

## **IMPLICATIONS OF POLICE REFORMS ON HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICE IN KENYA; PRE-INDEPENDENCE-1978**

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## **ABSTRACT**

The determinations by the civil society and donor agencies of prevailing upon the government to initiate police reforms have resulted into minimal success. Although a significant impetus to reform the police was given serious consideration in the early 1990s, efforts to reform police force began way back during the colonial period. Since colonial period police reforms have been influenced by the desire for an expanded democratic space and respect for human rights. However, studies have not discerned the trends in police reforms and their implications on human rights in Kenya. Therefore, this paper examined the trends in police reforms in Kenya and their implications on the practice of human rights during the colonial period up to 1978. The analysis of the findings revealed that the police force in Kenya emerged as early as 1900s as a colonial tool which after independence did not change much as acts

of human rights violation were profound. However, it was noted that despite inheriting a colonial police structure, several amendments were initiated during the Kenyatta's regime making strides in observing of human rights. Amendments such as the preventive detention Act did not only change the structure of the police force but laws were also enacted to ensure the protection of human rights. The findings may provide useful information on the consequences of police reforms on the practice of human rights issues in Kenya and may form a basis for further research.

**Key Words:** Pre-colonial period, Enforced disappearance, Human Rights, Police reforms, Police division, Police officers, Police Reforms, Police Service delivery, Professionalization, Security sector reform, Trends

## **INTRODUCTION**

Police reform is considered as the activities that are carried out to bring changes in the management of the police sector (Waller, 2012). In this regard, police reforms are intended to ensure public safety within a framework of human rights protection and rule of law. This is because the police are the most dependable government instrument of human rights protection and public safety. As a result many countries have set up police reforms in order to improve the quality of police service (Savage, 2007). However, the history of police is replete with disproportionate use of force on the people the police has taken oath to protect. Therefore, the need to have a friendly police service engendered on professionalism has given police reforms momentum (Lundman, 2010). For instance, in the United Kingdom police reforms were initiated to bring about innovations in the management of police service (Moran, 2005). However, the police have been unable to adapt to the changing social contexts despite the emergence of organized crime and community conflicts. In the United States of America, the widening rate of managed crime has widened the gap between the public and the police (Skogan,

1993). The gap has particularly been wide between ethnic minority groups and the police igniting strong criticism and calls for reforms in the police force. In Northern Ireland a comprehensive plan was drawn up to change the system of policing. Consequently, the police service was demilitarized and its focus shifted to a community-based and human rights-focused organization with clear accountability, oversight, and a decentralized structure.

In African countries, the pursuit of reforming the police was motivated by the perceived inefficiency of the police service, incessant suppression of human freedoms and increased appetite of safeguarding the colonial masters (Waller, 2012). For instance, the key features of police reforms in post-apartheid era in South Africa rotated around improving access to police services mainly in areas that historically suffered discriminatory practices in the ruthless hands of the oppressive apartheid system (Bruce, 2003). In Kenya, genuine efforts at reforming the police were influenced by the dwindling trust vested in the police by the public. The pre-independence Kenyan police force was modeled as a reactionary instrument of territorial conquest and repression of dissidence. This outrageous pro-imperialist police intimidation preponderantly shaped the character of the Kenyan police (Hahn, 2003).

Upon attainment of independence a fundamental goal of governance was the need to transform the inherited colonial police force into a legitimate police service that protected the entire population without bias. However, the successful attempt to bring changes into the police force has been elusive since the police service has been implicated in human rights violations (Gimode, 2007). These efforts have also been marred by widespread detention without trial of perceived political challengers. Since independence, human rights violations have become a major concern as the police force has constantly abused the enshrined human rights and freedoms. The violations have occurred despite the fact that Kenya ascribed to the ideals of African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). These international charters and conventions required member states to refrain from human rights violations (Hartz, 2000). In addition, UN Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials and the Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials set out the limits, international standards and safeguards that must be observed in the use of force by the police (Hartz, 2000). Therefore, the historical analysis of the developments of policing in Kenya is essential when discussing the trends in police reforms.

