

INDIANS IN STATE POLICING IN COLONIAL KENYA, 1884-1963

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DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university or for any other award.

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DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to my dear wife Rachel Mogire, our children; Valentine, Mitema, Meshack and the entire Nyakundi family.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	ii
DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	v
LIST OF TABLES	viii
OPERATIONAL AND DEFINITION OF TERMS	ix
GLOSSARY	x
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS	xi
ABSTRACT	xii
CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Context of the Problem	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem	12
1.3 Research Objectives	13
1.4 Research Questions	13
1.5 Research Premises	14
1.6 Justification and Significance of the Study	14
1.7 Scope and Limitations of the Study	15
1.8 Literature Review and Theoretical Framework.....	16
1.8.1 Introduction.....	16
1.8.2 Literature on Colonial Policing in Africa	17
1.8.3 Theoretical Framework.....	31
1.8.3.1 Securitization Theory.....	32
1.8.3.2 Theory of Modern State.....	35
1.9 Research Methodology.....	39
1.9.1 Introduction.....	39
1.9.2 Research Design.....	39
1.9.3 Location of the Study	40
1.9.4 Target Population	41
1.9.5 Sampling Techniques and Size	41
1.9.6 Research Instruments and Equipment	42
1.9.7 Data Collection.....	43

1.9.7.1 Primary and Secondary Sources.....	43
1.9.8 Data Analysis	44
1.9.9 Data Management and Ethical Considerations	45
CHAPTER TWO	46
THE EMERGENCE AND EARLY INVOLVEMENT OF INDIANS IN STATE POLICING IN KENYA, 1884-1894.....	46
2.1 Introduction	46
2.2 Historical foundations of state policing prior to 1884	46
2.2.1 Histories of state policing	46
2.2.2 Communal policing in pre-colonial Kenya.....	49
2.2.3 Models of professional police work	51
2.2.4 Background of Colonial Police Forces in Africa	53
2.2.5 The Imperial British East African Company and the establishment of state policing in Kenya.....	56
2.2.6 Determinants for Recruitment into Colonial State Policing in Kenya	59
2.3 The Role of the Indians in State Policing in Kenya up to 1895	62
2.3.1 Colonialization of Kenya and the establishment of control.....	62
2.3.2 Economic interests of the Colonizers and the Indian traders.....	67
2.3.3 Provision of security services to missionary activities	70
2.4 Conclusion.....	73
CHAPTER THREE	75
INDIAN AND STATE POLICING IN KENYA DURING THE EARLY COLONIAL PERIOD, 1895-1918	75
3.1 Introduction	75
3.2 The Establishment of Colonial Control in Kenya.....	75
3.3 Indians and the Kenya Police Service in the Early Colonial Period.....	80
3.4 Policing Selected Towns during the Early Colonial period 1895-1913.....	92
3.4.1 Policing Colonial Mombasa.....	92
3.4.2 Policing Colonial Nairobi	101
3.4.3 Policing Colonial Kisumu.....	114
3.5 The First World War and Indian Colonial Policing 1914-1918	122
3.6 Conclusion.....	131

CHAPTER FOUR.....	133
INDIAN POLICING DURING THE INTER-WAR AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR PERIOD, 1919-1944.....	133
4.1 Introduction	133
4.2 Reorganization of Indian Policing and Service during the Inter-War Period	133
4.3 Changing Dynamics in State Policing in Kenya, 1930-1938.....	153
4.4 Indian policing Kenyan Colonial State 1939-1945.....	161
4.5 Notable Indians in Colonial Kenya Police 1895-1963.....	168
4.6 Conclusion.....	175
CHAPTER FIVE.....	176
INDIAN POLICING IN KENYA DURING THE DECOLONIZATION PERIOD 1945-1963.....	176
5.1 Introduction	176
5.2 The Kenya Police in the Post-World War Two Years.....	176
5.3 Indian State Policing 1945-1951.....	179
5.4 Indian Policing During Mau Mau and State of Emergency in Kenya, 1952-1956.....	197
5.5 Indian State Policing 1957-1963.....	216
5.6 Challenges of Indian Policing in Colonial Kenya	226
5.7 Conclusion.....	234
CHAPTER SIX	235
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	235
BIBLIOGRAPHY	245
APPENDICES	288
APPENDIX I: MAP OF KENYA	288
APPENDIX II: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE	289
APPENDIX III: SHOWING LIST OF PLATES	291
APPENDIX IV: RESEARCH PERMIT	296

LIST OF TABLES

Table 4.1	List of Indian police officers in Mombasa police station, 1926	143
Table 4.2	Racial compositions of the police 1924-1929	152
Table 4.3	Senior police establishment 1935	159
Table 4.4	Police Numbers during World War II.....	164
Table 5.1	Police strength in 1946.....	181
Table 5.2	Progressive increases in police establishment 1938-1949.....	186
Table 5.3	Police establishment 1940-1950	194
Table 5.4	Railways and harbour police establishment 1950.....	196
Table 5.5	Racial compositions of the Kenyan Police, 1952-1953	202

OPERATIONAL AND DEFINITION OF TERMS

Afro-Indian Refers to Africans and Indians

Police force The official organization that is responsible for protecting people and property, making people obey the law, finding about and solving crime and arresting Criminals

Policing Refers to significant security responsibilities undertaken by sovereign governments the world over property, making people obey the law, finding about and solving crime and arresting

Race Denotes the categorization of people on the basis of physical and biological traits

South Asians/Asians/Indians These three terms are used interchangeably to comply with the modern practice in East Africa that does not include members of the Arab community and the entire Asian continent. These are the brown-skinned people of the Indian –subcontinent

State Refers to a political unit that rules over a defined or sovereign territory

GLOSSARY

Askaris- Swahili word for soldier

Bomas- refers to the newly constructed colonial administrative centres

Sumo- Luo word translated to "a site where people went to seek respite from famine"

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

APS	Administration Police Service
CID	Criminal Investigations Department
DC	District Commissioner
DYM	Dini Ya Musambwa
EAMR	East Africa Mounted Rifles
EAR	East Africa Rifles
EC	Executive Council
GSU	General Service Unit
IBEAC	Imperial British East Africa Company
KAR	Kings African Rifles
KAU	Kenya African Union
KDF	Kenya Defence Force
KIC	Kenya Intelligence Committee
KNA	Kenya National Archives
KPF	Kenya Police Force
KPR	Kenya Police Reserve
KPS	Kenya Police Service
KR	Kenya Regiment/Kenya Rifles
LCCPLO	Legislative Council Committee for the Preservation of Law and Order
PC	Provincial Commissioner
TR	Tanganyika Rifles
UR	Uganda Rifles
OBE	Officer of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire
MBE	Member of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire
RUC	Royal Ulster Constabulary in Ireland
PTS	Police Training School

ABSTRACT

The rapid expansion in studies on security issues in the last fifty years reveals the growing need to understand the role of minorities in policing the state. In Kenya, despite the existence of considerable literature on minority representations in elected office and in the public bureaucracy, scholars have not systematically examined the role of Indians in security agencies in Kenya. It is against this background that this study sought to examine the history of the Indian involvement in State Policing in Kenya, 1884-1963. The specific objectives of the study were: to trace the emergence and early involvement of Indians in state policing in Kenya between 1884- 1894; to examine the role of Indians in state policing in Kenya during the early colonial period 1895-1918, to examine the Indian involvement in state policing during the interwar and World II War period 1919 to 1944 and to analyse Indian involvement in state policing in Kenya during the decolonization period, 1945-1963. The study was conducted in Kenya, covering the period from 1884 to 1963. The period yielded important information as it covered the dynamics of Indian involvement in policing the Kenyan state during the pre-colonial and colonial periods. The study is significant because it will help in providing important data on how the colonial government used Indians in policing the Kenyan state. The study utilized both crucial elements of securitization and features of the theory of the modern state in an integrated theoretical approach. Methodologically, the study employed an elaborate scheme of oral interviews, archival investigation and library research to collect data. The data collected has been subjected to the securitization and modernization theoretical perspectives. The study has demonstrated that State policing existed in various societies in different historical contexts and geographies. The Imperial British East African Company played a big role in the establishment of state policing in Kenya. The company recruited security personnel from India to protect its businesses, marking the beginning of Indian policing in Kenya. The construction of the Kenya-Uganda railway further facilitated the growth of infant police forces inland which were manned by Indians. The study revealed that the Indians in colonial police played an important role in the establishment of colonial control in Kenya, protecting the economic interests of the colonizers, ending slavery and providing security services to missionary activities. Thus, the early colonial period in Kenya was characterised by a sustained effort to establish colonial control and the Indian police played a key role towards achieving this objective. The study further revealed that the Kenyan colonial police largely mirrored the widespread racial differences among police officers, and a racial hierarchy developed between the Europeans, Asians, and other local members of this colonial police force. These racial differences persisted even towards Kenya's independence in 1963. The study concludes that Indians played an integral part in policing the colonial state in Kenya.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Context of the Problem

Since the dawn of the 21st century, policing has become a highly debated concept. It has raised notable concern at local and global levels, with some scholars holding that we are increasingly being governed through security or in the name of security (Holley et al. 2020:342). Besides, these scholars have, in space and time, used the terms policing and security interchangeably. In Law and Political science, for example, the primary focus has been on how governments can sustain the integrity of nation-states (Holley et al. 2020:342). One of the state's primary responsibilities is to protect the community from potential threats. The legislative, judicial, and executive powers of government, according to Montesquieu are the three main functions of government. These functions should be allocated to three bodies that are independent of one another to avoid a high concentration of power in one organ. The bodies are respectively indicated by the terms legislative authority, judicial authority and executive authority (Poodhun, 1983:49).

Policing is one of the most significant responsibilities undertaken by sovereign governments the world over. The police are a fundamental agency for the state machinery, which ensures law and order are maintained and also acts as the first link in the criminal justice system (Varghese, 2010:21). To accomplish this goal, the police have a strong hierarchical power structure, a high degree of mobility, an advanced communication system and clear rules and regulations (Poodhun, 1983:50). Policing is concerned with how safety is maintained within states in all

geopolitical domains, including units as small as neighbourhoods (Holley et al. 2020:342). Safety engenders peaceful interpersonal relations defined by the safety of citizens and their property. In the framework of security and governance, the term policing is defined in terms of activities by government agencies grounded in existing rules to protect people and property and respond to violations against the same (Holley et al. 2020:343).

According to Agawanwo (2014:160), state policing is regarded as a very important feature of state governance. State policing refers to a system in which the state government recruits police officers for the purpose of policing the state. It grants its different units the constitutional right to secure the lives and property of people within the state. Essentially, the main focus of state policing is to effectively bring policing closer to the people within the state. Similarly, the police also have the constitutional obligation of enforcing all criminal-related laws and keeping everything under control within the state (Agawanwo, 2014:166).

Policing the state is implicitly crucial in philosophical theories of justice. Weber (2004:22) argues that the state represents a relationship where individuals rule over others depending on the legal utilization of power that is seen as genuine. In the event that the state is to endure, the individuals who are controlled over must consistently conform to the power that is asserted by the leaders of the day (Weber, 2004). Cerny (1990) asserts that the state represents and embodies the functional requirements for all societies, and hence it must have a regulatory system in order to survive. States and the state system entail a process of structuralism which involves both stability and change. Indeed, in any society, stability and change are

intertwined. The police play a critical role in enhancing stability within the state (Cerny, 1990).

Ideally, states should be conceptualized as reformist and comprehensive foundations of administration (Garland, 2016). Indeed, states like all social classifications are never finished products but are consistently in the process of development and transformation (Cerny, 1990). In this case, the police are a bridge connecting the state and the populace, and their behaviour shapes the people's perception of the state. They, as such, are not only pillars and maintainers of state control but are also critical in the establishment of order and the reproduction of social relationships (Marenin, 1982:379).

The enforcement of the law, the execution of state intent, and the definition and preservation of social order are influenced by the interests of the police. Patterns of police actions must therefore be linked theoretically to patterns of state action. The specific nature of the state and its relation to society reflects both the common manifest interests of social groups and the autonomous interests of the state in the reproduction of general order. It is the function of the police to provide mechanisms for general and specific order. The concept of order, as used here, engenders the maintenance of stability, an irreducible minimum of confidence in state institutions and a future that allows groups and individuals to engage in routine activities, including the promotion of change. General order involves the state's capacity to guarantee public tranquillity and suppress criminal activity (Marenin, 1982:380).

The traditional use of the term 'police' has reflected self-sufficiency, whereby Police have been taken for groups within territorial communities, mandated to, by forceful

or alternative means, do what needs to be done to maintain state security. Nonetheless, Police, here, will mean a group of "usually" full-time employed individuals who have been authorized by the state to use whatever means necessary, including force, to maintain state security (Marenin, 1982:380). The term "police force" refers to a group of professionals rather than their function in both circumstances. The punitive and deterrent parts of social control are prioritized by a police force. It enforces the law by apprehending and prosecuting violators as well as conducting investigations into offences (Poodhun, 1983:45).

The police service and the police force are not diametrically opposed institutions. They are the two polar opposites on the goal- realization scale. A "police service" is dedicated to the preservation and protection of social control. Its effectiveness is not assessed in statistical terms, but rather in the absence of crime, a generally positive image of the police, and the degree of public support and help. The provision of social services remains consistent with the achievement of the core goal (Poodhun, 1983:46). Thus, police philosophy involves the idea of providing support and aid to everybody, rather than focusing solely on negative prohibition and punishment. A police force that enforces the law but ignores the service aspect will be unable to achieve this goal successfully. Enforcing the law is challenging when there are no social services available. We need social services. They strengthen the police's image and are the most effective way of preventing actual crime (Poodhun, 1983:47).

Conceptualizing the formation of police forces can be based on three approaches. The first approach integrates liberal political theory and functionalism. The police in this view is essential in modern society in the face of disintegration resulting from

urbanization and other processes. New institutions require new forms of social control (Schlichte, 2017:20). The second approach, which is more critical, attributes the emergence and development of police forces to modern capitalism. Armed forces are seen as instruments used to defend property rights. Essentially, the approach is based on the Marxist state theory, wherein the police are utilized by the bourgeoisie to protect their interests. This strand, as such, stresses the oppressive nature of policing (Schlichte, 2017:20). The third approach institutionalizes policing using Max Weber's design of bureaucratic organizations. The spread of national and international policing in this view reflects the semi-autonomous movement of bureaucracies that traditionally created and developed momentum by themselves (Schlichte, 2017:20).

It is important to note that the world over, communities have attempted to maintain communal order and regulate those who deviate from generally acceptable behaviour in society (Baker, 2008:10). Similarly, the social development of human beings has included a wide variety of mechanisms of social control that are meant to create enduring peace and stability in society (Reith, 1975). The main function of the institution of the state is to create public order and safety. This is done mainly through the police, who are the main law enforcement agents of the state. The police are critical to the survival of the state (Gimode, 2007:227). Government authority is often manifested through the police, who are responsible for public security in any country (Chtalu, 2014:12). Moreover, Policing has always existed in societies, and in the absence of policing, the state would be confined to immeasurable social instability and disorder (Waller, 2010:526).

Generally, policing is usually defined through laws governing state institutions. The modern idea of police which is over 200 years old consists of a specialist group that exists within the wider criminal justice system and which is engaged by authorities to prevent crime and maintain law and order (Reith, 1975). Policing involves activities that guarantee the safety and well-being of citizens, making it a critical component of the state. It secures state institutions, the values, relations, roles, and statuses that are entrenched in the dominant cultures of the community (Alemika, 2020:2). Jain (1987) argues that Police are normally front public officials with whom most citizens are likely to interact, and in an increasingly universal and multiracial society, they have an extraordinary role to play. Their role is adequately special to require that they have a workforce of police officers, which reflects and represents the ethno-cultural composition of the communities they serve in all its diversity (Jain, 1987). Similarly, law enforcement agencies have had some success in attracting minorities within their ranks. Diversity in the ranks of the security agencies in a state is crucial; hence the structure and composition of the institution of the police should capture the different communities being policed (Bing et al., 2017).

The idea of policing existed alongside the concept of the evolution of the state; hence the emergence of policing is the product of social change and transformation within the society (Poodhun, 1983:45). In addition, Man's expectations and obligations concerning policing and his relationship with the police are rooted in the process of transformation and social change. In most cases, Policing in societies has been organized in diverse ways to capture and reflect the complex social relations and changes in society (Alemika, 2009:485). Similarly, there has been a natural

growth in population, urbanization, and technical development, which have been largely responsible for the rapid increase in crime and social instability. Hence policing becomes fundamental to how citizens enjoy their stability, freedoms and safety (Baker, 2008:11).

In pre-industrial Europe, where the population was mostly rural, policing was achieved through collective and voluntary tasks in society, making the maintenance of law and order, a local community affair (McMullan, 1987). This collective policing system was under pressure in the 18th century due to intense socio-economic changes in Europe (Baker, 2008:11). This called for a more formal provision of structured policing through state authorities. The need to change from collective responsibility policing to a public policing system in Europe emerged during the ascent of state power and the craving to unify the forces of coercion under state control (Baker, 2008:12). This increased the range of state authority, giving it a substantial presence hence allowing the state to exercise a monopoly of force within it (Waller, 2010:525).

In Europe, France was one of the first countries to appreciate the need for a strong central authority to manage social disorder resulting from increased incidences of social unrest and the widespread threat posed by migrant populations looking for jobs (Baker, 2008:12). The country experienced industrial unrest and revolutionary social instability in the late 1700s and throughout the 1800s due to biting food shortages. Inevitably, the state's primary focus shifted to maintaining social order and suppressing increased political threats. The French state resorted to mounted military police for the protection and preservation of law and order. Later, German

and Italian states also embraced an inter-policing arrangement that combined civilian and paramilitary structures (Baker, 2008:12).

The enrolment and retention of minorities in the police force have been fundamental to the broader diversity agenda surrounding policing (Rowe et al., 2015). In the United Kingdom, minority recruitment in the police force was seen to signal inclusion and legitimacy (Bing et al., 2017). In the United States of America, the race riots of the 1960s were the initial drive for the recruitment of a more diverse police force. Recruitment targeted minorities which included African Americans, Asians, and Hispanics (McKernan, 2008). Efforts to recruit ethnic minority racial staff were matched by corresponding efforts to widen diversity in terms of gender and sexuality (Rowe et al., 2015). There were sustained campaigns to recruit visible minorities in the police force. The imperative to recruit minorities was tailored to address the disparities that dominated the criminal justice system while fostering trust between ethno-racial minorities and law enforcement agencies (Rowe et al., 2015).

It is significant to have a police force that is representative of the population being served (Bing et al., 2017). For over four decades, the British police have been encouraged to recruit more officers from ethnic minority backgrounds. The Scarman Report of 1981 which was dispatched by the public authority to examine the reasons for the urban uprisings of 1980, warned that the structure and arrangement of the Metropolitan Police of London did not reflect precisely the existing encompassing population. The report explicitly supported the enrolment of more Black and Asian minorities in British police departments (Cashmore, 2001). Furthermore, the report investigating the Brixton riots in London stimulated introspection on discriminatory

policing practices in Britain. The report emphasized the significance of securing a fully representative police service, arguing that the quality of service to local minority communities is perhaps as key as any special police conscription campaign. Key recommendations of the report were implemented by the Home Office, emphasizing the need for the recruitment of minorities in British police departments (Waters et al., 2007). An important impetus for the recruitment of minority ethnic groups in Britain was to address the problem of crime in native minority communities (Holdaway, 2004).

In Asia, India introduced an extraordinary way of policing framework, which began in Ireland and spread to different states (Coatman, 1959). Tobias (1977) points out that India was central in the extension of the Irish example of policing all through the British Empire and had more impact on the improvement of colonial police than the British power. It is in India where the British formed their model for policing, which was spread to other parts of the Empire. The Indian police were the main foreign power to be shaped on Irish lines and were the biggest that adopted that model. The Indian police administration is likewise credited with establishing the same police framework in Malaya, Burma, East Africa, and the larger colonial Empire (Stead, 1985).

The history of policing in Africa is rooted in the foundations of European policing, where policing skills and practices were developed over several decades of state-building (Baker, 2008). It is important to note that the maintenance of law and order in British colonial Africa was one of the basic foundations upon which efficient colonial administration rested (Killingray, 1986). Policing during this period was largely determined by the need to protect European lives and sustain the colonial

project. The police officers, who included recruits from minorities, were on the frontline in maintaining law and order in the colony (Killingray, 1986). According to Waller (2010:530), policing helped to establish the foundation of the colonial state in Africa and increased the range of state power in society, giving the colonial state a substantial presence. The colonial police, as instruments of the law, kept the boundaries of civil order, hence upholding the state's application of force and dominance within it. Furthermore, colonialism strengthened the concept of state-controlled policing, and this enabled the state to manage key parts of the economic infrastructure (Waller, 2010:530).

In South Africa, Indian police officers contributed much to the maintenance of law and order. They began contributing to law enforcement as soon as they arrived from India in 1860 (Poodhun, 1983:47). The white and Indian police officers worked amicably together, but each force developed independently and contributed to policing in South Africa. The first Indian to join the South African police force was Constable E.Subham, who was enlisted on 30th August 1861 (Poodhun, 1983:47).

In Kenya, the Indian minorities were an integral part of the Kenyan colonial police force (Chebai, 2001). The first police officers were Indians, and even the initial police-related statutes as well the Penal Code, the Criminal Procedure Act, and the Police Act were all borrowed intact from British India (Wolf, 1973:401). The Indian involvement in the Kenyan police force began in 1886 with the development of trade associated with the arrival of the British East African Company at Mombasa (Foran, 1962). The company, which was led by shipping magnate William Mackinnon, got the royal charter to administer territories that Britain acquired following the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 and the partition of Africa. The

charter allowed the company to establish a police force in Kenya (Kamau, 2015). The police consisted of Indian units set up to oversee security on the trade route to the interior of modern Kenya and Uganda. The force was necessary to prevent constant attacks from savage ethnic groups along the trade route and ensure smooth commerce (Gimode, 2007:227).

The construction of the Kenya-Uganda railway in East Africa saw increased use of Indian minorities in the police force. To ensure security and prevent constant attacks from aggressive ethnic communities along the route, two battalions of troops comprising both British and Indian police officers were recruited to guard the scattered trading stations and maintain peace and order (Foran, 1962:13). The Indian police moved inland with the railway, keeping order in the work camps, putting down opposition from African people along the route, and establishing posts at the new towns springing up beside the railway (Wolf, 1973:405). Indians would provide the bulk of the labour force, and many were recruited in the security sector as police officers (Foran, 1962:15).

The first Police Officer of Indian origin to be commissioned in Kenya was Kapur Singh, an Indian inspector who was inculcated into the Kenyan police force in the year 1895. His sons Satbachan Singh and Laxman Singh followed suit (Chebai, 2001). They were later followed by brave Indians who had served in the Indian army but later relocated to East Africa. Police officers of Indian origin were preferred because of their bravery and loyalty to the British. As the police force grew from strength to strength, plenty of Indians served the force diligently. They rose in rank and file to the top posts in the service during the colonial and postcolonial periods (Chebai, 2001).

The aforementioned studies on policing, though important are however largely short about the use of minority Indians in policing the Kenyan state. Some of the studies that have examined Indian activities do not give specific and adequate attention to their role in state policing in Kenya. It is against this background that this study seeks to undertake a historical analysis of Indian involvement in policing the Kenyan state. The study will specifically investigate the recruitment and functioning of Indian police officers within the colonial Kenya police and how they contributed to enhancing security in the Kenyan colonial state

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The issue of state formation and state security, especially among the colonized subjects in Africa, came with the loss of lives and property. The problem of securing colonized states and spaces, therefore, required dedicated security personnel, as witnessed during the world Wars and the construction of the Kenya-Uganda railway by the Asian indentured labourers. The colonial state in Kenya was thus no exception, and the colonial government had to deal with the problem of local security by engaging Indian security personnel in securing the colonial state after its formation. Participation of Indians who were minorities in policing the state was essential for the development of an effective and truly representative police force. The recruitment of Indian citizens as sworn police officers and their contribution to policing the Kenyan state has largely been understudied. Indian police officers were an enduring part of the Kenyan landscape where they attained exemplary status, yet their history has not been adequately told. In Kenya, few comprehensive studies have been carried out on the active Indian involvement in state policing Kenya

despite the fact that there existed a number of Indians in state security organs in all the major regions of Kenya during the pre-colonial and colonial periods. Given the existing gap in scholarship in this area, this study constitutes a historical analysis of Indian involvement in policing the colonial state in Kenya, covering the period from 1884 to 1963. The study specifically investigates the origins of the Indian presence in Kenya's police force and the role they played in enhancing state security during the pre-colonial and colonial periods.

1.3 Research Objectives

The study set out to achieve the following objectives;

- i. To trace the emergence and early involvement of Indians in state policing in Kenya between 1884- 1894.
- ii. To examine the role played by Indians in state policing in Kenya during the early colonial period 1895-1918.
- iii. To assess the role played by Indians in state policing in Kenya during the Interwar and World War II 1919-1944.
- iv. To analyse the Indian involvement in state policing in Kenya during the decolonization period 1945-1963.

1.4 Research Questions

The study sought to answer the following questions:

- i. How did the Indians emerge as key players in state policing in Kenya between 1884- 1894?
- ii. To what extent were Indians involved in the emergence of state policing in Kenya in the early colonial period 1895 to 1918?

- iii. Which roles did the Indians play in policing the Kenyan colonial state during the interwar and the World War II period 1919-1944?
- iv. How did the Indians contribute to colonial state policing in Kenya during the decolonization period, 1945-1963?

1.5 Research Premises

The research was premised on the following: that;

- i. Incorporation of Indians in state policing in Kenya began with their recruitment as indentured labourers by the Imperial British East African Company.
- ii. The participation of Indians in state policing in Kenya was noticeable during the early colonial period and later during the First World War.
- iii. The role of Indians in policing the colonial state was more pronounced during the interwar and World War II Period.
- iv. The involvement of Indians in state policing in Kenya declined during the decolonization period because of African demands.

1.6 Justification and Significance of the Study

Policing is a critical activity in all societies as it involves the enforcement of state laws and the protection of the government. In order to have a powerful and really diverse police force, minorities must be involved in state policing. The role that Indians played in the evolution of modern state policing in Kenya has not been extensively examined. Despite the fact that Indians participated in state policing in Kenya for many years, not much has been written about their involvement and engagement in Kenya's colonial state policing. Since it has not been given much

attention by researchers, the issue deserves academic investigation. This study sought to examine the history of Indian involvement in policing the state in Kenya, covering the period from 1884 to 1963. The year 1884 provided a good starting point for this study as it signals the start of the Berlin Conference of 1884–1885, which curved Africa into spheres of influence and started the demarcation of state boundaries as markers of modern African states. It is during this Conference that the main European powers negotiated, resolved, and settled the subject of control of territories in Africa. Though the period 1884 does not mark the formal beginning of colonialism in Kenya, it is remarkable in the history of state formation and colonial control in Africa. The year 1963 provides a good historical period to end the study as it marks the end of colonialism in Kenya.

The study is significant as it provides important data that can inform policy on security matters, especially in a multi-ethnic and plural society like Kenya. The study is a valuable addition to the better understanding of the role Indians played in state policing in Kenya during the pre-colonial and colonial periods. The study makes a contribution by expanding our knowledge about the activities of Indians in security agencies in Kenya. The study is also justified since it will highlight how the Indian penal codes were used by security agencies to secure the colonial state in Kenya and how the postcolonial governments have utilized and domesticated these penal codes.

1.7 Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study sought to undertake a historical analysis of Indian involvement in state policing in Kenya. The scope of the study was restricted to Kenya. Kenya is

important because Indians gradually settled in all urban centres in Kenya. The study covered the period from 1884 to 1963. The period of study provided a significant period to gather enough data since it covers the pre-colonial and colonial shifts in Indian involvement in state policing in Kenya. The study, however, where necessary, examined times before 1884 and after 1963 in order to bring out the necessary information to support it. The study was limited by the challenge of accessibility to data due to the nature of secluded Indian society and lack of research funds. However, in order to overcome these challenges, the researcher used secondary sources and archival data, to supplement the Indian sources.

1.8 Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

1.8.1 Introduction

There is broad and documented literature focusing on the political, economic, and social histories of Indians in Africa, especially during European colonialism. Many studies on Indians have focused on the emigration of the global diasporic Indians from South Asia to East Africa and South Africa, colonial alienation, the 'Asian question', and race relations. Examples of such studies include Mangat (1969), who published the history of Asians in East Africa, Bhat (1976), who traced the history of Asians in Kenya as well as Rothchild, (1968), who wrote about the political and economic role of the minority Asians in East Africa. Additionally, Gimode (2007) has examined the role of the Police in Kenya's democratization process, Wolf (1973) discussed Asian and African recruitment in the Kenyan police, Foran (1962) has written about the Kenya Police, 1887–1960, Wambua (2011) assessed India-Africa Security Cooperation; Holdaway (1991) investigated race relations and recruitment

of people from minority ethnic groups. Similarly, (Mangat 1969) ;(Bhatt 1976); (Gregory (1993) and Omenya (2010, 2016) have also focused their studies on Asians. All these studies have contributed greatly to the understanding of the Indian community in Kenya. Nonetheless, they did not directly address the question of Indian involvement in state policing Kenya.

1.8.2 Literature on Colonial Policing in Africa

In recent years, the history of the police and policing has caught the attention of various disciplines within the social sciences. Sociologists, criminologists, political scientists, and historians perceive the origin and development of policing in a particular lens through which examination of the past and contemplation of humanity can be achieved (Muller, 2016).

Policing as an area of study was first addressed by sociologists, political scientists, and anthropologists as such; the study of police history by historians is firmly rooted in social history. Since the development of the Annales School in the 1930s, historians have attempted to broaden historical analysis by going beyond the Rankean approach, which is limited to political history and the development of the nation-state. This movement sought to broaden historical inquiry by incorporating contributions by other disciplines within the social and economic sciences into the historical field (Muller, 2016).

In the twentieth century, theoretical interpretation in the Annales School was divided to include economic history and social history. The latter, however, in the late 20th century, became an independent genre. Tosh (2006) in his theorizing argues that defining social history is problematic. However, he identifies three distinct fields

that he believes have emerged. The first field, 'history of social problems,' is interested in issues such as crime, poverty, and disease. Secondly, Tosh identifies 'the history of everyday life, which looks at the history of life in the home, the workplace, and the community. The last discipline, history from below, focuses on the history of labour. The history of policing extends its reach to these three fields of social history (Muller, 2016).

'The Colonial Police', a book written by Sir Charles Jeffries, a British official in the Colonial Office in London, was released in 1952 and traces the history of some police services in Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean. The book, which was written on the verge of independence, praised Britain's colonial conquest and rule and represented the colonial school of thinking. Despite Jeffries' pioneering work, the study of colonial policing never really took off and was for a while an unappreciated subject. The popularity of social history and historians' desire to investigate the role of policing in colonialism's social, political, and economic processes, however, have caused this to start to shift in recent years.

Brodgen's work in (1977) is considered a pioneer in radical studies of policing in Britain. His theories significantly influenced the historical interpretation of police histories, especially in South Africa. In 1987, however, Brodgen critiqued historical records from the 1970s and 1980s in their interpretations of the emergence of the police, stating that they contained 'causal flaws'. In sum, he defamed historians for confusing eventual police activities with the reasons behind the formation of police forces. Brodgen particularly disdained the association of the roots of modern policing with the convergence of Irish Constabulary and London Metropolitan models. These models became synonymous with policing in Britain, America, and

parts of Europe. These models were exported to colonies in the global north, where they formed the basis for colonial policing.

Muller (2016) has examined the institutional structures of colonial policing in South Africa. He contends that the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand in 1886 prompted the fast industrialization and transformation of the South African Republic's agricultural-based economy. He notes that the mines and resultant enterprises pulled in an assorted gathering of individuals from across southern Africa and beyond. Muller gives a detailed examination of the regulatory and managerial challenges that existed between the state and the authorities that were entrusted with law implementation. He additionally addresses conceptions of politics of identity and how issues of race, class, and nationality impacted interactions within the South African police force. His examination represents the institutional improvement of the South African Republic Police and places these advancements inside the settings of the late nineteenth-century state-building in southern Africa. This investigation is applicable to this proposed study as it is situated within the broader structure of colonial policing. The study provides a specific foundation against which to analyse the contribution of Indians in policing the state in Kenya.

Marenin (1982) argues that the state is the dominating intermediary between people and the world system. He notes that conceptions of what the state is, how it functions, and in whose interests it functions are central to the theories of modernization and underdevelopment. He argues that the state, though, an abstraction becomes concrete by taking a life of its own through domination, force, legitimation, and service production. He notes that the police not only link the state to society but also help the state to reinforce its authority. He further argues that the

police advance state interest, and therefore the process of law enforcement is subject to police interest. To Marenin, the Police enhance state power and make real the intentions and interests of the state. Similarly, Patterns of police actions must be linked theoretically to patterns of state action. He concludes that the police are the flesh and blood of the state and that without them; the state would have form but not substance. Based on the above discussion, this study utilized Marenin's argument in order to understand the dynamics of state policing and how this kind of analysis might have affected Indian involvement in Kenya's security system in the postcolonial period.

Holdaway (1991) discusses race relations and the recruitment of ethnic minorities into the British police. He argues that race relations within the police not only affect recruitment from ethnic minorities into the force but also the work allocated to black and Asian officers. He notes that quite a number of police forces have not only made it their endeavour to recruit black and Asian people in their ranks but have also taken steps to avoid racial discrimination in recruitment. He concludes that good policy-making would include provision for the inclusion of these minority groups into the police. Holdaway's work, as such, bears great significance to this study, as it sheds considerable light on the inclusion of ethnic minorities in recruiting people into the British police. However, the work does not address the issue of Indian involvement in the Kenyan security sector.

Omisi (1994) examines the ways in which Indian soldiers interacted with British and French soldiers during in First World War. In his work, he draws extensively from enduring correspondence with their families to understand the soldiers' perception of their experience with various aspects of the European world, including its wealth,

education, religion, and secularism, as well as gender roles in the family. Thus, Omisi's article helped to enrich our understanding of the experience of South Asians overseas during the First World War and in sharpening our capacity to analyse the effects of cross-cultural relations. However, this work does not focus on Indian involvement in the security system of Kenya, an issue that this study examines.

Deflem (1994) explores the subject of law enforcement in British colonial Africa against governance models, economic control, and legal systems. He particularly looks into Kenya, the then Nyasaland (Malawi) and the Gold Coast (Ghana) as case studies, outlining their models of law enforcement. In this work, he compares the fundamental features of policing in these colonies against the general characteristics of British colonialism. He also traces changes in colonial policing from the moment of conquest and consolidation of power by the Europeans in these states to the attainment of independence by the states. This study on British policing in Africa provokes an inquiry into how British colonialism and its security policies impacted the indigenous African population. This study utilizes Mathieu's work to explore the dynamics of Indian engagement in Kenya's security sector.

Bell (2013) examines the colonial policing culture of the British in their colonies. He particularly focuses on factors that shaped police practice in the colonies. In assessing police cultures, he points out salient characteristics that helped develop and enhance police practice in the colonies. He asserts that the influence of colonial policing culture should not be examined in a narrow unilinear direction. He further contends that there was no uniformity in policing cultures in the colonies, pointing out that even the legislative structure in which they operated varied across the colony. He concludes that British policing cultures were dominated by Para

militarism that served the political function of the police in the colonies, which involved maintaining public order. Bell's work provides both the theoretical and functional foundations of understanding the concept of policing, even though he did not address the involvement of Indians in policing the state, which this study examines.

Killingray (1986) argues that the colonial regime availed a new coercive approach, which featured alien ideas. The most important consideration for the British colonial authorities, according to him, was to uphold peace and establish a powerful authority that maintained law and order throughout the Colonies. He argues that the maintenance of law and order in colonial Africa was the first pillar on which effective colonial government rested. He notes that British authorities enforced law and order hence providing some measure of peace and stability in contrast to the often violent conditions that existed before. To maintain law and order, the British colonial government had to take firm action to deal with any challenge that appeared to threaten their continuing rule. Undoubtedly, colonial governments sought to punish individuals who committed atrocities against each other and took the enforcement of their rule and the punishment of wrongdoers seriously. This study utilizes Killingray's work in understanding how the Indians were used and incorporated into the Kenyan police.

The pioneering works of David Killingray (1986), David Anderson (1992) and Anthony Clayton (1989) which were published in the late 1980s and early 1990s, focused on reconstructing the social and political history of specific colonies via the study of their police forces, with an emphasis on the development and functioning of colonial police forces in Africa, Asia, and other colonized regions. In their book on

the British colonial military in West and East Africa, Clayton and Killingray concentrated on six colonial police forces, including those in Kenya, the Gold Coast (Ghana), Nigeria, Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), and Nyasaland (Malawi). Even if it provides valuable information regarding the creation and operations of these colonial forces, the book mostly examines the experiences of European security personnel, with little attention on the experiences of Indians on a daily basis.

Anderson (2001) examines the subject of law and order in Kenya during the colonial period. He contends that colonial government in Kenya was at its most innovative when it came to policing in its broadest sense. He examines how Kenya's unique local factors have influenced the pattern and practice of policing within the framework of operations and the legal system. He concluded that the subject of Law and order loomed large in the country and that the Kenyan police were typical of most colonial forces in British Africa, comprising an establishment of European inspectors and some Indian assistant inspectors with some African juniors. This work is relevant to this study as it provided a basis for understanding the practice of policing in Kenya and how security enforcement agencies maintained law and order during the colonial period.

In his analysis of the colonial police in Nigeria, Philip Ahire (1991) took a neo-Marxist stance, arguing that the Nigeria Police Force was created as a symbol of the state's capitalist order and was required for the exploitation of the colony and its citizens. His work was influenced by the emerging materialist view of African history of the 1980's. He argues that the militaristic policing phase of the colonial force was designed to establish and sustain an export-based economy in which all

labour was provided by Africans. As a result, the police were in charge of policing British economic activity, enlisting African labour, coercing the payment of taxes, and suppressing African requests for improved pay and working conditions. Martin Thomas's *Violence and Colonial Order*, written considerably later than Ahire's book and employing the same materialist stance, applied a comparative method to explore the roles played by British, French, and Belgian colonial police forces in Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean during the interwar period. Thomas demonstrated the existence of a triangle interaction between colonial administrations, economic activity, and security forces by investigating the function of colonial police forces in various locations. As a result, he concluded that colonial police forces in Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean were more concerned with regulating labour than they were with detecting and preventing crime.

