews, a key informant remarked thus:

“Politicians in this county incite the masses and support actions/ recommendations of the council of elders on retaliatory missions. Mostly the morans carry out these retaliatory cattle raids¹⁷

It can thus be concluded that morans/ warriors role was to execute orders from council of elders and politicians. Indeed according to a study by KHRC, politicians were normally anointed by their respective ethnic spiritual leaders and as a result, commanded a lot of respect from their communities. In this regard there were incidences where the political leaders would mislead their people and/or incite them against other communities, thereby contributing to an increase in tension among the different communities.¹⁸

¹⁶ Deputy President Sentiments while commissioning the registration of illegally held firearms in Katilia, Turkana County. Retrieved from Daily Nation on 28th April, 2016. Available at: <http://www.nation.co.ke/counties/Government-starts-registering-illegal-firearms/-/1107872/2813338/-/371dcs/-/index.html>

¹⁷ A key informant remarking about the role of politicians the group with the biggest responsibility of the security challenges.

¹⁸ KHRC (2010). Morans no more: The changing face of cattle rustling in Kenya. Retrieved from: <http://www.khrc.or.ke/publications/54-moran-no-more-the-changing-face-of-cattle-rustling-in-kenya/file.html> on 9th April, 2016

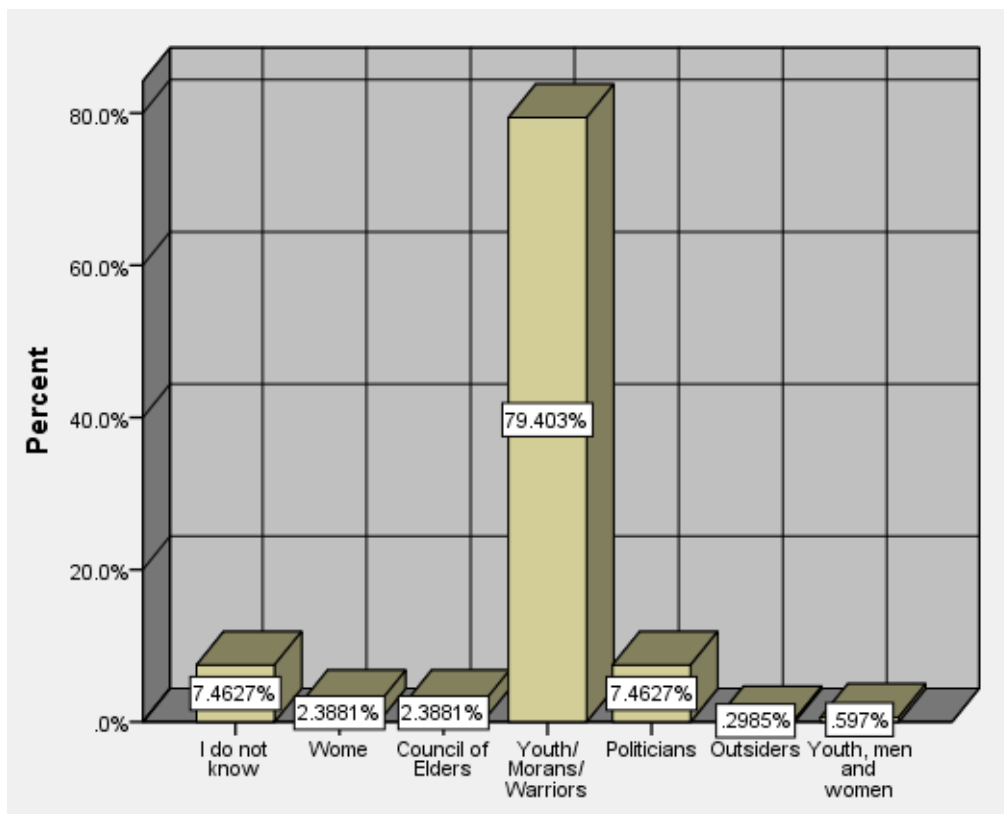


Figure 4: People/ group bearing the biggest responsibility for security challenges in Turkana

Main Security Providers

The study also sought to establish the main security provider in the county and as shown in the chart below, NPR were the main ones - that is according to 58.51% of the respondents. NPS came second as indicated by 27.76% of the respondents. Other notable providers of security were the council of elders who were mentioned by 6.27% of the respondents and also morans with a paltry 1.19%.