The Kenya police trace its origin to the Imperial British East Africa (IBEA) Company between 1887 and 1902 when Sir William McKinnon needed to protect his stores along the coastline of Kenya. From this need, the need to establish a police force was birthed in Mombasa. During these early stages, the duties of the police force were quite negligible. The need to develop the original police force was propelled by the construction of the Kenya-Uganda Railway. Subsequently, there existed the police service units at major town such as Mombasa, Nairobi and Kisumu by 1902 to secure the railways property and materials together with the manpower involved in the construction of the railway line. In essence, tranquility, law and order were necessary to be maintained even though the personnel hired by then did not possess adequate skills and knowledge. Moreover, the laws adopted during this period were imported from India.

This implied that all aspects of police operational procedures were based on the Indian penal code and code of conduct. It is notable that throughout this period up to about 1906, the Kenya police training was based on military curriculum.

The Criminal Intelligence Unit was created in 1926 in order to collect, record and store historical data of criminals, undesirable and suspicious persons. The core departments such as the fingerprint bureau and the criminal investigation (CID) were created starting with few officers from Britain and South Africa (Ruteere & Pommerolle, 2003). Subsequently, other police units particularly the Railway Police Unit were established to be specifically in charge of the prevention of offences committed on the railways line and stations. The mandate of police activities expanded with time and soon the police was involved in dealing with traffic problems, accidents and cattle rustling in the countryside. Further development were witnessed as preparation for the Second World War came where more police recruits were deployed in Northern Frontier Districts to counter the threat of attack from Italian Somali Land and Ethiopia. Apart from active involvement in combats alongside regular soldiers, the police served as guides and interpreters while also carrying out reconnaissance missions in the enemies' territories.

In 1946, the police service was placed under the office of the Attorney General and its powers increased to enable them cope with the new security challenges. Moreover, a new police training depot was opened in Maseno and several developments followed in 1948. For instance, the Kenya police reserve (KPR) was formed as an ancillary of the force. The unit was deployed in trouble spots using armored cars. Furthermore, a dog section and the General Service Unit were established in 1948 and deployed in troubled areas during emergency.

In 1949, the Police Air Wing was formed to carry out the duties of communication and evacuation of sick personnel to hospitals. This formation was transformed into a permanent part of the police service in 1953. Immediately after the declaration of the state of emergency in 1952, the personnel were enlarged to cope with the situation and to suppress the he Mau Mau insurgency. A noteworthy reform occurred in 1953 when a commission was formed to review the administration, organization and expansion of the force. The recommendations of the commission included the formation of the police headquarters which was opened in 1957 and in 1958 the force was integrated within the Ministry of Defense. Prior to independence, the Kenya Police was prominently involved in preservation of law and order during political gatherings on the eve of independence.

After Kenya gained her independence from Britain on 12<sup>th</sup> December 1963, there was need to make some changes and reforms in the administration of the force. This included the replacement of the foreign officers in senior ranks by Africans. Since then, the Force realized tremendous achievements in various fields of operation. Among them, due to the escalation of criminal activities, the police continued to effectively deal with security threats and to bring down crime to minimal levels. However, an intersection of contextual, operational, bureaucratic and cultural constraints complicated implementation of human rights-compliant policing. This raised the concerns as to whether the police reforms had any positive impact in regard to

safeguarding human rights in Kenya. This formed the basis of this paper which investigated the implications of police reforms in Kenya during the colonial period up to independence in Kenya.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

The police service is a state security organ operating under the national authority in sovereign state. Therefore, police officers are the most trustworthy representative of the state security. Consequently, the attitude that is displayed by the police is often reflective of the state's level of care and concern towards the citizenry (Wood, Fleming & Marks, 2008). Police reforms often concentrate on the factors making the system dysfunctional such as overall discipline and officers' welfare. According to Bayley (2006) police reforms need to address the entire system including the methods of incentives and rewards in the institution. To make the system holistic, the reforms should seek to uphold the overall integrity as a way of safeguarding the integrity of police service. The call for police reform has been triggered by public outcry for a more proficient, receptive and responsible police service. However, genuine police reform has not been achieved since the envisioned reforms were often resisted by those who feel that the proposed changes clip their status in the society (Pierson, 2000). According to Kimberly (2010) institutionalizing police reforms can occur when trends in police reform are envisaged, anticipated or routinized. This way, new operational structures will be incorporated from time to time into the police force to make it better. Therefore, for purpose of acceptance, police reforms ought to be comprehended within particular socio-political contexts. Rauch and Elrena (2011) presented inexcusable proofs suggesting a close and intertwined link between police and politics. However, Skogan (1993) reported that the police have been unable to comply with the transformations within the social contexts in spite of the increase in crime rate. According to Pierson (2000) police reforms have been influenced by political interests rather than the genuine desire of realizing mutually exclusive reform processes. Hence, it is unfortunate that the real steps to police reforms are not dictated by original emphasis on accountability and oversight. Although, the reforms have focused on complete ban on all forms of mistreatment against all citizens, there is reluctance to embark on legal reform to abolish the common human rights abuses which include arbitrary killings and arrest, torture, politically motivated disappearances, lengthy detention, absence of fair trial and executive influence on the judiciary.