McCracken (1986) investigates the growth and evolving nature of the Malawian police force between its establishment in the 1890s and the introduction of self-government in 1962. He highlights the central role played by the police in maintaining Law and order. As the main players in enforcing government authority, the African intermediaries played a critical role in maintaining the colonial rule of Nyasaland. He considers that the development of the Nyasaland law enforcement agency occurred in several stages up to 1960 and, in time, covered the entire colony. He argues that the state used the police to solicit hut tax, coerce labourers, discipline workers and protect European property. He concludes that recruitment to the force was done both according to need and on the basis of evolving ethnic stereotypes. This engaging literature, despite theoretically contradicting the findings of this study, offers helpful background information and insights for comprehending and

analyzing Indian involvement in the security sector as well as the stereotypical representation that characterized their participation in Kenya's security sector.

Aiyar (2011) discusses the politics of the Indian Diaspora in Kenya. He argues that since the seventeenth century, the Gujarati mercantile communities in western India and eastern Africa have been connected by the Indian Ocean. He notes that the introduction of colonial rule in the mid-nineteenth century drew Indians to East Africa, facilitating the expansion of trade. He contends that an Indian-Gujarati intermediary provided funding for early colonial explorations, and that Indian soldier served in the British army and took part in military operations contributing to the consolidation of colonial power. He further argues that many Indians settled in Kenya after the end of their contracts and utilized economic opportunities within the colonial service. This continued to attract new migrants hence increasing the Indian population in Kenya. This work is significant to this study as it helps in laying the foundation upon which Asian presence and subsequent recruitment into the police force were based in Kenya. However, Aiyar focuses much on political and economic aspects and does not address the role of Indians in the security sector. This is the scholarly gap that this study fills.

Ghai (2014), in his discourse on colonial policing, credits the British administration for creating the Kenya police. He, however, holds that the motive behind this development was the securing of assets belonging to the Imperial British East Africa Company and not the provision of peace for Kenyans. Of greater importance in his work is the argument that the tenets upon which police institutions were built were borrowed from India, where the British had established control over its assets under the East India Company. He notes that the Kenya Police was established upon

policing codes borrowed from India. The act modelled after the Metropolitan Police in London summarizes the constitution of the police force and outlines the powers, roles, and responsibilities of police officers. The act also introduced a system of criminal record-keeping by police officers. This code was instituted in Kenya and used as a mechanism to criminalize the African uprising. Ghai's research is used in this study to better understand how the penal code was employed as a pacification instrument in Kenya during the process of state establishment.

Wambua (2011) has examined India-African security cooperation gains, challenges, and future prospects. He has provided a historical narrative of Indian-African relations in the security sector. He argues that India and Africa have a common historical experience and an outstanding relation that spans many centuries. He notes that the beginning of British colonialism catalysed the interaction between the Indians and Africans hence strengthening it further. Labourers from India were used to facilitate colonial activities in sub-Saharan Africa. He argues that later, Indian soldiers and their African counterparts served the interests of the colonizers during the First and Second World Wars. He concludes that despite the different contexts, the underlying human security issues between India and Africa are quite similar. This work is relevant to this study as it spells out the outstanding common historical experiences of Indians and Africans in the security sector. However, it does not shed light on their engagement in Kenya, which is the subject of this study.

Metcalf (2007) convincingly makes the case that India facilitated the protection of British interests in a sub-imperial capacity in Asia. He traces the pivotal role the Sikh police played in the running of the British Empire, observing that they were recruited into the colonial police force from around the 1860s to the 1870s.

Alongside Punjabi Muslims, these Sikhs dominated the colonial police until the mid-20th century. He also notes that similar incidences of recruitment and policing occurred in Chinese Treaty ports of straits settlement and the British conquest of East and Central Africa. At the close of the 19th century, Indian contingents patrolled and policed a considerable section of the British Empire. This work is relevant to this study as it sheds light on the role of Sikhs in the British police. However, it does not say much about the role of Indians in policing the Kenyan state.

Nyinguro (2014) examines the role played by the Diasporas in interstate relations. He argues that the pragmatic and philosophical ties between the Diaspora community and their homeland can and frequently do have a substantial impact on the patterns, directions, and other dynamics of bilateral exchanges between nations. He contends that the Indian Diaspora has been so thoroughly woven into the political, social, economic, and cultural fabric of Africa. In his view, the involvement of indentured Indian laborers in the building of the Kenya-Uganda railway has been crucial to the growth of development in East Africa region. He notes that the Indian community played an important role in the African colonial economies, especially in the commercial and business sectors. He comes to the conclusion that Indian groups fought for independence alongside indigenous black people and held key positions in nationalist movements. He further argues that even in the postcolonial era, members of the Indian community participated in political leadership and became members of parliament and even cabinet Ministers in some countries. Though not directly related to this study, Nyinguro's work provides us with the basis for analyzing and understanding some of the critical issues touching on Indian activities in Africa, including security.

Kanwal (1980) provides profound insight into Asians' role in the police force in Kenya. He argues that Asians were an integral part of the Kenyan police force. He notes that in 1895 an Indian Sikh was appointed the first police inspector in Kenya. He was the first Asian police officer to serve in the country. He further argues that the Asians were preferred because of their courage and loyalty to the British. Initially, the police chiefs were British white men, but eventually, they gave way to Asians who were considered loyal and proficient officers. As the police force grew from strength to strength, plenty of Asians served the force diligently and rose in rank and file to the top posts. This study utilizes Kanwal's work in understanding how the Indians were used in policing the Kenyan state

Looking at the racial structure of the Kenya police, Wolf (1973) argues that this structural arrangement revealed the deeply established racial divisions within the colony itself. This began shortly after the end of the First World War when the supervisory role was placed mainly on the Europeans. He notes that as early as 1904, the Asians had taken up influential positions not only in the police force but also in the larger IBEA and that by 1906 they had taken over most of the clerical police work in Nairobi. Lastly, he examines the recruitment of Asians and Africans into the Kenya police from 1920-1950, observing that the settler community dreaded the possibility of Asians using East Africa as a settlement zone. He adds that the settlers considered Asians socio-political opponents as they were more civilized than Africans. This study is significant since it focuses on the recruitment of Asians and Africans into the Kenyan police force. However, it does not explain in detail how this recruitment and engagement evolved during the colonial period. This research

goes beyond recruitment and investigates the contribution of Indians in policing the Kenyan state.

Chebai (2001) investigates the history of Sikh relations and their economic, political, and social contribution to Kenya. He argues that Asians started visiting East Africa centuries before Sikhism was founded but that it was during the consolidation of British rule on the East African Coast that Indians manifested themselves in droves. The influx of Sikhs into East Africa hit its epitome with the importation of Indian manpower during the construction of the Kenya-Uganda railway. Chebai further argues that the Sikhs contributed immensely to health, education, and charitable organizations. The Sikhs were in the police force and served as railway workers and clerks in public works. Although the Sikhs' economic and political role appeared close to that of other Indians, it was largely complementary. However, Sikhs' economic role was not independent of the colonial or global markets. Chebai's work, which is largely social, does not address in detail the role of the Indians in the security sector. However, this study is useful in exploring critical issues of Indians in the security sector as well as the reasons behind many dreaded Sikhs within the police force in Kenya.

Gimode (2007) examines the part played by the police in Kenya's fight for democracy and good governance. He argues that the institution of the police in Kenyan has its roots in the colonial state. He points out that as in other parts of Africa, colonial control in Kenya was illegitimate and was consequently upheld by use of harsh force, repression, and persecution. He shows how, the colonial state and subsequently the Jomo Kenyatta and Daniel Moi regimes corrupted the police force and turned it into a tool for regime defence rather than citizen safety. Both

governments while in power banned and outlawed political opposition by using the police to harass, torture, jail routinely maim and even kill regime opponents. He comes to the conclusion that the end of the cold war was seen by the international movement for democracy as a perfect chance to bring in democracy after the long-suppressed Kenyan resistance came to an end. Despite the harassment of the combined law enforcement organs of the police, the courts, and the prison system, this grew into a huge national movement for democracy that was unstoppable. Gimode's work is relevant to this study as it brings to light the role of the police in the democratization process in Kenya, however, the work does not shed light on the role of the Indians in policing the state, an area in which this study addresses.

Ndeda (2006) examines the history of intelligence and espionage in Kenya covering the period from 1887 to 1999. She traces the emergence and development of intelligence services in colonial and post-colonial Kenya. She argues that pre-colonial Kenya had some African kind of intelligence that served to determine their friends and foes and gave them direction to move in instances of migration. The colonised African was aware of the significance of intelligence and at a later date was to utilize it in response to the colonial system. Ndeda (2006) further traces the initial colonial government's effort to establish security and policing system and the acquisition of vital intelligence noting that a lot of information gathering had connections with the emergent administrative system and the police and the military structures helped in intelligence gathering. She further discusses the emergence and role of the criminal investigation department and the special branch as a police division and concludes that the intelligence is a product of the sum total of all socio economic and political conditions in any given society which means that it cannot be

divorced from the socio-economic and political structures of the society. This work is crucial to this study since it aids in establishing the premises on which Asian presence and subsequent recruitment into the Kenyan police force were based. The study does not, however, interrogate how Asians were involved in the Kenyan security system which is the main focus of this study.

While examining the Kenyan military transition from the times of the Kings African Rifles to the Kenya Defence Forces, Tarus (2016) explored the contributions of East Africa Mounted Rifles (EAMR), East Africa Rifles (EAR), Kings African Rifles (KAR), Uganda Rifles (UR), Tanganyika Rifles (TR), East Africa Rifles (EAR) and the former KDF to the rich history of the present-day Kenya army. In discussing the history of the Kenya army, this work presents the thesis that it is a formidable force that has developed gradually. The work considers the Kenya Army as an integral unit that secures and guards the Kenyan territory. This work, though useful, largely focuses on the history of the military in Kenya and does not discuss the history and the role of Indians in policing the Kenyan state. This is one of the gaps this study fills. From the literature reviewed, it is undeniable that scholarly inquiry into Indian involvement in policing the Kenyan Colonial state is quite limited. This study utilizes various sources to collate relevant data in order to address this gap.

1.8.3 Theoretical Framework

The study utilized securitization theory and the theory of modern state in an integrated theoretical approach.

1.8.3.1 Securitization Theory

One of the theories used in this study is the theory of securitization. Securitization theory was articulated by the Copenhagen school, so named because it was founded at the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute (COPRI) (Buzan et al., 1998). Security and police studies have greatly benefited from this theory. Securitization as a theory and practical undertaking is increasingly being used by scholars and practitioners. The theory presents a very concise analytical tool for current security studies (Taureck, 2006).

Securitization theory is based on three distinct philosophical traditions: realism, post-structuralism, and speech act theory (Taureck, 2006). The School holds the military and police responsible for global security. Buzan et., al (1998) associate security with survival, in the sense that an entity is existentially threatened by another. The state initially featured a government exercising power over society occupying a specific territory. For the Copenhagen school, security is influenced by social inter-subjective actors (Buzan et al. 1998). With the aid of this theory, the Copenhagen school has attributed security to processes within society rather than objective outside conditions (Williams, 2004). The theory's primary thesis views security as a speech act that, upon mentioning, gives surety of action. Security issues become so upon labelling (Wæver, 2011). Securitization theory, as such, reveals that security is a product of careful design by various stakeholders in society (Eroukhmanoff, 2015).

According to Balzacq (2011), the securitization of select incidences does not rely on mere objectification or materialization. Insinuating that a referent object is under threat justifies any measures by the securitization agent to protect the object. The

matter then ceases to be expected and is considered an emergency, provoking swift action that may deviate from established procedures (Taureck, 2006). This means that national security is linked to state-building and development (Taureck, 2006). The Indians, as agents of the colonial state, played a significant role in enhancing state security and control.

Fruitful securitization involves conferring upon securitizing actors the authority to forego democracy and manipulate the populace (Taureck, 2006). For Weaver (2011), the underlying aim of securitization theory was the protection of politics by attributing outcomes to the populace rather than the securitization agent. In sum, securitization is designed such that it gains the audience's approval, justifying any form of counter-action deemed proper by securitization agents. In other words, securitization finds harmony between the designing and management of threats (Balzacq et., al 2015).

According to Eroukhmanoff (2015), national security policy in the context of securitization theory is carefully designated by politicians and decision-makers. Eroukhmanoff also maintains that securitizing agents include but are not limited to politicians, police, and the military. He avers that their operation sports competition over knowledge and remedies that are considered 'right'. Securitization theory disputes commonplace security approaches, holding that security issues are not so only in law but also in the letter and spirit (Eroukhmanoff, 2015).

Since its introduction, securitization theory has gained popularity both as an approach to security and as a tool used to study the securitization of diverse agendas, covering from minority rights to immigration (Trombetta, 2010; Mackenzie, 2009).

Closer examination unearths the fact that securitization has given security studies unique perspectives on the interrelationship between security and politics (Balzacq, 2015). The theory played an essential role in the emergence and early development of critical security studies and made two fundamental contributions first, it gave a "constructivist operational technique" for classifying and thinking about security challenges, second, the theory of securitization sought to improve security by introducing additional facets of it, including military, police, economic, sociological, and political security (Buzan et al., 1998).

Securitization theory has faced notable criticism and alteration. First, in its integration into critical approaches to security studies, critics have debated its depth and its tendency to succumb to blind assumptions (McDonald, 2008). Securitization theory is just not critical enough since it still leans too far towards neo-realism and lacks the ability to take into account mainstream perspectives (Balzacq, 1998). It is also faulted for lacking an apparent agenda (McDonald, 2008; Hansen, 2011). Overall there is no clarity on when securitization or de-securitization is required (Hansen, 2011).

There also exists discourse on the coverage of securitization theory: more so its capacity to accommodate the widespread constructions of security issues the world over, now and in the past (Ciuta, 2009). Securitization theory arguably ousts the possibility of a normative agenda in analysis by relieving analysts of the burden of securitization, rendering them mere spectators.

In the context of this study, securitization theory was helpful in analyzing and interrogating how Indians were incorporated into the security segments of Kenyan

society during the colonial period. Further, it was used to understand the dynamics of security within the Kenyan colony and how Indians managed to negotiate for their space within the colonial security system in Kenya.

1.8.3.2 Theory of Modern State

In addition to the securitization theory, the study also applied the theory of the modern state as articulated by Max Weber. Max Weber is considered to be one of the most influential thinkers in the social sciences who shaped the academic understanding of state legitimacy. His interpretation of the state as a human society that successfully claims the exclusive right to use physical force in a given territory gained attraction in many disciplines. Many years later, Weber's interpretation of the state is still considered the universal foundation in examining the present-day state formation (Lotthlz and Herbert, 2016:11).

According to Weber's understanding, the institution of the state can be understood through its apparatuses, in this case, the government and its institutions (Lotthlz and Herbert, 2016). He argues that governments evolved by establishing political structures through the power of domination and the use of violence. He notes that society's security and provision of other public services, including the monopoly of violence, fall on the state (Lotthlz and Herbert, 2016). Weber's argument is that the defining characteristic of the state is the claim to the monopoly of legitimate violence. Indeed, the modern state is seen as characterised explicitly by a particular form of power that has an internally differentiated bureaucratic structure (Cerny, 1990). The study utilizes Weber's ideology of domination and monopolization of violence by the state through the state security agents and apparatus in order to

understand how Indians, acting as agents of the state in the security sector, influenced and informed the order and re-ordering of the Kenyan state on behalf of the colonial government.

According to Marenia (1982), the state is the dominating intermediary between the people and the world system. Hoffman (2004) emphasizes that the modern state seeks to regulate conflicts of interest through the use of superior force and that force is always central to the state, whereas other factors are subsidiary. Gellner (1983) broadly identifies with Hoffman's arguments and defines the modern state as an institution(s) concerned explicitly with the enforcement of Law and order. He argues that the police force is central to the state. Oommen (1997) sees the modern state as a lawful institution that cushions its citizenry from both internal and external aggression. The centrality of the Indian security agents in the Kenya security sector and regulation of the interest of Kenyans as colonial subjects vis a vis Indians and Europeans will therefore be analyzed from theoretical perspectives advanced by the above foregoing.

According to Tilly (1992), the institution of the state in its foundational structure could be viewed as a criminal organization run by war-making elites who infiltrate society and siphon off its resources using their influence and status. He argues that it is this coercive nature of the state that led to the emergence of European society. In response to Weber's theory of the modern state as an instrument of economic domination, the historian Otto Hintze (1975) characterized violence as the flywheel for the whole political enterprise of the modern state. Herbst (2000) has also examined the state formation in Africa and argues that violence played the same role it did in Europe. Based on the above observation, it can be construed that

colonialism was violent, and the Indians as agents of colonialism enforced the colonial order of pacifying Africans and governing the African security sector during the colonial period.

The process of modern state formation requires acute centralization so as to ensure political stability, which in turn precipitates development marked by proper resource allocation (Ahire, 1990). The primary function of such a state is administration and communication (Almond et al., 1990). In this context, the colonial state assumed a significant role in the evolution of the modern state in Africa and elsewhere by instilling in colonies the pre-requisites for the onset of the process of development (Ahire, 1990). The state, against this background, allows for the analysis of aspects of law, policing, and security in the context of the theory of the modern state.

Under the blanket theory of the modern state, the police enforce the law, to which every individual is subject (Trubek and Galanter 1974). Equally, as argued by Mbaku (1992), in the emerging modern state, human conduct is subject to influence by social institutions, although these often prove inefficient. This relative inefficiency necessitates the need for police action aimed at fostering development through the enforcement of law and order. Similarly, laws in a modern state regulate individual conduct while at the same time regulating state influence over individual behaviour. It is important to remember that laws are not cast in stone. They are designed to provide individual comfort while ensuring that collective interest is protected in a modern state (Trubek and Galanter, 1974).

Proponents of this theory have emphasized the use of state agencies to mainstream human imperfection, thereby protecting societal interests (Mbaku, 1992). However,

the theoretical conception of human imperfection reveals that the Law in isolation cannot warrant conformity to statutory law in a modern state (Ahire, 1990). Moreover, the evolution of the modern state generally attracts criminal behaviour (Bent, 1974). As agents of law and order, the police mitigate crime while enforcing respect for dignity and achievement of collective goals within the state. This, in turn, yields holistic development in the state (Bent, 1974; Ahire, 1990).

According to Trubek and Galanter (1974), the modern state exercises central authority over pluralistic groups and individuals through the law. Rules are intended to attain social goals, which are considered to be those of society. This conception of law revolves around the notion popularly known as the “rule of law” and its constituent elements of legality and due process (Ahire, 1990). Since the theory of the modern state views the state as the benevolent third party that holds pluralistic interests and the law as the mechanism through which the state accomplishes these objectives, the police are deemed necessary to give coercive packing to legal provisions (Ahire, 1990).

The theory of the modern state is helpful to this study as it is a tool for analyzing the role of Indians in policing the Kenyan state as Indians were an integral part of the state formation agenda during the colonial period. They were regarded as agents of British imperialism in Africa. As agents of colonialism, Indians contributed to the integration of the Kenyan nation into the global arena. They also played a role in protecting and securing the colonial interests in the region. Indian communities adapted remarkably well to colonial infiltration. The adaptive capacity of Indians in East Africa, especially in the colonial period, is also noteworthy, as it provides insights into their impact on the region's social and political landscape.

1.9 Research Methodology

1.9.1 Introduction

This section highlights the methodological pathway the study employed. It includes the Research Design, the location of the study, the target population, the sampling technique and sample size, the research instruments, the data collection, analysis and management techniques, and ethical considerations that were observed throughout the study.

1.9.2 Research Design

The study employed a descriptive research design. Descriptive research provides an understanding of the situation or phenomenon that is being studied by documenting aspects of historical events as they naturally occurred. This is due to the fact that it is vital to gain more information about events and have a thorough understanding of what constitutes a research issue. Employing descriptive research in this study enabled the researcher to explore the research problems beyond the surface level, thereby giving an in-depth exploration of the historical events.

The knowledge fountain for this study was primary sources, given the depth of published literature on the topic. Life histories and oral narratives of Indians and African natives, both men and women, in Kenya were gathered through field research to reconstruct the past of the Indians in colonial policing. In-depth interviews with local Africans and Indian settlers in Kenya were used to collect data. These interviews were conducted with both Africans and Indians between the ages of fifty and ninety. A purposive sampling technique was used to identify the

respondents. The researcher chose people to participate in the study for a specific purpose in this process of sampling. Despite the fact that the approach is subjective, the knowledge obtained from this technique was well-balanced. A number of key informants, especially Africans, were identified using the snowballing technique. The primary informants were chosen based on the fact that other oral informants listed both Indians and Africans during the interview. These were people who were usually acknowledged and valued by the rest of the group for their ability to remember certain aspects of the people's past. A total of 25 people were interviewed. The questions mainly asked were centred on the role of Indians in Colonial State policing. Questions covered among other things the recruiting process; joining a force; police service experience; policies and programs for minority ethnic recruitment, as well as constructive action. Qualitative analysis and qualitative approaches were used in both formal and informal settings, with respondents providing oral and written input.

1.9.3 Location of the Study

Generally, the study covered the Kenyan Nation. The specific locations for the study were, however, Mombasa, Nairobi and Kisumu. The three cities have a large population of Indians and adequate representation of Indian security personnel in the security sector, local authorities and other administrative structures. The capital city of Nairobi has strategic, political, historical, social and economic significance to the Kenyan Indians and the government. It is also cosmopolitan in nature with diverse cultural, ethnic and racial communities. It is also important to note that the three study areas were colonial administrative centres where the presence of Indians was highly felt. Most importantly, Kisumu and Mombasa were connected by the Kenya

Uganda railway line built by the indentured Indian labourers. These three study areas, therefore, formed the theatre of policing activity as far as the involvement of Indians in policing the Kenyan state is concerned. The railway line had to be protected from various ethnic African communities from destruction. The Indian security personnel were, therefore, instrumental in implementing the pacification of the Africans who resisted the colonial government's quest to lay the railway line into the interior parts of the colony and the subsequent colonization of the Kenyan Colony (Refer to Map in appendix 1 page 290).

1.9.4 Target Population

The target population included respondents from both genders who have knowledge or experience in policing and security of the state in the colonial period. They included former and current European administrators, African administrators, Indian ex-police officers, and African ex-police officers, particularly those who worked with Indians in the police force, retired officers commanding police stations, and police reservists, both current and former, elderly men and women.

1.9.5 Sampling Techniques and Size

Sampling in the research context includes the identification and selection of a fraction of individuals from the population of interest and considering them representative of the large group. In this study, purposive and snowball sampling techniques were employed to identify respondents. Purposive sampling helps a researcher to choose respondents who would provide the details needed to meet his or her study's objectives. Respondents were therefore selected because they possessed the required information. Snowballing, on the other hand, aided in the

selection of key informants. The researcher requested respondents to refer to other respondents who possessed the desired information. Subjective selection and assembly of a sampling unit were made to ensure at least two individuals who are conversant with the participation of Indians in state security were included. Each category comprised of ex- African police officers, scholars, and experts from the Indian and African communities in Kenya.

1.9.6 Research Instruments and Equipment

The main research instruments used in this study was Interview Schedule. A copy of the interview schedule (appendix II page 292-293) that included details on Indians' position in colonial state policing from 1884 to 1963 was used. Since the interviewer was not required to strictly follow the question guideline, the interviews were mostly informal. The questions were not asked in a rigid manner, but rather in a flexible manner in order to gather as much knowledge as possible. They were adaptable, depending on the respondents' experience and patience. The discussions revolved around topics such as Indian settlement in Kenya and their role in policing the country. The key goal was to look at how Indians actively participated in colonial policing. Since it was flexible enough to handle issues from interviews, a research question manual with open and closed-ended questions was created to extract information from respondents. A tape recorder was used to collect and store information.

Since the field study covered such a vast geographic region, it was appropriate to enlist the aid of research assistants to help with the data collections. The researcher used research assistants who were well-known by the locals to direct and introduce

him to avoid problems with refusal to divulge relevant information. This made it easier to collect oral data. For validity and reliability, the knowledge gathered through oral research was cross-checked with other sources. The Kenya National Archives in Nairobi provided comprehensive and important archival materials for this research. These data served as the framework for evaluating and understanding the role of Indians in Kenyan state policing.

1.9.7 Data Collection

1.9.7.1 Primary and Secondary Sources

The research was based on two types of sources: primary and secondary sources. Primary data was derived both orally and with the aid of interview guides. Oral interviews were conducted to collect oral histories and experiences of participants in relation to colonial state policing in Kenya. This was achieved through group discussions and individual oral interviews with key informants who included Indians and indigenous Africans who had served in the police force. The majority of the written records came from the archives. The Kenya National Archives, County Archives, and personal, community archives were among them. Among the documents examined included Provincial and District Annual reports, Native Affairs Reports, Security Council Reports, Colonial Government Publications, Confidential Reports, diaries, Indian community magazines, Handing over Reports, letters, and correspondence on security matters.

The researcher also sourced secondary data from print media, including books, theses, magazine articles and periodicals bearing information related to the study. They were obtained from several libraries, including Kenyatta University's

Postmodern Library, Macmillan Library, University of Nairobi's Jomo Kenyatta library, Pwani University Library the French Institute for Research in Africa (IFRA), and the British Institute in Eastern Africa (BIEA) libraries, among other academic libraries.

To ensure the accuracy and validity of the archival data, it was important to cross-reference it with other data, especially information obtained through oral sources. To determine their veracity and reconcile the information elicited, the records were objectively reviewed and counter-checked. The documents were also verified against both primary and secondary sources. The documents were also scrutinized against both secondary and oral sources.

1.9.8 Data Analysis

The qualitative and quantitative data were obtained and analyzed separately, taking into account the similarities and discrepancies in the responses of the different respondents. Data from secondary sources were also subjected to textual criticism in order to verify their accuracy.

The historical method was used to analyse and interpret the data. It is through the application of this approach that we are able to gain access to information that is uniquely historical (Wafula 2000). The logical historical approach involves both historical and logical study and interpretation of gathered data (Onimode, 1985). It entails a thorough examination of historical events, changes, and experiences, as well as the careful weighing of facts and the reliability of historical sources of knowledge, as well as the analysis of the weighed evidence. The historical method is needed because historical research into social phenomena requires more than a clear

interpretation of facts and events in chronological order. The historical distinctiveness of a social phenomenon must be evaluated in terms of the interactions between its component parts, as these relationships affect the structure and coherence of the phenomenon (Aseka, 1989). To bring about corroboration of the various data, the research used historical investigation and data analysis procedures. This was done to reduce prejudice, bias, and exaggeration when analyzing data. The majority of the data was presented in a qualitative, descriptive format. All the data were analyzed using the theory of modern state and securitization theoretical framework.

1.9.9 Data Management and Ethical Considerations

The researcher prioritized confidentiality and informed consent when interacting with the respondents. Consent was obtained from the authorities and all other stakeholders before the study was carried out. Careful acknowledgement of resources was upheld throughout the study to avoid plagiarism. Similarly, the respondents' right to anonymity was taken into consideration by keeping their identity anonymous where possible. The next chapter will examine the emergence of Indians in state policing in Kenya up to 1895.

CHAPTER TWO

THE EMERGENCE AND EARLY INVOLVEMENT OF INDIANS IN STATE POLICING IN KENYA, 1884-1894

2.1 Introduction

In Chapter One, we problematized the history of Indians involvement in Kenya's state policing and demonstrated that there was a need to explore the role of Indians in the securitization of the Kenyan state. This chapter investigates the emergence and the roles of Indians in state policing in Kenya, up to 1895. The chapter examines the historical foundations of state policing prior to 1884 by paying attention to the histories of state policing; historical models of state policing; the historical background to colonial policing; the role of the Imperial British East African Company in the establishment of state policing in Kenya; and, the determinants for recruitment into state policing in Kenya laying the background for examining the roles of the Indians in state policing in Kenya up to 1895.

2.2 Historical foundations of state policing prior to 1884

2.2.1 Histories of state policing

Many social scientists have used Marx Weber's well-known idea of the state's monopoly on the legal use of physical force as their foundation for describing what the police are and what they do (Muschalek, 2014:127). As social scientists have accurately realized, the police are an expression and a tool for claiming legitimate monopoly, not its substance. The police's definition of a tool, however, is overly restrictive. The police force is far more complicated than a straightforward tool

(Brodeur, 1983:507). It operates as a collective entity and does not just carry out its leader's orders but also has its own internal administrative and logistical systems, organizational culture, and a certain amount of autonomy based on its field expertise (Bayley, 1990). Dominique Montjardet (2010), a sociologist, offers a comprehensive definition. According to him the police are indisputably a tool of state power, receiving orders from that power, providing a public service that is, in theory, available to everyone, and pursuing their legitimate interests as a profession. There is definitely room for improvement in the harmony of this threefold determination. The opposite is also true since these three dimensions can compete with one another (Montjardet, 2010: 8).

Although the boundary between police and policing is ambivalent, the institution of "the police" is a global phenomenon with a clear distinction between "policing" as a method and "the police" as an institution (Lundman, 1980:67). The practice of detecting crime; preventing crime; and, upholding order is known as policing (Wright, 2012). The public and victims of crime participate in policing by reporting crimes to the police and a variety of organizations that aid in locating the offenders (Mawby, 2012: 17). In contrast, the police as an institution is in charge of a variety of services, not all of which deal with crime and disturbance issues (Dempsey, & Forst, 2015:3). Police systems in various nations refer to the police as distinct entities that can be identified by their legitimacies, structures and roles. Legitimacy can be found inside the community, an invading force, or the society at large (Alderson, 1979:177). Structure implies that the police are an organized, specialized force with a code of conduct that specifies when force is lawfully used (Villiers, 2009). According to Jobard (2014), what defines police as such is "the allocation of

unavoidably coercive power". However, there would undoubtedly be differences in the level of organization or skill and the type of force considered necessary. Therefore, individuals in positions of power granted the police some degree of monopoly inside the society (Jobard, 2014:2).

Historical evidence suggests state policing has existed in various societies in different historical contexts and geographies (Baker, 2008; Jobard, 2014: 2, Rawlings, 2012: 66; Muller 2016:15). However, the evolution of state policing cannot be linked to one particular source (Newburn, 2008:13). The police have over time regulated interactions between ordinary people and power wielders (Bittner, 1970: 1; Poodhun, 1983:50). In the prehistoric period, communities evolved defensive units that were tasked with external attacks and enforcing internal regulations (Brogden, 1987; Bittner, 1970; Poodhun, 1983:50). The clan leaders delegated police functions to some clansmen whereas encounters with hostile ethnic groups remained a group responsibility (Poodhun, 1983: 51). In these societies, individuals sought protection and redress on the basis of group loyalties based on kin or mutual assistance (Rawlings, 2012:67).

In the earlier empires of Persia, Babylon, Egypt and Rome, law enforcers were often made of foreigners and slaves on the presumption that they were less likely to disobey cruel orders (Bittner, 1970: 16; Poodhun 1983:52). In Egypt, during the 4th Dynasty of the Old Kingdom, provincial security was entrusted to officials known as "Judge Commander of the Police" (Fahmy, 1999:343). In ancient Egypt, police services were well developed with clear administrative and judicial powers (Poodhun, 1983:52). To provide security on the River Nile; a "River Security Unit"

was founded. The River Police prevented piracy, investigated suspicious ships, and guarded legal activity on the Nile (Goldberg, 2003:10).

In England, the police force was founded in the third decade of the nineteenth century (Arnold, 1976:4). With the industrialization of England, there was a need to reduce urban crime, deter working-class political engagement, quell unrest, and safeguard the lives and property of the ruling elite (Charman, 2019:160). Although troops were used to administer urban areas on a daily basis they were ineffective in class management (Dodsworth, 2008:584). Thus, it was necessary to find a more covert, discrete method of governing society, and the police were created to fulfil this need (Emsley, 2012:72). The establishment of London's Metropolitan Police was largely the work of Robert Peel, who served as Home Secretary under a Tory administration and came from an industrialist family with a keen awareness of the challenges of metropolitan governance (Bittner, 1970:18).

2.2.2 Communal policing in pre-colonial Kenya

Many traditional African societies had social structures that were responsible for policing (Hills, 2000:29). Formal police and judicial institutions for conflict management were well established (Alemika, 2009:485). Policing mechanisms varied between communities yet control, justice and law-dominated policing (Dalglish, 2005). Maintenance of law, crime prevention and general order trickled from historical circumstances and were therefore readily embraced by members of society (Bouman, 1987:280).

In many traditional African societies Kenya include, policing was based on age, grade, occupation, trade, and other recognized groupings (Mbuba, & Mugambi,

2011). However, as communities become more complex it became necessary to establish formal police and judicial institutions (Africa, & Kwadjo, 2009:17). Tamuno (1970) argues that policing was primarily everyone's job in many pre-colonial African communities. But also policing was a part-time engagement that attracted rewards in form of "fines and prizes (Tamuno, 1970:12).

According to Ndeda (2006), every community in Africa had a police force and intelligence agencies that allowed residents to know the advantages and disadvantages of their neighbours. The majority of the communities required the age groups to conduct information gathering (Gold, 1978:86; Ndeda, 2006:27). Intelligence agencies were tasked with finding out about the weaponry, the guards, and the warriors of the adversary. The Nandi occupied territory in Kenya, for instance, were on constant alert (Walter, 1973). In 1895, through their intelligence, the Nandi community became aware of the British presence when European traders Dick and West, trespassed their area and were immediately attacked (Ndeda, 2006:54).

Similarly, the Akamba people, who were regarded as a martial race, were adept fighters and hunters with a reputation for mastering the use of bows and poisoned arrows (Osborne, 2014). The Akamba raised their children in a culture that prepared them for battle and pushing their commerce to the Coast (Parsons, 1999: 671). Likewise, the Babukusu, a sub-ethnic group of the Luyia, had a traditional intelligence agency that was part of their military system (MacArthur, 2013:355). In offensive combat, the agents of intelligence among the Bukusu people were frequently dispatched to sketch out the enemy's bases in order to determine their dispositions (Were, 1967). On the eve of the establishment of colonial power, there

was a lot of knowledge among the Africans about the dangerous and armed Europeans (Africa, & Kwadjo, 2009:17).

2.2.3 Models of professional police work

In contemporary societies, the police play a central role in the maintenance of law and order (Newburn, 2008:13; Mawby, 2012:17). Yet there are models of professional police work (Dempsey, & Forst, 2015:3). The diffusion models that attempts to identify the London Metropolitan Model as the unique source of professional police work in Europe is contested (Broden, 1987:21). Historians identify five major models of state policing that may be used independently or multiply in reconstructing state policing in contemporary investigations (Broden, 1987:23). These models are: the preventive model, the administrative model, the commercial model, the democratic model and the colonial model (Broden, 1987; Dempsey, & Forst, 2015:3).

In preventive policing work, the police serve as a deterrent to criminal activity as was the case with the London Metropolitan Police, formed in 1829 (Broden, 1987; Neocleous, 2000:710). In France, during the reign of Louis XIV of France, the police were tasked with the mandate of serving as an early warning system of the corporate state which was despotic in nature (Broden, 1987: Horton, 1995, Jason-Lloyd, 2013:3). Similarly, in the administrative police, the police work is the administration of affairs of the state (Broden, 1987). Thus, policing deals with regulating the activities and interactions in a given society (Donzelot, 1979; Acts, 2018:126). In the French empire, they administered cities and maintained social

order (Muller, 2016:16). In Victorian cities, the police work was informed of local administration (Bittner 1970, Porter, 1991; Baker, 2008:12).

Although private policing has not received much attention in history, private policing has grown alongside state policing (Brogden, 1987, Shearing, & Stenning, 1987:317). In commercial police work, private policing has supplemented state policing in business-related activities including thief-catching (Bittner, 1974:17; Shearing& Stenning, 1981). According to Rawlings (2012), the industrial revolution prompted the creation of the police in Europe to protect the interests of the capitalists.

The democratic police work like commercial police work has not been adequately investigated (Brogden, 1987). During the French revolution of 1848, a transient policy agency was instituted for guarding the streets of Paris (Brogden, 1987). The function of the police was to conciliate in the streets rather than repress on behalf of the state (Bradly, 1981; Brogden, 1987). Recruitment and promotion of members were based on their commitment to the new revolutionary state (Brogden, 1987; Poodhun, 1983:55; Bonner, 2020:1045).

In the colonial police work, colonial police were required to legitimise the colonial rule of the imperial power (Tamuno, 1970:10-15). British colonial police pre-eminently undertook missionary work to plant legitimate external governance in colonial territories. Imperial laws and policing undermined the laws of the subject people by serving the varied social, economic and political interests of the imperial power (Ahire, 1991; Alemika, 1993). Colonial policing was based on a strategy of “policing strangers by using strangers” This policy was widely practised in India,

Ceylon, Hong Kong and Africa (Brogden, 1987). Colonial policing was mainly aimed at suppressing disorder in the subject people within and outside Africa (Critchley, 1978; Brogden, 1982; Clayton, A., & Killingray, D.1989). The British used preventive police in Colombo, Bombay, Jamaica and British Guiana (Pippet, 1938). It has been argued that colonial policing was majorly linked with achieving the commercial interests of expanding capitalism by protecting sources of raw materials, minerals and markets for manufactured goods (Senior, 1997; 129: Verma, 1997). Emma Bell (2013) argues that colonial policing varied significantly within colonies in structure, law and policing cultures. Nonetheless, common characteristics of colonial policing cultures prevailed, although they were not necessarily unique to the colonies (Bell, 2013:3).

2.2.4 Background of Colonial Police Forces in Africa

Royal Ireland's constabulary system formed the basis for all other colonial forces that the British created (Mukhopadhyay, 1998:13; Emsley, 2014:9). The "Irish model," followed military lines, was administered centrally as a territorial security force, and was housed in barracks (Heffernan, 2019:240). In order to suit British colonial interests in India, the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) model of police was introduced putting an end to agricultural unrest and sporadic acts of terrorism against British rule (Jeffries, 1952:60; Arnold, 1976:4; Das, & Verma1998:355). The RIC model of police was quite a successful instrument for the maintenance of law and order (Das, & Verma, 1998:355). In the name of "criminal ethnic groups," millions of people were subjected to infamous public floggings, humiliations, and repression during the control of the British police (Mukhopadhyay, 1998:13).

British colonial policing in Africa modelled itself after the Indian and Irish paramilitary policing model because of its effectiveness (Brogden, 1987:4). According to Tobias (1977), India played a "critical role in the dissemination of the Irish model throughout the British Empire. He says;

The Indian police were the first overseas to be formed on Irish lines and were the largest of those that followed the path. The Indian police service was to be a major formative influence (cited in Verma 1988: 355).

The extent of the Irish model's implementation in Africa varied from colony to colony, due to regional differences (Anderson, & Killingray, 1991:18). The colonial police forces started out as paramilitary units during the time of conquest before evolving into law enforcement agencies with the expansion of the colonial economy and state (Pole, 2004). Police and military units were typically separated and characterized by racial hierarchy where Europeans held leadership positions while Africans served as the rank-and-file (Anderson, & Killingray, 2017:7).