This can be interpreted to mean that the role of NPR in security management was well recognized and appreciated by the residents. Indeed according to the key informants and reports from FGDs, NPR was very useful in general security management since police officers in the County were inadequate. All the participants in various FGDs conducted seemed to agree that the NPR were better placed to assist in mitigating security challenges since they understood the terrains better and were more trusted by the locals. It was also reported that the Reserve seemed to cope better with the harsh weather conditions. A law enforcement officer commented thus;

“Sometimes when we are making arrests, we prefer to send the NPR since the community members trust them more than us and also because of language barrier so as to reduce chances of resistance by the community”¹⁹

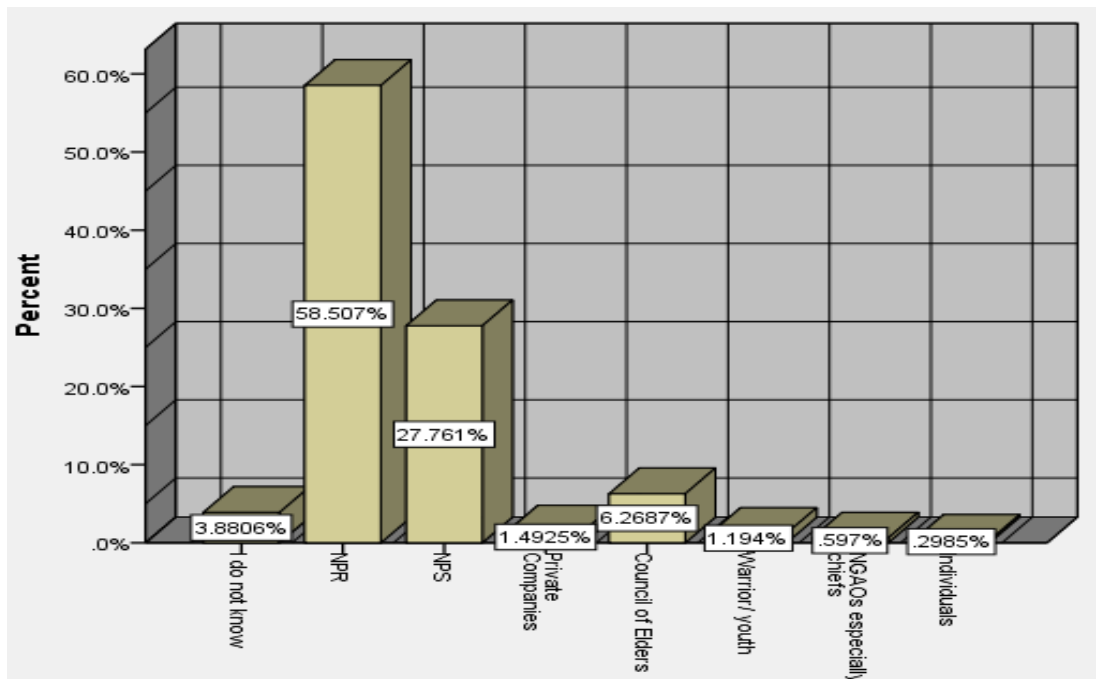


Figure 5: Main security providers

Awareness on NPR Existence

The study found that residents were aware of NPR existence in the area. This was evidenced by 89.3% of the respondents. Only a paltry 5.37% of the respondents indicated that they were not aware of the NPR existence in the county. It is imperative to therefore conclude that NPR were well spread in the county and the small percentage of people who chose to abstain or indicated that they were unaware of NPR existence were either ignorant of security issues or were simply expressing their displeasure with the work of the NPR.

¹⁹ A LEA officer comment on the level of trust between the NPRs and the community

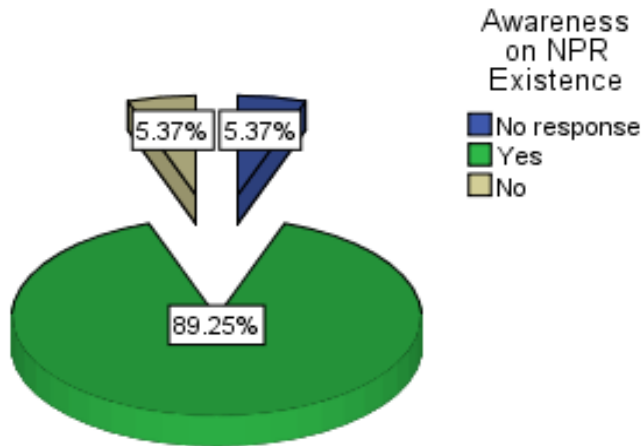


Figure 6: Resident's awareness on NPR existence

Tied to NPR existence, the study further sought to establish whether the security challenges in the county warranted deployment of the Reserve officers. As shown in the chart below, majority of the residents, 71.64% felt that the security challenges warranted deployment of NPR. There were also respondents who felt that the security challenges were so dire to be left to NPR, 26.67%, arguing that the NPR were not properly motivated and also lacked proper training and tools to execute their mandate. Other reasons advanced included an allegation that some Reserve officers were always drunk and disorderly.