In Kenya, the police have often considered human rights protection as an obstacle to their work (Mwenda, 2005). However, in recent decades the police have increasingly embraced reforms with the motive of changing the police to a service. This view is embedded in the broader concept of democratic governance which is guided by the rule of law and informed by respect of human rights. Like many other countries on the continent, international human rights instruments such as the Universal Declaration on Human Rights (UDHR), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) have historically obliged Kenya to observe and protect the citizens' rights. These instruments not only specify Kenya's duties to safeguard human rights but also offer guidance on how the police should do so.

It is therefore imperative that when the law enforcement officers use force against individuals, the state is obligated to conduct an impartial and independent circumstantial investigation and bring to book the violators. However, the violator can only be exonerated when the said force was applied in self-defense or when it was applied based on the principles of necessity and proportionality. It is under these circumstances that casualties arising from such usage of force fail to constitute human rights violation (Ruteere & Pommerolle, 2003). Therefore, the relationship between police and human rights is essential. The existing literature on police reforms point to a multi-faceted and multi-disciplinary effort that should take into account the careful coordinated role of many actors and which require political good will and expressed commitment to human rights.

### **Police Reforms and Human Rights in Kenya, 1963-1978**

In post-independence Africa, the development of more personal, impulsive and neo-patrimonial rule played a role in shaping the police systems. The Jomo Kenyatta regime utilized colonially inherited repressive capacities of the police to defend their interests, with the police serving as the instrument of brutality and destruction (Hannan, 1972). In this case the general policing was seen as part of the problem given the approach adopted was military in nature (Wood, Fleming & Marks, 2008). There were no marked reduction in human rights violations as torture, killings, extortion, arbitrary arrest and mistreatment of detainees continued unabated (Cawthra, 1992).

From independence onwards, the police considered human rights as an obstacle to discharging their mandate instead of looking at it as strong pillar of their work (Mwenda, 2005). This consideration contravened the civil liberties that were constitutionally protected and realized through the rule of law and respect of human rights. It also contravened the traditional objectives of policing which embraced public order and control of crime (Gimode, 2007). During the regime of Jomo Kenyatta, the police portrayed itself as the chief oppressor and the principal violator of human rights. Consequently, the Kenya Police was associated with selective application of law. As a result, the police have been perceived as being hostile, corrupt and ineffective. For instance, the police was instrument in supporting the regime between 1966 and 1992 when the presidency was beefed up through constitutional changes to create an imperial presidency (Okoth-Ogendo, 1972). With the help of constitutional changes, as most African presidents did, Jomo Kenyatta created a non-magnanimous leadership profile (Ogot, 1995), appearing to exercise enormous powers with almost zero tolerance to criticism and ignoring professionalism in the police force. The police reform during Kenyatta era was intensely political and power distribution and relationships often changed in the course of the reforms. However, the principal goal of police reform was to deviate from a model of policing based on repression to a model based on crime prevention and respect of human rights. The emphasis on human rights did not wipe out the existence of human rights abuse by the police. Therefore, incidents of police misconduct, mistreatment and violence continued to rear its ugly head before and immediately after independence.