The local legal systems that had predominated in Africa during colonialism were replaced with ones that were deemed to be more advantageous to the administration of the colony and its political objectives (Bayani, 2021:2). The police force emerged as a result of the colonists' need to use state coercion as a tool for resource exploitation (Baker, 2008, Hills, 1997:292). In all colonial areas, the upkeep of law and order was a fundamental factor in the political economy (Baker, 2008). The British introduced police in West Africa to end the slave trade, encourage legitimate commerce and protect missionary activity (Beek, Et al., 2017).

In Nigeria the first colonial police force was founded after Lagos and named Armed Hausa Police Group was made a British Colony in 1861(Ahire, 1991:17; Onoja, 2007:124). Most of them were former slaves who were originally from northern Nigeria (Stapleton, 2019:4-5). In 1906, Nigeria had two police forces, the Southern Police Force and the Northern Police Force, which were responsible for the protection of the two Protectorates of Northern Nigeria and Southern Nigeria (Obaro, 2014:10). In Gold Coast, a small armed police force was established to handle problems without bringing in the West India Regiment, which had been in the area (Ankomahene, & Asimah, 2019:8). The paramilitary group was expanded and given the name Gold Coast Constabulary after the Gold Coast Colony was declared (Killingray, 2017:107). The Gold Coast Police Organization was established as a civil police force in 1894 after the legal separation of military and police (Boateng, & Darko 2016; Killingray, 2017:107). In Gold Coast, colonial law enforcement focused on patrolling European mining facilities, agricultural areas, and security for cargo traffic (Killingray, 2017:107).

In Malawi, former Nyasaland, it took longer than in other areas for a single, central police force to be established (Hynd, 2011:432). The police force from 1891 to 1900 was notable for the widespread use of coercion to establish British territorial domination by the use of imported Indian troops (McCracken, 1986: 128). The Nyasaland Police Force was established in 1920 as the colonial state began to see the need for a more effective territorial force following the Chilembwe revolt of 1915 (Clayton & Killingray, 1989).

In South Africa, the British Cape and Natal colonies established mounted paramilitary forces in the 1820s and 1870s while the Transvaal and Orange Free

States, which were ruled by the Boers, retained their control over law enforcement until they were annexed by the British during the South African War of 1899–1902 (Brewer, & Brewer, 1994).

2.2.5 The Imperial British East African Company and the establishment of state policing in Kenya

The Imperial British East Africa Company (I.B.E.A.C.) was formed and granted a charter in 1888 (Beachey, 1996:27). It was administered by William Mackinnon with the British government's assistance. Among the individuals who helped found IBEAC were Sir Donald Stewart, Sir John Kirk, William Burdett, Robert Palmer Harding, and George Mackenzie (Kiruthu, 2006:44). The company was tasked with taking over the concessions and securing treaties with native chiefs loyal to the British for the construction of roads and railways and the expansion of trade (Trivedi, 1971: 616).

The British used chartered companies because they did not want to commit huge financial resources to run the colonies (Oliver, 1951:49) The company administered British spheres through complete political and economic control (Maxon, 2002:94). To effectively administer the region, IBEA started to build a network of stations or forts from the coast to the interior. The Company's headquarters were moved to Mombasa with its tentacles gradually expanding to the interior (Dietz, 2017). It established stations in Kismayu, Malindi, Lamu, Kibwezi, and Machakos. To achieve its goals, the Company employed a private army of Sudanese, Indian, and Arab soldiers under the command of British officers (Stichter, 1982).

Sir William MacKinnon, the company's chairman, saw the necessity for a well-organized military force to safeguard his company's interests but was unable to get the money for a centralized army. Instead, a diverse group of men, including mercenaries who belonged to the Sultan of Zanzibar, were employed. MacKinnon considered using troops from Zululand and Sierra Leone, but shelved the idea due to its expense and practical impossibility. He then travelled to India, where he was permitted to recruit in the Delhi neighbourhood and set up a police team to help with station security. The Company also requested the assistance of British naval patrols in areas that were reasonably reachable from the coast (Warner, 1985:8).

At its establishment at Mombasa, the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEAC) imported guards, police, clerks and accountants from India to help in the running of its affairs (Gregory, 1971, Omenya, 2010, Kiruthu, 2006:44). Among the 32,000 laborers, the majority were Hindus, Sikhs, Goans and Punjabi Muslims who worked as railway builders, bricklayers, clerks, craftsmen, soldiers, construction workers, artisans, merchants, traders, carpenters, tailors, motor mechanics electrical fitters and plumbers (Maganda, 2012:48). The imperial ties between Britain and India informed the importation of a large number of Punjabi soldiers for the Mombasa-based East African Rifles military force (Munro, 1987:211). Regular Indian troops were also periodically sent on specialized assignments on retributive missions in British East Africa (Zaidi, 1967:19).

The historic association between the Indians and the British was due to colonial rule and trade associations, they tolerated and had closer ties with the British (Hobson, 1995:23). Indian traders operated in many areas of the Empire and had become accustomed to a certain level of security as a result of their status as Crown subjects.

The British viewed Indians very differently from how they treated persons of African descent and that is why they gave the Indians priority in police recruitment (Hill, 1950:147).

During the early stages of the British occupation, the I.B.E.A.C created a police force to support the occupying power (Foran, 1962:6). Armed African guards (*askaris*) were drafted into this army, which was commanded by Somali and Indian officers and included a few Europeans in the upper ranks (Wolf, 1973:405). In British East Africa, a small group of armed soldiers known as *askari*, which means "soldier" in Kiswahili, were engaged by the Imperial British East Africa Company to carry out police responsibilities in Mombasa starting as early as in 1887 (Munro,1987:211). Also, the Imperial British East African Company (IBEACO) had an armed private police force made up of Sudanese and Indian citizens (Johnson, 1988:12). During the second half of the nineteenth century, the Imperial British East African Company's economic and political transformations can be linked to Indian police who were recruited and trained by British officers using European military principles (Wolf, 1973:412).

In 1895, the firm set up an administration with an armed security force for the purpose of safeguarding its stockpiles, trading hubs, trading routes, and employees (Trivedi, 1971:618). The security personnel were recruited from the Indian police and watchmen governed by Indian police statutes (Macdonald, 1897). According to oral testimony at Old Town, the majority of the military members in this unit at the time were Indians who were subject to Indian police statutes (Abdulla, O.I.2022). The informant said that the British idea of depending on the Indians as the primary security in the force was founded on the notion of racial supremacy, where the

Indians were regarded second after the Europeans and then the Africans, who were viewed as less human and uncivilized. In contrast to the latter, the IBEAC officials preferred to employ and trusted the Indians at the expense of Africans (Abdalla, O.I., 2022). Wolf (1973) and Sommer (2007) noted that in Mombasa, police were hired from within the Indian population. The company had a royal license for the administration of some parts of East Africa. The first "true" police force in Kenya was created in 1896 at Mombasa; with Assistant Superintendent Ewart serving as its commander. This was after the British Foreign Office took over management of British East Africa from the company (Foran, 1962:6).

2.2.6 Determinants for Recruitment into Colonial State Policing in Kenya

Imperial powers used foreign subjects and local resources to maintain order in the newly conquered territory (Bayley, 1969). The British established a policy known as "let aliens rule," whereby they recruited colonial subjects from one colony and sent them to other colonies to enforce local laws on natives of those areas (Ludden, 1988:669). This strategy of using aliens to police colonies was applied to Britain's Asian and African colonies (Yin, 2015:47). In the Bahamas for instance; police recruits were from Africa and Barbados (Johnson, 1986:49). This approach of minimizing the utilization of native males in policing was applied in East Africa (Burton, 2003:70).

The British Empire's recruitment and conscription policies were influenced by military race theory, climatic theories, physical attributes and perceived behavioural traits (Lagestad, 2012:58; Yin, 2015:47). These ideologies formed the primary criteria for the identification and recruitment of native populations for military and

police duty (Westwood, 2016:1). Physical fitness was a critical factor in weapon handling, law enforcement, and physical aptitude for handling situations that required the use of physical force (Lagestad and Tillaar, 2014:76; Kumar, 2019:6).

As a political and social construct, the “martial race” doctrine was used by the imperial powers for the recruitment of police officers (Sturridge, 2007:146). Martial race doctrine was based on the notion that certain individuals are naturally or culturally inclined to the art of war (Lacey, 2021:4). The martial races notions and practice emerged in British India after the Indian Mutiny of 1857 (Barua, 1995:107). As a result, some ethnic and religious groups were considered more masculine, loyal and desirable for military service (Hingkanonta, 2013:12). “Martial race” ideology was rooted in handbooks, memoirs and diaries on tales of adventure among war-like people in wild parts of the British Empire (Streets, 2017:28). Consequently, the only people who were sent abroad for military and police services were those who were considered to be members of "martial races' (Omissi, 1991:27). The concept of martial race thus worked in favour of the Indians and this informed their recruitment into the colonial police force in Kenya in the formative stages of colonialism in Kenya.

The Indian races possessed different degrees of fighting ability and loyalty to the British Empire (Kaye, 1898:24, Singh, 1969; Surridge, 2007:147). The Sikhs showed their allegiance to the Raj during the Indian Mutiny by enthusiastically enlisting in the government army and participating in outstanding military accomplishments (Fox, & Fox, 1985; David, 2002:22; Kaur, 2011:205. Having been viewed as a martial race alongside the Punjabi Muslims, they became the majority of the colony's police force until the middle of the 20th century (Metcalf, 2007:146;

SurrIDGE, 2007:147; Gurung, 2014, Rand, &Wagner, 2012:232). The Sikhs were quite skilful at controlling riots, discouraging secret societies and defusing local conflicts (Yin, 2015:63). Ethnic military representation as martial races was common in Asia and Africa (Stapleton, 2019:2). Their services were therefore invaluable in policing the Kenyan colonial state.

As was the case with employing Indians for the Protectorate, selective recruiting, which involved selecting police from outside the area they were intended to guard, may have been the main factor in the recruitment of Indians to the colonial police force (Sigler, & King, 1992:13). The Indian Penal Code and the Indian Criminal Process Code were earlier implemented in British East Africa (Wolf, 1973:405). Therefore, the colonial rulers had quickly determined that Indian law should be introduced in Kenya since it was codified, in contrast to British law, and was therefore viewed as a more effective tool for policing the African population (Morris, 1974:7). The Penal Code, Criminal Procedure Act, and Police Act were all brought from British India and implemented in colonial Kenya (Deflem, 1994:55).

In British East Africa, the notion of the martial race was also utilized when recruiting for the Kings African Rifles (KAR) (Moyses-Bartlett, 2012). According to Timothy Parsons (1999:54) persons from isolated and underdeveloped areas that were perceived as martial races, were favoured for recruitment into the KAR (Parsons, 1999:54). In contrast to what they had done through the East India Company, the British in Kenya did not employ high caste Indian soldiers and police officers. Majority of Indian recruits in the Kenya police were middle-caste or lower agriculturalists (Metcalf, 2007:148; Parsons, 1999:88). For the British, Indian

recruits presented a cheaper, healthier, and more reliable option (Rand, & Wagner, 2012:237). The majority of the early Kenyan police officers had prior Indian service.

In the formation of the Kenyan colonial state, the Nubians of Sudan were considered to be a martial race and were thus recruited to serve in the Imperial British East African Company (Balaton, 2012:37). They were viewed as suitable for control, combat, and the execution of laws (Deflem, 1994:48). The Nubian soldiers remained the core of the colonial military force throughout the process of colonization period in East Africa (Lugard, 1893:203-205; Wild 1954:2; Johnson 2000:1; Parsons, 1997:88; Mamdani 2001:657). The British prioritized Sudanese troops and their families over other Africans in the military and police service (Killingray, 2000; Parsons 1997). The Kamba were also considered a martial race in Colonial Kenya (Parsons, 1999:89). It is therefore important to note that colonial policing was repressive and oppressive and therefore working as a security office in the colonial security sector required certain oppressional attributes that could only be found within racial groups which the colonial system constructed as a martial race. The Indians, Nubians and the Akamba of Kenya fitted this description and were part of the early police officers used in state policing of the Kenyan colony.

2.3 The Role of the Indians in State Policing in Kenya up to 1895

2.3.1 Colonialization of Kenya and the establishment of control

Colonial success was premised on the maintenance of law and order (Chanock, 1982:4). Imperial powers used foreign subjects and local resources to maintain order in newly conquered territories (Bayley, 1969). The British established a policy known as "let aliens-rule," in its colonies (Ludden, 1988:669; Yin, 2015:47). The

Imperial state's fundamental role in the East African Protectorate was to legitimize its authority both domestically and externally (Lloyd, 1972:133; Celeski, 2009). According to Merry (1991:890), several methods were used to spread colonial power and control. These included coercion, imposition of the official language of imperial administration and adherence to official standards for professional conduct.

The Imperial British East Africa Company was tasked with the expansion and establishment of control in the territory when the British policy of informal control had become obsolete (Merry, 1991: 890). In establishing control, the IBEAC founded command stations in Vanga, Rabai, Malindi, Lamu, and Kismayu, as well as a police headquarters in Mombasa (Oliver, 1951:49). The police played a significant role towards achieving this objective by use of Indian *Sepoys* that had been taught by British military concepts (Mattausch, 1998:124). The IBEAC also had its own policing units that comprised 150 agents of Indian origin, Somali, Swahili and a few Europeans that could be called upon to protect the Company's trade and commercial enterprises. The forces were also tasked with the economic and territorial construction of colonial rule (Deflem, 1994:53, Wolf, 1973:402).

In reference to Indians, Winston Churchill argued :

It was the Sikh (and Punjabi Muslim) soldier who bore an honourable part in the conquest and pacification of these East African countries. It was by Indian labour that the one vital railway on which everything else depends was constructed (Cited in Odhiambo, 1974:137).

Sommer, (2007) supports Churchill's idea and points out that Indian Askaris were used by the British, colonial powers in East Africa during the time of European rule.

He states:

Indians helped in the conquest of the various colonial possessions and subsequently served as garrison and internal security forces. The IBEAC employed the first Indian policemen to protect shops, storehouses and banks. The expanding economy, however, necessitated the construction of a police headquarters (Sommer, 2007).

From the foregoing it is evident that colonial policing and the engagements of Indians in state security were basically to serve the capitalist and economic interests of the colonial masters.

The Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEACO) made use of both Indian indentured labor and government of India legislation and employees to establish capitalism and colonialism in Kenya (Heyer, 1961:77). This was achieved through the use of the Indian police system. A wide range of subjects were addressed by the Indian codes, including criminal law, criminal and civil process, evidence, contract, and succession (Swanepoel, 2019:98). Even the Indian Penal Code and Criminal Procedure Code, which were passed in 1860–1861, the year before the police were reorganized, made it clear that the police's top aim was to subjugate the populace (Bushe, 1935). Under these legal instruments plots to start wars, received significant attention. Similarly, under the Criminal Procedure Code, the protection of public order took precedence over those that dealt with the investigation and prosecution of criminal acts (Morris, 1974:10; Gupta, 1974:7).

Internally, the military force had to be employed against sections of almost every group in the colony in the early days due to some African resistance to colonial rule (Hills, 2007: 292. In order to establish internal control, hut taxes were imposed and alliances with regional rulers were formed (Tarus, 2004). However, the hegemonic

ambition of the colonial government was the defence of the frontiers (Gardner, 2012). Both tasks were carried out by a military police that consisted of a detachment of imported Indian soldiers, an army of mercenaries from Zanzibar and natives from within the protectorate (Clayton and Killingray 1989:69).

In October 1890 for instance, as part of an on-going dispute with the Sultan of Witu, three Royal Navy ships, were dispatched to Lamu to establish British authority on behalf of the Sultan of Zanzibar (Ylvisaker, 1978:670). The Witu expedition included roughly 800 sailors and Marines, as well as 150 Indian police officers. Indians were hired by the protectorate in the 1890s. A real police force was later constituted in Mombasa, and stations were built along the caravan route between Mombasa and Uganda (Foran, 1962:4; Trivedi, 1971: 621).

Indian administrators were also hired to administer the company's bureaucracy many as administrators, police officers, clerks and customs officials. Indian police served both in the interior and along the shore to protect and secure construction materials and other property (Odhiambo, 1974:136). Fortified posts sprung in trading stations along with the Mombasa-Uganda caravan route-Mazeras, Machakos Ngong, Fort Smith Eldama Ravine and Mumias (Wolff, 1970:276). Each had a small body of *askaris* under the official in charge of the post. These were more armed guards, although they were often summoned for construction and maintenance work (Mutungi, et al., 2019). Each station commander was responsible for recruiting his own armed guards and there was no central mechanism for managing the group of men as a whole (Foran, 1962:4).

The establishment of the East African Protectorate necessitated the establishment of an armed force to suppress opposition to colonial subjugation (Kagari & Thomas, 2006:3; Whang, 2018:720).). However, the police were considered cheaper, less confrontational and under local control (Waller, 2010:426). The focus of colonial authority shifted from military security to the creation of a colonial police force for civil tasks (Francis, 2012: 4). The police were armed with rifles, and their main job was to collect hut taxes and recruit African labourers to work on the European estates (Killingray, 1986:410).

Once the state learnt to control itself, this signalled a change from conquest to the establishment of public order. Deflem (1994) observes;

After the territorial boundaries of the colonial regime were secured, a period of control set in. The emphasis of colonial rule now switched from military security to the formation of a colonial police force for civil duties. Armed with rifles, the central function of the police force was to collect hut taxes and obtain African labour for employment in the European estates (Deflem, 1994: 49).

In contrast with the Company's station, the protectorate administration envisioned and presented itself as subjugating and establishing the authority of the administration over all inhabitants and all territory of British East Africa (Oliver, 1951:50). As part of the protectorate's transformation into a regulated space, the Commissioner post (Majesty's Representative) in the protectorate was established (Cashmore, 1965). The Commissioner was in charge of the East African Protectorate. The first commissioner, Sir Arthur Henry Hardinge divided the Protectorate into provinces and districts, with the former being run by Sub-Commissioners and the latter by District officers (Marshall, 2017: 182).

In the British protectorate, maintenance of law and order was one of the most important aspects of effective governance (Killingray, 1986:411). Due to the hostile African population, the colonial police forces acted as the "eyes and ears" of the colonial state (Jeffries, 1952:31). Other duties of colonial police forces included forcing labour, responding to challenges to colonial laws, defending white-owned property, and sustaining colonial power (McCracken, 1986:127). Across the protectorate, local regulations were negated through legal compulsion and colonial education (Roberts, & Mann, 1991:3). Maintenance of law and order became one of the major roles of the Indian police officers at the time of establishment of the colonial rule in Kenya. Maintenance of law and order was so coercive and brutal and the Indian police personnel as agents of colonialism played a key role in ensuring that the Kenyan state successful.

2.3.2 Economic interests of the Colonizers and the Indian traders

Many scholars have argued that the colonial authorities in Africa established modern police forces to protect their economy from the dangers of the colonized (Ahire, 1991; Deflem, 1994). The police were one of the main tools the colonial state used to guarantee an authoritarian containment of social disturbance, and safeguard the property rights and individual liberties of white settlers (Alemika, 1993; Mbaku, & Kimenyi, 1995:277). The colonial police force was seen by its allies as providing the stable and peaceful environment needed for colonial development through combating crime and deterring ethnic conflict (Ahire, 1990:157).

An oral interview with a respondent revealed that an armed security force with stations was established by the corporation in to protect its business activities in Mombasa. He clarified that Sir William McKinnon, who had a personal stake in

protecting his commercial holdings, was the one who came up with this initiative (Chimerah O.I., 2022). In essence, the work of this armed service was to provide security for the IBEAC's key commercial endeavours (Foran, 1962:5; Wolf, 1973:404).

Fundamentally, the commercial pursuits of the British Empire and capitalism in quest of new markets and resources were closely related to professional policing (Emsley, 2012:112). Colonial police were most frequently associated with the business objectives of growing capitalism that were looking for new markets and resources (Chimera, O.I., 2022). The new police were primarily justified by the demands of business and corporate profit (Jeffries, 1952; Foran, 1962). British colonies were first connected to the British Empire as private properties of limited companies with headquarters in London (Brogdén, 1983). The colonial administrations prioritized economic necessity over all other considerations when establishing a professional police because they were committed to reproduction of cheap labor and to outwitting their rivals (Clayton, & Savage 2012). Consequently, the desire to secure new markets and resources became a priority for purposes of policing the Kenyan state. As agents of colonialism and capitalism, Indian police officers also played the double role of protecting Indian traders and also embarked on establishing trading posts and shops along the caravan routes within the hinterland of the Kenyan state.

Thomas (2012:5) argues that repressive policing was crucial to building colonial power, as evidenced by the fact that the colonial authority hired security officers to supervise its economic activities. He observes that all the colonial government's major economic decisions, including tax collection, land appropriation, and the

suppression of labour unrest, relied on police services. Thomas further argues that the colonial authority dispatched police personnel to aid in maintaining order on settler plantations, processing facilities, factories, and other establishments run under European supervision. Police also kept a close eye on the entry of workers, their placement with businesses, and in some cases, their ultimate return to their homes. Central to Thomas's argument is that both personally and structurally, the political objectives and security measures of colonial control were consistent with its economic structure (Thomas, 2012: 5).

On the East African Coast, the Indians were already established and by far the most important economic community along the coastal parts of Zanzibar, Kilwa, Pate, Bagamoyo, Pemba, Pangani, Tanga, Dar-es-Salaam, Malindi and Mombasa (Mangat, 1969; Gilbert, 2002). The Indian Rupee coinage had been introduced in May 1893 and replaced the German, English and Indo-Portuguese currency (Tarus, 2004:39). During this time the Indians became an important link between Eastern Africa and Europe, as well as America and Asia (Aiyar, 2015, Maganda, 2012:51). Occasionally, bouts of violence against south Asians erupted, which posed risks to their wealth and property. This prompted Indians to respond by arming themselves and forming vigilantes to safeguard themselves from attack (Oonk, 2013:50). Indian dominance in the Indian Ocean trade on the East coast of Africa desired considerable policing for their businesses (Zaidi 1967:21). The Asians were able to protect their property through organized efforts.

Although Asians had ties to the East African coast far before the 19th century, it was the Imperial British East Africa Company's opening up of the East African

Protectorate's interior that allowed Indian labour, capital, and business to enter the hinterland (Ochieng & Maxon, 1992:131). Asian business largely followed the trails that the Company had previously established. By 1890, A.M. Jeevanjee a renowned businessman at the time had contracts to hire Indian labourers and police officers to serve in the Protectorate (Patel, 2002).

The IBEAC's armed troops, which were distributed among Mombasa, Machakos, and Kismayu at the time of the interior invasion, consisted of 1120 of these soldiers. In order to supply food and offer military security, the Company also established a few outposts along the caravan route to Uganda (Beachey, 1962). It should be remembered that human portage was required for all overland transportation for business and the early administration (Maxon, 2002:95). The majority of porters were employed in Mombasa, which had approximately 1000 porters available by 1895. Military expeditions offering protection for the porters were composed of Arabs and Indians (Kiruthu, 2006:45). These troops guarded scattered trading stations and supported company servants on lawful excursions in the interior (Foran, 1962; Percox, 2001).

2.3.3 Provision of security services to missionary activities

Although the role of the Indian police force revolved around the maintenance of law and order, this role also went beyond political governance of the colonial state to provision of security to religious activities of the missionaries. The missionaries' reports sparked a public uproar in Europe about the displacement and suffering of natives brought on by the slave trade (Oliver, 1969). The evangelical revival and the growth of anti-slavery ideas among European Christians in the nineteenth century

increased European interest in Africa, thus there was need for colonial administrators to provide missionaries with security (Strayer, 1978; Ajayi, 1965; Okon, 2014:192). In an interview with Gathogo (O.I., 2022), it emerged that Africa was historically evangelized by the use of colonial apparatus. Missionaries and traders entered Africa together with colonial authorities with the goal of bringing Christianity, trade, and civilization to the continent. He pointed out that different Western European nations sent missionaries to Africa. Among the Christian missionary groups working in Africa between the 1850s and the 1890s were the Scottish Presbyterians, the Methodists, the Plymouth Brethren, the Dutch Reformed Church, the Jesuits, the Church Missionary Society (CMS) and Holy Ghost Fathers. LeMarquand, (2003) points out that since missionaries, traders, and administrators all shared a common interest in protecting British colonists in Africa; they worked together as a crucial component in achieving their predetermined aims. However, Brantley & Johnson (1981:2), points out that some African communities resisted Christianity. They give an example of the Giriama people of Kenya's coastal hinterland who consistently fought colonization and were hostile to both Islam and Christianity.

The spread of Protestant missionary activity was directly influenced by the Royal Charter granted to the Imperial British East Africa Company (I.B.E.A.C.) in 1888 (Trivedi, 1971:617). Nthamburi, (2002:57) observes that Sir William Mackinnon, urged the missionaries to continue working in the interior, especially in areas where the corporation could guarantee their safety. According to one respondent, missionaries entirely relied on administrators for physical security and protection during times of need, and they also relied on traders for financial support. In

addition, during the 1880s, the missionary movement was exerting pressure on British authorities to safeguard missionaries who had travelled inland to spread Christianity and to stop the cruel slave trade (Gathogo O.I., 2022).

Two years after the Imperial British East African Company started to govern the Coast of what is now Kenya, the Sultan of Zanzibar, whose name the Company governed, issued a proclamation in 1890 outlawing trade in slaves and releasing all slaves (Miers & Roberts 1988). All European nations had long since outlawed the slave trade by the time they partitioned Africa, at the Conference of Berlin (Klein, & Miers, 2013). Britain also took the lead in finding measures to stop the trade on the East Coast and in the Indian Ocean, and once more, efforts were made to achieve an agreement to this effect with nations that had a stake in the traffic (Ubah, 1991:447).

The first British government's initiative to end the slave trade was by using military operations carried out by the British navy in African waterways, particularly along the Coast of East Africa (Hopper, 2011:50). The patrol teams' duties included watching over known or suspected slavery routes, stopping those suspected of being involved in the traffic, freeing the slaves, and turning the culprits over to the authorities so that legal action could be taken against them (Ubah, 1991:447). The British were solely responsible for monitoring key areas and patrolling trade routes during the initial phase of the slave trade's abolition (Hopper, 2011:55). Slavery was totally prohibited by the British Protectorate administration, which succeeded the Company in 1895 (Willis, 1989:82).

Missionaries essentially collaborated with colonial rulers in the exploitation and cultural subjugation of Africa. In his book *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*,

Walter Rodney argued that missionaries were imperialists. Rodney further argues that Missionaries were agents of colonialism in the practical sense, whether or not they saw themselves in that light. The Christian missionaries were as much a part of the colonizing forces as were the explorers, traders, and soldiers (Rodney, 1972: 277). Therefore, as much as the missionaries needed protection, the Indian police force was available as one of the agents of colonialism to provide the much needed security for the missionaries as they spread the gospel into the interior parts of the Kenyan state.

2.4 Conclusion

It was the objective of this chapter to trace the emergence and early involvement of Indians in state policing in Kenya up to 1895. In this chapter, an effort has been made to discuss the historical foundations of policing up to 1895. The chapter has examined the histories of policing and models of policing. The chapter has traced the historical background of policing in the pre-colonial period. It was demonstrated that State policing has existed in various societies in different historical contexts and geographies. It has also been demonstrated that the police forces established in the British colonies in the 19th century were not designed after the regular police forces of Great Britain, but rather after the Royal Irish Constabulary, a paramilitary police force established in 1822 to police Ireland during a time of unrest and resistance to British rule. The chapter has further examined the determinants for recruitment into colonial state policing in Kenya arguing that the British empires recruitment and conscription policies were influenced by martial race theory. It has further been demonstrated that the Imperial British East African Company played a big role in the establishment of state policing in Kenya. The company established an

administration with an armed security force to protect its trading routes, trading centres, stocks and staff. The security personnel were recruited from the Indian police and watchmen. This marked the beginning of Indian policing in Kenya. The chapter concludes by describing the various roles of the police up to 1895 that included: the establishment of colonial control in Kenya; protecting the economic interests of the colonizers and providing security services to missionary activities. In the next chapter the role of Indians in state policing in Kenya during the early colonial period is interrogated.

CHAPTER THREE

INDIAN AND STATE POLICING IN KENYA DURING THE EARLY COLONIAL PERIOD, 1895-1918

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter traced the historical foundations of state policing in Kenya up to 1895 and it was argued that state policing existed in various societies in different historical contexts and geographies. It was contended that the police played a significant role towards colonial conquest and control. We recognised that the police force established in the British colonies in the 19th century was designed after the Royal Irish paramilitary police force. This chapter examines the establishment of colonial control in Kenya and the emergence of Indian policing in the early colonial period (1895-1918). More specifically, the chapter interrogates Indian policing during the early colonial period with particular emphasis on the construction of the Kenya-Uganda railway. The chapter utilizes the securitization theory and theory of modern state to analyze the role of the Indian police during this period. It then concludes by interrogating the emergence and ramifications of Indian policing activity during the First World War.

3.2 The Establishment of Colonial Control in Kenya

The formal British administration of the British East Africa Protectorate began on July 1, 1895, when the Imperial British East Africa Company's 'interregnum'(IBEAC) came to an end (Trivedi, 1971:617). The legislation to annex the country was done in the UK and conveyed to Kenya in the form of Orders-in-

Council (Maxon, 2002:94). The proclamation of a protectorate over much of what is now Kenya effectively marked the start of British authority in Kenya and the end of the IBEAC administrative tool. The new colony, however, did not include the ten-mile coastal strip previously leased from the Sultan of Zanzibar (Maganda, 2012:53).

The British founded the British protectorate in 1895 and consequently, the colonial administration began to open up the interior to bring it under its control (Gardner, 2012). The police were required in expanding the British rule into the interior and protect newly forming local administrative hubs known as *bomas* (Gimode, 2007:231). Government *bomas* were established in twenty-four places, including Mombasa, Lamu, Kipini, Malindi, Machakos, Nairobi, Kericho and Kisumu. Each of these places, with the exception of Mombasa and Nairobi, had its own small body of district *askaris* (Foran 1962:7; Maxon 1980:86). The East Africa Orders in the Council of 1897 gave the colonial authority power and control over Africans (Boahen, 1985:22). These gave the protectorate commissioner the authority to enact ordinances for the protectorate's good administration because they needed to reorganize the indigenous populations (Kooperman, & Rosenberg, 1977:268). Between 1895 and 1910, the government made efforts to establish an excellent colonial presence in the interior. Due to this, District Commissioners forced chiefs upon Africans, established commerce hubs, and marked out district and location boundaries (Maxon, 1980:101). In achieving these, the District Commissioners relied on Indian police officers for escort and protection. Provision of security was therefore, very important during the establishment of colonial rule and control of the Kenyan colonial state.

According to Sir Charles Elliot's observations, maintaining peace within Kenya's colonial state would involve showing the locals how strong and mobile British forces were in order to deter future occurrences that would call for punitive expeditions (Maxon, 1980:89). In the inland Native Reserves, unarmed Tribal Police existed. Different District Commissioners were in charge of the tribal forces in their respective areas, and these Tribal Police were managed by local chiefs on a daily basis (Wamagatta, 2009:372). The military defence of a large portion of the nation was carried out by the 2,200 armed Kenya Police in addition to their regular policing responsibilities (Moyd, 2008). The administration's only quick "display of strength" in remote areas was provided by the police. They were undoubtedly effective, but also reasonably priced (Foran, 1962:39).

Establishing policing infrastructure was critical in bringing the colony under effective control through the maintenance of law and order (Cashmore, 1965:16). An individual could commit criminal activity in one place and then flee to a Native Reserve where the local chief would not execute the law. As a result, the self-contained police force was established and funded by the Governor from the territorial kitty (Deflem, 1994:54). At the time, the colonial police tradition was divided into three developmental stages characterized by an improvised security arrangement; the establishment of a semi-military constabulary force; and, the conversion of these semi-military constabularies into civilian police forces while retaining select military functions. As the police developed through these three stages, progressive changes in their composition occurred. In the first two stages, superior ranks were held by Europeans and Asians while natives were only allocated positions of responsibility in the third stage. The senior staffs were often transferred

from one part of the colony to the next to provide expertise (Moyd, 2008). As a result, the Colonial Police Service was unified, with the Colonial Office overseeing and educating "gazetted police officers" (Killingray, & Anderson, 2017:2). The police unit as a semi-military outfit was characterized by excessive use of force in the maintenance of "colonial peace" (Killingray, & Anderson, 2017:3). The British report of the Police Commissioners in 1895 may help to explain this focus on the police. They wrote;

The police are the primary constitutional force concerned with the maintenance of order, and the enforcement of the law (Morris, & Read, 1972:183).

It is evident; therefore, that colonial policing was racial with Indians and Europeans occupying the higher ranks within the police force at the expense of the natives. The police and the functions of policing became deeply implanted in the broader fabric of colonial rule. It became rational to intensify the use of police force at the expense of the military (Anderson, 2017:183). The use of police force was perceived as cheaper and less confrontational in maintaining local control. Forming the initial civilian police regime was met with numerous challenges ranging from " ill-clothed, ill-equipped, poorly paid and badly managed (Waller, 2010:526). The government's Coast agents hired the askaris who carried sniders and sent them to the DCS, for deployment. At this time the askaris were not transferrable (Mungeam, 1978:74).

Establishment of colonial rule and control of the Kenyan state did not only rely on the police force but also on the colonial judicial system which was characterised by Indian personnel (Berman, 1992). For instance, during the construction of the Kenya-Uganda railway, a police superintendent C.G. Farquar was given the authority of an Indian Third-class Magistrate and was made a magistrate alongside

some of the engineers. As a result, C.G Farquar served as the accuser, prosecutor, and judge in relation to any misdemeanour that took place along the one-mile railway line (Hardinge, 1897).

According to Read (1972:183);

These comprised not just British judges, magistrates, administrative staff, and police officers, but also clerks, messengers, and police officers who could be locals or foreigners" from other regions, or Asians. The colonial regime introduced new tools of oppression, most of which reflected foreign ideologies.

The key policy concern during the early stages of British colonial authority was the imposition of hut and poll taxes as an incentive for young men to devote their cheap labour to emerging colonial companies (Gardner, 2012:27). As Tarus (2004:66) argues, the police were essential in ensuring that the maximum amount of force was used during tax collection. Tax collection was a violent process that necessitated the use of coercion, intimidation, bullying and force in order to secure payment. The first administrators, known as "Collectors," played a significant role in the collection of taxes by the new government at the time of the establishment of colonial control. To ensure tax collection and payment, these officials travelled around with the police. Such tax campaigns would involve the seizure of people's possessions, burning of their homes, and arrest of tax evaders. As a result, taxation was always seen by the peasants as a form of punishment, with the entire weight of the colonial administration behind it (Tarus, 2004: 66). Tax collection was meant to raise revenue for the colonial government and to ensure the smooth operation of government activities within the Kenyan colony. Nevertheless, this new tax regime also ensured more control of the colony by the colonial government.

Kanogo (1987:12-13) observes that it was undoubtedly difficult to collect taxes from the African peasants, and the colonial authorities used various methods in addition to violence. A number of legislative measures were implemented, including one that created a registration system to make it easier for tax collectors to do their jobs. Gimode (2007:231) points out that following colonialism's forcible imposition, the police force would largely make sure that Africans paid taxes and also provided labour and other resources necessary to support the settler economy.

3.3 Indians and the Kenya Police Service in the Early Colonial Period

In an effort to consolidate his power, between 1895 and 1901, Commissioner Hardinge passed laws in the areas of customs, the police force, land, highways, railroads, money, agriculture, public health, and revenue (Hardinge, 1897). Among these enterprises were the settler farms, the railway and the road networks (Tarus, 2004:40). The Indian police were in handy to assist in the implementation of all these orders. These regulations were in addition to other laws governing public order, arrests, and vagrancy (Mungeam, 1978:81). The Governor-General in charge of the Kenyan colonial state and his administration used local taxation both to finance the colonial government and to comply with the policy of colonial development (Waris, 2008:274). All these became possible through the use of Indians serving in the colonial police service in Kenya.

It is important to note that throughout the nineteenth century railways formed an integral part of the economic and military structure of the British Empire by allowing the economical movement of both trade goods and troops (Hobson, 1995:2). Due to this, the British were able to effectively manage huge territories that

would have been impossible for them to control if they had only relied on physical occupation. Therefore, it is not unexpected that railways were considered to be crucial to their endeavors as the British expanded their sphere of influence in East Africa in the final quarter of the 19th century (Clemm, 2019:133; Gregory, 1971:8).

In East Africa, the establishment of the Kenya-Uganda railway was aimed at meeting one of the Berlin Agreement Acts of establishing effective occupation (Hobson, 1995:2). The main purpose of building the railway from the Kenyan Coast was to effectively manage the activities surrounding the River Nile in Uganda and connect the region to the Coast and the rest of the world (Uzoigwe, 1976: 11; Gunston, 2004:46; Wambugu, 2019:26; Omenya 2011:69). In 1895 Mr Johns, who had previously worked for the Government of India, was sent to northwest India to gather labour for the railway project after the British Government had assumed direct control of East Africa and the railway project (Miller, 2015:8). The building of the Railway was supervised by British engineers and security guards from India (Hobson, 1995:66, Sharad, 2016: 27).

By the end of December 1896, the construction of the Railway had covered 23 miles (Hill, 1950). It took two years for it to get to Tsavo where a major security threat from the lions known as the man-eating lions of Tsavo impeded its progress. The security guards however protected the railway workers from the man-eating lions. According to Sharad (2016:32) two lions attacked and killed 85 African labourers, 25 Indians and a British supervisor named Lt. Col Charles Ryall. The two lions were eventually killed by John Peterson in December 1898 with help from Indian guards (Sharad, 2016:32).

According to Foran (1962), the construction of the railway led to the establishment of a police force in Mombasa in 1897. It was used to break rebellions whenever the railway passed through trading centres such as Takaungu, Frere town and Malindi (Foran, 1962:6-7).

Foran (1962) observes;

The Uganda railway police under Mr Ewart established camps and employed camp police along the line of construction works. As the railhead advanced up country a few of these police were posted for guard duties at new stations as they were built. The majority of the railway police were recruited in India or amongst the Punjabi coolies building the railway (Foran, 1962:7).

The construction of the Kenya-Uganda railway facilitated the growth of infant police forces inland which were manned by Indians. To protect the labourers and construction equipment, police service units were formed in Mombasa, Nairobi, and Kisumu (Deflem, 1994:54). This was the genesis of the dreaded railway police department which characterised the Kenyan colonial and post-colonial state up to date. The railway police force was to ensure law and order within the train and also to ensure rebellious ethnic communities were pacified during the construction of the railway line into the interior parts of Kenya.

According to Gregory (1971:11), an organized security force was required to provide tight security during the construction of the Kenya Uganda Railway in order to protect the building supplies in each station. In addition to performing maintenance and construction work, the police were also utilized to secure the building supplies. By the end of 1898 an additional security force to protect the building and maintenance of the Kenya Uganda railway was set up. By 1899, the Uganda Railway Police that had been established had grown to strength of 300–400

people, with the majority of its recruits coming from India and being commanded by European officers who had previously worked for Punjab (India) Police (Crow, 1971:19). Uganda at the time extended all the way to the Eastern Rift Valley (Mnjama, 1994:55).