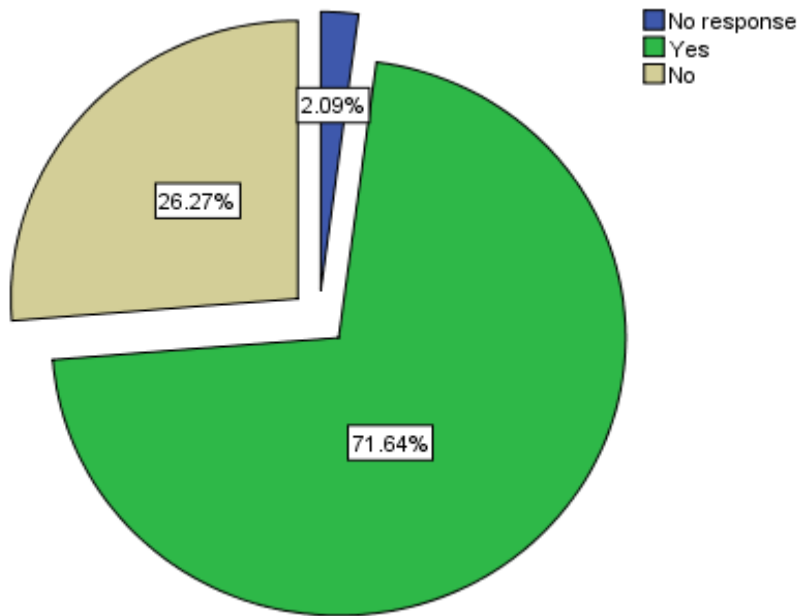


Figure 7: Security challenges warranting deployment of NPR

The Role of NPR

The study established that the NPR was viewed by majority as Turkana residents, 57.6%, as providing an important grassroots link on security matters. This confirms the notion that the police officers in the county were inadequate and therefore the NPR were more available especially in the interior part of the county. Other functions mentioned by the residents included information gathering and intelligence sharing (17.9%), supplementing the work of the police (12.8%), assisting police movements in the remote areas (6.6%) and also providing security to the locals as indicated by 2.7% of the respondents.

Work of NPR	Frequency	Percent
I do not know	8	2.4
Supplement the work of police	43	12.8
Information gathering and intelligence sharing	60	17.9
Provide grassroots link on security matters	193	57.6
Facilitate police movements in remote areas	22	6.6
Provide security	9	2.7
Total	335	100.0

Table 6: Work of NPR as known by the residents

Key informants and majority of participants in the focused group discussions suggested that there was need to expressly state the work of the NPR and effectively communicate the same to LEAs at the grassroots level. It was clear that NPR performed all the duties of police officers including VIP protections, guarding police stations, escorting prisoners, patrols and beats, guarding business premises, visiting scenes of accident and crime, guiding police officers in major operations since they better understood escape routes, shortcuts and long cuts, carry out community security roles such as arrests and also tracking stolen cattle.

Nonetheless, an FGD's involving the NPR themselves and members of the CSO's had challenges in pinpointing the exact work of NPR. Indeed, majority of participants were not aware of the official work of the NPR. This was well captured by a participant who commented thus:-

“There is obviously a misunderstanding of what NPR should do in this county. The operation and control of the service is not clear.....this has led to some NPR operating on their own and even to some extent, shifted the role of NPR from providing remote livestock security to providing private security for businesses, NGOs, and also guarding County government premises”²⁰

The study established that lack of clear operation or control mechanism has led to majority of NPR migrating from their areas of operation in rural areas to town centres, especially in Lodwar town. The migration was attributed to the many opportunities in town centres to make money than in rural areas. Preference of youth during recruitment was also blamed for the NPR rural urban migration. One person expressly reported: -

“...nowadays NPR want to work in town centres...this is because youth constitute the majority of NPR....and they must look for means of making a living and supporting their families, not like in the past when most of the NPR used to be older people with large herds of cattle.....NPR are engaging in income generating activities such as “bodaboda” while still in official uniforms”²¹

²⁰ A comment by a FGD participant held in Lodwar town on 12th February, 2016

²¹ A key informant commenting on the desire of NPRs to work in town as opposed to areas they were recruited from. Key informant interview held on 8th February, 2016.

The study observed that there was need to look into the deployment of NPR considering that there was enough police presence in town centres. It was clear that NPR were more useful in the rural parts of the county including areas along international boundaries. County government and other senior officers within the NPS administration indicated that there were conversations ongoing to ensure NPR were moved from the town centres.

Community Satisfaction on the role of NPR

On whether the residents were contented with the role of NPR, more than 87% of the respondents were affirmative, with the rest returning a contrary verdict. According to the residents, NPR was easily available and brought security services closer to the people. It was also evident that NPR was very instrumental in fighting the cattle rustling menace in the county.