## **Theoretical Framework**

Different approaches have been adopted to analyze and understand the dynamics involved in transforming the police institution. This assessment was informed by the institutional theory which maintains that institutional changes are influenced by new institutional standards. These standards reach a level of legitimization where failure to adopt them is seen as irrational. Institutions adopt the standards and practices prevalent in their environment such as organizational roles, procedures and policies. The adoption of these institutionally acceptable trappings of legitimacy help preserve an aura of organizational action based on good faith. Institutional legitimacy can help to ensure organizational survival. However, when acceptance of a policy is ceremonial and superficial it can be perceived to be a form of organizational resistance to change. This may arise at the individual level, the sub-organizational level or at the level of the whole organization. However, not all organizations respond to or experience institutional pressures for change in the same ways. This is because the societal level values and beliefs can also influence how new standards and practices are adopted and adapted to influence change or resistance to change. Likewise, organizational and individual attitudes and beliefs tend to affect the changes and it is these attitudes and beliefs that determine organizational responses to new rules and standards. Therefore, the institutional theory provides valuable perspectives on the question of why there is usually resistance to regulatory change in the police institution. Furthermore, the police institution is both part of and operate within the context of wider social and cultural forces. The institutional theory was applicable to this study as it provided grounds for examining the enduring institutional features influencing the transformation in the police institution.

## **RESEARCH METHODS AND MATERIALS**

Being qualitative in nature, the study employed the exploratory study design. The exploratory design has been recommended for studies in social sciences by Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) who noted that human phenomena are best studied using exploratory methods. The design helped to recognize that research begins with a situation, in this case evolution of the police institution and then proceeded to recording, coding and theorization which gave way to report writing. The study was carried out in Nairobi County. The reason for conducting this study in Nairobi County is that all major organs of the government in charge of the conduct of the police such as the executive, the legislature as well as human rights bodies are situated in Nairobi. The target population comprised of senior serving and retired police officers, county government administrators, members of community policing, human rights activists and scholars conversant with police reforms and human rights and former political leaders and political activists. The researcher's interest in these groups was due to the fact that they were directly involved in matters pertaining to police operations and human rights advocacy. Owing to the huge number of persons involved in policing in Kenya, it was not possible for the researcher to interview all the informants. Hence purposive sampling technique was used to identify the informants. The inclusion criteria included participants' willingness to take part in the study and familiarity with the evolution of the police institution in Kenya. Document analysis, interview schedules and

focused group discussion were employed in data collection. Data were analyzed according to the objectives and themes emerging from both the interviews and FGDs.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS**

The history of the police in Kenya dates back to the colonial period when the Kenya police force was first established between 1887 and 1902. The original concept of police was to wade away intruders from individual business premises, centered on protection of personal property. For the colonial purposes, the police system was organized along military lines, with a training of military in nature purposely tailor made for colonial aims. The aim of police was social control, ensured by the assistance of the local Chiefs and administration police under the Tribal Police Ordinance Act (Kamau, 2011; Gimonde, 2007). In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century Kenya was under the control of the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEAC). The company established an armed security force in 1896 with stations to safeguard its trade ventures in Mombasa. Ashimala (2014) attributes police to the initiative of Sir William McKinnon who had personal interests of safeguarding his business stores. It is from this initiative that the entire idea of coming up with a police service in Kenya was coined. Basically, the work of the police officers was to offer protection to the major business ventures of the IBEAC. The security of the IBEAC was mainly of Indian origin with few African *askaris*. An archival source revealed that the selection and reliance on the Indians as chief security officers in the force was based on the idea of race superiority (KNA/bb/43/24). The Indians were considered more superior and civilized compared to their African counterparts. Thus, the IBEAC administrators preferred to trust the former rather than the latter.

It is significant to note that the major aim of the colonialists was to exploit the African resources to maximize profits for their homeland industries. As such they needed infrastructural development to enhance easy access to raw materials. It is against this background that the Kenya Uganda railway was constructed from the Port of Mombasa to Uganda. The railway had a significant impact on the birth of the police force in Kenya. Foran (1962) contends that during the construction of the Kenya Uganda railway, the police were used to carrying out not only maintenance and construction work but also to safeguard the construction materials.