During construction there was a concern about Indians who resisted railway work despite their terms of legal indenture (Hobson, 1995:67). To British officers, this resistance further underscored the necessity of stringent labour controls. Ever-increasing coercive measures were undertaken to bring the Indian *coolie* labour pool to heel (Chattopadhyaya, 1970:8). The British and Indian administrators intensified punishments for deserters partly to deter future runaways. Police officers intensified measures of surveillance and control. In the end, 24-hour surveillance was implemented, turning the train into a police-like setting with guards keeping night watches to prevent escapes during the night (Sharad, 2016:32)

Indian Police guarding the Railway Line at Tsavo



Indian soldiers guarding the Railway line, probably at Tsavo, 1915 (from Butterfield 2 album, National Archives)

Source; Butterfield Album Kenya National Archives

In February 1899, Indian police officers C.G. Farquhar and C.H. Ryall were summoned by the Punjabi police to control the railway police in Kenya Farquhar was given the rank of superintendent and Ryall that of Assistant Superintendent (Mnjama, 1994:64). The railway force increased in strength to 400 ranks (Foran, 1962: 6). The railroad engineer created his own Uganda Railway Police in 1900 to guard the Salisbury Bridge in Mombasa. This had a separate operation from the protectorate police and its goals were to preserve the harbour and train stations and stop pedestrians from crossing the railway bridge (Ruchman, 2017:252). The railway police officers, who were hired from India, operated both as police force and a mechanism to control transportation (Foran, 1962:9). The Indian soldiers were mostly entrusted with defending territorial and financial interests in the Kilindini Harbour region and they were primarily drawn from the Indian police and watchmen (Robert Etal., 2014:194). They were therefore governed by Indian police statutes, giving the security forces a quasi-police status (Sommer, 2007). As the rail advanced upcountry, more Indian officers took up guard duties at emerging stations.

The police were also engaged in deterring crime and gambling during the construction of the railway (Hobson, 1985:138). In a letter to O'Callaghan dated November 13, 1899, CG. Farquar, the railway's Superintendent of Police, discussed the issue of gambling in the coolie labour camps. In the letter, he noted that, in addition to increasing the rate of crime, gambling had grown to be such an issue that it was hindering the coolies' ability to provide days' worth of work for the railway. "Men who gamble all night cannot work all day" This is indeed what frequently happened (Hobson, 1985:138).

Due to the absence of legislation that forbade gambling in the Protectorate, Farquar was generally helpless to put an end to the practice (Mnjama, 1994:57). The letter's actual goal was to request that gambling be prohibited in accordance with the provisions of the railway legislation and subject to the same punishments as those outlined in the Indian Gambling Act of 1867 within railway limits. Although there was no written proof that the police took any steps to enforce the anti-gambling legislation inside the camps, Farquhar's demands were granted (Hobson, 1985:138). Most likely, the new regulations served to limit the quantity of gambling so as not to impair the men's capacity for productive work.

A persistent issue of sexual diseases among the coolies and reports of Indians bringing African women into the camps came to light. Due to the high prevalence of venereal diseases, the Railway Committee gave Sir George Whitehouse an English civil engineer instructions to deploy the police in coordination with the Medical Officer to "keep ladies not engaged in legitimate trade away from the neighbourhood of the railway works" (Gregory, 1971:57). The theft of telegraphic wire and other railway equipment by the Nandi became a serious issue as the line neared Kisumu, forcing the British government to use military force (Mnjama, 1994:59).

The construction of the railway led to general advancement in communication in the East Africa region (Amin & Matheson, 1986:42). Construction of feeder roads in the Protectorate increased the flow of Indian emigration. Indian businessmen came to take advantage of the economic opportunities created by the railway (Whitehouse, 1948:10). The businessmen reached the interior along the railway lines and established trading posts in urban centres, including Mazeras, Machakos, Nairobi, Ngong, Nakuru, Kisumu, Eldoret Kitale, and Fort Smith. Other Indians were

employed by the military to keep peace, uphold the law and protect the trading posts (Chebai, 2001:95). In settling in the various trading posts, security was required which was readily provided by the Indian police. Fortified posts were set up at trading centres along the caravan route between Mombasa and Uganda. Each station contained a modest number of Indian and African *Askaris* (Police) who were under the command of European supervisors. These were more equivalent to armed guards than police officers. Each station commander hired his own staff because there was no overarching plan for handling these personnel as a unit or entity (Foran, 1962:55, Ndeda, 2006:56).

At the start of the 20th century, other administrative headquarters were established in Nairobi and Kisumu, and many police posts were installed along the railway track and the road joining the two cities (Mnjama, 1994:62). This greatly expanded the presence of colonial security (Sommer, 2007). Several townships and commerce hubs were created with the Township Ordinance of 1903. These settlements symbolized the methodical introduction of Western modernism and the eventual eradication of African institutions. The main motivations for the founding of these cities, according to Omenya (2010:90), were to serve as colonial administrative centres from which to effectively administer and manage the local population. By 1910, the Kenya police force had grown to 2,000 men, but they were still primarily enforcing the law solely in urban areas (Foran, 1962:7).

There were 150 Indian and African Constables in the police force in 1901, most of whom had minimal training. The following year, five British army instructors were hired to train them, along with a British officer from a highly effective Indian regiment who was seconded as inspector general (Sharad, 2016:40-41). At the police

headquarters in Nairobi, a Fingerprint Bureau was set up, and more inspectors were appointed. The force included European inspectors, Indian assistant inspectors and African infantry. Policing of the colonial state was not left to the Indian police alone but it went beyond racial barriers to incorporate European police officers and black African infantry. In other words, the colonial police service was racial in a way. However due to the sheer need of necessity, Africans had to be employed to help in enforcing laws through the British policy of divide and rule. Notably, some of the Indian inspectors had a fair knowledge of Kiswahili that enabled them to interact with locals. Nonetheless, the police stations in Nairobi, Mombasa and Kisumu kept their records in Urdu, with clerks doing all the writing while squatting on the floor before small desks (Foran, 1962:7).

By 1902, there existed police forces at Mombasa, Nairobi and Kisumu. A Deputy Inspector General of Police was appointed in December of that same year, and he was granted administrative control over the Railway Police as well as all city police forces (Deflem, 1994: 55). In 1903 a police reform amalgamated the railway and civil police and placed a single inspector general in charge. Due to scarcity of European Inspectors and financial restrictions, consolidation had to be done over a two-year period. By this time, Indians had established a significant position for themselves in the British East Africa police and afterwards in the Kenya police, specializing in the administrative side of police work. Many Indians were promoted to the ranks of inspector and head constables (Wolf, 1973:404).

The expansion and reorganization of the force did not make any appreciable headway until after 1904 when Captain McCaskill requested the amalgamation of the various police units and the appointment of additional officers and inspectors

(Killingray, 1986:42). He wanted to have an increased strength of the Indian and African ranks of the force. This request was accepted by the commissioner of the protectorate Sir Charles Elliot and approved by the Foreign Office. The amalgamated force consisted of an Inspector General, a Deputy General, six Assistant district superintendents, seven European inspectors, Six Indian inspectors and 1,815 Indian sub-inspectors and African servicemen (Foran, 1962:15).

In 1906, the police, then 1800 strong, were institutionalized under local ordinance. Later on, their roles were examined and training procedures determined. For the colonial government, maintaining law and order meant arresting threats to British rule. It was necessary to uphold the power and dignity of Residents and District Commissioners, "traditional" rulers, and their representatives, as well as to pay taxes on time (Cashmore, 1965:13). To do this, they had to use the police to achieve their intentions and here the Indian police played a significant role. In 1906, the Colonial police who had a substantial number of Indians were on the front line in maintaining law and order with the military on standby. However, during this period, Kenya was only thinly policed by the colonial government, whose interest lay in protecting European lives and property and controlling critical parts of economic infrastructure (Morris, & Read, 1972:183; Killingray, 1986:425). The early colonial police force in Kenya was made up of males who served as the "ears and eyes of the white administration" and had minimal formal training. In their capacities as arbiters, interpreters, and court messengers, they exercised significant influence (Foran, 1962:7).

Nevertheless, a professional police force had sufficed in Kenya, although it still had semi-military traits and could not correctly tackle crime (Waller, 2010:526). More so, Indians would still feature prominently in the hierarchical structure of the colonial police. One of the first officers of the police force was Kapur Singh, who had previously served in India. He originated from a small village near Amritsar and had joined the police force there. Kapur Singh was transferred from Baluchistan to the Kenya Police in 1895 and became greatly respected within the Protectorate for many years. After his retirement, he went back to India and eventually died there. His son Satbachan Singh also served in the Police in Nairobi for a long time but was also posted to many other places (Sommer, 2007). He frequently came across lions while on duty in Nairobi's early years because it was such a wild place. Satbachan Singh later relocated to Lamu during the Great War to monitor any potential enemy agent smuggling. In order to stop the poaching of elephants for their ivory after the war, he was sent to Voi. Mr Singh loved nature and strongly opposed poaching activities. He tirelessly patrolled the forests around Voi and was able to identify the roots of poaching. Besides his work in the Criminal Investigation Department of Nairobi, he spent considerable time on his elder brother Laxman's farm, who had retired from the police at the end of the Second World War. Notably, Satbachan Singh was a co-founder of the Wildlife Society of Kenya (Sommer, 2007).

Inspector Kapur Singh



Source: Mary Evans Picture Library

It is evident therefore that the Indian police officers work went beyond just working as guards during the construction of the Kenya Uganda railway. It also involved policing the state during World Wars, doing surveillance as well as investigating criminal matters under the CID.

In 1906, Sir James Hayes Sadler established the Kenya police by a police ordinance and appointed a committee to look into their affairs. The committee's proposals included the creation of a police training school, which was authorized in 1911. Notably, during this period, the police force contained less than 2,000 men most of who were still confined to law enforcement in urban centres (Kagari & Thomas, 2006). With the opening up of the training school, more police officers were recruited and trained. Majority of the senior officers in training school were Europeans and Indians.

The Colonial Office's decision to launch a new training program exclusively for serving colonial police officers and new recruits for the colonies in 1907 was substantially influenced by worries about the state of the Kenyan police (Wolf, 1973:406). This very basic course, which was taught through the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) and was situated in Dublin, was based on an earlier training program created for police officers working in the West Indies. Officers heading to Africa studied weights and measures, fingerprint identification, and tropical hygiene and sanitation. The goal of colonial officials was to have fewer but better-trained police. The Kenya Police's performance may have improved as a result of this study program, but the effects took time to become apparent (Anderson, 2017:184).

In 1907, Kenyan police recognised the need for specially qualified officers to handle serious crime investigations. The patrol police had the necessary skills to perform a preliminary investigation but confining them to complex and technological investigations resulted in inefficient workforce utilization as well as additional training time to allow them to perform such investigations effectively. There was a need to hire skilled police officers to perform investigations. The Kenya Police Department developed a fingerprint bureau in 1909 and fingerprinting as a method of identification helped improve the effort of the police to fight crime. The fingerprints of 4,035 accused or suspected criminals were stored in this bureau, which later became part of the CID in 1925 (Ndeda, 2006: 67).

In 1911, Captain Edwards successfully established a training depot in Nairobi. Each district trained its own recruits prior to the opening of the depot in Nairobi. The training at this depot was given to members of European, Indian and African

forces. Every recruit was obliged to undergo a six months' course, which introduced them to European standards of policing for better functionality in settled areas. According to a British officer the African needed to be "educated in a new manner of living to acquire new convictions; or alternately, something to balance the lack of these and make him dependable in defending ideals which he can accept but does not appreciate" (Sempill, 1928:670). In essence, besides altering the recruits' diets and dressing modes, the training depot attempted to clear their loyalties to their traditional past. Initially, Africans in the British East Africa police were recruited, trained and commissioned at local stations. These Training procedures, however, were not refuted by the newly appointed Inspector General, W. F. S. Edwards, who cited haphazard recruitment by a non-commissioned officer who had neither received police nor military training nor learnt how to teach (Foran, 1962:40). These new training programmes and restructuring of the police force were meant to impart more skills to the police officers for purposes of proper management and maintenance of law and order within the Kenyan colonial state.

3.4 Policing Selected Towns during the Early Colonial period 1895-1913

3.4.1 Policing Colonial Mombasa

Mombasa is one of the oldest urban centres in East Africa (Goodman, 2018:64). Due to its integration into global trade and migration patterns, Mombasa was one of the most influential Swahili city-states (Janmohamed, 1978:3). Mombasa made its fortune through trade between the interior of Africa and the Indian Ocean region (Horton & Middleton, 2000). By the end of the 19th century, Europeans were competing for dominance in the area. The British East Africa Association (later

known as the Imperial British East Africa Company) leased a ten-mile stretch of the coast from the Sultan of Zanzibar in 1887, thus establishing British rule over the region (Salim 1972, Kiruthu, 2006:44). The Company worked hard to suppress local uprisings like the Mazrui rebellion in 1895 to maintain its dominance over what is now Kenya and Uganda. It established the East Africa Protectorate whose capital was Mombasa (Eliot, 1905, Goodman, 2018:65).

It is important to note that before the establishment of the police force in Mombasa, the Collectors force, of retainers and "messengers" had previously been the only force of law other than the army (Willis, 2017:219). The earliest form of colonial policing in Kenya was first established in the port town of Mombasa between 1870 and 1888. Earlier limited policing was done by Baluchi spies in the area of Fort Jesus (Aldrick, 2001:44). After the Imperial British East African Company (IBEAC) established control in the region, they introduced policing of stores, premises, and workers in Mombasa (Ndeda, 2006:56). The creation of a police force was necessary to maintain peace, law and order. These greatly undermined the Baluchi policing in the area (Lodhi, 2013:130).

According to Abdulswamad Ali head of Mombasa Old Town Conservation (MOTCO), in pre-British rule policing units were non-existent in Mombasa (Ali, O, I., 2021). The British took control over East Africa by erecting a Colonial Office on the Coast for managing the company and protecting themselves. The imperial British East African company recruited 150 local security guards. The vast majority of candidates selected for police recruiting had previously worked as store and home guards for the Italians. The British police inspectors who controlled the employment of police constables were tasked with protecting trade routes, commercial hubs,

inventories, and their respective staff members. In those days, Swahilis, Somalis, Indians, and Comorian's were hired (Ali, O.I., 2021).

In 1896, the foreign office selected R.M Ewart to form a real police force in Mombasa on recommendation by Sir Arthur Hardinge who was the first commissioner and commander in chief of the protectorate (Low, 1967). At the time of Hardinge's appointment, Ewart was superintendent of Zanzibar police following his appointment in May 1895. Ewart had been in active service in India with the Manipur field force and also served as an officer in Aden between 1891 and 1895. He became assistant superintendent, with seniority dating from November 8th 1895.

When Ewart took over the colonial police at Mombasa in 1896, he was assisted by inspectors J. West and A.H Hill (Foran 1962:6). The numbers of Indian constables in the Colony increased substantially during this period and were dispatched to Vanga, Rabai, Malindi, Lamu and Kismayu, for police duties (Sommer, 2007). The increasing demand for more constables was to meet the increased requirement to counter lawlessness in the Coastal region (Foran, 1962:6). By 1901, the Mombasa police had grown and included an additional European Inspector, J. R Watchman, three Indian Deputy Inspectors and 150 troops of Somali, Swahili and Indian origin (Willis, 2017:219).

According to Foran (1962:9), a new Inspector of police Captain J.H.C McCaskill reached Mombasa on Dec 8th 1902. He had been deployed from Queen Victoria's corps of guides to take a three-year appointment in British East Africa. He was concerned that the various police units operated in isolation. McCaskill made Mombasa his headquarters, operating from a small stone office erected by the public

works department. The office was conveniently placed near the police station and Mombasa club (Foran, 1962:10). Sommer, (2007) observes that with the development of the Kilindini Harbour and the increasing road and rail traffic in the town, a larger Police Command Post was built at Makupa. It contained accommodation for lower rank officers and is still in use to date (Ibid). The major responsibilities of these forces according to Sommer were to establish colonial rule on a geographical and economic level.

The 'Palm Wine Regulations 'Act of 1900 greatly influenced the duties of police in the coastal region in the early Colonial period. Everyone who harvested grapes for wine (Tembo) and sold it was required by this law to obtain a license from the District Commissioner (Muntingh, 2015). The East African Protectorate's administration enacted the Palm Wine Regulations in 1900 (Willis, 1998:36). At first, the regulations only applied to the towns of Mombasa and Malindi, but they were soon expanded to include the entire coastal region. According to these rules, only those who were granted a Collector license (the era's equivalent of a District Commissioner) could sell palm wine. The license cost was fifteen rupees per year in the beginning and was later increased to twenty-five rupees (KNA, PC/Coast 1/1/93). A fine of up to 500 rupees and/or up to three months in jail could be imposed for breaking these rules. The justification was to mobilise the revenue and labour (Cooper, 2017:163).

The imposition of levies, the harsh provisions against deserters in the 1906 Masters and Servants Ordinance, and the local legislation in Mombasa requiring the licensing of hawkers, porters, guides, boatmen, and other workers were all regulations aimed at regularizing and expanding the labour supply. The police

played a key role in promoting and enforcing these regulations (Willis, 2017:219). Unregulated wine was considered detrimental to European companies because Africans who depended on its production and distribution could evade contract work with British settlers (Willis, 1987). The consumption of wine was also thought to have a negative impact on the quality of work of African labourers (Sommer, 2007). The police had been the first to notice the problems, and as a result, they were actively involved in the formulation and enforcement of the wine law. The police were eager to effectively criminalize intoxication through policing because they saw it as a catalyst for disorder and crimes (Deflem, 1994:54, Willis, 2017:225). Enforcement of the law required the services of the police and in such cases, the Indian police officers together with European and African members of the force played a significant role. More importantly, they arrested those who posed a threat to law and order (KNA, PC/Coast 1/1/1/38).

But the Palm Wine Regulations quickly lost their appeal as a means of making money. Their implementation was instead directly related to the labour issue (KNA/PC/Coast 1/9/99). Administrators were uncomfortable with the fact that there was not enough local labour to meet the rapidly expanding demands of government and private European businesses on the coast (East African Standard August 11, 1906). Although there were many people, few were prepared to accept jobs offered by the majority of European firms in the region. Particularly in Mombasa, people disliked employment contracts and found ways to avoid them (Willis, 2017:221). However, there was a sizable contingent of temporary workers in the town who worked a few days a month on the docks, as hawkers or boatmen, or in a variety of other jobs free from the rigid regulations of colonial labour laws (Clayton, &

Savage, 2012). This labour force was housed through a variety of different agreements with clients, relatives, creditors, and friends rather than by employers or the government (Zezeza, 1991). The expanding informal labour force in Mombasa slept in unoccupied rooms, storefronts, verandas, and even in the ceiling spaces of homes in the quickly expanding town. These men and women defied attempts to manage their time by working for a day or two at a time as they pleased (KNA/PC Coast/ 1/1/130). They posed a danger to the security of the town as many were prone to engage in criminal activities.

Administrators immediately realized that the palm wine trade contributed to the labour problem (Herlehy, 1985). While the palm wine trade gave a small number of tree owners, tree tappers, and hawkers in Mombasa and the nearby mainland sporadic labour and money, however, prospective employees' dependability and discipline were jeopardized by their drinking. As the East African Standard highlighted in February 24th 1906;

The negative effects of the alcohol industry and the uncontrolled distribution of palm wine among the locals have caught our notice. The word "unrestricted" is used because the laws governing the sale are so lax that anyone can deal in the goods with the payment of Rs 25 per year. To make them useful to the Empire, the savage impulses must be eradicated in order to produce a useful native population that will fulfil the objective, for which the large resources invested in the country are partially employed

The above statement justifies the introduction of laws that restricted the production and consumption of alcohol. Different ideas for new legislation emerged in response to growing anxiety. Attempts to enact stricter restrictions were actively supported by

the police. According to a 1908 letter from the Assistant District Superintendent of police:

Eight hundred and eleven persons have been found guilty, with a large majority being found guilty of drunkenness. Given the seriousness of the situation, I respectfully recommend limiting the number of licenses, raising the price, and restricting the sale of tembo (palm wine) to locations with a license (KNA/PC Coast/1/1/138).

The police laid the groundwork for future tightening of the regulations governing palm wine with these recommendations (Willis, 2017:223). Particularly in 1912–13, the number of sellers in Mombasa was significantly reduced by the employment of township regulations and the District Commissioner's (DC) discretionary power to refuse to issue licenses (Willis, 2017:226). There were 74 permitted retailers on the island in 1912 and by 1914, there were just 10. Additionally, licenses for hawkers were denied; only merchants with established locations were allowed to conduct business. The new law that had been passed in 1915 but had never been applied to govern the trade was replaced by a new ordinance (KNA, PC/Coast/1/10/54). This law mandated licensing for palm wine producers and dealers as well as for tappers. The law forbade women from working in the industry, permitted local governments to set drinking hours, and also allowed for the building of municipal beer halls, a move that was finally made in Mombasa (KNA/ DC/MSA/ 1/54). Enforcement of these laws was the responsibility of the police who comprised Europeans, Indians and Africans.

For economic reasons, the Africans in Mombasa were subjected to "hut taxes." Africans were required to pay these taxes in cash and were forced by the Europeans to take up wage labour (Tarus, 2004:40). Moreover, vagrancy laws were also put in

place in Mombasa to control the African labour force. The work of enforcement of tax collection and the vagrancy laws was left to the police who were mainly Indians. For this reason, some small police booths were installed all over the district to handle and report cases of crime. These booths were mostly held by two constables who were in charge of mediating disputes among the locals and enforcing law and order (Sommer, 2007).

The police and the District commissioner worked together to enforce the law and order despite a few challenges. In 1910 one Coastal DC complained of the tendency of militarism in the Police Department.

He observed;

Another factor that has considerably strengthened the Police's military inclinations is the appointment of many officers with former South African War experience. The result of this is a sophisticated, well-trained force known as the police, but its members are simply trained soldiers due to their demeanour and the scope of their tasks" (KNA, PC Coast 1/1/138).

The Kenya Police's official Historian Robert Foran also made notice of the police force's military orientation, reliance on ex-army personnel, and emphasis on drill and marksmanship rather than sleuthing. His personal reasons for joining the police are explained below;

I adored the Country and was quite tempted to accept Captain McCaskill's offer, especially after learning that the Force was frequently on active duty with the KAR [King's African Rifles] and that numerous safaris would present opportunities for big-game hunting (Foran 1962:15).

Although it was a factor, administrators were not just against the police's military leaning. The Police Department did not stop emphasizing its paramilitary function

(Biggs, 1994:27). The commissioner proudly stated that policemen were instructed in "bayonet fighting on lines adopted from the latest methods employed by the British army". However, due to the increased hiring of officers with prior Indian police experience or Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) training, the force was diverted towards a concern with investigating crimes against property and dealing with all offences against the law. The DC's complaint of "limited duties" is important because it demonstrates how unwilling the police were to work with the DCs in implementing numerous laws (KNA, Police Annual Report, 1926). Nonetheless, they worked together in Mombasa to apprehend labour deserters (Willis, 2017:19; KNA, PC/Coast 1/12/42).

In Mombasa, Police had a great deal of freedom in defining their own responsibilities due to their comparatively independent operating status. According to Anderson & Killingray (2017:3), any police station with an inspector on duty, whether they were Asian or European was considered to be in charge of the police instead of the local administration. Recruiting more police officers was one of the Police Department's first priorities after it was established.

Mombasa was still the economic hub of British East Africa in 1914, despite Nairobi having been declared the nation's capital. The city's diverse population was another aspect that made it unique (Collins, 1989). There were many different ethnic groups in the town, including "Swahilis" from the Coast and immigrants from the interior. Mombasa was also home to 8000 Indians, the majority of who worked as small-scale dealers, railroad workers, wholesale traders, and artists. Even though they made up a relatively small portion of the population, Europeans dominated the city's

politics and economy and occupied virtually all of the key positions in Mombasa's colonial hierarchy (Gregory, 1971:37).

Nonetheless, Mombasa became a major military center during the war, with tens of thousands of soldiers passing through it on their way to the East African War campaign. The flow of individuals into the city from the hinterland in search of jobs in the regional war economy was paralleled by these external arrivals. Racial boundaries, social norms, and economic patterns were constantly questioned and violated in this dynamic environment (Steinbach, 2021:8). In August 1914, Mombasa and the rest of British East Africa entered the war. In response, two citizen militias were formed in the town: the "Mombasa Town Guard" of European volunteers and the "Indian Volunteer Force" comprising of Indians (KNA PC/Coast/1/13/112). Both battalions held frequent public parades and were founded as symbols of patriotism and devotion.

3.4.2 Policing Colonial Nairobi

Nairobi emerged out of the construction of the Kenya-Uganda railway (Anyumba, 2011:57). The site occupied the last area of relatively flat land before the steep rises leading to the summits of the Kikuyu highlands and the sharp descent into the Rift Valley (Rader, 1966:31). Railroad engineers saw it, in 1899, as the most suitable place to build shunting yards and workshop headquarters before tackling the rough topography to the west. Therefore, it was the railroad which gave birth to the city of Nairobi (Hirst, 1994, Tarus, 2004:79). The main administrator at that time was John Ainsworth, who had come to Kenya at the age of 25 to work for the British East African Company.

He proved to be one of the most capable and effective administrators. R.M Maxon (1980) in his book *John Ainsworth and the making of Kenya* described him in the following terms;

A typical colonist with a racist bent. He demarcated Nairobi into seven districts reserving prime districts for Europeans and Asians. The Asians lived mostly in the Indian Bazaar, in houses mostly built by Jeevanjee. The houses were so close together that they neutralized the natural advantages of air and light. The Africans were not allowed to live in the town and had to live in squatter areas north of the Nairobi River (Maxon, 1980:20).

Nairobi was designated a township on September 9 of 1903 as a result of the East Africa Township Ordinance, which was passed and defined the township as the region contained inside a circle with a radius of 1.5 miles and the Sub-Commissioners office as its centre (Nangulu, 2000:172). When the capital was shifted from Mombasa, it was designated as the Protectorate's formal capital. From its beginnings as a small railway camp in 1899, Nairobi quickly grew into a sizable town, becoming the main hub of European colonization in Kenya (Achola, 2001:120).

In order to govern the Protectorate, Nairobi then developed into a hub that offered services including administration, transportation, and commercial infrastructure (Burton, 2002). By 1904, the town had distinct Bazaars for Europeans and Indians or other Asians along with railroad buildings (Murunga, 2012:464). With all different kinds of merchants, the bazaars created a sub-central Business District. Notably, the Indian Bazaar received nine acres of land in Nairobi's city centre. Trade in the Business District was dominated by Indians. Due to the Indian Bazaar's intense competitiveness, Europeans were making very little money (Nangulu, 2000: 172).

Early Nairobi had fewer issues, such as the amount of Africans who fell in love with the city after landing a temporary railroad job and decided to stay there despite having little to do (Lonsdale, 2001: 207). Additionally, there were supposed European "prospective settlers" who had to stay at the municipal camping area in order to avoid setting up squatting claims (Rader, 1966:60). A traveller observed that land in the town was impossible to purchase because speculators held it and would lease, but not sell, anticipating future land values (K'akumu, & Olima, 2007:88). He also noticed that the hills surrounding the town would form magnificent suburbs. Former President Theodore Roosevelt, the most famous visitor at that time was equally enthusiastic:

Nairobi is a very attractive town and most interesting with its large native quarter, one of the streets consists of little except Indian shops and bazaars. Outside the business portion, the town is spread over much territory, the houses standing isolated, each by itself, and each usually bowered in trees, with vines shading the verandas, and pretty flower-gardens roundabout. Not only do I firmly believe in the future of East Africa for settlement as a white man's country, but I feel that it is an ideal playground alike for sportsmen and for travellers who wish to live in health and comfort, and yet to see what is beautiful and unusual (Cited in Rader,1966:63).

Asian traders were the first immigrants to establish interests in Nairobi, coming earlier even before the railway and the administration (Herzig, 2004:84). They moved into the interior where they shared some of their ideals and practices. They established bazaars which embodied a variety of social and ethnic compositions (Greenwood, & Topiwala, 2020:3). The bazaar was one of the first commercial and residential areas in colonial Nairobi and a crossroads of social classes, ethnicities, races, and genders. Murunga (2012) points out that the bazaar stood out as the only officially designated space for non-Europeans in the town when the colonial

authority implemented a segregationist town planning scheme. Due to its location in what would eventually become the town center, it became the scene of a battle between opposing urban views and the cosmopolitan (Murunga, 2012:464).

Rader (1966) observes that the bazaar, which was at the center of the town's commercial district, played a significant role in the development of Nairobi's economy. It was planned to enable businesses to be fairly assessed to pay the taxes required for garbage collection, street lighting, and police protection. Shacks and stores that were unclean were immediately condemned and burnt (Rader, 1966:57). The bazaar and River Road served as both residential and business locations. Ainsworth estimated that there were 150 Indian traders in Nairobi by September 1899, most of who resided in the bazaar. The market and River Road were bustling commercial and residential areas for Africans. African women rented homes in the bazaar where they engaged in prostitution and offered a variety of domestic services. However, this location in Nairobi took a significant portion of African enterprises of all kinds. 'To the native generally speaking,' wrote one observer:

Nairobi means the bazaar: the bazaar exists in virtue of the native trade, the volume of which is enormous. There is the daily influx of thousands of natives, of whom the greater number comes by road from Kiambu (Murunga, 2012: 470).

The neighbourhood was exposed to inadequate sanitation and vulnerability to epidemics (Achola, 2001:122). The early bazaar was close to plots owned by Europeans, which caused concern when a plague outbreak occurred in 1902. The majority of the structures were constructed of corrugated iron in the bungalow style (Rader, 1966:63). However, because of the new bazaar's squalor and overcrowding, there were further plague outbreaks (Wanjiru-Mwita & Giraut, 2020:11). During

such outbreaks, the police helped maintain quarantine restrictions. An observer claimed that the town administration, which was dominated by Europeans, was reluctant to provide the Indian community with a larger location out of concern for Indian commercial competition (Olumwullah, 1986).

The Protectorate Government appointed Professor W. J. Simpson, a medical and sanitary authority, to advise Nairobi and other East African towns on planning and sanitary measures in response to the environmental health issues of the Nairobi Indian Bazaar. As the foundation for solid health and sanitary regulations, he suggested severe racial segregation for all East African settlements. He concluded that:

In the interest of each community and the healthiness of the locality ... it is absolutely essential that in every town and trade centre, the town plan should provide well-defined separate quarters” (Cited in Ogot, 2016:23).

The recommendations were accepted on both sanitary and social grounds by the Colonial Office in London. Health was now used in all Kenya towns to justify racial segregation. The first significant plague outbreak in the colony occurred in 1902, The Indians’ poor hygiene and overcrowding were promptly blamed for the disease by the colonial administration. The Indians and Africans were publicly segregated by the Colonial government due to the plague epidemic in the Indian Bazaar (Greenwood, & Topiwala, 2020:14); Kiruthu, et.al, 2022:98). Plague outbreaks persisted in the bazaar. In public health emergencies of this nature, the police who comprised Europeans, Asians and Africans were always required to quickly coordinate their response and assist public health and medical officials to arrest the situation. Depending on the threat, law

enforcement's responsibilities included enforcing public health directives (such as quarantines or travel restrictions), securing the perimeter of contaminated areas, securing healthcare facilities, managing crowds, investigating scenes, and safeguarding national vaccine stockpiles (Roberts, 1936:469).

Indian Bazaar, Nairobi, Kenya, East Africa



Source: Mary Evans Picture Library KNA

The geographical organization of Nairobi was also a clear indicator of European social and political domination (Lonsdale, 2001:212). According to (Kiruthu et al, 2022:95), Africans were infrequently seen on the streets in the town's early years. Nairobi was initially intended to be a European town. Since Africans could not be completely removed, residential segregation was established and frequently reaffirmed as the sole option for Nairobi, which was populated by three purportedly incompatible races; the Europeans, Indians and Africans. Different Nairobi neighbourhoods quickly developed distinct racial identities. To the north

and west of the railway were settlements of Europeans. These locations were not likely to get flooded during the rains because they were higher up and had richer volcanic red soils (Achola, 2001:20). Large homes on expansive estates were preferred by Europeans. Indians and Africans were primarily restricted to the plains east and south of the railway line, where non-porous black cotton soils predominated. These locations were unhealthy and during the rainy season, they were vulnerable to floods and big pools of stagnant water. Along with the constant threat of malaria, inaccessibility, particularly during the rainy season, resulted in the neglect of municipal services like garbage and sewage collection (Van Zwanenberg, 1972:177-9).

Murunga (2012:465) observes that the racially exclusive idea that segregation was meant to guard against was rationalized by this vulnerability. This encouraged the segregation of people into different areas based on their race or ethnicity. Through residential isolation, the proponents of insularity intended to reduce social interaction. They relied on "undesirable" or "redundant" persons being relocated from the town centre and/or forced removals of specified places to sites outside the town centre (Murunga, 2012:465). By enforcing who was allowed in particular areas, establishing local reputations, and restricting access to housing, colonial policing contributed to the continuation of residential segregation.

Indians were allowed to hold commercial properties in Nairobi's commercial district because of their significance to the city's economy, but they were prohibited from residing in the 'choicer, higher, and more extensive' regions that were solely accessible to Europeans (Lonsdale, 2001:216). The 2,235 European residents of Nairobi had a generous 2,700 acres to arrange themselves in, yet in the Indian

Bazaar, around 4,300 persons, greater majority of them being Indians, lived on a space of seven acres," (Greenwood, & Topiwala, (2020:13).

The Indian Bazaar eventually doubled as a residential and commercial area, rapidly developing all the problems associated with extreme congestion, with conditions being made worse by an almost total lack of drainage or sanitary facilities (Achola, 2001:121). Thus the bazaar captures a key element of the political struggle against segregationist urban planning (Wanjiru, & Giraut, 2020). A conceptualization of how the interactions between actors and their spaces created social geography in the market that supported cosmopolitanism and resisted insularity serves as the broader notion to analyze how the bazaar became a powerful safeguard against insularity (Rader, 1966:58). To maintain racial segregation that was promoted by the Europeans, the Indian police were often required. Similarly, security was of utmost importance because the bazaar was home to numerous Indian traders and their families as well as African populations of all nationalities and socioeconomic classes, including prostitutes, traders, clerks, and domestic servants.

The settlement patterns and social environments that sprung up in the communities of these marginalized people were a reflection of their adaptation to exclusion (Nangulu, 2000:174). Africans and Asian labourers were forced to interact with one another due to necessity. They relied on the affordable housing supply in this community and developed new bonds not only with one another but also with the business owners of the land where they lived. As a result, the bazaar's residents' social makeup comprised low-class Indians whose interests coincided with those of Africans (Murunga, 2012:467). The police were responsible for upholding the peace, monitoring the surrounding areas, guarding homes at night, reporting fires,

spotting thieves, and patrolling the outer areas (Ocobock, 2006:41). According to an observer, their initial responsibilities also included collecting taxes and tolls from landowners

In Nairobi, the bazaar provided a wide range of commercial, residential, storage, medical, and socio-political requirements and activities of Nairobi residents, whether they were Europeans, Asians, or Africans. These features made it a location where people of various social classes, racial backgrounds, ethnicities, and genders engaged in intense interaction (Murunga, 2012:468). Occasionally urban violence, such as criminal violence, gangs, criminal cartels and the entities associated with them emerged. This called for the intervention of the police. Similarly, the poor Africans, who had been driven from their land, were occasionally compelled to wander aimlessly across the countryside or settle in already crowded neighbourhoods. These often led to social upheavals and a significant rise in violent crime which the police struggled to maintain. A number of burglary cases emerged during this period but the police were on standby in restoring order. The police were concerned mainly with the protection of stores and shops (Murunga, 2012:468; Campbell, 2002:133).

In April 1902, Ewart was posted to the infant township of Nairobi as Assistant District Superintendent of police. The force in Nairobi comprised three Indian Inspectors, with Africans in the lower ranks (Foran 1962:6). During the infant days of Nairobi, there was only one police Station, a double-storey wood and iron building facing Jeevanjee Gardens. Two rows of cells lay behind the charge room. The office of the Assistant District superintendent R.M.Ewart on Government Road (Moi Avenue) also faced the gardens. The police line-a collection of mud and thatch

huts with a significant parade ground in front occupied the site now filled by the Royal Technical College (University of Nairobi). Sergeant instructor W.M. Richardson was responsible for drill and musketry. In those days, undesirable European characters frequented Nairobi and often caused Fracas. Nonetheless, most cases involved petty theft by Africans and cheating by Asian shopkeepers. Over time, crime increased, keeping the police busy (Foran, 1962: 20).

The economic system of colonial Kenya was in danger as more and more Africans left their homes in search of employment in Nairobi. Young Africans, some of whom were only twelve years old, made their way to Nairobi (White, 1990:9). Others worked for the government as "sweepers" and "scavengers," while others sought work as domestic maids in European and Asian homes. Africans soon learned, however, that their dreams of finding work were in vain. Issues of crime and general insecurity emerged. The colonial authorities enacted the Vagrancy Act in an effort to send migrant labor back into the reserves rather than to Nairobi and other urbanizing centers in the Colony. The Act published in Nairobi in 1902 was a condensed version of those in India and Britain (Wanjau, 1981:12). According to the Act, a police officer had the authority to detain anyone who was found wandering around without a job or obvious means of support without first obtaining a warrant. Administrators were given free rein to classify and deal with vagrants due to the lack of definition. It gave the Nairobi police a lot of latitude in deciding how to get rid of the unemployed in the neighbourhood (Ocobock, 2006:43-44).

Some of the Europeans in Nairobi were penniless and shied from work. They resorted to criminal activities necessitating police intervention through the Distressed British Subjects Act (Popularly known as DBS). In most cases, these

individuals were sent to prison in Fort Jesus for six months, followed by deportation. The men received payment for their work while in prison, although some of this money paid for their deportation. Instances of petty theft, burglary and other crimes emerged alarmingly. Africans took to bad habits, but the police managed to keep Nairobi reasonably law-abiding (Foran, 1962:16). Similarly, frequent sweeps in Asian and African suburbs proved to be very effective in reducing crime. Asian offenders were deported to India after serving their sentences and prohibited from returning while Africans were handed over to their Tribal chiefs for retention in the reserves. By 1904, Nairobi saw the rise of women prostitutes which became a grave social menace. The offenders were often rounded up and returned to their villages. However, prostitutes usually returned to the city very fast (McClintock, 1991). It is the Indian police that conducted frequent sweeps to ensure law and order was maintained in Nairobi.