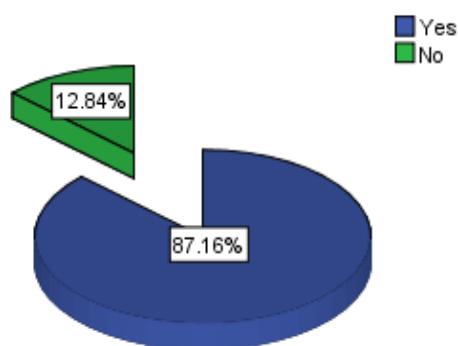


Figure 8: Rating the work of NPR

On the reasons as to why some residents were not satisfied with the work of NPR, majority of respondents mentioned clannism and tribalism as some of the greatest issues with the Reserve.

Relevance of NPR in the New Devolved Structures

One of the main tenets of devolution is to provide proximate, easily accessible services throughout the country²². In Turkana County, just as in most arid areas, some parts of the county are not easily accessible by the law enforcement agents. It is for this reason that NPR remains vital in the provision of security in these areas. Indeed, asked whether NPR had a role to play in the new devolved system of governance, a majority of the respondents, 91.94% returned an affirmative vote while 8.06% felt otherwise. This observation was also confirmed by the FGD

²² Constitution of Kenya, article 174 (f)

and key informant discussions who added that the County government of Turkana was keen to support NPR especially in far fledged areas. County government officials intimated that the role of NPR in security management was very relevant especially along the international boundaries.

The study revealed that NPR was even engaged at the county level. Interviews revealed that some of the main duties within the county government included escort services for the county government vehicles and officials and also worked as security guards for County premises and other county offices spread across the county.

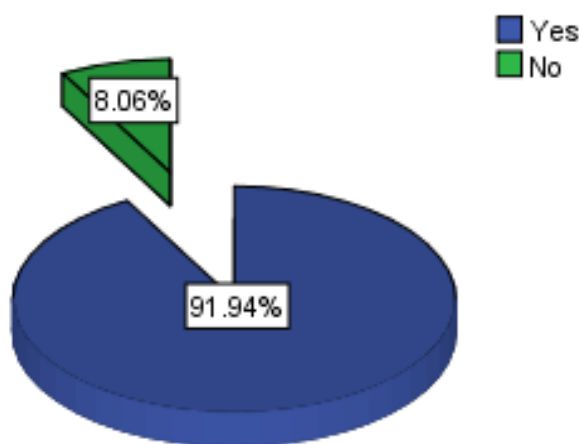


Figure 9: Relevance of NPR in the New Devolved Structures

Presence of Police Officers

It is widely believed that increased police presence not only prevent crime, but also put the officer in touch with the community. Additionally, presence of police officers in a community enhances knowledge about the problems or issues plaguing that community and therefore easy to plan appropriate interventions. Moreover, the presence of police officers gives communities an increased sense of safety and security. It is based on this belief that the study sought to understand the level of police presence in Turkana County.

Asked how often police are seen in their areas of residence, 39.1% of the respondents answered that they rarely see them. Another significant portion of respondents, 8.66% said they had never seen a policeman in their area. However, 37.61% indicated that they always saw police patrolling their area. Other responses included 10.75% of the respondents who admitted to seeing police officers once a week.

The near equal number of residents, who may have seen police patrol their areas and those who had never, imply a low police presence in Turkana County. It also affirms the importance of NPR in the County. The contrast may however have resulted from the rural-urban dynamics where police presence is arguably more in urban centres than in rural areas. In the spirit of devolution, it means that the role of NPR is more relevant in rural areas than in urban centres. The Figure below shows responses on police presence in Turkana County.

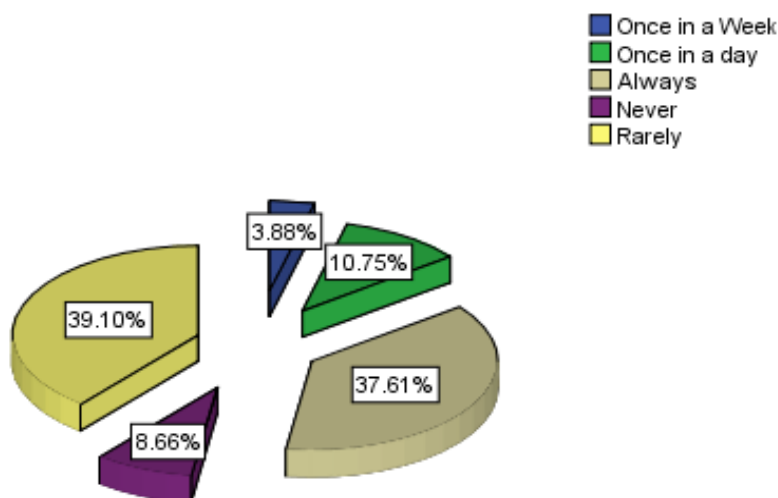


Figure 10: How often the residents see police officers

Priority Areas for NPR Support by County and National Governments

In order to be able to propose targeted recommendations aimed at improving service delivery by the NPR, the study sought to establish priority areas for support by both the county and national government.