In 1897, as the construction was taking off, R. M. Ewarl was appointed to oversee the formation of a police force in Mombasa that would necessitate the construction of the railway (KNA, BB/43/24). Towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century more security officers were recruited to offer protection and maintenance of the Kenya-Uganda railway. However, the entry of the colonialists in Kenya was received with both active and passive resistance. With military resistance, the colonial administrators needed a strong police force for defense and to suppress the resistance from the local communities. Consequently, the Administration Police (AP) unit was established in 1902 as a central body that would be relied on at any time by the British. Even with the establishment of the AP there was a need to improve the performance of the police force. Hence, in 1906, under the Village Ordinance, the Kenya police was formed (Sommer, 2007) and tasked

with the responsibility to control urban areas, railways regions and the white settler's highlands (Kilingrany, 1986).

The Police Ordinance was enacted to bring the native into the money economy, enforce tax laws, control livestock movement and regulate agriculture, labour, movement of people and various other social and economic regulations (Mutonya, 2012). The native police operated under the Village Ordinance until 1929 when the Tribal Police Ordinance was enacted to give it the legal backing. In 1958 the Tribal Police Ordinance was changed to the Administration Police Act and the Force commenced centralized training on basic recruits' instruction, promotional and prosecution courses for the Native Courts. Upon attainment of independence in 1963, the Provincial Administration and the Administration Police were moved from the Ministry of Native Affairs to the Office of the Prime Minister, Office of the President where they have remained to date. A major step in shaping the Administration Police Force was the introduction of inspectorate ranks in the late seventies. The Administration Police thus transformed gradually starting in 1958 from a localized Police service to a national structure offering localized policing services. Being part of the community, not apart from it, the Administration Police has taken decisive steps to redress what was a predominantly male organization to one which properly reflects society by recruiting more female officers. The 1987 witnessed the first female officers joining the Administration Police (Mutonya, 2012).

Up to 1907 the police force was organized along military arrangements and the training was entirely military in nature (Baker, 2009). The colonial police officers were unpopular and were feared as the locals associated them with violence (KNA/bb/43/24). In the endeavors to improve the image of the police force, the training was regarded as a significant aspect. Therefore, in 1910 under the authority of Sir James Hayes Sadler, a committee was set up to recommend the establishment of a training school in Nairobi. Towards the end of World War I, Kenya saw an increased migration of white settlers resulting into increased eviction of Africans to pave way for white settlers. This led to increased insecurity prompting the colonial administrators to beef up security with the aim of providing protection to the white settlers.

Throughout the colonial period, the major activities of the police comprised of conducting night patrols, detecting criminals, execution of labor policies, death sentences and protecting the British and their property. An archival source revealed that the police used excessive force and brutality, killing people in their endeavors to protect the white man (KNA/AG/16/252/1). This sentiment is echoed by Wainaina (2015) who averred that the mode of operation of the police force in Kenya under the Police Act of 1920 was typically discriminatory, oppressive and violated the fundamental human rights. According to Ghai and MacAuslan (2001) the police force in Kenya in the colonial period was a punitive citizen containment squad.

By the end of the Second World War, the Kenya police force had largely taken over most activities from the tribal police and now comprised of about 5000 agents most of whom were native Kenyans (Muthondeki, 2009). However, the reorganization did not transform the function of the force as it was still used as a tool of the colonial power. Within the colonial East African political structures, the Asians and Africans could be absorbed only by adopting British type

roles, and then only as subordinates. The tri-racial structure of the Kenya police reflected the deep divisions within the colony. As a preparation for the Second World War, police recruits were deployed in the Northern Frontier Districts to counter the threat from Italians from Somali Land and Ethiopia. In addition to fighting alongside regular soldiers, the Kenya Police acted as guides, interpreters and carried out reconnaissance missions in the enemies' territories.

After 1945, the spirit of nationalism increased in Kenya. This was informed by the war experiences of Kenyans who had fought in the Second World War (Darwin, 1984). With such spirit to suppress the activities of the colonialists, the colonial government had to make a few reforms. The Kenya police was swiftly professionalized (Deflem, 1994) and emergency unit was put in place to address labor unrest while the execution of traffic laws was enforced by the traffic police.

It is important to note that in the 1950s, significant events took place in the operation of the police and violation of human rights increased with the rise of the Mau Mau movement. According to Deflem (1994) it was not until when the movement became more violent that the state of emergency was declared in 1952. This period was characterized by gross human rights violations. A large number of deaths during the emergency period revealed that the shoot to kill policy was conducted with a lot of impunity. Acts of brutality by the police included slicing off ears, flogging to death, pouring paraffin over a suspect, drilling holes in the ear drums of the suspects, castrating among other (Curtis, 2007).