In 1905 the police were able to establish their presence once the headquarters were moved from Mombasa to Nairobi (Zahir 2014:36). In due course, 1800 officers, sergeants, and constables were recruited to enhance security in Nairobi. Sharad Rao describes the Nairobi police station as follows:

The police station and jail were wooden structures under corrugated iron sheets. Office of the provincial commissioner, magistrate, Inspectors and Indian sub-inspectors of police and supporting staff were also accommodated in the same building. The staff mostly Indian, sat cross-legged on the floor behind tiny desks. Force records were in Urdu. Death sentences were carried out by firing squad from 75 feet white card pinned over the prisoners' hearts (Sharad, 2016:41)

By 1906, seven separate areas were providing service to seven distinct areas in Nairobi: The Railway Center workshop area, the Indian quarter, the European

business and government headquarters, the railway workers' quarters, the Dhobi (native) section, the European residential suburbs, and the military barracks, just outside of town (Rader, 1966:58). During this period, the police were entirely Asian and African, and all records were kept in Urdu by Indian police writers. Africans who were uneducated could not perform clerical labour during the colonial period, while European members of the force wanted to avoid the time-consuming and tiresome paperwork. Therefore, the Indians were most suitable for this kind of duty. In the clerical department five years later, there were 57 officers: 4 Europeans, 21 British Indians, and 32 Goans (KNA, Police Annual Report 1906).

The issue of land for European settlement and African labour emerged in 1906. To make colonization more desirable, the British government enacted a set of legislation known as the East African Land Ordinances (Mungeam, 1966:196). The fundamental tenet of the ordinances was that the Crown owned all the land. The colonial government's objective with the ordinances was to enact sufficient laws that would compel workers to remain on the job rather than desert. The Master and servant's ordinances, enacted in 1906 were used as a weapon to enslave African labourers as well as a tool to control labour recruitment in Kenya. Coercive penalties were incorporated in this regard in the ordinances issued by the colonial authority and carried out by the Police. Deserters would be detained and charged in both civil and criminal proceedings. Major offences included wilfully abandoning duty, intoxication, improper work, and using foul language toward the boss or his agent (Zahir, 2014:36).

By 1907, the police force in Nairobi was numerically insufficient to cope with prevailing demands. As the town's African population increased, residential areas were dramatically extended, placing further strain on the municipal police, who were already overworked. Due to these circumstances, the number of Indians joining the unit increased. They had, besides their regular roles, to mount guards meant for KAR and take up messenger roles for courts. Fire incidences in Nairobi also prompted the government to appoint a special commission to investigate the causes and make recommendations. Most of the affected structures spotted wood and Iron and were highly inflammable. As many of the fire incidences emerged to be cases of arson, the police were called upon to help fight the fires, save lives and property, and prevent looting (Foran, 1962:27).

As with the towns overall administration and development, resources for policing the area were scarce, and the proportion of police officers to urban residents remained low throughout the early colonial period. While police activity in the town led to the arrest of numerous offenders, who were responsible for a variety of criminal acts, both major and minor, it is likely that many more offences against the penal code and the municipal by-laws went unreported because large portions of the African town were more or less unpoliced. The presence of enforcement personnel was frequently necessary for these laws to be effective. Nevertheless, during this period, the police presence was big enough to have had an impact on the population (Ocobock, 2006:42).

3.4.3 Policing Colonial Kisumu

In 1893, Kisumu was established when the chief engineer and a railway surveyor decided to make it the railway's terminus. They gave it the name Port Florence in honour of the chief engineer's wife. This name denotes an imperialist attempt to westernize some African values. Then, a food depot was created to provide survey parties going ahead. To connect the new port with other settlements, telegraph lines, roads, and other forms of connection were built immediately (Omenya, 2010:87).

Early in 1899, Colonel Ternan, head of the British colonial administration in Nyanza, ordered the relocation of the administrative centre for the Lake Victoria region from Mumias, where it had been established a few years previously, to Ugowe, the present-day Kisumu (Ogot, 2016: 8). This was done in advance of the railroad's arrival in Port Ugowe, which was the designated end. First Class Assistant at Mumias, Charles William Hobley was transferred to Kisumu to help establish the new town. Hobley established a new administrative station with the selected local leaders, which later grew into the present-day Kisumu town (Omenya, 2010:87).

The first sketch of Kisumu town's growth plan was created in July 1899. On the northern side of the bay, in the present-day Bandani and Otonglo regions; it also comprised a group of hurriedly constructed grass huts (Oucho, 1974). Hobley then started to construct a stone house, three staff houses, an office, and storage spaces for himself. Another plan, which was drawn up in May 1900, granted plots to a few European companies and Asian businessmen who had come to Kisumu on work assignments. Two rows of iron and wood shops on Mumias Road were inhabited by Asian entrepreneurs (Ogot, 2016:9).

Hobley was in charge of creating Kisumu's current basic layout and building a number of houses, including the prison and the previous home of the Provincial Commissioner, which is now known as the State Lodge (Macoloo, 1988). In those days, Kisumu was nothing more than a sandy, stony, and in some places, a marshy area covered in undergrowth and trees. Thus, the foundations for a new town that would soon become Western Kenya's commercial and administrative hub as well as a crucial link between the nations bordering Lake Victoria was built on the southern banks of the Bay of Winam. In 1903, the new town formally changed its name from Port Florence to Kisumu, which comes from the Luo term *sumo*, which translates to "a site where people went to seek respite from famine" (Ogot, 2016:9).

According to the East Africa Township Ordinance, Kisumu was designated as a township in 1903. The ordinance mandated that appointed members of Advisory committees that were under the direction of elected officials would oversee the management of townships (Home, 2012:176). In accordance with the gazette notice, a "Collector" (District Commissioner) and three Assistant "Collectors" were responsible for running Kisumu town. They were responsible for overseeing all activities related to the Kisumu Town District, including tax collection and administration of justice. Clearly, the government at the time lacked the necessary personnel for these tasks. Their duties included the provision of sanitary services delivery and shop licensing. Later, their duties were expanded to cover roads, water, street sweeping, and other social services and amenities (Ogot, 2016:11).

Among the first immigrants to settle in Kisumu town were Europeans, Asians, Goans, Arabs, Waswahilis, Nubians, and Baganda. There were fewer Europeans there, and those that were employed largely in business, missions, and

administration. The Uganda Railway first brought surveyors, engineers, and administrators from Europe. Later, missionaries, businessmen, and colonial government officials joined them (Anyumba, 1996).

In 1903, at the request of D.D. Waller, Acting Paymaster of the Kings African Rifles in the Treasury Department, the Protectorate established a village of Indian agriculturists at Kibos, the second railway halt north of Kisumu. Kenya's first legally acknowledged Indian settlement occurred here (Omenya, 2010:92). It is important to note that the state aided Kisumu's Indian settlement. Sir Harry Johnston, Special Commissioner in Uganda from 1899 to 1901, was an early advocate of the idea of an Indian settlement. He believed that both Indian and Indian agriculturalists were needed in Central and East Africa (Omenya, 2010: 92).

The Protectorate took additional measures to encourage Indian immigration after the success at Kibos and the desire to expand Indian settlement. It formed an Indian immigration committee, chaired by Commissioner of Lands J.A. L. Montgomery, with a D.D. Waller as one of the four members. The committee recommended that the government encourage Indian settlement in the lowlands between Fort Ternan and Lake Victoria, in its July 1906 report. It also laid out a detailed settlement plan for Indians (Omenya, 2010:94).

Early in 1904 when Robert Foran was promoted and posted to Kisumu to relieve Moore. He found Kisumu not much of a place.

He wrote;

In those early days Kisumu was rated as an unhealthy station. There was no hotel. People in transit were accommodated at the Railway Dak Bungalow on the lake shore behind the station. A one street Indian bazaar was lined by wood and iron shanties as shops; the similarly constructed police station was sited a short distance to the left of the street and near the open market. For duty in Indian bazaar and to guard the Railway's premises, a small detachment of a Sergeant, a Corporal, a Lance corporal and 20 Asian Constables who had been enlisted at Bombay were housed in Railway quarters near the ship building yard (Foran, 1962:24).

It is important to note here that such incidences indicated that despite the Indians playing an important role in maintaining security and order, some of them were also involved in crime. In Kisumu, Sergeant Harman Singh was the only member of this detachment who had not been charged with a crime (a former Corporal in a Sikh Regiment of the Indian army). Throughout the year, there were alleged daily burglaries at the Indian bazaar, and it was later discovered that some Asian police were also involved. One night, when they were breaking into a store, two of them were caught in the act. Each of them entered guilty pleas after the Lance Corporal gave evidence in court. They were given a one-year sentence that included hard labour, and were later deported to India (Foran, 1962:24).

But burglaries still continued after these Asian had been sent to prison, not only in the Kisumu bazaar but on the hill.

Foran wrote;

One afternoon two Luo men were arguing outside the police station about the ownership of a pair of shoes. An Asian deputy inspector intervened. He identified the shoes as having been stolen when a Railways official's house had been broken into. The two men were placed under arrest. The two Luo were sent for trial and each sentenced to five years and hard labour (Foran, 1962:24).

In Kisumu, by October 1904, the Assistant District Superintendent commanded the District police unit and was expected to inspect the District Police units at bomas in Mumias, Karungu, Kericho, Nandi and Sabaot. The Nyanza province extended as far as the Uganda and Germany East Africa borders; to include Londiani, North, South and central Kavirondo and the Nandi, Sotik and Kipsigis areas. For a while, Kisumu had no European inspector but the Assistant District Superintendent had four Asian members of the Police Inspectorate. He had no transport and had to walk during duty safaris (Foran, 1962:25). Evidently, policing encompassed issues to do with health, crime and transport which apparently fell in the hands of Asian Police officers in Kisumu.

Kisumu saw a significant bubonic plague outbreak around the beginning of 1905. Although Kisumu had previously seen periodic epidemics of this terrible disease; this one was by far the worst (Stewart, 1905, Ndege, 2001). The primary responsibility for implementing stringent quarantine regulations fell on Sergeants Harnam Singh and J.H. Milton. In the Asian and African communities, there were roughly 30 fatalities per day, and all the dead had to be cremated. All of the police who completed this disgusting chore were incinerated behind the prison. A special letter of appreciation from the Right Honourable A. Lyttelton and the Secretary of

State for the Colonies was afterwards sent to those who helped combat this sickness successfully (Foran, 1962:24).

In March 1905, the first Town Magistrate and Judge, Robert Bobel, was appointed. Kisumu Town was directly under the control of the Provincial Administration when the management committee was disbanded by the Governor in June 1908, a situation that persisted into 1909 (Ogot, 2016: 21). Foran, (1962:25) avers that the police force in Kisumu was ill-equipped and lacked essential supplies. Nubians, some of whom were ex-mutineers from Uganda, made most of the force. Other ranks had previously served under IBEA. As was the norm, these units lived in mud and thatch huts next to their posts. A small detachment consisting of a sergeant, a lance corporal and 20 Asian constables were posted to guard the Indian bazaar and railway premises. These men lived in railway quarters close to a building yard.

In Kisumu, the Kenya colonial police had to deal with unruly ethnic groups, which often attacked their neighbours and raided caravan *bomas*. Often, the police furnished a detachment to deal with the troublesome ethnic groups. In 1907, for example, a small body of the Kisumu Police was dispatched to subdue the troublesome Kitosh and Kabras ethnic groups. These minor operations did not require military and police intervention. Nonetheless, the police force often served alongside KAR in tasks outside their jurisdiction (Foran, 1962:40).

In 1908, the police force saw many changes in its overall command, rank organization and in the emerging policy of expansion. Hitherto, drill discipline and musketry attracted higher value compared to other aspects of police work. Moreover, there emerged the need to modernize the force. Captain W.F.S Edwards; -D.S.O Inspector General of police in Uganda, was made Inspector General of

Police for both East Africa and Uganda. He established his headquarters in Nairobi on Dec 1st 1908, assisted by his staff officer captain P.F Brown, who had served during the South African war 1899-1902 (Foran, 1962:18).

In 1909, the local government in Kisumu declared that African villages would no longer be permitted in the town centre due to the town's sanitary conditions. African villages had to be relocated to Old Kisumu or other places the authorities had specified (Anyumba, 1996). Africans, Europeans, and Asians thus coexisted at labour in the town, but never on an equal basis. Africans lived in the "labour line," the Railway landhies, or in their own homesteads across the town, while Asians, who made up the majority of residents, lived at or close to the commercial or industrial sectors. They occasionally mixed at worship services (Ogot, 2016: 23).

Policing Kisumu was not an easy task. For instance, the police in Kisumu would use severe force to suppress offences that endangered colonial interests. In 1913, reports and complaints had been made regarding the campaign against the production and consumption of marijuana and alcohol. All around the District, bhang smoking was highly widespread, but it was most prevalent along the lakeshore. The colonial authority tried to control excessive drinking and bhang smoking among Africans since alcoholics and drunkards were not productive workers. The District Commissioner and the Police were at the forefront of efforts to stop the habit of bhang cultivation and smoking. By 1914, the police and other local officials had filed 54 cases related to bhang cultivation under the opium rules, with a satisfactory rate of convictions (KNA, PC/NZA/1/2/1913. A major contributor to other crimes in Kisumu was the usage of bhang, whose prevalence had surged before the World

War I era. Under the influence of beer or bhang, murders frequently occurred. The creation of local beer-drinking establishments close to the District Commissioner's watch served to control excessive beer consumption (KNA, PC/NZA/1/2/1914).

Similarly, tax rules were established so that Africans would look for paid employment in order to obtain funds for tax payments (Tarus, 2004: 60). African men from Kisumu were made to look for paid employment to a large extent with the help of tax law enforcement. For instance, "almost 4000 men" were employed as wage labourers in the South Kavirondo/Nyanza district during the course of 1914. The introduction of taxation had two sides. While taxes made it necessary for African men to seek out paid employment outside of Kisumu, they also promoted lawlessness as some men simply turned to theft as a means of paying taxes. The increase in cattle theft as well as actual theft of money was therefore not surprising. The majority of the times, the police were called in to implement the tax rules because Africans did not readily accept them (KNA, PC/NZA/1/10/1915).

Elsewhere in Nyanza a great deal of wealth, including money and trade goods was found in urban areas. According to Nyakundi (2015:80), by 1914, South Nyanza was home to a number of trading hubs, including the towns of Kisii, Homa Bay, and Rangwe, as well as the trading centres of Kendu, Oyugis, Migori, Karungu, and Riana. Indian traders predominated in these trading centres. Indian traders lived in other places that had not yet developed into townships or commercial centres by 1914. These included Suna, Mbita, North Mugirango, Awach, Isibania, Mabera, Nyamtiro, Gesusu, and Nyakoe. The police ensured the safety of Indians at these facilities. They also accompanied Indian traders on their business visits and protected Indian stores from theft and break-ins. The Indian traders would typically

travel with European officers, usually in the company of law enforcement officers. When necessary, goods were carried from Kisumu to South Kavirondo and back to Kisumu under police protection (KNA, DC/KSI/1/2).

3.5 The First World War and Indian Colonial Policing 1914-1918

The period 1914 to 1918 was one of the profound crises for the British in East Africa. It changed its status from being on the "periphery of the Indian Ocean World" to being one of the most significant combat theatres outside of Europe (Strachan, 2004). For British East Africa, the start of the war came at a delicate moment (Alpers, 2021). The War and its economic and political aftermath imposed an unprecedented strain on the imperial system. The outbreak of war in Europe on August 4th 1914, significantly affected East, Central and South Africa. Countries within these three regions fought the Germans in Tanganyika (present-day Tanzania (Arnold 1977:102, Foran, 1962:53). The people of East Africa were anxiously wondering if they would be involved in the war when it first broke out in the summer of 1914. Many people preferred maintaining a neutral position because they feared the destruction and hassle of military combat. Britain believed it was too risky to leave German East Africa in the hands of Germany for strategic reasons. Due to the nation's proximity to the Red Sea, the shipping routes that went through it on their way from India to Britain, as well as its numerous world-class harbours and river deltas, German East Africa needed to be secured if it was to remain neutral (Moyd, 2014:57, Harper, 1995:4).

The police would play a variety of roles during the First World War between 1914 and 1918. For instance, on August 3rd, 1914, the Mombasa PC sent a secret

communication to Vanga warning them of the approaching warfare. The Governor of East Africa, Henry C. Belfield declared martial law in British East Africa on August 5 1914 at 10:00 am. The official Gazette of August 5th, 1914, included Proclamation No. 17 from Sir Henry Belfield which announced “A state of war existing between England and German, hence the Kings African rifles, the East African police force and the Uganda police force would until further orders, be under the conditions of active service”. On the same day after the legislative Council meeting, the secretariat telegraphed a request to the Indian office in London for quick reinforcement to support the King's African Rifles and the local volunteer forces (KNA/COAST/DC/KWL/6/1/1914).

British East Africa and her neighbours were not adequately prepared for such a contingency, despite the fact that their governments must have been aware of the situation (Savage & Munr, 1966:313). Colonel S.H. la Fontaine D.S.O, MC, a retired Provincial Commissioner, related his own experiences when the war first broke out in Taveta on the East African frontier. There were no Europeans in the area, and there were only twenty-four police officers working under a sergeant at the *boma*, leaving him alone in his role as District Commissioner in Taveta. At the beginning of the war, he was told to keep a close eye on German movements close to the border, which was 2.5 miles away from the *boma*, and to retreat if the Germans made a move (Ndeda, 2006:74; Foran, 1962:46; Crow, 1971:22).

In the early weeks of the conflict, life in Mombasa was dominated by serious worries about the potential for a German naval or land attack and how the conflict would affect trade (Steinbach, 2021:13). The local newspaper declared; ‘Mombasa

certainly looks very gloomy, nearly everything coming to a standstill' (Leader of East Africa 8 Aug. 1914). With the advent of troops from India in September 1914, this attitude changed. The Indian Army was deployed to East Africa as part of a larger imperial policy to quickly seize all German territories. The Indian Army was instrumental in defending the British Empire on the Western Front and elsewhere (Roy, 2018:168). Indian soldiers had a long history of serving in imperial conflicts, and the dedication and professionalism of the Indian Army were frequently praised in imperial propaganda (Bose, 2009:130).

At the start of World War, I, in August 1914, German East Africa's Protective Force consisted of fewer than 2,500 *askaris*, or native soldiers, recruited from local Bantu ethnic groups, Nubians and little over 200 Europeans (Moyd, 2008). As the conflict went on, more *askaris* were recruited, and the white populace as well as sailors with their naval guns, whose warships had either been lost or left inoperable near the coast, offering a hand in fighting (Brown, 1982).

During the war, military and police authorities worked together in Mombasa to identify political activists and agitators among both established Indian civilians and the arriving soldiers from India (Steinbach, 2021:14). In one case, at least six Indians were found guilty of "actively aiding the enemy" and were given the death penalty (Hynd, 2012:83). While two of those had their sentences reduced to prison terms, two others were immediately executed by firing squad. Two weeks later, in November 1915 two Indians Allidina Dhalla and Bishen Singh received hanging sentences (KNA/AG/16/210). Since some of Mombasa's Indian population had shown their support for the condemned prisoners by giving them flower garlands and mangoes on their way to the prison, the military authorities, represented by the

General Officer Commanding, intended to use these executions as public demonstrations of British power and control (Hynd, 2012:83). Mombasa's civil authorities used soldiers to collect a sizable crowd of Africans and Indians to witness the public hanging as a show of colonial dominance (KNA, PC/Coast/1/3/77).

In August 1914, the colonial authorities were concerned about a "local insurrection," but they soon began to doubt that Africans in or near Mombasa would take advantage of the war to stage a planned uprising (Brantley & Johnson, 1981:112). Evidently, the town's African population was less interested in politics than the working-class corruption brought on by conflict and the possibility of disruptive "outside" influence from Indians. This did not, however, prevent "undesirables" from being detained in response to the start of the conflict. Men and women from all facets of the city's population including those who held a relatively superior standing were arrested in a systematic manner KNA, PC/Coast/1/1/392. Even Mombasa's Provost Marshal was perplexed by the intensity and arbitrariness with which these arrests were made.

He observed:

The Mombasa prison is at the present moment full of so called "political prisoners"; the majority of these are "suspects" against whom there appears absolutely no possibility of framing charges under Martial Law. I have made enquiries and can find no definite crimes against any, although a few would appear to the highly suspicious characters (KNA, PC/Coast/1/1/39271).

The Police Headquarters at Mombasa's Old Town relocated in 1915 to what is now the Central Police Station. The rapid growth of Mombasa also called for a more centralized police administration. New standards of education and discipline were

set alongside new uniforms (Sommer, 2007). It is best to view the treatment of Indians in Mombasa throughout the conflict through the prism of their insider-outsider status. Relationships between Europeans and the Indian population were formed by mutual dependence and mistrust during the colonial era (Anderson, 2012:6). In 1914, the conflict between these factions over access to political and economic power took on a new dimension as a result of their participation in the same imperial war effort (Steinbach, 2021:17).

During the war, the police were given the unique duty of border guard in the case of the German movement. Police officers had good morale. During training, they were kept occupied with border patrol, trench digging, and military drills. During the war the Police continued to function primarily as a military force, with the British using troops from South Africa and India to defend the area (Crow, 1971:22). Nairobi had a large contingent of Indian generals and soldiers by the spring of 1915. British warships blockaded the coast, preventing the Germans from bringing in reinforcements. However, two ships managed to get under the blockade and brought supplies like ammunition, leather, rubber, and alcoholic beverages to Tanga (Ndeda, 2006:80).

Despite police and security intelligence being present during the war, provincial commissioners and district commissioners continued to be important sources of intelligence data (Anderson, 2017:186). Africans served as their intelligence sources, but they were not reliable and prompt (KNA, PC/Coast 1915-1916). The observation above underscores the important role that Indian security forces played in securing the Kenyan colony. Moreso, it also demonstrates the high stake and

strategic interest that the colonial government had not only in Kenya but also in the East African region.

During the War, the first goal of the German forces was to attack and destroy the railroad that connected Mombasa, the main port of British East Africa, and Nairobi (the capital and economic centre of B.E.A.). German forces were largely centred in the highlands when they took the British frontier town of Taveta near Mount Kilimanjaro. Patrols were continuously dispatched from here across the border to harass soldiers, demolish the railroad, and interfere with the lines of communication leading to the Coast (Harper, 1995:7). The British and Indian army troops; the K.A.R. battalions; and the police forces in East Africa and Uganda bravely fought the German forces from the start of hostilities until the arrival of the South African brigades in 1916, (Ndeda, 2006:74; Lüthy, 1971:56; Brown, 1982:20-22; Dutta, 2020:126). During the war, all trains passing through Maseru had to undergo stringent inspections. Anyone leaving Mombasa from Asia or Africa without both a pass and a ticket could be detained. An inspector or station master was needed to receive and verify the pass and ticket to allow smooth passage of travellers to their destination. Most of these inspectors were Indian police officers (KNA /PC/Coast/1915-1916).

In 1914, the supply line for the allied soldiers on the Kenya-Tanganyika border was cut off when the Germans shelled the railway that year (Moyd, 2014:22). Five members of the Mombasa Indian Association were blamed by the British. They were taken into custody and accused of aiding the enemy. Following the convening of a Court-martial, four of them were found guilty and given death sentences (Rahad, 2016:57). The Kenya colony was therefore not just about trust but being a

plural space, it was also characterized by mistrust by the people who sided with the enemies.

At least some of the common Indians agreed with the Indian elite and displayed their own commitment in their own ways. For instance, in September 1915, more than 600 Hindus gathered in Mombasa's temple with Sikhs and Jains to pray "to God to give success to the British Empire, his army, and his guns (The East African Standard, 2 Oct. 1915). Indian residents of the town staged money collections throughout the war to support the troops, but these contributions were only intended for "Asiatic and European," not African soldiers. Fundraising for the war effort thus complemented the political objectives of indigenous parties in the area, which aimed to rewrite racial boundaries so as to include white and Indian populations in the same category as "imperial citizens," but excluding Africans (KNA, PC/Coast/1/3/78).

In a 1915 correspondence dated 27th January from the Assistant District Commissioner to the District Commissioner for Rabai, there was a request for the establishment of a force in the district, with a preference for Indian officers.

The correspondence was as follows;

Sir, I am anxious to bring to your notice that I consider it extremely desirable that more police be stationed at Rabai. I have received letters from Mariakani and Miritini complaining of theft cases and making a request for a police patrol. Today Mzee Ndzuha wa Chira writes to say that he has been threatened by various WaDuruma because he has been trying to collect runaway porters. I have sent 1 police askari and 2 Indian Volunteers to patrol in his neighbourhood. I have stationed there 3 police and 9 Indian volunteers there for patrol work (KNA/ Pol 82/14/10/1918).

It is evident that Indian officers were considered reliable and authoritative across the Kenyan colony and were commissioned in areas where policing proved challenging. In a similar correspondence in 1917 dated 24th July, from the Assistant Sub-inspector in Rabai to the Provincial Commissioner in Mombasa, a request was made to replace the assistant sub-inspector with an Indian officer, who allegedly, would be more effective in coordinating police operations in the absence of the district commissioner (KNA/Pol 82/14/10/1918) as captured below;

Sir, I have the honour to acknowledge your no.22/2 of 21/7 above. I discussed this matter with the assistant commissioner and informed him that I agree to the removal of the assistant sub-inspector to meet your wishes. I however pointed out that the assistant district commissioner was alone at Rabai and was away a great deal on tour. I considered it essential that the assistant sub-inspector should be replaced by an Indian constable of proved reliability and who could exercise control over the police during the Ass. District Commissioner's absence. Rabai is a place where there are a number of temptations e.g. tembo is readily available and the district clerk is not able to exercise authority over the men in the absence of the assistant commissioner. Could you kindly meet me in this matter and arrange as proposed (KNA/Pol 82/14/10-1918).

The police's most significant role in 1917 was to accompany the District Commissioners as they toured the districts to resolve conflicts and evaluate government development projects (Lonsdale, & Berman, 1979:488). The growth in boundary disputes in different parts of the nation caused a lot of concern. In Kenya district, border conflicts between ethnic and sub-ethnic groups were a frequent occurrence that characterized relationships between the ethnic groups during the colonial period, but they became more frequent during the war (Wekesa, 2010:333). However, the District Commissioners were joined by the local police in resolving

these conflicts (KNA/ DC/KSI/1/2, 1917). During the war period, the DCs were in charge of setting location boundaries as well as inter-ethnic boundaries.

The Indian police officers played a crucial role in escorting colonial administrators as they participated in the district's development tours. The police also oversaw labourers and participated in infrastructure improvements that sped up trade for the benefit of the colony's economy. Construction of roads, bridges, and culverts along the roads to facilitate travel in the countryside was done by the police because they were considered to be jacks of all trade (Douglas, et.al, 2019:15).

Though the economy was in decline after the war, greater focus was placed on growth and improvement in the region. Unfortunately, starvation and epidemics followed the war. People abandoned the towns during the influenza pandemic that raged over the reserves in the months of November and December, wreaking chaos everywhere and killing many. Most villages suffered from starvation, for which people turned to the government for assistance (KNA/ DC/KSI/1/3/SKDAR, 1918). Since one of the colonists' goals was to find markets for their manufactured goods, they took advantage of the chance to sell maize and charge a fee for medicines and medical services in order to build more hospitals and operate the colony. Due to security concerns and the size of the area to be covered, the police helped in the delivery and sale of maize, and also provided escort services.

The colonial Police Force was crucial economically throughout the World War 1 period in addition to its social functions. It holds that the colonial state's main objective was to regulate every area of society (Azarya, 1988:11). The primary goals of the colonial authorities during this period were to uphold national reputation,

ensure that European industrial goods could access African markets and raw materials, and maintain strategic concerns like canals under their control. Additionally, colonialism provided Europeans with career opportunities, exciting experiences, Christian endeavours, and personal gains. By using coercive methods and police force operations, all of these efforts were successful (Sharkey, 2013). The State was one of the main tools used to establish and maintain colonialism in Kenya, as it was in other British colonies.

3.6 Conclusion

It was the objective of this chapter to examine the role Indians in state policing in Kenya up to 1918. We have demonstrated that in Kenya, policing was part of the foundation of the colonial state and colonial control came with a new source of supreme authority as well as new judicial structures and personnel. It has been demonstrated that the construction of the Kenya-Uganda railway facilitated the growth of infant police forces inland which were manned by Indians. The security personnel were recruited from India and were governed by Indian police statutes giving the force a quasi-police status. This marked the beginning of the participation of Indians policing in Kenya's police service. It has also been demonstrated that the Indian forces were tasked with protecting the territorial and economic interests of the British. It has further been demonstrated that Police service units were established in major colonial towns of Mombasa, Nairobi, and Kisumu to safeguard construction workers and their tools and that Indian police were heavily involved in maintaining order in these bustling cities. The chapter concludes that the early colonial period in Kenya was characterised by a sustained effort to establish colonial control and the Indian police played a key role towards achieving this objective. In

the next chapter, we shall examine Indian policing during the inter-war and the World War II period.

CHAPTER FOUR

INDIAN POLICING DURING THE INTER-WAR AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR PERIOD, 1919-1944

4.1 Introduction

In chapter three we examined the Indian state policing in Kenyan's major towns of Mombasa, Nairobi and Kisumu. It was observed that the founding and development of Kenya's major towns included policing and that Indian police were heavily involved in maintaining security in these emerging cities. The chapter concluded that Indians played a significant role in helping the British to establish colonial control in the major towns of Mombasa, Nairobi and Kisumu. This chapter is basically about the Indian Police and their role in the securitization of the Kenyan colonial state in the inter war and the Second World War period. It also focuses on the reorganization of the police force during the interwar and World War II years; the continued recruitment of Indians into the colonial police force in Kenya; and, their involvement in policing. The chapter also highlights outstanding Indian police officers who served the colonial police. The chapter concludes that the Indian Police played an important role during the interwar and World War II years.

4.2 Reorganization of Indian Policing and Service during the Inter-War Period

After the First World War in 1918, for the next two years, the police force under the continued command of Lieutenant-Colonel Notley underwent reorganization. Progress had been severely checked by the necessity to concentrate on military and semi-military duties instead of police work during the war (Ndeda,

2006:104). Stapleton (2013) argues that colonial powers sought to minimize the cost of administration in their colonies due to financial difficulties as a result of World War I (WW I) and the economic depression that followed. Many new European and Indian police officers were hired; the bulk had already served in the army during conflicts. Members who were discharged and took a leave of absence later returned to the military while many police officers who had been unable to take leave applied for it (Wolf, 1973). The force's responsibilities included controlling and managing the white settlers who often behaved wildly after having served in the war for five years (Ndeda, 2006:104).

Between the Wars, the colonial political economy contributed to the mapping and shifting of police objectives and procedures. As David Anderson and Daniel Branch have shown, fear of organized crime was unparalleled during the interwar years and this united the settlers more. This was especially evident when the economy declined and more young men without jobs started to move to Kenyan towns (Lonsdale, 1992; Anderson, 2012; Branch, 2009).

In 1919, the new Governor, Major-General Sir Edward Northey's role was to strengthen the position of European interests after World War I (Ogot, 1968:270). The Europeans argued that neither the Indian nor any other group of people could have the same rights and status as British colonists in the Kenyan Colony (Morgan, 1963:141). In July 1920, British East Africa became Kenya's colony and protectorate and the force's name was changed from British East African police to Kenya police, ushering in a new era for the force (Mbuba, 2021:26). As more settlers arrived starting in 1920, the force had to adapt by expanding its police operations and constructing additional police stations. The force's responsibilities

included the preservation of internal security and managing the white settlers (Foran, 1962:53, Ndeda, 2006:104). Colonial administrators gradually withdrew from the rural areas as the indirect rule strategy grew, leaving African chiefs in charge of upholding law and order (Killingray, 1986:420).

In 1920, the modernization of Kenya's colonial police force progressed well. However, there were limited resources to hire personnel for the new posts (Waller, 2010:530). Often it was only possible to furnish a European police constable with a mere handful of African police (Ndeda 2006:104). Africans were enlisted in the lower ranks, where they were subordinate to European and Indian officers. The all-white inspectorate, for instance, had great favour with the colonial magistrates and resident commissioners. As messengers, its men frequently collaborated closely with the commissioners and magistrates (Kagari & Thomas, 2006). Given the predominance of European and Indian police officers, it is clear that Indians in the colony were agents of the colonial state. The police, therefore, served as a repressive colonial instrument that served to protect white privileges and dominance. Areas that witnessed increased police numbers had sizeable British populations and mainly included white settlements. It was important to have an increase in the police force in the white settlements to facilitate the expansion of potential business or economic activity.

A regular police presence was established in some areas of the African Reserves by 1920 as a result of crime and civil unrest in those areas. As a result, local criminals were apprehended and detained (Waller, 2010:526). Police efforts to carry out civilian policing were impeded by the colonial administration's preference for the safety of Europeans and their property above the majority of the African population.

The deployment of police was centred in the White Highlands and metropolitan areas where Europeans owned property (Bunei, & Akinlabi, 2022:110).

Before 1920, the police were "an armed branch of the administration made up of recruits often chosen from a military background, frequently deployed in punitive expeditions or other operations against local resistant peoples (Anderson, 1992). In 1920, the police were transformed into a more humane institution that would be accepted by both Africans and European settlers (Otiso and Kaguta 2016:221). Kenya Police had now matured into a dependable and professional force. In addition to the vast number of Indians hired to guard the railroad under the supervision of British police officials, Africans at lower levels had also been enlisted (Foran, 1962:54).

Due to the depression in 1921, there was a large retrenchment that also affected the police force (KNA, Police Annual Report 1922). The commissioner of Police, Lieutenant-Colonel W.K Northey, retired in 1921 after fourteen years of service. The following year 1922, the police were to deal with African protests over the arrest of Harry Thuku in what became known as the 'Harry Thuku riots' (Maxon, 1993). In 1922, Harry Thuku, then employed as a telephone operator at Treasury in Nairobi propagated anti-European sentiments (Gabay, 2018:550).

Foran 1962; observes;

“Chief inspector Sat Bachan Singh then in charge of the CID found Harry Thuku in Pangani village addressing a meeting. The Chief Inspector induced him to mount the pavilion of his motorcycle, ostensibly to be interviewed by the superintendent of police. He was taken to the police lines opposite Norfolk Hotel and shown the warrant of his arrest and his two colleagues” (Foran, 1962:57).

Sharad (2016:59) observes that, when the police detained Thuku on March 14, 1922, there was a huge outcry in Nairobi calling for his immediate release. Outside the police lines next to the Norfolk Hotel, about 6,000–7,000 people protested Harry Thuku's incarceration. Sat Bachan Singh, the chief inspector, hurried to the police lines as the alarm rang (Foran, 1962:57). The government responded with a parade of mounted soldiers carrying drawn firearms. A teenage boy and women were among the twenty-one Africans killed by the police that day (Gabay, 2018:556). The crowd vanished in an instant. Later, Harry Thuku and his companions were deported to Kisimayu (Foran, 1962:58). According to Gimode (2007), Harry Thuku and other leaders of the early nationalist movement in the 1920s were among the first victims of the politicized colonial police during the democratic struggle in Kenya (Gimode, 2007: 231).

The following year 1923 was tense because of the settlers' intense anger about what they saw to be colonial governments plan for Asian immigration and land settlement in the White Highlands. This was captured in the Devonshire white paper. Sharad

Rao observes;

“With the Devonshire Declaration in 1923, an ordinance was promulgated prohibiting Africans and Asians from owning land in the highlands. The white paper was quick to declare that where the interests of alien races, meaning British and Asians, conflicted with African interests the latter would be paramount” (Sharad, 2016:59).

The Devonshire Declaration ignited the Indian organization, which had been gaining momentum. The Indian Congress delivered resolutions of protest to the colonial authority, organized enormous demonstrations, and called for a strike throughout East Africa. The Asian community was pushing for a franchise similar to what the Europeans had at the same time. The Asian community grew enraged because of the government's alleged objectives regarding Asian immigration and land settlement (Aiyar, 2011:133, Youé, 1977:348). Fortunately, the issue was resolved before anything serious happened. Such circumstances necessitated increased police surveillance and reorganization to fit the needs of the period.

By 1923, the police force in Mombasa had grown to include Africans, Asians, and Europeans (Willis, 2017). It had 2 officers and 2 inspectors, 1 constable of European origin, 7 Indian sub-inspectors, 1 Indian (Non-Commissioned Officer) NCO, 2 Indian constables, 1 African NCO, and 159 African constables. The Resident Commissioner recommended the appointment of the officers to the force, but the High Commissioner had to approve and the Secretary of State had to confirm the appointments. The police weapons included sword bayonets, Lee-Enfield rifles, and a few others 303 Maxim guns mounted on field carriages. For a purported civil police agency, this equipment was comparatively bulky and militaristic. It demonstrated that the colonial police was designed to be a force that would be

capable of putting down any potential uprising in the colony (KNA/ DC/ MSA 1/3/1923).

In 1924, the Police Force had 16 units in settled areas and 21 in Native Reserves. Superior officers in the force generally had special training in police work (KNA/Police Annual Report 1925). However, these officers left most criminal investigations to Indian Inspectors or deputy Inspectors. They had to police whole provinces with the assistance of other European and African Officers (Foran, 1962:65). The same year the commissioner of the police reported a shortage of funds and trained staff that had rendered CID work almost non-existent. Measures were put in place to reorganize the CID for effective operation. By the year 1925, there were 31 police stations and 57 police outposts. Sixteen of these outposts were in settled areas and 21 were in native reserves (Ndeda, 2006:106).

Kenyan law enforcement agencies had issues with staffing, mobility, and communications. The Police were shockingly under-equipped for a thinly dispersed force working across large swaths of the rugged terrain (Mapale, 2020). The Commissioner, along with the Anti-stock theft Committee, decried existing transportation and telephone restrictions. In 1925, the police force consisted of 2224 officers stationed in 31 police stations and 15 police posts throughout the country (KNA/PC/NZA/3/39/1925). The size of the police force was insufficient to mount large-scale operations, and routinely conduct surveillance in populated urban areas (Waller, 2010:531). The Commissioner made recommendations for reforms and the recruitment of more police officers.

On education, many askaris were illiterate, incapable of understanding even simple orders, maintaining occurrence logs, reading and comprehending written complaints, or holding a polite conversation over the phone. The director of education and his staff supported police education. Instructional strategies and training frameworks were thoroughly established to guarantee that recruits would receive practical and modern training in the many facets of police work. Instructions were given in the form of real-world examples whenever possible. Through lectures and demonstrations, many areas of police work were covered (KNA/PC/NZA/3/39/1925).

In June 1925, the new police commissioner, R. G. B. Spicer, was appointed. Upon taking office, he quickly realized that the police force had become complacent in dealing with rising crime rates, had trouble detecting crimes, and that many of the colony's policing tactics were outdated and ineffective. Spicer reformed the Criminal Investigation Department and night patrols in settlement farms and cities significantly improved (KNA, Police Annual Report 1925). Beginning in Nairobi before the end of 1925, night patrolling had a significant effect on the quantity of arrests made and the cases that were subsequently prosecuted, particularly those involving burglary, robbery, unlawful habitation, and vagrancy (Ocobock, 2010).