Recruitment of NPR

In gauging the level of community participation in recruitment of NPR, the study sought to establish whether the residents were aware of the recruitment procedures and as shown in the chart below, majority of the residents, 57.31%, were not aware while 42.69% confirmed that they were aware of the procedures. A more probing question on the procedures involved in recruitment of NPR revealed that, community members participated in the process through the chiefs and the elders in identifying potential candidates for consideration. The names were then forwarded to OCPDs and CIDs for vetting and confirmation.

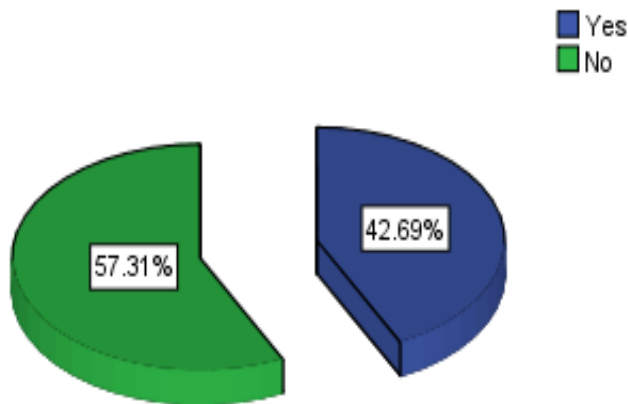


Figure 11: Whether residents are aware of NPR recruitment procedures

Key informants interviewed seemed to agree that recruitment of NPR was normally done by the council of elders through the village elders then forwarded to the Chiefs for official recommendation from where names were forwarded to the OCPDs or OCSs. It was however reported that the process had since been infiltrated by the politicians and other wealthy individuals who influence key decision in regards to selection of the reserve officers. According to KHRC, political interference was corrupting the recruitment of NPR, and warring clans through their politicians strived to recruit more members of their clans as NPR with view to outnumber those of rivals groups²³. A key informant commented that:-

*“.....majority of NPR working with the county government were not recruited through the official process but rather appointed by certain politicians. This makes it difficult for any other government official outside the county government to control or manage them.”*²⁴

Participants of various FGDs conducted seemed to agree with the above assertion and suggested that there was need to ensure that the recruitment process was clear and properly communicated to prevent the process from being manipulated by politicians and other parties for their own selfish interests.

²³ KHRC (2010). Morans no more: The changing face of cattle rustling in Kenya. Retrieved from: <http://www.khrc.or.ke/publications/54-moran-no-more-the-changing-face-of-cattle-rustling-in-kenya/file.html> on 9th April, 2016

²⁴ A key informant comment on the recruitment process of NPRS.

The study observed that there were reservations among the FGD teams and KII with the ongoing registration of illegal firearms in the County. The general feeling was that the registration was not anchored on any existing legal framework and therefore the subsequent assumption that one became an NPR upon registration was misleading.

From the discussions it was evident that, as much as the process received some support from the locals and leaders, the issue of firearm management after registration had not been thought through, and therefore exposed the process to manipulation and could ultimately result to misuse of the firearms.

On gender consideration during recruitment process, it was clear that there was not only an improved consideration but also interest from women to join NPR. This confirmed that women were increasingly gaining acceptance from the pastoralist communities to work as NPR. Participants in focused group discussions seemed to be convinced that the new developments in the management of NPR including the proposal to accord the reserve allowances could be enticing women into joining the service.

Others felt that introduction of lighter duties like guarding services, especially within the town centres and County government premises could be the reason for the increment. It was also noted that there was some existing perception that NPR stood a better chance of being recruited into NPS and therefore some women were joining to gain an upper hand during the NPS recruitment process.

Stakeholders involved in the Recruitment of NPR

The study sought to establish whether the residents understood the main players in the recruitment of NPR. The study established that 58% of the respondents felt the chiefs and their assistants played the biggest role in recruitment. National Police Service (NPS) came second having been mentioned by 14.6% of the respondents. County Government was third at 9.9% while Council of elders was mentioned to play the least role in the recruitment, at a measly 2.4% of the respondent.

The stakeholders mentioned played different roles at different stages in the recruitment process. It was also interesting to note that whereas the security portfolio had not been devolved, the County Government was also deemed to play a role in the NPR recruitment process.