By 1954, the police operations were facilitated by an expanded Special Branch, the import of more British trained policemen and a special police bureau that was set up in 1953. Mutoro (2011) notes that increased police efforts proved successful in controlling Mau Mau activities by 1957. However, during the final years of the 1950s, legitimate African political activity was resumed, and political meetings could again be held. To improve the relations between the police and the public, the police forces were gradually Africanized. However, the British administration remained focused on holding onto power. In addition, there was no investigation of any brutality that the police had unleashed on the people.

With the attainment of independence, Kenyans expected a change from the old system to a new Kenya where human rights were respected. During the period 1964-1978, there was nothing much that changed as far as the police force was concerned. However, the major move was that of Africanization of the police force. However, the police still remained an instrument for protecting the elite in the society and more specifically those who sung to the music of the then ruling President Jomo Kenyatta. During Jomo Kenyatta's era, instances of human rights violations continued (Gertzel, 1970). For instance, backbenchers and senior ministers periodically overstepped the bounds Kenyatta had tried to establish. Sometimes they sought to eliminate centers of electoral opposition by using the police to frame other candidates for criminal actions. Occasionally, they resorted to political violence, including murder. It has been argued that the real pillar of political order in the early Kenyatta's period was repression (Gertzel, 1970).

The amendments to the constitution, passed in 1966 and 1968 gave the Office of the President the power to detain the citizens without trial (Amutabi, 2009). Amutabi (2009) further observed that Jomo Kenyatta inherited the colonial structures that were designed to serve the interests of the colonial masters. Echoing similar sentiments, Gimode (2007) concurs that Jomo Kenyatta controlled the police and perfected the reward system and the divide and rule policies which had been used by the colonial system. Thus, Kenyatta succeeded in consolidating powers around the presidency. For example, Kenyatta championed a series of constitutional amendments that deepened the consolidation of presidential powers. According to the Article 59 (1), (2) of the 1963 constitution, some of the amendments awarded the president powers to suspend the proceedings of or dissolve the legislature. The President also succeeded in forming a *de facto* one-party rule that made sure that there was no political competition that challenged the government. The absence of political party competition enabled the president to control the legislature in order to control the parliament. According to Chege (2009) the closing years of Kenyatta's rule were marked by rising intolerance and high-level corruption. The powers bestowed on the President were enormous as the president was above the law. Anderson (2005) pointed out that Jomo Kenyatta grew hostile and complicit to assassination, torture and detention. These were severe cases of human rights violations of unfathomable proportions. This was a clear pointer to a partisan policing during Kenyatta regime. From these events, it is evident that the colonial police structure was profoundly seen in independent Kenya under Kenyatta leadership. Jomo Kenyatta's move to retain the colonial police force impacted negatively on the human rights in Kenya as the police continued to use their power to oppress and coerce the people regarded to be anti-government.

## **CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **Conclusion**

Police reforms stretched back to the colonial period due the need to secure the colony. This involved more formal military training and increased personnel in the army. The police training was military in nature and police officers perpetrated violence against the Africans. At independence, the first regime inherited a colonially structured police force with many senior officers being British. Despite inheriting a colonial structure, several amendments were made that saw the president usurp more powers than the colonial governors. Because the police officers were deployed to serve the interests of the government, the level of loyalty influenced their promotion and dismissal. After independence policing was marked by use of force, torture, extrajudicial killings and rampant corruption that made the public lose faith in the police institution. It has been expounded that the Kenyatta government was well acquainted with the techniques of political intimidation, including the use of detention and violence. It was an era marked with violence against the common man using state security resources. As such policing was marked by use of force, torture, extrajudicial killings and rampant corruption that made the public lose faith in the police institution.

## **Recommendations**

From the findings, it is evident that there was much that needed to be done to speed up the implementation of police reforms. It is also evident that the rights of the citizens were ignored throughout the colonial period and the independence period. The current trends of human rights violations by the police appear to be rooted in the colonial period; thus, any significant changes in the police institution should be cognizant of the colonial influences. It is apparent that the police first serve the interest of the ruling regime as the rights of the citizens come second.

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