The CID spent most of its time up until 1925 dealing with immigration issues and passport information, handling almost no work involving a criminal investigation. Spicer, the new commissioner reformed the force by separating the department into three wings: Immigration, Crime, and Intelligence, with the least amount of money going to the latter. He also made sure that record-keeping and reporting practices were updated to provide the framework for conducting criminal investigations

properly (KNA, Police Annual Report, 1925). It is evident from the Police Department reports and from the observations of administrative officers in other departments that these reforms greatly increased the effectiveness and success of police operations.

The Criminal Intelligence Unit was also created in 1926 with the sole purpose of gathering, tabulating, and documenting information about criminals, undesirable people, and suspicious individuals (Ndeda, 2006). Former police officers from India, South Africa, and Britain made up the initial team for specialized divisions including the fingerprint bureau and C.I.D. The Railway Police Unit, which focused on the prevention and identification of crimes in the railways from Coast to Kisumu, including Kilindini Harbour and branch lines, was also founded in the same year (Shaffer, 2019:24).

In 1926, amongst the Indian officers entrusted with strategic police work was 2nd-grade sub inspector Mehta Partab Singh, who was eventually transferred from Nairobi to commandeer the force in Malindi. According to the Malindi police inspection report, the Sub-inspector was tasked with organizing the force in the region and solving problems of crime.

The inspection report indicates that he was assigned the following tasks and privileges as captured in the excerpt from the report;

“He should be given a bike or motorcycle allowance. This will enable him to inspect the outstations once a month. The quarters above the police station are suitable and were formerly occupied by Dr. and Mrs. Waters when I was stationed at Malindi. The furniture present consists of 1 single bed mattress (no mosquito net) 2 chairs,1 dining table,1 chest of drawers and mirror” (Malindi District inspection 1926).

Bhajan Singh, another Indian sub-inspector of the second grade, was in charge of the Kilindini police station in 1926. He had been in that position for three years and four months. A police report states that as the sub-inspector, he was required to regularly deliver lectures to keep officers informed. He was also expected to lead the officers in conducting night patrols to check crime. In an inspection report dated the 14th of April 1926, it was noted that the station he commandeered was in excellent condition (KNA/ POL/12/8/26/1928). The police quarters were kept in good condition, the men were disciplined, and the weapons were cared for. The same was said for the immigration team in charge of clerical work at Kilindini. The effectiveness of the Indian chief clerical officer was applauded in the inspection report as follows;

“It is a pleasure to inspect the immigration office. N.P.C Harrison appears to be intimately acquainted with this work, which he carries out most efficiently. The chief Clerk (Mr A. R. Talati) carries out his duties most satisfactorily and his work is extremely neat and a pleasure to inspect. N.P.C. Harrison and Mr Talati are commended for the extraordinarily efficient state of the immigration department and entries will be made in their respective personal files” (KNA/ POL/12/8/26/1928).

This clearly indicates that other than the Indian police officers playing an admirable role in policing the colonial state, the Indian clerks were also useful in supplementing their work. There was a constant need for Indians in the force to do general police work and clerical duty over the years. This was evident in a request for an Indian sergeant to aid the superintendent of police in Mombasa in 1926 in plain clothes work. The need for additional officers and positions was also expressed, specifically permanent clerical positions, and an additional clerk to keep emigration statistics in the district (KNA/Coast/ POL/7/8/26 1926). The preference for Indian officers in the Kenyan police force was upheld, and serious police activity

was led by Indian officers who were assisted by Africans in lower posts. This is evident from police reports spanning the early colonial period.

The station in Mombasa had the following Indian police officers;

Table 4.1 List of Indian police officers in Mombasa police station, 1926

Rank	Name	Responsibilities
Inspector	H.T. Budgen	In charge of the Police Station
Chief S.I	Abdulla Shaik	Court Prosecutor, both Courts, investigation
2 nd S.I	Bachan Singh	L. & F. Circulars, Cassettes, Investigation, Filing
2 nd S.I	Gurbux Singh	S.A.D. orders, immigration, investigation
1 st A.S.I	Jodh Singh	Summons, warrants, charge office duty
2 nd A.S.I.	Tera Chand	Death reports, charge office duty
2 nd A.S.I	Amar Singh	Charge office duty and instruction.

Source: Mombasa District Annual Report 1926

From the 1926 annual report for Mombasa police station, it was evident that the weight of the force was Indian, with Africans only holding junior positions. New positions opened up career opportunities for Indian police officers and it increased efficiency and brought about satisfaction for all Indian police officers (KNA/Coast/POL/7/8/26 1926). The officers were deputized by junior African servicemen who were deployed for police work across the district. Nonetheless, the Indians, who were relatively well educated, did most of the clerical work, which in the opinion of senior British officials, was a waste of their potential.

It was recommended that;

“The Asiatic staff would then be relieved from this clerical work, and would be available for their proper executive duties, by which a far higher standard could be obtained- and should be made to concentrate on the investigation of cases, surveillance of bad characters, traffic control, and other fundamental police duties” (KNA /Coast/7/8/ 1926).

The Indian police forces served the interests of the colonial powers by recruiting labour, collecting taxes, and delivering criminal cases that endangered imperial control (Otiso & Kaguta, 2016:229). It is important to note that the racial composition of recruits in the colonial police force reflected the overarching objectives of British colonialism. The British colonial administration wanted to integrate Asians into colonial law enforcement agencies based on the imperial concept of martial race in order to perform a more effective role of close policing. This type of multi-ethnic hiring strategy illustrates the British notion that non-native population members could serve as a crucial connection with the British rulers to improve the effectiveness of police work (Streets, 2017).

The British had a special preference for Indians in the force because Indians were considered obedient, authoritative, and organized. However, despite the preference for Indians in the force, they had their own shortcomings. Some were often caught up in cases of ineffectiveness and indiscipline. For instance, Assistant Sub Inspector Abdul Salaam, who was of Indian origin, was reported as being effective in keeping the force up to date and organized, but poor in drill. He was advised to review a drill book that was issued during annual inspections (KNA/Police Annual Report 1926). A case of indiscipline was also recorded for Indian sub-inspector Girdhari Lal

Thapar, who, investigations revealed that he had mistreated natives in an attempt to extract information to aid his case.

One Mr Kimeto Arap Kipkirui a Marakwet recorded the complaint lodged against him in the form of a testimony;

“I work for Mr. Lang. One Monday about 3 weeks ago I was sent to Cherangani police station together with Kandagor Arap Bartagot. We were sent for by A.S.P.1/c Cherangani by a messenger named Arap Tut. When we got there the Indian Sub Inspector examined us about a stock theft. I knew nothing about it and told him so. Then the Indian struck me with his fist. He questioned me further but I denied all knowledge. He then ordered us outside and fastened my arms to a stick across my shoulder. He did this to arap Bartagot. This started at about midday and we were not released until 2 p.m. we were placed in the sun and arap tot was put in charge of us (KNA/POL/5316/35/Police Annual Report 1926).

The conduct of Sub Inspector Girdhari Lal Thapar that resulted in his dismissal from the force revealed that, although the cases were isolated, Indian police officer's also depicted indiscipline in the course of their tenure in the police force.

In the words of the then-attorney general;

“These occurrences are happily rare in the Kenya police force, but their rarity does not make the offence any less serious”
“Especially taking into account the offender's past record, I would advise that the governor be recommended to dismiss first-grade Assistant Sub Inspector G.L. Thapar from the force”
(KNA/POL/5316/35).

All around the Country, police stations were set up in crucial locations close to the White Highlands, and railway, like Nakuru, Eldoret, and Kisumu, stations were built (Anderson, 1992). By 1927, night patrols in the city were well received by the European residents of the cities. However, night patrols on the farms received a mixed response. Some European farmers found themselves the targets of this

heightened police surveillance and were prosecuted for breaking numerous labour rules (KNA, Police Annual Report, 1927).

The number of police officers and their status increased in 1927. According to the police annual report, there was also an improvement in literacy. The training in police tasks and the long and taxing duty periods were a part of the African police's volunteer education. The report also mentions that in 1926, the processes for training Police recruits were revised. According to prevailing perception, police were unable to focus on their primary task of crime detection and prevention since their workload was so extensive (KNA, Police Annual Report 1927:20).

R.G.B. Spicer the police commissioner commented;

Our obligation as second line to the King's African Rifles and our duties as guardians of the peace in times of riots or disturbances, our energies must be more and more directed to bringing ourselves into a state of efficiency as civil police whose main duty is to prevent and detect crime (KNA, Police Annual Report 1927:20).

The Metropolitan police's statement on police duties was;

The primary objective of an efficient police is the prevention of crime; the next is that of detection and punishment of offenders if crime is committed. To these ends all the efforts of police must be directed (KNA, Police Annual Report 1927:20).

In 1927 the Indian Association of Mombasa requested more police officers to protect their property from the immigrant Luhya and Luo dock workers (Gregory, 1993). The Asian business community felt that their interests were not being adequately protected because there were very few Asian constables on duty. They desired to be protected by Indian police personnel and asked the colonial authorities to arm the Indian constables (KNA/PC/Coast/1/1/110, Spencer, 1981:328).

Similarly, Indian merchants in Mombasa organized and paid for watch committees "to supplement the inadequate regular police (Wolf, 1973:406). In Uganda, where conditions were roughly the same, Indian traders founded and funded watch committees, or uniformed night watchmen, "to augment the weak, and frequently untrustworthy, regular police (Harwich, 1961:154).

When an Indian CID officer took over from J.B. Grenfell Hicks' in 1928, he unquestionably kept his special branch in good order. According to the police annual report that year, the department's criminal branch expanded its operations and conducted numerous investigations and inquiries, either independently or in collaboration with the District Police. In that year, they dealt with 43 cases and inquiries, 274 people were detained by the department's crime branch in connection with offences the branch investigated, 266 people were found guilty, and Police located 19 people they were looking for, including six previous offenders whose locations were unknown. The department conducted a variety of investigations, including one into the theft of registered postal packages that were travelling between Nairobi and India (KNA, Police Annual Report 1928:25).

In 1928, the law was amended to allow more extraordinary powers to curtail crime and investigate areas where stock theft cases were a recurring social malice. Waller (2010:532) argues that the police adopted new techniques of investigation, which were contextual to specific areas where incidences of crime took place. More importantly, he noted that their presence was felt and that they could deal with interrelated problems at once. They had to go beyond their silence and inability to solve crimes which resulted in exclusion but were powerless to punish wrongdoers in the community.

In 1929, crime was most common at night in urban areas, and police patrols were utilized to deter offenders. According to Police Annual Report, 1929, night patrols were considered necessary, as they involved the protection of the public who were asleep. Urban areas benefited the most from night patrols, as housebreakers were often caught red-handed during these patrols. In essence, night patrols significantly scared nocturnal criminals (KNA, Police Annual Report, 1929:27). All habitual criminals in the colony were subject to surveillance by the CID, which ran a special criminal office for the gathering, tabulating, and sharing of data on significant crimes and criminals as needed. It was not necessary to wait for a man to report when conducting surveillance, as it was regularly seen by patrols that came day and night and recorded everything they saw. Additionally, the local CIDs had informants and trackers whose data was typically quickly forwarded to the CID Headquarters (KNA/PC/NZA/3/39/1929).

In instances where crime overwhelmed local police services, reinforcements were sourced at the expense of the residents for a set period of time (Waller, 2010). In 1929, Commissioner R.G.B Spicer oversaw the transfer of 81 troops from the South African Railways police to various domains within the Kenya police force (Anderson, 2017).

The additional units included six European assistant inspectors, two Asian assistant sub-inspectors, and 73 African police (active troops and recruits), appointed to reinforce the railway police and to staff new police stations mushrooming within the colony. However, two of the six assistant inspectors were stationed as prosecutors in the courts at Eldoret and Nakuru. By the end of the year, the force had strength of about 2,286 troops (KNA, Police Annual Report 1929).

Indian police Inspectors played a critical role in policing the Kenyan state. In a number of cases, they helped in the prevention of crime. For instance, in 1929 crime branch helped the district police investigate 429 cases and four hundred and fifteen people were found guilty in those cases. Additionally, 48 special investigations were conducted (KNA, police Annual Report 1929: 27). Five chronic criminals who had eluded district police were among the seventeen people whose whereabouts were tracked. Cases of interest included the so-called Nairobi "cat burglar". According to the report:

“He was an Asian with a penchant for acrobatics who usually carried out his house-breaking schemes in the dead of night. The CID kept an eye on him day and night for around two months. He entered a major shop in Nairobi by scaling the outside of the building to an upper floor still under surveillance. He entered the building after being confronted and managed to hide for a while before being apprehended. A sentence of eighteen months was passed on him” (KNA, police Annual Report 1929:28).

Both the Indian Chief Sub-Inspector Sat Bachan Singh and Assistant Sub-Inspector Lal Chand at the Kisumu police station and the European Constable Sweeny at the Songhor police station performed admirably in 1929 (KNA, Police Annual Report 1929:32). By the end of 1929, the Kenya police had 14 major police bases and 13 outposts all over the colony. The combined effort of all the police outposts resulted in a reasonably peaceful year, with most reported cases ending in amicable solutions (KNA, Police Annual Report 1929). The outposts in Nairobi, Naivasha, Mombasa, and Kisumu did remarkably well throughout 1929. In Nairobi, eight police officers—including Indians—were honoured for their commitment and efficiency throughout the year. These included Inspectors E. E. Bristow and W. H. Scott, of Nairobi and Kilimani police stations, Assistant Inspector D. Nichol of Parklands

Police station, and acting Assistant Inspector L. Sharp of Nairobi Crime branch. The list of honour also had Indians, Sub-Inspector Gurbux Singh of Eastleigh police station, Sub-Inspector C. Barrado of Parklands police station, and Assistant Sub-Inspectors G. Sharman all based in Nairobi Police station (KNA, Police Annual Report 1929).

To advance the education standards within the force five new police schools at Moyale, Naivasha, Marsabit, Kabarnet, and Turkana were opened with 2 Asian and 4 African instructors (Wolf, 1973). According to the police annual report of 1929, the schools mainly taught in Swahili, although the one in Marsabit had English classes. At the time, the schools were not very popular and had a total of 56 attendees throughout the year. Interestingly, African recruits were considered slow learners, making it challenging to find natives outside the rank of sub-inspector fit for appointment or promotion. This resulted in only 25 Africans receiving allowances for writing in English, compared to 211 who received allowances for writing in Swahili (KNA, Police Annual Report 1929). It is therefore evident that Indian police officers were part of the capacity building that characterized the institution of the police in Kenya. Being in the position of sub-inspectors and inspectors, respectively meant they controlled a group of officers and commanded them as far as policing the state was concerned.

It should be emphasized that with the onset of colonial policing in Kenya, clerical work was based on the Punjab version, and Indians formed most of the clerical staff (Wolf, 1973). By 1929, the police force had a reasonable number of clerical staff both on a permanent and temporary basis. These included 3 Europeans, 21 British Indians, 38 Goans, and 1 African. During the year, the clerical team lost a 3rd-grade

clerk (Mr A.P. Patel) and saw one of its 1ST-grade clerks (Mr Lachman Singh) retire on a pensionable basis after 27 years of service. Nonetheless, the clerical department performed exemplarily throughout the year, with 3 serving Asians; Mr R.B. Patel, Mr C. K. Mitra, and Mr S. J. Vyas receiving commendation for outstanding work (KNA, Police Annual Report 1929). Evidently, the Indians did not only serve as police officers but also as clerks within the police force. As clerks, they performed duties such as sorting and filing reports, providing information to staff and members of the public, and dispersing police reports, and other paperwork (Wolf, 1973). Additionally, Indian police clerks compiled information on significant crimes, stolen goods, jail logs, and crime reports. They also managed certain fundamental financial operations, prepared calendars, and made appointment schedules.

It must be noted that the dominance of Indians in the early development stages of the force in Kenya was synonymous with their relatively higher population, which was only exceeded by Arabs and natives (Aiyar, 2011:134). Despite the superiority of Arabs and natives in sheer number, Indians were preferable in the force. The recorded numbers on a racial basis between 1924 and 1928 are elaborated in the table below;

Table 4.2 Racial composition of the police 1924-1929

	Europeans	Indians	Goans	Arabs	Natives	Others	Total
1924	821	5250	727	9312	25696	-	41806
1925	1077	4987	696	7546	23133	-	37439
1926	676	8923	1153	7683	21845	220	40500
1927	885	7556	942	7523	26906	274	44086
1928	960	8328	915	6667	23183	167	40220

Source: Mombasa district annual report, 1929

Generally, in 1929, theft cases declined by about 30% from the previous year, as a result of improved criminal detection standards. Moreover, Mr T. R. J. Ridgway- the then assistant superintendent of the port police maintained the unit with effectiveness and eliminated all previous administrative defects. The most commendable officers in the unit during the year were Acting Inspector S. D. Overton, Acting Assistant Inspector C.J. Child, and Sub-Inspector Partap Singh (KNA, Police Annual Report 1929). Forty of the most outstanding officers were also given various awards, including chief inspectors Sat Batchan Singh an Indian, and Abdulla Said, who received the King's silver jubilee medal (Foran, 1962:80). Assistant sub-inspector Niranjana Singh was also commended for his good work at Makupa police station during the year (KNA, Police Annual Report 1929:35). It is noted here that the colonial state rewarded exemplary officers who went the extra mile as far as policing the Kenyan state was concerned. These rewards went beyond their racial binaries as demonstrated by both Asians and Europeans who received awards for their outstanding work.

In concluding his annual report (1929) the commissioner wrote;

“I submit that the Kenya police have made definite progress during the year and in spite of its abnormality, which factor undoubtedly created an increase in crime. I have no shadow of doubt that in spite of undeniable deficiencies, the Kenya police can be described today as an efficient force. The organization is now modelled on setlines, and we can only wait for the time and money to improve our organization” (KNA Police Annual Report 1929:49).

4.3 Changing Dynamics in State Policing in Kenya, 1930-1938

In the 1930s, the reliance on coercion had decreased, and colonial police agencies were amalgamated and uniformly governed as part of the newly established Colonial Police Force. Military forces diminished and the Criminal Investigation Departments strove to become more involved in colonial law enforcement (Anderson, 2017). Similarly, the comparatively small police units attempted to do likewise. On the other hand, migrant laborers were the main focus of the fingerprint bureaus which was a sub-department within the CID. Despite this, the majority of police operations were centred on the economic cornerstones of colonial power, such as hut tax collection and maintaining order at European mines and estates. At this time the primary focus of Colonial state police was crime prevention and many people came to value police officers as keepers of peace and the rule of law (Baker, 2008:59), a function which the Indian police officers executed diligently.

The colonial European population in Kenya considered that the police's main duty was to protect colonial society, settlers, and their possessions from the African

masses (Shadle, 2010: 519). In early 1930s, when the rise in severe crime alarmed settlers, the Commissioner of Police could not afford to ignore the concerns of the European community. Commissioner Spicer's first responsibility was to participate in the Stock Theft Commission. The settlers gave testimony to this inquiry concerning the judiciary's and police's shortcomings in dealing with stock thieves (KNA, PC/Nyanza/3/18/1/1930). The Kenya Police went to great measures to appear to be fighting these specific crimes, routinely releasing statistics of police victories in certain locations to refute European charges of escalating crime waves and insufficient policing (KNA, Police Annual Reports, 1930). Here Indian police officers being part of the colonial police force participated in fighting the escalating crime.

To combat crime in 1930, the police conducted 342 inquiries and investigations. It was noted that in Kisumu three people had been found guilty of illegally possessing opium. An Indian attempted to bribe two CID officers in connection with these cases so they would not question one of the defendants. The offending Indian received a fine of 300 shillings in addition to a four-month sentence of hard labour. Similarly, an Asian jeweller was apprehended for having counterfeit coins and coin-making moulds. He was ordered to perform hard labour for three years. This was significant since it was the colony's first allegation of such a serious public infraction (KNA, PC/Nyanza/3/18/1/1930).

The year 1930 also saw changes in the ranks of European and Indian officers which improved efficiency in the police service (Wolf, 1973:405). Although there were not many Indians on the force, those that did held better and more responsible ranks than the African police officers. However Indian police occupied a significantly

lower status in comparison with white peers (Gupta, 1991). According to Wolf (1973), the low level of recruitment of Indians into the police force was due to their higher pay as shop assistants and clerks. He observed that potential Indian recruits “were reluctant to start at the bottom of the police ladder and go through training with the Africans. The Indian community in Kenya did consider itself upwardly mobile (Wolf, 1973:405).

Anderson (2017) observes that in Kenya's settled and urban districts in the early 1930s, the volume of cognizable crime increased significantly. Law enforcement and the judiciary shared a common understanding that a "criminal class" had developed in Kenya (KNA/Police Annual Reports, 1931). Undoubtedly, the economic downturn and the drought contributed to the rise in crime at this time, but it was also evident that crime was becoming more and more organized (Anderson, 2017:183). The settler community of Europeans, which numbered 16,912, reacted to the menace of criminality committed by the African majority with great sensitivity (Campbell, 2002:129). In addition to housebreaking, stock theft was a major form of crime in rural areas (KNA, Police Annual Report, 1931). Compared to the towns, there was significantly less of a visible police presence on the farms. In order to address the issue, the police developed new strategies such as the creation of specialized units, employment of surveillance methods, patrols at night in urban areas, property crime detection, labour law enforcement on settler farms, death penalty executions, and, safeguarding European people and their property (Deflem, 1994:55).

The 1930 economic depression led to the downsizing of the recruitment of police officers (Anderson, 2017). At some point, the total expenditure of the force fell to a cut of approximately 25%. The cut had a toll on training, housing schemes, and general development. Nevertheless, the commissioner complied with the government's request that no police station or unit be shut down as a result of these cutbacks in force. African police recruitment, which in 1930 had reached 500 personnel, dropped to less than 200 (KNA/Police Annual Report 1930). On October 4th, 1931, R.C.A. Cavendish, the deputy inspector general of the Nigerian police, was named commissioner of police in the Kenyan colony. The new police commissioner discovered that there were still strict economic restrictions in place and that a force reduction was unavoidable. Unfortunately, he also lost his senior police officers at that time and vacant posts were left unfilled (KNA, Police Annual Report 1930: 82-83). A number of Asiatic officers were decommissioned from Malindi and Lamu. Nonetheless, the police detachments were still mandated to preserve order in the country. In general, the force at the end of the year consisted of 1764 officers serving in various capacities (KNA, Police Annual Report 1932).

Agitation amongst the Asian population also broke out again (Sharad, 2016:66). The Indians in Mombasa objected to British attempts to bar them from engaging in the agricultural trade. Indians were also fiercely opposed the poll tax and they organized a large protest in Mombasa where they urged everyone to participate and refuse to pay taxes (KNA, DC/MSA1/4). From the above incidents, it is worth noting that although Indians played a significant role in enhancing European administration in the colony, they were also victims of mistreatment by European colonial officers.

Urban areas mainly registered increased crime rates, probably triggered by the general depression of 1932 and 1933 (Foran, 1962:81). The year 1932 also saw notable changes in the Kenya police force. Mr J. F. Wolsley-Bourne became the Deputy Commissioner on January 1st and took immediate leave pending retirement after 22 years of service in different designations. The year also saw the demise of Assistant Superintendent G. Kearney, the transfer of Captain H. P. Rice to Palestine on a promotional basis, and the resignation of Mr E. B. O'B. Horsford, an Assistant Superintendent. A number of troops were also decommissioned to cushion the force against financial strain. These included one assistant superintendent, two Asian Sub-inspectors, and 90 other subordinate officers of African origin, including two sergeants (KNA, police Annual Report 1932). Perhaps, the economic depression of the 1930's and the decommissioning of troops gave way to another form of crime which revolved around counterfeiting.

The problem of counterfeiting which became prevalent around 1933 was another issue that needed to be resolved to avoid further inflation. The CID was able to detect the appearance of counterfeit coins (Foran, 1962: 85). In May 1933 for instance, two coins went into circulation that showed more skilled and cunning teams at work. Coins of a similar make that were counterfeited afterwards appeared. Even though every effort was made to identify their source, no information was found until later in the year when a young Indian man was stopped while attempting to exchange 200 of these counterfeit coins at a Nairobi bank. In July, many more counterfeit coins from this source started to appear with alarming regularity. Investigations following that showed the existence of a very crafty group of Sikh

nationals, totalling four people, who were all apprehended. Three of them were found guilty and given prison terms (KNA, Police Annual Report 1939:16).

Discipline was valued in the force, and the discipline index among the ranks was lower than the previous years. There were 225 registered cases of indiscipline, which were dealt with through minor punishment, fines, demotion, civil conviction, or corporal punishment. Forty of the most outstanding officers were also given various awards, including chief inspectors Sat Batchan Singh an Indian, and Abdulla Said, who received the King's silver jubilee medal. The clerical staff at the end of the year consisted of 57 officers, 4 being Europeans, 21 Indians, and 32 Goans (KNA, Police Annual Report 1935).

In 1935, a military patrol followed by a Police Levy enforced the collection of a massive fine in stock and unsuccessfully attempted disarmament in Samburu (Waller, 2010). Akin to the previous years, the Kenya police force of 1935 had a good number of African troops serving under Indian and European officers. The force had 1694 African sergeants, corporals, and recruits, under the command of 36 Asians and 105 European senior officers (KNA, police Annual Report 1935). Refer to table below;

Table 4.3 Senior police establishment 1935

Rank	Sanctioned	Actual
Commissioner	1	1
Deputy Commissioner	1	1
Superintendents and Asst. Superintendents	27	27
Chief Inspectors	3	3
Inspectors and Assistant inspectors	32	30
European Constables	41	43
Chief Sub-Inspectors	3	3
Sub & Asst. Sub-Inspectors	36	35
Indian Sergeants and Constables	3	3
African Sergeants	53	52
African Corporals, Constables, and Recruits	1631	1637
Total	1831	1835

(KNA police Annual Report 1935)

In 1936, the political and social environment in which the police worked created a patchwork of overlapping jurisdictions and borders, making the terrain challenging to traverse. Waller, (2010:3) observes that the police could not disregard these limits. The White Highlands, which housed all of Kenya's major cities with the exception of Mombasa and Kisumu, and the African Reserves were clearly separated from one another. The Kenya Police were in charge of (white) settlements

and urban areas; in the Reserves, Tribal Police, recruited locally by the District Commissioner was in charge. Throup, (2017) points out that tribal police officers were inconsistent in their effectiveness and dependability, and they were generally untrained in police work. They arose from the *ad hoc* recruitment of "station askaris" by early administrators, who were later supplemented by "chiefs' retainers," who served as the Native Authority's muscle (Throup, 2017).

In the Northern Frontier province at Isiolo Depot a second Assistant Superintendent, one Asian officer, two African sergeants, three African Corporals, and 47 additional Africans strengthened the force in 1936 (KNA, Police Annual Report 1936). The colonial government realized that access to information and a degree of community engagement was essential for effective policing. But this could only be achieved if the police could find appropriate ways of interacting with communities and appealing to local interests, thereby domesticating policing (Ndeda, 2006: 132).

In 1937, Mr R. C. A. Cavendish commanded the Kenya police force as Commissioner. In general, the strength of the Kenyan force by the end of the year was 2,007 men, although only 1,992 were in active service. By composition, those in actual service included 106 Britons, 34 Asians, and 1852 Africans (KNA, Police Annual Report, 1937). By this time, the Kenya police force had three additional divisions; the first aid division, the prevention of cruelty division, and the musketry division (Atz, 1988). The first aid division, under the St. John Ambulance, had a total of 146 officers during the year. Over the year, the team conducted a medical examination on 150 officers, 142 of whom passed. Notably, in 1937, an Indian Sub-Inspector Hargopal Rai Varma received a Meritorious First Aid Certificate from the Ambulance committee for restoring, through the successful "prolonged application

of artificial respiration” the life of a child who had been asphyxiated by inhaling charcoal fumes. The prevention of cruelty to animal’s department handled about 100 cases of animal cruelty in the year and had an increase in its staffing by 26 persons. The year also saw two Indian police officers, Inspector Hazara Singh and Bhajan Singh of the Colonial Fire Brigades being awarded medals for long service and exceptional service (KNA, Police Annual Report, 1937).

By 1937, the clerical department of the Kenya police force was well established. Records were kept by a clerical staff that mostly comprised of Indians, supervised by a few Europeans. In total, the clerical department had 61 commissioned individuals, including 4 Europeans, 25 British Indians, and 32 Goans. This was a slight increase from the past year due to the commission of four extra clerks; three for duty in the criminal records office and one for duty at the Abyssinian refugee camp at Isiolo (KNA, Police Annual Report, 1937).

4.4 Indian policing Kenyan Colonial State 1939-1945

By 1939, the Kenya police force had adequately recovered from the severe economic contraction of 1932, which had prompted the decommissioning of many officers from its ranks. In fact, in 1939, the police enjoyed a balance in their capacity to deal with problems, a state that continued well into late 1939 when the Second World War began (Douglas et al., 2019). Notably, the Kenya police force experienced very few changes in its organization (KNA, police Annual Report 1949).

In 1939 Indian police officers continued to play a significant role in policing the Kenyan state. The special branch director of intelligence B.W.D. Cochraine assigned

roles to various Indian police officers. For instance, in 1939 A.I Saikind, S.I Sharma and N.K Patel were deployed to examine the immigration section where they did returns, graphs correspondence, card index in districts, and inquiries as directed. They were supposed to furnish a weekly summary to the special branch office each Monday morning. C.S.I Sat Hashan Singh was to deal with all political Asiatic affairs including Labour, trade union, Indian Association inquiries, and any other heading that could arise (KNA/N/M/1/857/1939). It is important to note that at this time majority of the senior officers were Europeans and Asians.

During the war, censorship also became important, and as a result, postal assistant censors were appointed in the deputy censor's department with very specific instructions (Ndeda, 2006:143) The primary goals of censorship were to protect the national interest and gather important information in the military, political, and economic realms (KNA/M/1/857/1939). All mail that arrived by surface mail or by sea for locations outside of Nairobi, Kisumu, and Kampala was inspected in Mombasa, which also dealt with all direct mail bags that were addressed to that office regardless of their final destination. Arriving airmails in direct-labelled bags were censored in Nairobi, Mombasa, and Kampala, respectively. Regardless of its destination, all mail sent from Kisumu was checked by censors in Nairobi, Mombasa, and Kampala. Airmails headed for the North were subject to the same rules, but Mombasa was in charge of screening mail from southern nations. Over the entire territory of Eastern Africa, specific instructions were given regarding how and where the censorship was to be carried out (KNA/M/1/857/1939).

Intelligence was crucial during the War and was required for directional clarity (Ndeda, 2006:140). In 1940, an administrative officer was seconded to the special section of the C.I.D. with the goal of gathering, sorting, and recording data from the Native Reserves and other native sources.

In a letter a circular letter sent by G.M Rennie, chief Secretary, he emphasized;

“In time of war it is essential that the government should be kept informed as accurately as possible of the trends of Native opinion and the activities of native political associations. The enemy will be quick to seize upon any disaffected elements in the native community and will if opportunity occurs, spread rumours calculated to cause alarm among loyal natives”
KNA/PC/NZA/2/4/27/1939.

As a result, all DCs were made aware of the need to ensure that they gathered as much information as possible to warn the government of any negative actions in their areas. In addition, patrols and other related mechanisms such as community support of the police were used to combat crime (Anderson, 2017). The police commissioner then, R.C.A Cavendish, constantly pressed upon Police Officers on the necessity of winning the confidence of the indigenous people through the extensive distribution of prizes for services done to the police. According to the police annual report, the Commissioner of police believed that paying incentives to civilians functioned as a significant motivation to the local Chief and Headman to aid the police.

In 1939, the Commissioner of Police in his report, argued that;

“It must be acknowledged that a significant contributor to the reduction in crime over the course of the year has been the excellent cooperation that now exists between the Regular Police and the tribal authorities in the district, as well as the assistance provided by Chiefs and Headmen in locating people wanted by the Police” (KNA Police Annual Report, 1939).

In 1940, leading police officers continued to speak of the professionalization of the police in the wake of the struggle to control crime and involvement in political policing due to the burgeoning political activity of the period (Killingray, 1986:434). Because of Mau Mau's strong political mobilization, the reserves required more police presence from colonial authorities (Anderson, 1992). The Police Act was revised in 1940 to raise the number of police officers in the Reserves and to allow European personnel to be deployed to the Reserves. The police became enforcers of the colonial administration's controversial policies and laws (Throup, 2017:34).

Table 4.4 Police Numbers during World War II

Year	1942	1943	1944
Africans	276	519	551
Europeans	252	247	234
Asians	321	519	350
Total	849	1285	1135

Source: Police Annual report 1942, 1943 and 1944

The police appeared unorganized during the War, and as a result, the department underwent a number of changes. The issue of underpaid and unqualified special police also became apparent (Foran, 1962). Bourgeat (2014) observes that staff shortages in the force affected the prosecution branch of the judiciary. Due to a lack of resources and excessive workload, police officers were unable to adequately prepare their cases. As a result, statements from key witnesses were left out of court prosecutor files. Many prosecution cases were left unfinished, and cases that should not have been brought to court were instead brought to court. Police control was constrained as a result of insufficient staff. Almost 75% of severe crime went unreported because the police were severely understaffed. The reasons for the understaffing were firstly, that the war forced a large number of officers to join the military, which decreased the already inadequate police ranks; and secondly that a sizeable portion of the European police force decided to resign from their positions in the early 1940s due to poor housing and working conditions (Bourgeat,2014:36).

In 1941, police headquarters had many difficulties since they dealt directly with around 20 different police units. According to the Police Annual Report of 1941, Mr W.Gulloch, the chief secretary, recommended urgent reorganization of the police by proposing the establishment of the provincial police force. The same regions that the administrative provinces covered—Nyanza, Rift Valley, Central, the Coast, and the Northern Frontier District—were to be covered by the police provinces, along with a special entity for Nairobi. The report further notes that the Chief Secretary advised that the Province and the District establish a liaison for police concerns. The province's police would be under the supervision and overall authority of seasoned police officials. Senior officers would gain valuable administrative experience in

their role as police chiefs in the province. The province would free up a lot of work for the administration (KNA, Police Annual Report 1941:16).

The CID in Nairobi already had a Director of intelligence position by 1943 and throughout the War the police officers in various locations were to provide him with intelligence reports from the dangerous regions (Ndeda, 2006). Police intelligence reports included a variety of topics, such as officers' movements, epidemic breakouts, industrial unrest, and tribal conflict. Additionally, they provided updates on supplies, transportation, communication, and intelligence that were unfavourable (KNA/DC/MBT/3/3/Intelligence Report). The selection of intelligence officers was based on reliable people that the provincial and district authorities could recommend. This is demonstrated by F. Bristar's recommendation of Mr P.L. Pandya an Indian, to be a military intelligence officer due to his utmost dependability, impeccable honesty, and exemplary qualifications (KNA/PC/NZA/2/4/27/1943).

Until 1943, the Kenya Police Force was majorly tasked with protecting white settlements and trading centres since they were the centres of agricultural product extraction for export to Europe (Waller, 2010). In townships with trading centers, there were European and Indian merchants who needed police protection. Urban spaces were home to much wealth, including money and trade items (KNA, Police Annual Report, 1943). All this indicates that the colonial Police Force was formed not only to maintain law and order but also to protect the colony's economic interests.

In 1944, the colony drafted a five-year development strategy in which the Kenyan police had to take over policing of the colony (Whittaker, 2017:381). In order to replace all insufficient and unusable facilities, a significant building program was created to establish new police stations and provide sufficient housing accommodations. A larger workforce was required to operate and manage the additional police stations (Throup, 2017:34). There were 18 police divisions, including two that were under the command of administrative officers, covering various municipal and district areas that were under the direction of a superior or senior subordinate officer. Additionally, there were 59 police stations in populated and metropolitan regions that were overseen by European or Asian officers. The DCS and other relevant authorities continued their close cooperation. Despite initial public scepticism, the people's relationship with the police improved (KNA, Police Annual Report 1945:7-8).

Towards the end of 1944, crime had become more organized and professional and the police had increased their manpower and facilities (Sommer, 2007). The Criminal Intelligence Unit was created with the primary aim of obtaining and monitoring information about suspects and undesirable people. Furthermore, the fingerprint bureau was expanded with more European and Asian officers forming the majority. Some were former British and South African police officers (Ndeda, 2006:176).

By 1945, a superintendent or senior assistant superintendent of police oversaw the police in each province, although the individual districts within each province continued to be governed by an assistant superintendent of police (Whittaker, 2017:383). The colonial state realized that to build an orderly state in Kenya, the

government had to work with available resources under local circumstances. They had to create and nurture a police force while making it intelligible and acceptable to the people being policed. This endeavour was a success, and the government sought to permanently align the force to both the state's and subjects' interests. A structure emerged that was not only adaptable and mutable, but also accountable, and often aggressive (Foran, 1962:123).

During the period 1919 to 1945, the Police officers whose composition included Europeans, Asians, and Africans, played a number of different functions as representatives of the colonial state. They fought general crime, served as tax collectors, seizing goods, as well as gathering labor and conscripts during wartime. Police also established cordons to limit the movement of people and cattle in addition to patrolling borders in order to stop the spread of disease (Thomas, 2012). They also managed immigration, seized weapons, oversaw street cleaning, and kept an eye on urban sanitation. Beginning in the 1940s, the government also used the police extensively to break up illegal strikes from traders and politicians (Killingray, 1986:426).

4.5 Notable Indians in Colonial Kenya Police 1895-1963

From the start of the Kenya police force, Indians in service contributed phenomenally to the ability of the force to successfully perform its roles. From clerical work to actual police work in the streets, Indian officers were outstanding for the most part and often received recognition from the colonial authorities.

Kapur Singh

Kapur Singh, a Punjabi inspector who joined the colonial police in Kenya in 1895, was the first Indian police officer to be recruited (Chebai, 2001). He initially joined the police service in a tiny village close to Amritsar in India. He was at first assigned to Baluchistan before being seconded from India to operate with the Kenya Police. According to the National Museum of Kenya (NMK), Kapur Singh gave loyal service and earned a great deal of respect for his lengthy service at a senior level in the Protectorate's police force. He retired and later passed away in India. He was succeeded by his sons Satbachan Singh and Laxman Singh. Satbachan entered the police force in the early 1920s and worked in Nairobi, Kisumu, Lamu, and Voi until retiring in 1946 as a Chief Inspector. They were joined by brave Sikhs who had previously served in the Indian Army in Uganda and Central Africa before being moved to the Indian Police and then to Kenya, where they joined the Kenya Police Force (Sommer, 2007).