Group	Frequency	Percent
I do not know	49	14.6
NPS	49	14.6
Council of Elders	8	2.4
NGAO	196	58.5
County Government	33	9.9
Total	335	100.0

Table 5: Group of people mostly involved in the NPR recruitment process

NPR' Challenges and Constraints

On challenges and constraints NPR faced in executing their responsibilities, the study established that lack of motivation posed the biggest challenge as indicated by 31.9% of the respondents. Poor tooling and kitting and lack of transport and communication came second, third and forth as indicated by 17.7%, 16.1% and 14.9% respectively. Other challenges mentioned included inadequate training (11.3%) and political interference (2.4%).

The challenges identified by the wider public were buttressed by key informants and participants of focused group discussions. Majority of key informants seemed to agree that NPR faced a lot of challenges in executing their mandates.

The study observed that some of the challenges mentioned were a product of the misconception that transition from KPRs to NPR ended the spirit of volunteerism. One NPR remarked:-

“.....the spirit of volunteerism ended with the transition from KPR to NPR....we have gone through training and assured of allowances upon deployment”²⁵

NPR mentioned that some of their biggest challenges when executing their responsibilities included inadequate or non-existent means of transport and communication, lack of uniforms, lack of insurance cover even when their position was in the frontline during operations, poorly or not trained on their work, poor tooling and equipment and the fact that there was no form of motivation for the reserve to perform their work.

When asked their most important or immediate need, majority of NPR mentioned allowances and ceremonial uniform. They seemed to have borrowed from a statement by the political

²⁵ An NPR commenting on some of the challenges they faced in executing their responsibilities during a focused group discussion held on 10th February, 2016 in Lodwar town.

leadership who were reported by the Daily Nation on 29th July 2015 saying those who register their illegal firearms- “will be given priority in recruitment of Kenya Police Reservists (KPR) who will now receive allowances after Parliament made changes to Police Act”. However, the implied Act- the National Police Service Act, 2011, article 115 does not guarantee police reserves allowances except during special assignments.

NPR felt that they worked closely with police officers but discriminated upon triumph as they were never recognized for their efforts. Senior police officers consulted during the study agreed that NPR were very instrumental in security management within the County and there was therefore need to expressly show/ indicate the amount of allowances commensurate with the work of the reserve. An officer commented that: -

“....NPR need to be given the same allowance police officers are given when actively engaged in general security....”²⁶

Challenges/ Constraints	Frequency	Percent
I do not know	6	1.8
Poorly equipped	59	17.7
Not trained on what their job entails	38	11.3
Transport and Communication Challenges	50	14.9
Illiteracy	54	16.1
Not properly motivated	120	35.8
Political interference	8	2.4
Total	335	100.0

Table 6: Challenges/ constraints NPR face in executing their work

Policy Options for NPR Management

The misunderstanding on the management of NPR was evident when respondents were asked where they thought the authority of managing NPR lied. As the chart below shows, majority of respondents (43.28%) were of the view that the authority lied with the County Government of Turkana. Another 33.1% of the respondents indicated NGAOs while only 17.91% of the respondents felt that the authority lied with the NPS (IG).

²⁶ A key informant comment on allowances for NPRs. Interview conducted on 8th February, 2016 in Lodwar, town.

According to the National Police Service Act revised edition of 2012, the authority of managing NPR lied with the National Police Service Commission (NPSC)²⁷ and there was therefore need to ensure NPR were brought under the same command at the grassroots level to avoid ambiguity and confusion which could result to misuse of legally held firearms.

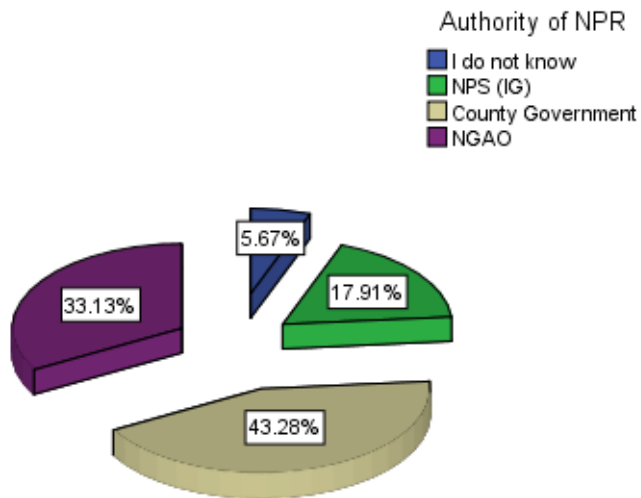


Figure 12: Authority of managing NPR

²⁷ Kenya Law Report (No. 11A of 2011). National Police Service Act (Revised edition of 2012). Retrieved from: <http://www.icla.up.ac.za/images/un/use-of-force/africa/Kenya/National%20Police%20Service%20Act%202011.pdf> on 9th April, 2016.

Conclusion

Turkana County experiences a number of resource based inter-communal conflict- cattle rustling, highway banditry, as well as the spill-over of conflicts from Ethiopia, South Sudan, and Uganda. The arms flow across Turkana's long and unmanned porous borders makes the communities vulnerable to attacks. The study has established that the county has low levels of national police presence, thus heavily dependent on the NPR.

The study concludes that due to the establishment of the county government, the oil and water discoveries and the ongoing prospecting in the County, the demand for security has increased which the national police were unable to provide. As a result, NPR officers are deployed to perform majority of the work usually assigned to the national police especially within the urban centres. Through this study, it was evident that, in all the sampled areas, majority of people patrolling or helping in security provision were NPR. Residents expressed concern that they hardly see police officers in the areas but the NPR.

Based on evidence from members of public and the NPR themselves, this study concludes that despite the fact that NPR performs duties just like the national police officers, they are rarely appreciated or recognized. Instead, Reserve officers have been accused of misuse of firearms to commit crime or even in some instances using the legally issued firearm to gain money through escort and guarding services. This study revealed that there was mass exodus of NPR from the rural areas to urban centres for gainful engagement. In Lodwar town most of business premises seemed to have enlisted services of NPR for protection. Despite the various problems plaguing the NPR, residents seemed to trust the NPR more than the national police.

NPR across the county seemed to be performing their duties under very difficult conditions. Kitting of NPR was found to be inadequate: weapons were either obsolete or not properly serviced; their uniform was not distinct – only NPR from the urban areas wore some sort of uniform though the study established that most of it was borrowed from the army or administration police officers. Generally, the morale among the NPR was found to be quite low due to perceived neglect. There also seemed to be a growing perception that volunteerism ceased with their transformation from KPR to NPR. This study therefore concludes that NPR officers were very instrumental in security management in Turkana County and therefore there is need for concerted efforts to improve on the service.

On whether the NPR officers were relevant in the new devolved structure of governance, this study concludes that the establishment of County governments only underscored their importance due to increased demand for security services. There is need therefore to continue deploying NPR in the County to offset the very low deployment of both regular and administration police officers.

Recommendations

Based on the survey findings, a number of recommendations were formulated. They originated from the perceptions of LEAs, Civil Society Organizations' (CSOs) representatives and also household questionnaires and have been grouped according to body/ agency with the highest responsibility.

County Government

1. Work closely with the national government to accord some honorarium to NPR: According to NPS act, 2011, NPR officers are entitled to allowances upon deployment. The anticipated deployment is however under special circumstances such as state of emergency while basically, the NPR officers especially those based at rural areas were engaged on security matters on a daily basis. County government officials consulted for this study expressed their readiness and willingness to work with the NPS in supporting NPR. According to the county government officials, the County government had already set money aside for advancing some form of allowance to the NPR but there were challenges on how they could go about the exercise owing to the fact the security portfolio was still being viewed as a reserve for the national government. This study therefore recommends a closer working relationship between the national and county governments to ensure NPRs were accorded some allowances.
2. Set up the CPA to harmonise security interventions in the county. In the new constitution, policing at the county level will be overseen by a County Policing Authority (CPA) made up of the governor or his or her designated representative and police service heads, as well as other members, including six lay members appointed by the governor and two elected members nominated by the governor. This will ensure security matters are well harmonized and therefore issues touching on NPR will easily be addressed at that level.
3. Support police in training NPR: One of the biggest challenges facing NPR was found to be inadequate training. The county government support is very essential especially now that NPR were performing policing duties within the county. This study found that NPR officers were offering guarding and escort services to the county government premises and officials. This study also established that the County government of Turkana was in talks with the NPS to revive the police training complex in Lokitan from which the NPR

could be trained. This initiatives need to be sustained and the relationship between the county government and the NPS encouraged.

4. Transport and communication: NPR officers were found to be lacking any means of transport and were used to trekking very long distances in performing their duties. This study recommends that there is need to establish means of transportation for NPR to increase their efficiency and timely response to distress security calls. A motor cycle is highly recommended.