Kartar Singh Bharaj

From the late 1920s to the early 1930s, Kartar Singh Bharaj was a member of the Kenya Police. His legacy was carried on by his four sons. Mohinder Singh Bharaj started his career in law enforcement in 1945 and served as a superintendent of police before retiring. The other son Nirmal Singh Bharaj joined the force in 1948 and was stationed at CID Headquarters in Nairobi in the Fingerprints section. Bharaj was in the police force for 30 years. Both Parminder Singh Bharaj and Parlad Singh Bharaj served in the Kenya Police force as uniformed officers before retiring as Inspectors.

Karam Singh Panesar

Karam Singh Panesar joined the police in September 1946 and was served in Thika, Nanyuki, Thomson Falls, Nakuru, Kapasibat, Kisumu, and Nairobi. He enrolled in Colonial Police Courses in Hendon in 1958 and Bramshill Staff College in Hampshire in 1962. In April 1974, he retired as Senior Superintendent of Police after serving as Acting Assistant Chief of Police for six months. He was Kenya's most senior Sikh police officer and the lead investigator in Kenyan Cabinet Minister Tom Mboya's assassination in July 1969.

Harbans Singh Jabbal

Harbans Singh Jabbal joined the Kenya Police Force in 1950, serving in the towns of Embu, Nyeri, Eldoret, Kericho, and Nairobi. He had earlier worked as a Detective Chief Inspector in Kenya until he emigrated to the United Kingdom following the independence of Kenya and progressive Africanisation policies. He retired as a Chief Inspector in 1966 and emigrated to the United Kingdom, where he worked as a clerk in the Central Ticket Office for the Metropolitan Police. In November 1969, he joined the Metropolitan Police Special Constabulary, becoming the first turbaned Special Constabulary officer in the world.

Mr. Jaswant Singh Bharaj

Mr. Jaswant Singh Bharaj was born in Lakhpur, Punjab, in 1935. He arrived in Kenya for the first time as a youngster in 1940. However, his father had immigrated to Kenya in 1914 to work for the Uganda Railway (Durrani, 2018:213). Jaswant Singh departed for India in 1947 to further his education and came back to Kenya in 1953. He studied the development of British rule in India since 1857 and the

Revolutionary Party of India. When he came to terms with the horrific atrocities carried out by British forces against the common Indians, he despised the British in general (Durrani, 2018:13). He joined the Kenya Police Reserve. During his training, he and his colleagues were inhumanly treated sowing seeds of resentment toward the British. Durrani (2018) observes;

This made him a sympathizer of the anti-White section among the Mau Mau and he commenced manufacturing and supplying them guns, ammunition, and other material. He supplied piping to the Mau Mau Bush Fighters for making guns and taught a few of them the art of gun-making. He was arrested in May 1954, tried, and sentenced to be hanged. In the appeal, the sentence was reduced to life imprisonment but he was released in 1958 after serving four and a half years in Takwa Detention Camp, off Mombasa, along with other detainees such as Mr. John Mbiyu Koinange, Mr. Achieng Oneko and Mr. M. C. Chokwe (Durrani, 2018:213).

He genuinely and selflessly supported the liberation fight of Africa, and he did everything in his power to help Africa and Africans. He worked as a builder, radio and motor mechanic, plumber, electrician, welder, lorry driver, tractor driver, and gunsmith (Durrani, 2018; 213).

Hardev Singh Kular

Hardev Singh Kular was born in Nakuru after his family migrated to Kenya in 1920. He started off in the civil department as an Assistant Inspector (1953) and then joined the police force two years later (M'Mbijiwe, 1987). He became Chief Prosecutor in Nairobi and later in Mombasa and Thika. During this period, police officers also served as court prosecutors. He retired from the police department while serving in the capacity of Chief Prosecuting Inspector. He not only excelled as a police officer and prosecutor but also as a hockey player. As a hockey player for

Kenya, he competed in the 1956 Melbourne and 1960 Rome Olympics (M'Mbijiwe, 1987). The Kenya Police Hockey Team, led by Hardev Singh Kular, won the MR D'Souza Gold Cup, East Africa's top hockey competition, in 1955 and 1960. The esteemed Sikh Union of Nairobi won the Gold Cup for the first time in 1959. Later in 1972, he acted as the Kenyan Team Coach at the Munich Olympics. At the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games, he served as Kenya's Team Manager (Asembo & Njororai, 1995).

Jaswant Singh Bharma

Jaswant Singh Bharma, an Indian graduate, began his civil service career as a DC's clerk in Nairobi before becoming an Inspector with the Kenya Police Force in 1959. In 1962, he was assigned to general duties in Nyanza Province's Provincial Administration, and later to staff training at the PTS Kiganjo (Nyeri). He retired in 1969.

Piara Singh Kenth; Warrant Number: 160512

Piara Singh Kenth was born in 1939 in Nairobi, Kenya, and was the eldest child of four brothers and six sisters. His family originated from Ludhiana, Punjab, before settling in Kenya in the early 20th Century. His father was a civil servant in the Kenyan government, whilst his mother was a devoted housewife. Upon completing his education; Mr Kenth worked as a Clerk before joining the Kenya Police on 12th August 1960. He joined as an Assistant Inspector, completed his police training at Kiganjo Police College, and was posted to Kingsways police station in Nairobi. In 1963 he was promoted to the rank of Inspector. Piara's duties included general police duties, criminal investigations, administration, and serving briefly in the

North East Frontier as Temporary Chief Inspector. It was here that he was awarded the Northern Frontier campaign medal for his police operations against the *Shiftas*. These were Somali guerrillas. Throughout his service with the Kenyan police, Piara received commendations for his dedicated police work on and off duty. In the early '60s, Kenya got its independence from Britain, and Africanisation policy was introduced. Some chose to remain British whilst others took up Kenyan citizenship. Piara, being British, was not promoted to Chief Inspector as he refused Africanisation which was part of the conditions. He relocated to Britain.

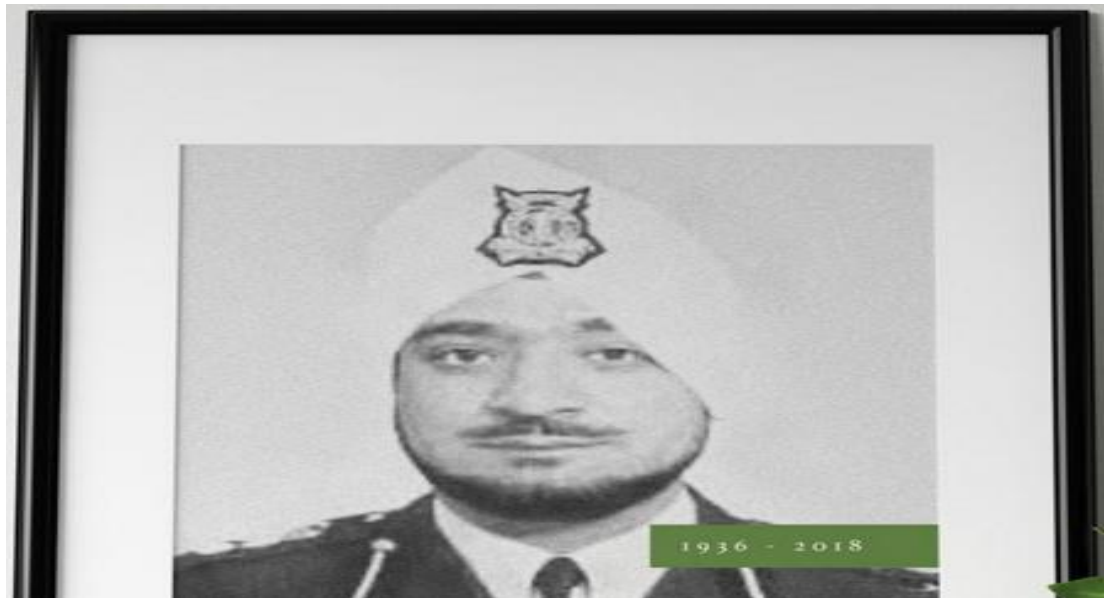
Joginder Singh Sokhi

One of the most senior Indian police officers in Kenya was Joginder Singh Sokhi (Daily Nation, August 01, 2018). He was a Kenyan Asian and was born in Mwanza. He joined the Kenya colonial Police service as a Constable in 1952 at the age of 16 and rose through the ranks to Assistant Commissioner of police (Sunday Nation, August 05, 2018). The tall, turbaned Sikh with his distinctive dark glasses was the first Asian police officer assigned to the Kilimani Police Station. He was the most dreaded among Kenya's Asians in those times. In fact, whenever he was spotted, groups of Asians idling in the streets of Nairobi would disperse and flee in fear (Sunday Nation, August 05, 2018). According to Kamau (2018), the reigns of Jomo Kenyatta and Daniel Arap Moi rackets that included the smuggling of coffee and precious stones by Asians, whites, and even Africans were a big challenge (Daily Nation, August 01, 2018). Joginder Singh Sokhi would target the Asians suspected of involvement in these scams. He would disguise himself as a civilian in Nairobi's

downtown cinema halls which many Kenyan Asians preferred to visit (*Daily Nation, August 01, 2018*).

As the Assistant Superintendent of Police, he is also remembered for leading the investigation into Tom Mboya's murder in July 1969 which led to the arrest of Nahashon Njenga. He received a distinguished service medal from President Daniel Arap Moi in 1979 as a result of his discipline and dedication to law and order. He headed the private investigation firm Deter and Detect after leaving the police force in 1984. He was always reticent to discuss his involvement in law enforcement.

Joginder Singh Sokhi



Source: Daily Nation, August 01, 2018.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter's goal was to examine the roles played by Indians in the Kenyan police during the interwar and World War II eras. We have shown that throughout these times there was an upsurge in the recruitment of Indians and their participation in the colonial police force in Kenya. The chapter has examined outstanding Indian officers who contributed to the force's success during this period. It has been argued that Kenya Police had matured into a dependable and professional force by the time it became a colony in 1920. It is concluded that from the start of the Kenya police force, Indians in service contributed phenomenally to the ability of the force to successfully undertake its functions. From clerical work to actual police work in the streets, Indian officers were outstanding for the most part and often received recognition from the colonial authorities. The next chapter analyses the role of Indian police in the post-war and the decolonization period in Kenya.

CHAPTER FIVE

INDIAN POLICING IN KENYA DURING THE DECOLONIZATION

PERIOD 1945-1963

5.1 Introduction

In chapter four, we examined the continued recruitment of Indians into the colonial police force in Kenya and their involvement in policing the state during the interwar and war years. It was noted there were some outstanding Indian officers who contributed to the force's success during this period and concluded that the Indian Police played an important role during the interwar and War years. This chapter examines Indian involvement in state policing in Kenya during the decolonization period from 1945-1963. The first part of the chapter examines the Kenya police in the post world war II years. The next part discusses how the Indians were involved in policing the state during the Mau Mau and the state of emergency in Kenya, 1952-1960. Lastly, the chapter analyzes the challenges the Indian police faced in policing the Kenyan state. The conclusion summarizes the main issues discussed.

5.2 The Kenya Police in the Post-World War Two Years

The immediate post-war years were significant internationally, but for Kenya, it was most significant because it marked the maturing of agitation against the colonial system (Wafula, 2000). This agitation was also gaining support from strange quarters, such as communism which was beginning to agitate for the decolonization of all colonies (Ndeda, 2006:174). The agitation had begun to intensify in various forms, such as trade unionism, actual political activism, religious atavism, and

ultimately real violence (Berman, 1991:184). This meant that the colonial government and particularly the police had to be on its toes concerning intelligence gathering and ensuring that this information was not only gathered but also urgently acted upon. The colonial government had to respond to the emergent problems by expanding the Kenya police, restructuring the intelligence network, and creating significant police training schools (Percox, 2001:21).

After World War II, new circumstances led to changes that led to an increase in police spending and the expansion of the department into rural areas, as the majority of the native police were either subordinated to local authorities or merged into the national force. Colonial aspirations to rule and direct African society included, among other things, the need for a more capable police force, particularly in the urban setting where enhanced police role was obvious (Foran, 1961:122). Early after World War II, a colonial urban policy in East Africa involved establishing small but privileged elite of Africans who lived in urban areas (Lonsdale, 2001:210). To keep this policy effective in the face of widespread rural-urban migration, the police in Nairobi and other cities played a significant role. They were accountable for upholding a wider urban order outlined by the colonial state and playing a role in crime prevention. This significantly affected how the police were perceived in African society (Clayton & Killingray, 1989:68).

The colonial government had long recognized that the rise of African nationalism in the post-war period would pose a threat to peace and stability (Birmingham, 2008:4). They had agreed in June 1945 to create "an effective political internal security organization in Kenya and also take measures to ensure that its organization was adequate (Percox, 2001:23). At the end of WWII, the Kenyan police force had

essentially taken over most operations from the tribal police force. It had about 5000 agents, most of whom were native Kenyans (Ashimala, 2014:20). To improve policing after World War II, the colony was split into the Northern, Central, Rift valley, Nyanza, and Coast police provinces. Generally speaking, the provinces followed the administrative provinces. An assistant superintendent was in charge of the police force in each province. A Chief Inspector, Inspector, or Assistant Inspector oversaw each of the varied numbers of police stations that made up the divisions. Asian and African Inspectors, Sergeants, or senior constables were in command of a range of police positions within the force (KNA, Police Annual report 1948:8).

Generally, Post-war spending surged due to rising crime in expanding cities, "illegal" rallies, ethnic political rivalry, secessionism, and, most importantly, the political upheaval linked to African nationalism (Deflem, 1994:39). Despite this, routine policing persisted. The usual station job was meeting with trade union leaders and traditional authorities, attending committees, and conducting interviews. Most forces were also in charge of fire fighting, weight and measures inspections, and other civil duties. However, against this backdrop of everyday life, nationalism was gaining traction, resulting in localized rioting against taxation, as well as inter-party and inter-ethnic political unrest, both of which were organized politically (Baker, 2008:55). All these required intensive policing, which was readily provided by Indian police officers.

5.3 Indian State Policing 1945-1951

Political instability and widespread unrest following World War II were to usher in significant adjustments to the way the police were structured (Throup, 2017:135). This may have also affected the Indian officers in the force. The police responsibilities were split between the General Police, a literate force that handled criminal cases and the Escort Police an illiterate unit that handled routine patrols and watch task. The Mounted Escort Police, a unique section of the Escort Police, featured uniforms that incorporated turbans in the style of the Indian cavalry. This is because Indian police were part of this unit. In addition to enhancing its political and economic responsibilities to sustain colonial control, the force's expansion was distinguished by its practice of policing strangers by strangers. The increased police presence during this period was mostly used for riot suppression and maintaining state stability (Deflem, 1994:53).

Following a sharp increase in criminal cases in the colony in 1945, the focus was directed to measures by which the efficiency of the police could be improved. There was a substantial change in the structure of the police, especially the Special Branch (Ndeda, 2006:215). The installation of mounted patrols in rural areas was one of these initiatives. According to the Governor's directives, a plan was created for the creation of mounted sections in all police divisions where it was possible to keep horses or mules in a satisfactory manner and where mounted employment was thought to improve local policing (Foran, 1961:122).

According to respondent who is a retired police officer, crime detection and intelligence gathering was a top priority. The gathering and sorting of intelligence

coming from local police formations and the administration were the responsibility of a Special Branch of the criminal investigation department, which reported to the Director of civil Intelligence and Security (Swaleh O.I.,2022). Ndeda (2006:216) points out that the special branch continued to be a crucial component of CID even though it was overseen by a specially designated police officer with the position of Director of Intelligence and Security. She argues that Special Branch was totally detached from the CID as a result, and its head directed it to take control of all matters connected to intelligence security and immigration control. Although it was no longer a police formation, it was nonetheless subject to the general administrative and disciplinary oversight of the police commissioner. According to the police annual report in 1945, there was an assistant superintendent, two other European police officers, an Asian police inspector, three female European clerks, one Asian clerk, and a relatively small number of native employees on staff at the time (KNA, Police Annual report 1945).

By 1946 the special branch was comprised of Europeans, Africans, and Asians who did not receive salaries for their services. By composition, the special police force had 551 Europeans, 227 Asians, and 157 Africans in active service. The force also had motor vehicles to help facilitate police activity. In that year, 118 vehicles were brought and stationed at various points, including 18 in the Northern Frontier District (KNA, Police Annual Report 1946). The rate of change in the police force in 1946 remained sluggish. After the war, incidences of crime increased considerably, necessitating further reinforcement of the force. It is noted that during this time, the Africans lacked status in the force and in society, alongside little pay. By 1946 starting salaries for African constables had not been increased; furthermore, salary

increments were poor, and unlike Europeans and Indians, African policemen did not receive pensions despite economic hardships and limited mobility in the force (Wolf, 1973:406). Refer to table 5.1 below;

Table 5.1 Police strength in 1946

Rank	Sanctioned	Actual
Commissioner	1	1
Deputy Commissioner	1	1
Superintendents and Asst. Superintendents	38	36
Chief Inspectors	15	13
Signals Officer	1	1
Inspectors and Assistant inspectors	124	113
Assistant Inspectors (Woman)	3	2
Asian Chief Inspectors	4	4
Asian Inspectors and Assistant Inspectors	35	31
Asian Sergeants and Constables	22	20
African Inspectors and Assistant Inspectors	65	57
African Sergeants	489	482
African Corporals, Constables, and Recruits	4107	4081
Total Police Officers	4905	4845

Source: KNA police Annual Report 1946

According to the table above, the sanctioned establishment of superior officers totalled 40, including four Assistant superintendents-supplementary force officers.

The sanctioned establishment of European subordinate police officers totalled 139, including 23 approved for a supplementary police force, but exclusive of one signal officer and three assistant inspectors. The approved establishment for Asian Inspectors totalled 39, and that of Asian sergeants 2 and 20 constables. The approved establishment for African officers totalled 4 661, including ten inspectors and 55 Assistant Inspectors, 489 Sergeants, and 4,107 constables and recruits. The force was, therefore, 63 of all ranks below the sanctioned establishment. The actual strength was distributed throughout the Kenyan colony. On 31st of December, 1946, the racial composition of the force was as follows; 170 British, 55 Asians 4,620 Africans, all totalling 4,845. During the year, the force had a clerical staff of 12 Europeans and 121 Asians. It is also important to note that the force had a diverse composition, with representations of most of the ethnic groups in the Kenyan colony. However, the Kamba formed most of the force with about 1,183 officers. It is also important to note that the force had special police officers who were unpaid. At the close of the year, the strength of special police officers was 551 Europeans, 227 Asians, and 157 Africans (KNA, Police Annual Report 1946:2).

It was noted that Asians and Africans would only be absorbed into colonial East African political institutions after adopting British-style subordinate positions. The Kenya police Commissioner then, told an investigation committee that while he would like to employ non-European police officers, there was no African officer adequately qualified to perform the duties of an Assistant Superintendent in the force (Wolf, 1973:405). Although Asians on the force were insignificant in number, those that took up duty in the field held better and more responsible jobs compared to African policemen. Essentially, Indians could not rise above the rank of Assistant

Commissioner, but they held higher ranks that fell below. This inequity of opportunity for promotion was matched by almost unequal pay for Asians and Europeans (Wolf, 1973:406).

A retired senior police officer notes that in terms of organization and for police purposes, the colony was divided into the Northern, Central, Rift valley, Nyanza, and Coast provinces and the Nairobi and Maasai Districts. In general, the provinces conformed to the administrative provinces. The force in each province was commanded by a Superintendent who worked in close collaboration with the provincial commissioner and was responsible to the commissioner for the police in the province (Muriithi O.I., 2022). The annual report points out that each province was divided into divisions, each of which was commanded by an Assistant Superintendent. The divisions were divided into a varying number of police stations, each in charge of a chief Inspector, inspector, or Assistant Inspector. The police station, in turn, had a number of police posts in charge of African Inspectors, sergeants, or senior constables (KNA, Police Annual Report 1946:6).

Expanding police involvement in Kenya was problematic in 1948. According to Ndeda (2006:178), two pressing issues at the time were the extensive search on the Mt. Kenya slopes for the killers of Assistant Inspector T.D Mortimer and two African police at Gatundu on December 20, 1947; and Dini ya Msambwa, whose attempt to rescue two prisoners from Malakisi prison required a large number of the forces to be rushed there and remained there until order was restored. Another problem was the Somali Youth League, which aimed to undermine the governmental authority and expand its influence across the province and other Somali-occupied areas. They were warned against continuing their behaviour, but in

the colony in early June 1948, they were outlawed and labelled a society hazardous to good governance. Additionally, Jewish trainees broke out of Gilgil's prison, which interfered with routine police operations and required extra safeguards to be implemented (Ndeda, 2006:178). In many of these cases, the Indian police officers were part of the police operation teams that were conducted by the security agencies to restore order.

Wolf (1973) argues that the Kenyan Colony was a multiracial community with Asian and European communities coexisting with the indigenous tribal units. According to him, there were approximately 15,000 Europeans, 30,000 Asians, and 2,685,000 Africans who lived in the region in 1948. In terms of percentages, the European community never accounted for more than 1% of the total population, whereas the Asian community never accounted for more than 3%. Despite their tiny numbers, however, each felt superior to the indigenous population. This was also reflected in the police force, where the Europeans and Indians held superior positions when compared to Africans. For a non-European to succeed within the Kenya colonial structure, he had to conform to the British system and standards. This was particularly true in governmental bureaucracies such as the civil service and the military service, including the police forces (Wolf, 1973:405).

In 1949 the Commissioner of Police complained that because Asians were paid more as clerks and shop assistants than as police officers, recruitment from that segment of the population was low. Generally, Asians preferred better-paying clerical work and shop assistant positions that offered seemingly better rewards. The Police Commissioner further revealed some reluctance among potential Asian recruits "to start at the bottom police ladder and undergo training with the African, as they felt

relatively superior to Africans (Wolf, 1973:406). At the time, there were just 5 Asian Chief Inspectors and 34 Inspectors and Assistant Inspectors on the job. On the other hand, the Europeans had 154 officers in that rank. A large number of Sikhs entered the newly established Kenya Police Reserve (KPR) (KNA, Police Annual Report 1949). Similarly, for a decade, it had been the crown's policy to strengthen the African inspectorate at the expense of the Asian, a move that had resulted in the limited expansion of the Asian establishment in comparison to the British and Africans. During the year, this policy was considered for review due to the increasing Asian population. Essentially, the number of Asians in the force doubled in numbers, although this increase resulted from the extension of the criminal records office and not ordinary police needs (KNA, Police Annual Report 1949).

It is worth pointing out that despite the fact that there were not many Asians in the force, those who had roles were superior to and more responsible than those of the African officers, albeit with less responsibility than those of the European police. This was especially so when they were given fieldwork assignments as opposed to clerical work. The following statistics from the 1949 annual report demonstrate how the force implemented what is technically known as job reservation:

Table 5.2 Progressive increases in police establishment 1938-1949

	British		Asians		Africans	
Year	Officers	Inspectors	Inspectors	Sergeants	Inspectors	Constables
1938	28	113	32	3	5	1,906
1940	28	137	32	4	6	2,798
1946	40	183	39	22	65	4,596
1949	84	269	41	22	115	5,542

Source: The Kenya police Annual reports 1938, 1940, 1946, and 1949

According to the above establishment report, the year 1938 was selected for comparison as it might be said that until then, the force had not recovered from the great cuts in establishment made in the years 1930 and 1932. The report indicates that in 1938 the problems of the police and their facilities to deal with them were evenly balanced, and this state continued well into the following year, which marked the outbreak of the war. Apart from the increased African personnel for military guard duties and for policing the Northern Province during the war years, there was little change in establishment until after the immediate post-war period when crime incidences began to soar noticeably. Although substantial increases were approved in 1946, they were soon found to be inadequate as, in common with most other countries; crime grew seriously and progressively. During the years 1947 and 1948, certain increases of the establishment were granted, but it was not, however, until the year under review that the force was provided with staff adequate to deal with circumstances affecting the police, which had vastly changed in the previous years (KNA, Police Annual Report 1949:2).

While the above report suggests that Asians had a higher social standing than Africans, it also suggests that they had a lower status than Europeans. Asians were frustrated by their inability to advance in the police hierarchy. This disparity in promotion opportunities was matched by a compensation gap between Asians and Europeans doing essentially the same positions.

Earlier in 1949, a Kenya Legislative Council member who was Indian expressed the severity of this complaint and remarked that:

"An Indian, no matter how efficient, how capable and deserving, cannot rise above the rank of a wretched sub-inspector in the Colony' (cited in Wolf, 1973:406).

The Asian community in Kenya itself was allowed upward mobility but was altered by restriction or fostering of advancement. The Asian community, therefore, had valid reasons to fear unfavourable interference with its advancement (Wolf, 1973:406). In 1949 the Kenya police force stabilized and had a force suited to deal with the changes that had taken place in the previous years. Through the year, 44 assistant inspectors of European origin were commissioned; 12 from the local population, 24 from the crown's agents, and eight on transfer from the police force in Palestine. Notably, about 35 of these officers were appointed to new positions, and the rest replaced officers who had retired, resigned, or transferred. The additional 35 officers to the force resulted in a significant strain on its resources, matched only by the excellent standard set by the new individuals (KNA, Police Annual Report 1949).

Policing of the state was not only done by police officers on the ground but also involved the air space which was made possible by the Police Air wing. The Police

Air Wing was founded in 1949 to make communication and evacuation of sick people easier. The air wing unit was staffed by police reservists from the colony's air companies and other civil organizations (Waters, 1973:97). Among the reservists were a number of Asians. Aircraft was given to the police on a non-profit basis, though the reserve force had access to one commanded by the main force on a chargeable basis. Throughout the year, the unit provided outstanding support to the main force in the areas of reconnaissance, transportation, and communication, especially along the northern border and in Turkana (KNA, Police Annual Report 1949).

The force had little trouble locating Africans for training. However, the problem was in finding trainers and accommodation. Moreover, a large number of officers retained after the war meant significant strain on the training schools. This resulted in low-standard recruits in the year. In total, 1,158 Africans were recruited, with about half of them being Swahili literate and 7% being English speakers. Most of the illiterate officers were of Kamba, Nandi, and Kipsigis origin, although they had the most potential. The literate officers mostly came from Kikuyu and Luo although these were hard to recruit, as they did not consider the salary to be very attractive (KNA, Police Annual Report 1949).

It is significant to note that, like their Indian counterparts in the police, educated Africans did not want to start at the bottom of the force and go through the same training as the uneducated recruits. Moreover, educated Africans expected preferential treatment and immediate recognition of their educational qualifications and did not welcome the idea of having to patrol (Gachoka O, I., 2022). On the contrary, they anticipated office duty and clerical positions. Nonetheless, African

officers proved very useful in the wake of emergencies. In fact, African detectives produced first-class results most of the time and helped crack most of the severe cases in the colony. In the year, the relationship between African police improved significantly, although most of the young constables had problems (KNA, Police Annual Report 1949).

Generally, European and Indian police officers received more detailed training compared to Africans. According to a retired police officer, an Assistant Inspector typically went through a three-month course at the training school. This included rudimentary training on the history of the country and its people, his position as a British Inspector, respect for the seniors, and the attitude and knowledge of how to wear his uniform. Additionally, the Assistant Inspector received instructions on the law, practical police work, physical police work, and first aid and how to interact with African recruits on a daily basis. Upon completion of training, the European and Indian assistant inspectors were considered capable of holding positions of authority outside and in the office (Swaleh O; I., 2022). The training system during this period was significantly better than the previous one. However, European police personnel who had completed their training rapidly took over police stations (KNA, Police Annual Report 1949:4-5).

According to the 1949 annual report, the intake of Asians during the year was better than that of the previous years, and all recruits had secondary education. Only six Asians were appointed all throughout the year, five of which made it to pass out. The Asians were trained alongside European recruits and did quite well. Wolf (1973) contends that the continued recruitment of Indians reflected the long-held colonial view of the efficiency of the martial races of India, which undermined the

stability and performance of the Africans in the Kenya police, especially police subordinates. Prejudice against the Africans in the police and the army was later used by Kenyan nationalists to attack British colonial policy in Kenya (Wolf, 1973: 405).

In recruiting more Indians in the police force in Kenya, as earlier stated, the British believed that the martial races of India had the physical and mental attributes that made them great candidates for police service. In the martial races, loyalty was the most crucial quality that the British were seeking. The martial races demonstrated to be generally suited to a life in the police force (Barua, 1995:110). Despite the fact that Indians were preferred by the police over Africans, it was occasionally acknowledged that using Indians for policing tasks was not fully suitable especially in areas involving knowledge of the local language and customs (Osman, O.I, 2022). A small number of Indian police officers, typically about five per post, were stationed in police outposts across large parts of the country to protect prisoners and guard houses. They were also responsible for gathering intelligence information, detecting criminal activity, and apprehending criminals. The claim that Indian police in Kenya were recruited from the lower classes and castes of Indians was also raised as a criticism of Indians recruited into the Kenya police force. The motive behind Britain's attempt to recruit police officers and constables from India in Kenya, despite the high cost, was also questioned. Furthermore, due to economic problems such as budget cuts and natural disasters in the key recruiting regions, there were often difficulties in recruitment (Wolf, 1973:406).

In terms of discipline, Europeans and Asians in the force proved reliable and were responsible, self-respecting, and proud of their work. Africans, on the other hand,

did well but had a noticeable bit of indiscipline (Osman, O.I., 2022). In 1949, 118 Africans were dismissed for severe indiscipline cases, and 28 were convicted for criminal offenses. Minor indiscipline cases were also reported. However, Indian police officers were highly responsive, had great personalities, and were effective disciplinarians. They also took pride in their jobs (KNA, Police Annual Report 1949:5).

Notably, the Kenya police force also had a police reserve established in 1949 to replace the special and auxiliary police. By June 1949, the reserve police had a total of 11 permanent European officers and inspectors, with 3500 men of Indian and African origin working under them. The reserve was organized according to provinces and divisions but was differentiated from the regular force by unique titles. The reserve had an Air wing, an emergency unit, and a signals wing. The reserve unit was also fortunate to have a signals unit in command of a highly qualified retired officer from the royal corps. The unit received ex-military No. 19 radio sets, which featured Morse ranges of 500 miles and telephone ranges of 200 miles. Thanks to these sets, it was possible to transmit daily bulletins to stations under the unit. The service proved valuable in emergencies, as in the case of the period of unrest in Trans Nzoia (KNA, Police Annual Report 1949).

In 1950, the force had reserve police to the tune of 3500 men. According to the police annual report, these included 2150 Europeans, 521 Asians, and 458 Africans. Six hundred and fifty-six extra individuals were enrolled in the reserve, while 328 left on release, a departure from the country, or on joining the Kenya regiment. As with the previous year, the reserve was organized along with division and provincial lines. It had an air wing with reservists employed by air companies and other civil

air organizations within the colony. The force also had a signal wing now with 50 sets of military hardware and an emergency unit with armoured turret cars commanded by efficient personnel with experience in service. At the end of 1953, the police reserve had strength of 8603 men, an addition of about 2000 units since the previous year. The force comprised 4786 Europeans, 1144 Asians, and 2673 Africans (KNA, Police Annual Report 1950).

In 1950, most Europeans resided in large towns and settlements, while the Asians favoured these towns, smaller townships, and, albeit rarely, trading centers in the African reserves. In February of the year, Mr. M. S. O'Rorke, O.B.E, took charge as the new Kenya police commissioner. Around this time, regular conferences hosting police commissioners from central and east Africa ensued in the bid to diversify tactics. The officers in charge of provinces and districts also held similar conferences at police headquarters every two months (KNA, Police Annual Report 1950).

During this time, the colonial government implemented regulations restricting the migration of poor Africans who had come to metropolitan areas in search of jobs after losing their land. The Vagrancy Amendment Act of 1949 authorized the police to deport anyone who did not find a permanent job within three months of arriving in Nairobi. Anyone suspected of being unemployed or a vagrant could be arrested and sent to the reserves under the Voluntary Unemployed Persons (Provision of Employment) Ordinance (Otiso and Kaguta 2016, Furedi, 1989:108). In such cases, the Indian police played a big role in implementing the vagrancy amendment act.

In the year, the Police force had strength of 5547 personnel, the highest figure yet since its establishment. These included 81 inspectors and 198 officers (European), 45 inspectors and 17 sergeants (Indians), and 114 inspectors, 5574 sergeants, and constables (African). Before year-end, 29 European assistant inspectors were commissioned. These included five learners 18-19 years of age subjected to salaries not exceeding 200 pounds a year. The five were posted to larger stations near their homes but did not bear equal responsibility as older assistant inspectors on probation. Notably, new assistant inspectors without police experience received their training in the United Kingdom. About 10 Europeans resigned during the year. Nine Inspectors, one Assistant Inspector, and three Assistant Superintendents received promotions upon transfer to other colonies. In essence, European inspectors had more responsibility than their Indian and African counterparts and were more of supervisors (KNA, Police Annual Report 1950).

In the previous years, a limited number of Asians were enlisted. There were seven in total, although two were discharged for being unsuitable candidates. Nonetheless, the force valued good Asian officers who supplemented and, with time, replaced European inspectors and chief inspectors. The year 1950 also saw the recruitment of a female Asian researcher in the criminal records office to increase the availability of Asian constables and sergeants for executive duties (KNA, Police Annual Report 1950:3).

The 1950 Police annual report captured the following issues concerning Asian police;

“There is a great deal of scope for Asian police in the force, but their numbers were inadequate for the tasks they had to perform. There were some enlistments during the year but on a small scale only. Good Asian police are indispensable to reinforce and, in due course, replace those European Chief Inspectors and chief Inspectors who have served the force so well for so long” (KNA police Annual Report 1950:3).

Table 5.3 Police establishment 1940-1950

	BRITISH		ASIAN		AFRICAN	
	Officers	Inspectors	Inspectors	Sergeants	Inspectors	Sergeants and Constables
1940	28	137	32	4	6	2798
1946	40	143	39	22	65	4596
1949	84	185	41	22	115	5542
1950	81	198	45	17	114	5574

Source: KNA police Annual Report 1950

The table above shows that the quality of European enlistments at the rank of Inspectorate was generally higher compared to those of Asians and Africans. There were 10 resignations, most of which were motivated by employment offers that appeared to be more profitable. Nine inspectors were mostly promoted and moved to different colonies. The table shows that the European Inspectorate's responsibilities were stronger than those of the Asian and African Inspectorates, particularly at the higher grades, and that the European Officers' roles were gradually shifting toward

supervisory ones. There was a remarkable increase in African inspectorate as from 1949. The strength of African sergeants and constables were also high during this period, meaning that more Africans were now being enlisted in the colonial police force.

African recruits were easy to find; thus, recruitment had to be selective. They were, however, placed into English literate, Swahili literate and illiterate categories. One hundred and twelve recruits were enlisted in the first category, and mainly required were those who had passed the Kenya African Preliminary Education. However, very few African literates presented themselves to the force as most preferred clerical work elsewhere. Sixty-three recruits were also selected for the second category within 1950. These were found to have learnt reasonable English before the completion of their training. The last category had a listing of 48 natives who mostly came from pastoral tribes. These men responded well to discipline and were keen on their work. Nonetheless, illiterate recruits had to undergo pre-training for two months to gain ground in Swahili and other simple school subjects (KNA, Police Annual Report 1950). Insistence on English literacy was to ensure cultural dominance by the west as far as colonialism was concerned in the Kenya's postcolonial spaces.

Between 1950 and 1952, Commissioner O'Rorke instituted considerable reforms in the police force. At the Police Training School in Nyeri, the reforms prioritized strengthening the Criminal Investigative Department (CID), enhancing training, and updating the curriculum to accommodate both intellectual and practical training. The dynamics of police in colonial Kenya were drastically altered after a state of emergency was declared on October 20, 1952. Strengthening colonial law

enforcement and criminal justice systems was the goal of the O'Rourke reforms (Throup, 1992:194).

In addition to the courses provided, some recruits from all three races received special CID training at the criminal investigation department. Additionally, three senior officers received O.B.E (Officer of the Most Excellent Order of the British) a king's medals awardd- the highest ranking Order of the British Empire award for meritorious service and gallantry. The M.B.E award (Member of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire) was awarded to an Asian clerical staff member for long outstanding service (KNA, Police Annual Report 1950).

Table 5.4 Railways and harbour police establishment 1950

	British	Asian	African
Officers	2	-	-
Inspectors	11	9	4
Sergeants	-	-	28
Constables		-	273

Source: KNA police Annual Report 1950

By the end of 1950, the railways and harbour police had also grown phenomenally. The ranks had two officers of European origin, 24 inspectors (11 Britons, 9 Asians, and 4 Africans), 28 African sergeants, and 273 constables who were also Africans. The force was responsible for crime prevention and detection within the port, conducting inquiries on lost property on the railway and port, and investigating accidents. Officers from the regular force staffed the harbour police, although the

cost of the force was reimbursed to the Kenya government (KNA Police Annual Report 1950). The force this year had a reserve to the tune of 3500 men. These included 2150 Europeans, 521 Asians, and 458 Africans. Six hundred fifty-six extra individuals were enrolled in the reserve, while 328 left on release, a departure from the country, or on joining the Kenya regiment. As with the last year, the reserve was organized along with division and provincial lines. It had an air-wing with reservists employed by air companies and other civil air organizations within the colony. The force also had a signal-wing now with 50 sets of military hardware and an emergency unit with armoured turret cars commanded by efficient personnel with experience in service (KNA, Police Annual Report 1950).

5.4 Indian Policing During Mau Mau and State of Emergency in Kenya, 1952-1956

Kenya suffered from white dominance in a particularly severe form, much like every other colony in Africa that had been extensively settled by Europeans, and as a result, this led to armed resistance (Cooper, 1988). The Mau Mau revolt in Kenya was caused by the agrarian crisis that devastated the Kikuyu people, one of the 44 ethnic groups that make up Kenya (Veilleux-Lepage, et al., 2015:176). A clan elder in Nyeri observed that the Kikuyu ethnic group had suffered the worst socio-economic impacts of European rule and settlement. He noted that in the early colonial period, many of them were deprived of their land and made to labor for European companies. Hence according to him, the white colony was an absolute failure for the Kikuyu (Njogu O.I., 2022).

Leakey (1954: 16) argues that the Kikuyu evolved as the most politicized Kenyan community because they were the most educated and most impacted by the colonial

system. He argues that the concentration of the Kikuyu in set-aside reserves and the exclusion of many of them from their ancestral homeland, a fertile agricultural region that came to be known as the "White Highlands," by European settlers, severely constrained their socio-economic life from almost the beginning of the occupation. Kanogo (1987:399) points out that the Kikuyu were significantly restricted and essentially cut off due to the formation of a state-sponsored native governing system by British-appointed chiefs and headmen and the settler dominance of state politics. She observes that Kikuyu who were unable to make a living in the reserves were forced to look for wage employment in the cities or, more frequently, to live as "squatters" on European farms in the Highlands, working a set number of days per year in exchange for a piece of land they could cultivate. The blocking of avenues for expression for the Kikuyu led to the build-up of dissatisfaction.