National Police Service (NPS)

1. Accord NPR more training opportunities/sessions: Through this study, it was evident that NPR officers were not exposed to many training opportunities as their counter parts within the police service yet they performed similar duties. Most of the NPR interviewed in this study confirmed that they only went through a single day training which was done upon deployment. This study therefore recommends that NPR need to be exposed to more training opportunities to increase their efficiency in executing their responsibilities.
2. There is need for a clearly structured health and compensation schemes for the NPR to provide for when they get sick or get injured or killed in the line of duty: This study established that NPR were mostly in the front-line during security operations as they were seen to be more conversant with the terrain. However, upon injury or even loss of live, they lacked a medical or a compensatory mechanism or even worse, a ceremonial burial as their counter-parts within the police service. There is therefore need to consider inclusion of NPR in the existing health and compensation scheme of the national police officers.
3. Transport and communication: Provide NPR with transport for operation, for instance when conveying suspects and attending court cases. The NPR should also be provided with phones (and airtime) and high tech radio calls that can be used in areas not properly covered by communication networks, and trained on modern ICT; food ration (combo) during operations.
4. Recruit more NPR and ensure balanced deployment (based on demand and needs): Through this study, it was clear that sometimes recruitment of NPR did not follow the laid down procedures. In some instances, there were allegations that some politicians

interfered with the process to ensure their clan members and/or community members outnumbered those of their rivals in the recruitment exercise. It was also established that there was a lot of movements of NPR to the urban centres. This study recommends that there is need to recruit NPR based on demand as opposed to pressure from politicians and other interested parties/ individuals.

5. Equipping and monitoring: Through this study some NPR reported that their firearms were defective or not in good working condition while others reported to having been recruited but not issued with firearms. There is need to equip and ensure proper monitoring mechanisms are put in place for better accountability of NPR for firearms and ammunitions issued.
6. Uniforms: there is need to provide NPR with uniforms to give them a sense of belonging and identity. This would ensure easy identification among themselves, fellow security officers and by the community. The uniforms should be distinct from other forces.
7. Vetting of NPR: According to the respondents some NPR were corrupt and engaging in criminal activities using the legally issued firearms. There is therefore need to cascade the ongoing police vetting downwards to also include NPR in order to weed out the corrupt and also officers engaging in malpractices.
8. Ensure recruitment of NPR is community driven: Considering that services of the NPR are supposed to be restricted to the point of recruitment, there is need to ensure that the recruitment was driven by the community members through the council of elders or any other local arrangements in existence. This will also ensure the process is free from political manipulation and influence.
9. Balance between literate and illiterate NPR: The issue of language barrier was raised by a number of key informants especially as concerns training of NPR. It was clear that NPS had a difficult time training the NPR since some of them could only understand their local language and some words could only be expressed in English. On the flip side it was clear that there was a high likelihood of keeping an illiterate individual as an NPR than a literate one. There is therefore need to ensure some balance for both - the literate and illiterate NPR.

10. The NPR should work under the police, but have their own line of command/hierarchy, which should include properly ranked inspectors, corporals and constables. NPR in a location should be under a Sergeant, Sub-location under a Corporal and at the County under an inspector. The NPR structure should be recognized and streamlined.
11. Government needs to harmonize IEBC boundaries with the administrative ones to diffuse the simmering tensions before the 2017 elections. The overlaps of administrative and electoral boundaries have always caused tensions between the Turkana and West Pokot residents. There is therefore need for NLC, IEBC and MoICNG to work together to ensure the boundaries are harmonized.

National Drought Management Authority (NDMA)

1. Facilitate training of NPR: This study found that NDMA had in the past worked with KNFP and NPS to support training for NPR. This study also established that NDMA was also supporting reformed warriors and other peace divided projects. These initiatives need to be sustained and expanded to the interior parts of the county.
2. Recruitment and registration of illegal firearms: Based on the fact that NDMA was running popular projects within the County, this study recommends that NDMA in partnership with KNFP set up initiatives aimed at raising awareness on recruitment of NPR and registration of firearms to enhance buy-in.
3. Unite NPR from Pokot with their counterparts in Turkana so as to reduce biasness in executing their tasks. This study revealed that NPR were more loyal to their communities than any other group and therefore sometimes accused of being more enthusiastic when following up on issues from their communities and ignoring or showing no interest in issues from their neighbouring communities. In order to promote nationalism among the NPR there is need to organize joint forums, training sessions and also activities which promote unity beyond community level.

Civil Society Organizations

1. Awareness raising campaigns: Through this study it was established that there seemed to be misunderstanding on remuneration of NPR. It was clear that the NPR were convinced that through the transformation from KPR to NPR the spirit of volunteerism ceased and

were now entitled to salaries. This contradicts the national police service act which stipulates that the NPR were entitled to allowances upon deployment. There is therefore need to harness this situation before it ruins the spirits of the NPR as a result of non-fulfilment of their expectations. This study therefore recommends continuous awareness raising campaigns on the new police act, 2011 which provide circumstances under which NPR could be paid allowances to clear the ongoing confusion.

2. Recruit women as NPR: This study established that women were highly willing to be considered as NPR. According to the residents, women were better placed to gather intelligence and inspection of road blocks. There is therefore need to lobby the communities into accepting women as NPR and also the authorities to encourage gender equity during recruitment of NPR.

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