According to Foran (1962), the Mau Mau started to become active with oath-taking ceremonies reportedly held. Everyone had to take the oath, including men, women, and children, and those who did not faced harsh penalties. During an interview in Ruiru, a Mau Mau veteran claimed that the oath-taking had gotten so bad that even women and little children were required to take it and that anyone who did not would be executed (Ndiritu O.I., 2022). An academician who was interviewed at Kenyatta University stated that the movement was driven by the nationalist mentality that the former servicemen of the Second World War had acquired as a result of their experiences fighting for the white man in Europe (Gathogo, O.I., 2022).

It should be emphasized that because the oath served as a vehicle for territorial nationalism, the rate of swearing increased dramatically. After the Mau Mau militants' violence in 1952, the Europeans expressed fear and concern in the Legislative Council for the proclamation of emergency. The declaration of emergency, according to a retired chief, necessitated strengthening and equipping of the police to deal with rebels, which led to increased police presence in Central Kenya (Gethi, O.I., 2022).

Foran (1962), described the Mau Mau as a well-organized, murderous gang that required large scale police operation. Mau Mau freedom fighters were operating in more significant numbers and with greater ferocity by the beginning of 1952. Their main targets in the Rift Valley and central province were schools, churches, European farms and houses, and loyal Africans. Among the victims were Europeans, Asians, and Africans. Following reports of threats by the Mau Mau targeting loyal Kikuyu and the shocking murder of Chief Waruhiu, the new Governor Evelyn Baring after only 10 days in office, sent a Top Secret telegram to the Colonial Office outlining the justifications for a state of emergency (Crow, 1971:109).

In his private letters to the Secretary of State, the Governor stated the following;

The situation is very serious. Although the Rift Valley and Nairobi have been confined by police intervention, the situation in the Kikuyu reserve is rapidly deteriorating. There is evidence to suggest that Nairobi is where most criminal activity is planned and ordered. The fact that we are dealing with a premeditated revolutionary movement is now plainly obvious. If the movement can't be halted, there will be a breakdown in government, which will be followed by bloodshed that is roughly equivalent to civil war (cited in Crow, 1971:109).

The State of Emergency proposal was granted by the Secretary of State, and the date was set for October 20, 1952. The Commissioner of Police worked very closely on preparations for the emergency declaration. As soon as the proclamation was read by the Governor, orders were signed for the immediate detention of 183 Africans. The proclamation signed the previous day was announced by the governor on Tuesday morning, October 21, 1952.

The full extract from the full broadcast read as follows;

The state of affairs has developed as a result of the activities of the Mau-Mau movement. There is every sign that these activities have followed a regular course in accordance with a considered plan. There is a pattern in the acts of violence, and there can be no such pattern unless someone has made a plan. In order to restore law and order and to allow peaceable and loyal people of all races to go about their business in safety, the Government have made emergency regulations to enable them to take into custody certain persons who, in their opinion, constitute a danger to public order. Disorder leads to a lack of confidence, and where there is no confidence, there is economic stagnation. In a state of economic stagnation, the standard of life falls, and social services, such as; education and health, suffer (cited in Crow, 1971: 110).

The dynamics of policing colonial Kenya were radically altered with the declaration of the state of emergency on October 20, 1952 (Corfield, 1960). Due to these emergency laws, Kenya became a police state and organs of law enforcement were granted the authority to detain anyone without a warrant (Gimode, 2007: 232). Historian David Anderson contends that from the start of the emergency, British Army units were stationed in Kenya and worked with the King's African Rifles, an African-led regiment with British officers. These military forces supported the civil authorities in the populated areas of Central Province and elsewhere in addition to

being in charge of pursuing the rebel bands in the highlands and forests. The Kenya Police was in charge of maintaining law and order among the general populace (Anderson 2012:700-710).

The state of emergency resulted in a significant rise in police staffing and a number of new responsibilities, which put the police force's resiliency to the test. The Kenya police reserve's assistance resulted in a significant increase in the overall effort to contain the Mau Mau uprising. Foran (1962) observes that the Mau Mau unrest gave the criminal classes an incredibly good opportunity to commit crimes. In relation to this, Nairobi and its environs gained notoriety.

In the other parts of the colony, the police's success in deterring and uncovering crime was largely adequate, but in Nairobi, the same would not be said. The local police force was understaffed, overworked, and faced many challenges. About 40% of the crime in the colony was still carried out in Nairobi and the surrounding area, which remained a predominantly black area. There was little question that the Kikuyu reserves' proximity to the city was the main reason for far too many violent crimes, albeit they were not only committed in Nairobi (Foran, 1962: 184).

On October 22nd, 1952, Operation Jock Scott was conducted over a vast region of the country in a lightning attack. That night, nearly all Mau Mau leaders were apprehended by security agencies (Veilleux-Lepage, et al., 2015:184). This operation was evident that the administration was committed to bringing the situation under control. As Frank Furedi notes, 'Armed resistance was directly sparked off by the wave of arrests and the declaration of war against the Mau Mau. Numerous police raid on farms and settlements in the forest occurred, which resulted in the arrest of many Kikuyu (Furedi, 1989:119).

Kenya's police force grew from 6,000 in 1950 to 15,000 in 1952, with an additional 6,000 in the Police Reserve. Armoured vehicles and water cannons were introduced, and riot control and cooperation with the military services became a significant component of training. New police units were also formed to deal with labour unrest and riot control, as well as to keep an eye on nationalist, Marxist, and international agitators (KNA, Police Annual Report 1953).

Table 5.5 Racial composition of the Kenyan Police, 1952-1953

Year	BRITISH		ASIAN			AFRICAN		
	Superior Officers	Inspectorate	Officers	Inspectorate	N.C.O.S and Constables	Inspectorate	N.C.O.S	Constables
1952	122	305	2	46	63	267	1188	6097
1953	202	929	2	80	103	351	1683	7844

(KNA police Annual Report 1953)

The racial composition of the force on 31st December 1953 included 202 Superior officers 929 European Officers, 82 Asians, and 9828 Africans. The overall structure of the police force remained unchanged in 1952. The few police outposts that were already present in the South Nyeri and Fort Hall reserves were upgraded to the status of police stations, and additional ones were built, making a total of 27 new stations in these areas, one in each location. This was a result of the policy of tightening policing of Kikuyu reserves during the emergency. There were very few regular officers available to run these stations, so Kenya regiment members were seconded for these tasks. The rank-and-file setup of the stations had to be a mixture of troops transferred from other parts of the colony and recruits with very little training. There were numerous initial challenges to carrying out routine administration of these

stations, but with each improvisation and act of goodwill, challenges were solved with remarkable results (KNA, Police Annual Report 1953).

During March, April, and May 1952, there was a steady increase in oath-taking by the Kikuyu in Nairobi. Many who refused to take the oath or were suspected of cooperating with the police were beaten, forcibly administered oaths, and violently attacked. These were initially targeted at ordinary Africans but later expanded to include more influential Africans on European properties (Kanogo, 1987:12).

An event of noteworthy was the arrival of the police commission committee in the colony in August 1952. Its mandate called for a review of the Kenyan police's structure, operations, and growth, as well as the range of positions available and working conditions. The commission's task was to make recommendations for the force's future organization and management in terms of hiring, training, and legal requirements. During their seven-week visit to Kenya, the panel looked at every facet of the force's operations. On August 17, 1953, the government received an interim salary report, which was approved. On September 15, 1953, the commission made its way back to the UK (KNA, Police Annual Report, 1953).

In October 1952, the army took over from the police, which was the primary law enforcement agency. The police retreated from the war front to concentrate on securing the various centres (Branch, 2009). It is worth noting that various security forces worked together during the emergency period to secure the country. These included the Home Guards, the British military, volunteer military forces, and the Kenya police force. In the various agencies in Kenya colony, the Indian police were active participants in the operations. The Kenya Police Reserve and the CID, where we had a good number of Indians, were the most active departments.

Throughout the year, the police department's resources were put under a lot of stress. Periodic shortages of necessary supplies, a lack of properly qualified employees, and inadequate equipment did not make the situation any easier. The CID's small workforce at the time of the Mau Mau outbreak was utterly unable to handle the crime. It was not immediately possible to access training facilities for additional research. Since the commencement of the emergency, CID personnel from the headquarters operated in the field in Nyeri and Fort Hall areas, dealing with Mau Mau and allied offences, in addition to the assistance normally provided by the headquarters in all cases of serious crime (KNA, police Annual Report 1953). Ndeda (2006) notes that by 1952, the CID had grown to include crime laboratory officers and plainclothes agents posted at each district level. It served as a national detective agency in charge of plainclothes activities in the areas of criminal investigation and detection. During the emergency, this section that had a number of Indians was incredibly useful (Ndeda, 2006:190).

During the state of emergency, everything within the policing activities and powers was focused on carefully regulating political opposition (Baker, 2008). Political leaders were arrested, fined, imprisoned, or deported. Political parties were outlawed in the colony, and the press was censored while trade unionism was banned. In reality, belonging to a political party, reading a banned newspaper, and even seeking better working conditions were all made illegal in the colony. Similarly, to maintain colonial dominance, police forces were forced to participate in military and political surveillance and suppression of suspected groups. It was clear at this time that colonial policing in Kenya had shifted from the idealized European model of civilian

policing to the colonial model of regime policing, which was highly centralized and regulated (Killingray, 1986).

The Emergency Company, which was renamed the "General Service unit," was enlarged to include 47 Europeans and 1,058 African ranks during the year. This allowed each afflicted area and province to have access to its own mobile striking forces. The number of specialized units also increased in tandem with the growth of the uniformed force, particularly the Special Branch, which went from having a modest but effective centralized headquarters in Nairobi to a much larger and more robust headquarters with subordinate formations at the provincial and divisional levels across the colony. The close integration of various security force elements, including the army, police, administration, and home guards, in tough areas, was an essential aspect of the police's development throughout the year (KNA, Police Annual Report 1953).

Mau Mau activities grew significantly and were marked by a series of violent murders of Europeans and their families. The assassination of loyal Kikuyu had become commonplace, culminating in the heinous Lari massacre in Kiambu District on March 26th, 1953. On that dreadful night, eighty-four men, women, and children were brutally slaughtered, with another 31 receiving severe injuries. Many huts were set on fire, and the inhabitants died as a result. In order to enhance police operations, the Special Branch was expanded, more police personnel with British training were brought, and a special police bureau was established to deal with the Mau Mau movement (Clough, 1998). A special team from CID headquarters consisting of two European chief inspector's officers, six European police reserve officers, two Asian officers, and three African Inspectors was responsible for the investigation of the

Lari massacre. As a result of the investigations, a total of 342 persons were charged for various offences, of which 135 were convicted of murder and 18 of non-capital offences (KNA, Police Annual Report 1954).

In 1953, the Kenya police force saw rapid expansion that caused significant strain on the force's training facilities, resulting in reduced training periods. However, the African police who were trained during this period had to undergo retraining in later years. At the end of the year, the establishment had been enveloped into 35 divisions, 21 sub-divisions, and 187 police stations, of which 12 of the first, 16 of the second and 95 police stations were located in African reserves (KNA, Police Annual Report 1953).

It is significant to note that Indian police officers were key participants in operations against the Mau Mau. They held positions in various police divisions and departments. The overall effectiveness of Indian officers in police work positioned them for frequent promotion. For this reason, Indian officers rose through the ranks faster compared to their African counterparts. Some of the appointed Indian officers in 1953 included Sergt. Ahmed M. Abdulla, R.P.O. J.G. Pandya, Chief Insp. Bachan Singh, Mr. Jaide, Singh, S/O Meher Singh Sohanpall, Mr. Harbans Singh, Mr. K. Gupta, Mr. Sarup Singh, Mahender Singh Temp, and Mr. Lal Chand Vashista (KNA, Police Annual Report, 1953 /Pol 19/4/3).

Elsewhere in the country, the Indian police officers continued to render efficient services in the colonial police and therefore landed higher appointments within the police force. A number of Indian officers in the Kenya Police Reserve KPR were also promoted. Such officers included Mr. H.G.Datoo, who was appointed to be the

District Commandant with effect from November 1953. R.P.O N.V Rahemtulla and R.P.O Y.H Harnani were appointed Assistant Inspectors of police with effect from the same date. In the same year, the Coast provincial weekly orders indicated that Indian police officers in Mombasa Urban district proceeded on leave. They included Inspector Abdul Majeed and an Asian clerical staff, Mr. VE da Rocha. Asian Inspector Muhammed Salim and Inspector Gulmohamed Shapi went on leave for 28 days (KNA/Police Annual Report 1953).

The same year a problem arose in the Railway warrants accounts in Mombasa. It was realized that the railway administration raised charges on actual weight because the passenger failed to present their tickets at the luggage booking office to obtain a free allowance. This resulted in overcharges to public funds, and the amount was to be recovered from the individuals concerned. Due to these anomalies, a number of Indian police officers were appointed to the Mombasa Urban District crime branch. They included Chief Inspector Bachan Singh, Inspector Gulmohamed H Shapi, and Inspector Shatir Ahmed. Together with European Inspector S.M Wallace, they were entrusted with the responsibility of streamlining the security of Mombasa urban centre (KNA, Police Annual Report 1953). It is important to note that not all Asian police officers were efficient in service delivery. There were some cases where some Asian officers were called out for being inefficient. A case in point was captured earlier in the police annual report of 1950; an Asian police officer, APC Abdulla Salim Jeneby, was reprimanded for being idle and negligent in the performance of his policing duties while acting as court prosecutor in Nairobi.

The Coast province weekly orders on 10th October 1953 notified the general public that the Radio communication police H.F (High Frequency) was available between

Sultan Hamud and Voi, but messages were to be worked via the Nairobi area. The radio communication section of the colonial police, which was populated by Asian police officers, was important in networking security issues in the region. The weekly orders also captured the promotion of an Asian police officer KPR H.P.O Kadiri with effect from September 1st 1953. This was because of his exemplary service in helping contain crime in the Coast region. Another Indian, J.G Pandya, was promoted to Senior R.P.O. At the same time, Indian police officers Abdul Majeed of the traffic department proceeded on leave for 18 days (KNA/Police Annual Report 1953). It is evident therefore that the colonial state rewarded the Asian Police officers who were handy in helping the coloniser to rule Kenya. The Asian police officers were agents of colonisation.

The arrival of a Police Commissioner in the colony in August 1953 was an event of great importance in the history of the Kenya police. According to the police annual report in 1953, there was a radical policy shift aimed at securing an increasingly higher proportion of literates into the police and reducing the heavy burden of illiteracy that plagued almost every phase of police activity. In order to raise the overall standards expected of recruits and ultimately secure a force in which at least the majority of the constables would be literate and fluent in English, the Kenya police commission suggested the need for more training and maintaining constant evaluation. The English-speaking Indian police were encouraged to learn Kiswahili (KNA, Police Annual Report 1953).

From 1954, there was still a lot of Mau Mau activity, and a number of Europeans were killed, while loyal Kikuyus were killed on a nearly daily basis. At the beginning of the year, Mau Mau activities in Nairobi had gotten so bad that in April,

operation *Anvil* was mounted, and approximately 20,000 members of the Kikuyu, Embu, and Meru communities were expelled from the city. Operation Anvil began in April 1954, with an emphasis on Nairobi. The operation, which comprised cordoning off the city's African locations, involved around 25,000 security force members working under George Erskine. It involved searching for all "undesirable" Kikuyu, Embu, and Meru residents. These people were apprehended, scanned, and recorded, with the majority being sent to rehabilitation camps on MacKinnon Road and Manyani (Ndeda, 2006:194).

As noted, the colonial state responded to the Mau Mau challenge of violence with firm control and increasing coercion. As one key respondent noted;

The colonial government severely enforced curfews in various locations occupied by Africans. The streets of Nairobi were patrolled by loyalist home guards after dusk. Anyone seen in the dark ran the possibility of being shot without a second thought. The Kikuyus were the major target. The police and home guard patrols stopped Africans in the streets throughout the day to look for firearms and ammunition while also verifying their work permits and passbooks (O.I.,Kamau 2022).

This measure was successful, and the situation in the city was restored. Since the security forces were more active throughout the year, the Mau Mau organization was significantly disrupted. As a result, between April and July 1954, the general situation significantly improved, and serious incidents started by the Mau Mau significantly decreased. Nearly all of the regions impacted by the Mau Mau were confined to the central province, including the Nairobi region and the Rift valley provinces' Nakuru, Naivasha, and Laikipia districts. The expansion of the force, necessitated by the state of emergency, progressed throughout the year, together

with the expansion of policing of the affected arrears (KNA, Police Annual Report 1954).

By 1954, the police force had grown to 14,000 officers, serving a population of around 5,000,000 people. A total of 200 Police Signal stations were built. More British-trained police officers were hired, vehicles were fitted with wireless communication, and a number of District Military Intelligence Officers were named throughout the region (McConnell, 2005). During this time, there were 28 police stations, and Mau Mau operations were successfully controlled as a result of intensified police efforts (Maloba, 1994). The Kenya police annual report in 1954 indicates that the investigation branch of the police carried out inquiries in 367 cases and rendered assistance to other agencies.

Furthermore, there were new admissions of Indian police officers to the superior rank of the colonial police service. In Nyanza province (Kisumu), Mr. Hazara Singh received his appointment as Assistant Superintendent of police, and Mr. Bhajan Singh of the special branch Nairobi area was also appointed to the position of Assistant Superintendent of police. The year also saw the appointment of more Indian police officers in the signals department at the headquarters. According to a miscellaneous report in 1954, Mr. Muhammad Haji Chito, Mr. Lal Chand Vashista, Mr. Sarup Singh, and Mr. Mohinder Singh were all appointed as radio fitters with effect from 22nd February 1954 (KNA, Police Annual Report 1954). It is important to note that the Police radios were vital pieces of gear that shielded both the police and the public from harm. Reliable and secure radio systems were essential because ineffective communication among police officers, fire fighters, and emergency services could cause injuries or even fatalities.

It is important to note that police officers received commendations wherever went above and beyond their call of duty. Working in law enforcement was often challenging, stressful, and harsh. Studies and surveys have shown that social support in the form of praise and appreciation boosts law enforcement officers' morale, drive, retention, and output (Demirkol & Nalla, 2017). Indian police officers in the colony were regularly commended and appreciated for their good work. According to a circular dated 29th September 1953 titled '*Asian subordinate police officers*,' commendations for Asian police officers were well documented. In the Nairobi area, Inspector Mohinder Singh Baraji was commended for his prompt and efficient investigation of a timber theft case CAB.845/53, resulting in a conviction on 29th September 1953. In Embu, Assistant Inspector Balder Singh and Sergeant Abdul Latif Naaz both of the 1st Asian combat group were highly commended for good leadership of patrol that led to the capture of Mau Mau terrorists at the Gaturi location on 27th January 1954. In Kitale during the same period, Assistant Inspector Harbans Singh Jabbal, who was under probation, was confirmed in his appointment and admitted into the permanent and pensionable establishment (KNA/Police Annual Report 1954).

Within the colonial police force, communication in English and Kiswahili was a crucial tool since, without adequate communication skills, police officers could not properly serve the population. In order to be at ease with the public and complete their duties behind the scenes, police officers could only succeed if they had mastered communication on both a social and professional level. Good Communication allowed police officers to manage evidence more skilfully by questioning witnesses and suspects and gathering information, and as a result, they

were able to act swiftly and intelligently. Indian police officers were encouraged to take classes in languages in order to improve their communication skills. In 1954 an Indian CID officer Constable E.R.C Bajina passed preliminary oral Swahili examinations 20/2/54 (KNA, Police Annual Report 1954).

The state, condition, and application of police uniforms have a significant impact on how the general public view police officers. Being clearly recognized as a police officer in uniform helped to maintain police officers' responsibility and accountability for their acts, in addition to communicating the police's guiding principles as an institution (Mauro, 1984:42). According to a police circular dated 27th October 1954, the police department issued dress regulations for serving police officers. The dress regulations covered police officers from all races and ranks. The categories covered included European Inspectorate, Asian Inspectorate, and the general police. The European and Asian inspectorate had a long-sleeved jacket, Khaki shorts, black tie, and boots. The Asian inspectorate was to dress as the European inspectorate but with a turban as an alternative gear. The general officers, the majority of whom were Africans, were to wear long-sleeved jackets, white shorts, and black shoes. Police uniforms gave a sense of assurance (KNA, Police Annual Report 1954).

As far as policing the state was concerned it was important for the state to look into the welfare of police officers. This was the case in 1954; the year saw an increment in salaries for police officers including Indian police officers and subordinate staff who received enhanced salaries. According to the colonial government circular, Mr. J.J Farnandes (clerk 2), Mr. CC.D Souza, 2nd clerk Nakuru, Mr. V.M Patel, and Mr. O.D Sharma, all 2nd clerks in the headquarters, received an increment of Sh 10 and

Sh 15 in their salaries respectively. Mr. Uttam Singh and Mr. Patel in the traffic and transport department received Shs 15. The signals department was also not left out, as Mr. Kuldip Singh and Mr. SS Kundaiker, who were radio fitters, received Shs 15. Indian police officers Constable Bhan, Constable Sargent Singh Thati, Constable O.P Sharma, and Constable ERC Bajina were also considered in the sanctioned new pay plan. The circular further specifically addressed the issue of Asian police officers.

It said;

“Simultaneously with the introduction of new ranks and salary scales with effect from Jan 1954, all Asian Constable and Sergeants will be promoted to the new rank of Assistant Inspector” (KNA Police Annual Report 1954).

Similarly, a circular on entertainment allowances for police officers covering the various categories of police officers was also issued by the colonial government. The circular covered police officers on duty outside their work stations and further explained the procedure to be adopted in seeking accommodation and the claim against the departmental travelling allowance vote and the rates. European officers were to claim Sh 17 for a complete day and night or Sh 9 for bed and breakfast and Sh 4 for lunch and dinner. Asian officers were to claim Shs 10 for a complete day and night, Shs 6 for bed and breakfast, and Shs 2 for lunch and dinner. For African officers, Shs 5 for complete day and night or Sh 3 for bed and breakfast and 1 Shs each for lunch and dinner (KNA/Police Annual Report 1954). The gap in the payment of allowances, just like salary between the European and Asian counterparts, was a clear indication that it was race and not their role that determined the pay for police officers. Evidently, despite everything, there were still

large disparities in earnings between different police officers, and this may have affected the performance of the officers.

Institutions like the police force must consistently pay attention to implementing various human resource practices and methods such as regular training, performance evaluation, and career development to improve the officers' job performance. Ombaka (2021) argues that enhancing work-life balance was one of the essential, high-performance human resource practices that significantly improved employees' work performance. In the colonial police, it was common for officers of all ranks to proceed on leave to enable them to recuperate and hence be better performers. Indian police officers were captured going on leave in the various police reports. For instance, in 1954, Asian police officers and clerical staff proceeded on leave. Mr. N.E Baptista, a clerk, went on leave for 18 days. In a corrigendum dated 24th April 1954, Asian police officer A.I.Surgeet Singh proceeded on local leave for 18 days. The coast province weekly orders in September 1954 further indicated that in Mombasa Urban District Chief Inspector I.C. Oxley and an Indian Chief Inspector Hansraj Baburai proceeded on local leave for 18 days (KNA Police Annual Report 1954). Through this leave, police personnel would be able to manage other family obligations while experiencing greater job satisfaction.

The need for timely and reliable intelligence was highlighted in the police annual report for 1955. The police's form and substance were much improved. It was noted in the report that if members of the public came forward to provide testimony, the police investigating officers were better equipped to bring offenders before the court quickly and effectively. As the goal could not be readily or quickly attained, the process would continue throughout the ensuing years. According to crime statistics

from 1955, there were more crimes against people and property than in prior years. Additionally, they demonstrated a stronger willingness on the part of the general people to alert the authorities to crimes and aid in their investigation (KNA/Police Annual Report 1955).

Throughout 1955 the process of reduction of manpower element of the police due to gradual improvement in the emergency situation continued. According to the police annual report 1955, it was possible by the end of the year to dispense with services of 1,008 Europeans (full-time and part-time) and 341 Asians in the Kenya Police Reserve, although the number of Africans in temporary and full-time employment with the police increased. Those in the police reserve on full-time and part-time duty continued to give very valuable service because of the change in policy which was designated to integrate the Kenya police reserve with the regular police (KNA, Police Annual Report 1955).

As a result of the security forces' successful campaign against the Mau Mau in 1956, the army withdrew from colonial operations on November 18, 1956, and the police took control of the situation. It was decided the relatively few remaining active terrorists were to be dealt with more effectively by the use of Special Forces. The process of reorientation carried on concurrently with the force's increasing involvement in the fight against crime, and it is fair to say that its efforts were successful (KNA police Annual Report 1956). At the end of the year, military forces ceased operations in the colony, handing over control to the police. The force had strength of 12,856 personnel, including 17 women inspectors. Later in the year, more officers were enrolled in the force. The Indian Police demonstrated that they were a highly-skilled, effective, brave, and resourceful tool in the restoration and

preservation of law and order during the fight against the Mau-Mau terrorists (Crow, 1971:11).

5.5 Indian State Policing 1957-1963

Having defeated the Mau Mau by the end of 1956, Britain extended the state of emergency in Kenya for another three years in order to maintain power over the political process. In the run-up to the end of the emergency, it would not be irrational to be positive about protection. Demilitarization and political compromises, on the other hand, threatened to jeopardize British control efforts and introduce new security threats (Percox, 2001). With the end of military operations in November 1956 and the beginning of economic, social, and political changes, life in Kenya seemed to be returning to normal, with the main focus of the press being politics. The security situation was given little consideration (Odhiambo, 2003, Anderson, 2012).

In 1957, consolidation in the police force became a priority, with an emphasis on overcoming deficiencies in training arising from the emergency. The colony saw improved conditions in most of the provinces, resulting in the closure of 21 emergency police posts and the redeployment of staff and equipment appropriately (KNA, Police Annual Report 1956). Following Mau Mau's defeat, security measures were expanded to include not only "molding" politics and preserving economic stability but also resolving any newly emerging security concerns. For example, a minor outbreak of Mau Mau oathing in Meru in late 1957 raised concerns, despite the fact that it was quickly dealt with. Potential unrest in Nyanza Province in early 1957, on the other hand, was quickly identified and as a result Special Branch

coverage in the region was expanded. The unrest in Nyanza Province was due to the popularity of Luo politicians in the run-up to the African elections (Killingray, 1989).

The Mau Mau movement was virtually eliminated by 1957, and the police were now free to resume their regular duties, and the country was once again regarded as peaceful. Legitimate African political action was revived and political meetings could once again be organized with the British administration's permission. The police turned their attention to such political meetings that were considered to be a threat to security (Furedi, 1989:162). The political landscape began to shift, and the police were put under increased pressure to keep order at African political gatherings, especially in Nairobi. These demands on the force grew as time passed.

Every effort was made in 1957 to apprehend the last of the escaped Mau Mau insurgents. Through these operations, 11 people were killed, 88 were captured, and 68 gave themselves up. At the conclusion of the year, it was estimated that 144 terrorists were still unaccounted for, 101 of who had been missing for at least six months. There was just one individual left unaccounted for, and that individual was prominent Mau Mau leader Stanley Mathenge. Because of the country's improved circumstances, 33 emergency operating posts could be closed, leaving the force with 310 police stations and posts (KNA, Police Annual Report 1957).

In 1957, the government began a deliberate attempt to stop the trade in ivory rhino horns and skins, as well as wildlife hunting. The government had been concerned about the wholesale slaughter of wild animals since 1952, but special steps to tackle the threat were put on hold during the Mau Mau emergency. However, the hunt for

these poachers was intensifying. The forces assigned to fight them were initially stationed in Hola on the Tana River, Makindu on the Nairobi Mombasa Railway, and Voi as the operational headquarters. Each force was led by Kenya police game rangers and Kenya police aircraft (Foran, 1962:223).

By February 1958, one month before the Kenyan elections, the Colony's Internal Security Scheme had been updated by the government's Internal Security Working Committee (ISWC). Based on previous experience and the Kenya Intelligence Committee's [KIC] most recent assessment, the scheme recognized that, in the event of a potential emergency, trouble would most likely take the form of strikes, civil disobedience, vandalism, and the disruption of transportation and equipment, rather than an armed insurgency. In this case there was need to reconstruct the Asian and European Home Guard system. The solution to this possible issue demonstrated more how insecure the British situation was (Percox, 2001:190).

The Home Guards, on the other hand, were not given weapons, and every attempt was made to reassure Asians and Europeans that the government was acting. The administration was informed that the measure was precautionary to maintain the *status quo* but did not portend major trouble. These two security-related parts of planning were consistent with Kenya's aim to protect its economic sustainability by addressing both immediate risks and associated problems with both local and international confidence. There was even a requirement to contact ex-leaders of the Asian and European Home Guards in order to help in planning but this proved to be difficult (Foran, 1962).

The new CID training school in Nairobi commenced work on 6th May 1957 and began providing instruction in criminal investigation, detective work, and prosecution duties. According to Ndeda (2006:252), the training school was set up because the classes at the Kiganjo police training academy hardly scratched the surface of this type of specialized instruction. Criminal investigation was a specialized area of police work that grew in significance and complexity, much like Special Branch work. The purpose of these training programmes at CID Training school in Nairobi was to improve the investigative arm of the government and make it efficient in service delivery (KNA, Police Annual Report 1957).

According to the proposed courses, special branch and CID courses would be completed at the same time at the training facility, albeit different persons would attend each type of course, and the duration would vary depending on the situation. It was proposed that the total capacity of the training center would not exceed 60 students at any one time. The Special Branch's courses for European and Asian officers would last four weeks, while those for African rank and file would last two weeks apiece. There would periodically be one-week refresher sessions. All European police officers from all ranks and probably some provincial administration personnel would also attend the brief two-day sessions. Additionally, it was suggested that more four-week courses for European and Asian officers and two-week courses for African officers be introduced (Kenya/Police Annual Report 1957).

A recruitment embargo by the colonial police affected the recruitment of police officers in the force. The prolonged embargo on promotions undoubtedly affected the morale of the police officers. The need for the recruitment of more police

officers was echoed by the police commissioners' recruitment policy on uniformed police on 30th August 1958.

He wrote;

I have received the current strength of the police force and the position which will arise if normal casualties continue, and I am unable to recruit to replace in the course of the next months. It is clear to me that serious consequences would result if this were allowed to happen. It is necessary to continue the process of promotion and appointment if the force is to be brought to the degree of efficiency which is necessary and be able to maintain law and order in the colony, give efficient service to the public, and ensure an effective intelligence system (Confidential recruitment policy on uniformed police 1958).

Early in 1960, the intensity of African nationalist activities on the continent increased (Bayani, 2021:158). The British government began to address the subject of granting Kenya's African majority political power in the framework of decolonization in Africa. Britain's efforts to eventually hand over authority to the Africans in the Kenya colony began in the year 1960. Indeed, the Lancaster House Constitutional Conference reiterated in 1960 that independence was Kenya's ultimate goal (Tarus, 2004:239). During this time, seeds of African nationalism sown in the past blossomed quickly, maturing into the decolonization drama that ultimately resulted in independence (Wafula, 2000:187). It is also crucial to remember that a sizable area of colonial Africa had undergone a quick political transformation and 17 former colonies had attained independence in 1960. These countries included the great bulk of the former French colonies in West and Central Africa, Nigeria, Somalia, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Birmingham, 2008).

In 1960, two major problems confronted the police; an increase in crime rate and threats to law arising from political activity in the colony for most part of Nairobi. With the approaching end of the seven-year-old emergency call and the approach of constitutional talks to be held in London at the beginning of 1960, tension increased towards the end of the year. There were two serious disturbances arising from this tension. The first was when on the 20th of October; the anniversary of the declaration of emergency, large crowds of Africans made their way across Nairobi at peak traffic hours and had to be dispersed by riot police. The second was when a latent hostility to Asians by Africans in Nairobi erupted into violence following a minor traffic accident involving members of both communities (KNA, Police Annual Report 1957).

In the electioneering period that preceded the general elections at the beginning of 1961, and during the polling itself, public restraint and discipline were notable. An ugly surge of intimidation in January was not sustained and died almost as quickly as it arose. Throughout the period, the police were busy, and for the first time, a small mounted section in Nairobi (six horses) was used in crowd control with outstanding success. There was also in existence a good-natured, confident relationship between the police and the public, particularly the African people, throughout this time of emotional restraint (KNA, Police Annual Report 1961).

From September until the end of the year, police were called upon to maintain peace and order at some of the largest political meetings seen in Kenya. This they did but at some cost to their ordinary watch and ward duties. Other manifestations of nationalist excitement included attempts by the youth organizations of political parties to take the law into their own hands. This entailed many police investigations

and the prosecution of members responsible on charges including assault, causing grievous harm, illegal confinement, and in one case, murder. This unwelcome product of independence fever was still evident at the end of 1961 (KNA, Police Annual Report 1961).

Despite the various challenges, the Kenya colonial police continued to strive to secure the colony by fighting crime. Enhanced training programmes were offered in the training school Kiganjo to keep the tempo and ensure police officers were swift in rendering services. A number of officers were appointed to take up the training between 5th November 1962 and 20th April 1963. The Cadet Officers that were appointed for such training at that time were Inspector Mark Biegon, Sub-inspector Jackson Ngoloma representing Central Province, and sub-inspector Ignatius Otucho representing Nyanza. The CID team had an Indian Inspector, Charanjeet Singh, from the CID headquarters (KNA, Police Annual Report 1961).

In January 1961, the commissioner of the police received a report from the working party appointed earlier to examine the problem connected with the establishment of a Higher Training Wing at the police Training Kiganjo. In particular, it was required to advise on the syllabus, the length of the course, the number of students in each course, and the staff required to run the course. The committee recommended the expansion of the training to increase capacity for leadership and also training officers to better their knowledge and ability to use the English language. The committee also recommended that police officers be trained to develop a sense of fairness and impartiality, including the suppression of tribal thinking in the handling of members of the public and the police force. The government adopted and implemented the findings of the report (Report of Working Party, 1961).

It is on account of the working party report that Indians were selected for their outstanding performance as members of the force for further training or promotion. In December 1961, for example, a group of Indians from different police establishments across the country were selected and sent for further training at Kiganjo. They included Mohamed Sitar Khan (200778) from the C.I.D Nyanza province, Mohinder Singh Bharaj (200775) from the southern province, and Inspector Charanjeet Singh (200849) from the C.I.D. headquarters, Narendra Patel and Chief Inspector Rajinder Singh Khehar (200779) from the Nairobi area. In the same year, three Indian clerks were selected for higher clerical training. They included Mr. Amrjit Singh Uppal, Mr. Mohamed A. Zia, and Mr. M. Saied Moghul (KNA, Police Annual Report 1962).

On the road to independence, the police and intelligence agencies were tasked with keeping an eye on the whereabouts of well-known African figures like Jomo Kenyatta, listening to what they had to say about the colonial government, and reporting back to Nairobi headquarters. Hotels, cities, and provincial capitals were bugged in an effort to learn what the populace planned to do if the settlers persisted. For the sake of the security of the entire nation, intelligence officers were dispersed across the nation with the mission of acquiring and disclosing crucial information. These intelligence officers used the information they gathered to identify those who were for and those who were against the government. They focused on providing the administration with accurate advice throughout the stressful decolonization period. The CID, the police, and the Special Branch were all interested in outside information that was coming from abroad favouring Africans (Ndeda, 2006:251).

Towards independence the time of civil oriented and nonviolent policing was extremely brief. In the early 1960s, the nation was once more embroiled by racial unrest, economic stagnation, and unemployment. Inevitably, African majority rule had been made possible. The Africanisation of the police force quickly intensified as independence drew near, and the force's tribal makeup was modified to reflect the ethnic diversity of the nation. In 1961, elections were finally held, and Kenya gained independence in 1963. In the newly established state, regular police activities resumed and surprisingly, given the state's colonial heritage, the police also began undertaking political intelligence operations in support of the new African authorities. By 1963 the Kenya police of which Indians were part, was the biggest, most advanced and most powerful force in Eastern Africa. Clearly, the British forced the colonial state and its repressive methods upon Kenya. The colonial state had paramilitary tendencies, was autocratic, non-representative, and discriminatory. The post-Independence government inherited such a force, and it was immediately clear that the force had brought Kenya's colonial past with it.

The argument over leadership and the organization of the police in Kenya as it transitioned from a colony to an independent country was one of the most important issues that arose prior to the full transfer of authority. The debate was seemingly addressed when, in October 1963, a Cabinet resolution mandated that the Director of intelligence be replaced with an African before independence (Throup, 2017:150). Even though the independence Cabinet approved Africanisation in the civil service, Prime Minister Kenyatta decided against implementing the policy in the police command. Kenyatta had gained confidence in the police force because of the crucial role that the existing police infrastructure had played during the shifta incursions in

Northern Kenya (Throup, 1992:17). The entire police force including leadership comprised continuity from the colonial regime to Kenyatta regimes (Otiso and Kaguta 2016).

For a long time, African officers held junior posts, but with the imminent independence, they were expected to assume command of the force. Because there was inadequate time for training, the hasty transfer of power from colonial authority to the independent government had an impact on the police structure. As a result of the disruption caused by the emergency, the professionalization reform process was left incomplete. At the time of independence, the police force was capable of policing politics and neutralizing perceived threats to incumbent institutions. Kenyatta's government benefited from such expertise since it served his political objectives (Kaguta and Otiso, 2016).

Police Historian Robert Foran captures the performance of the colonial police in the following words;

The Kenya police has built a truly magnificent tradition during the first sixty years; a tradition, moreover, which has been maintained and enhanced in spite of the many trials and tribulations. The Colony has been afforded every cause for feeling genuinely proud of its Police Force, and signs are not lacking to indicate that is how the majority of Kenyans of all races regard it (Foran, 1962:226).

He adds in his closing words;

In the long span of years that lie behind the Kenya police, the spirit of its motto, *salus populi* (The health and welfare of the people shall be the supreme law), has been honoured; it will continue to be so. The name and the reputation of the Force stand high in Kenya Colony, in all neighbouring territories, and amongst all other colonial police formation. That surely is the measure of the worth of the Kenya police (Foran, 1962:230).

The former colonial government left Kenya's independent government with a police force that had the same structure and composition as that of the colonial government. According to a retired inspector of the police, a significant part of the police had the same objectives and *modus operandi*, namely, to defend the administration's interests. Branch (2009) argues that authority was transferred from the colonial elite to the new African elite, and the colonial interests were sustained through the independent government. After independence, it was observed legislation and policy was directed toward enhancing the monopoly of police powers and centralizing and consolidating control under the administration. The police force was utilized to sustain political expediency and clout throughout subsequent governments. Priority was given to maintaining public order and security over protecting citizens' individual liberties and fundamental freedoms.

5.6 Challenges of Indian Policing in Colonial Kenya

Racism in Kenyan colonial police

There were frequent racial disparities among the members of the police force in the colonial police in the Kenyan colonial police (Wolf, 1973:403). Race and ethnicity were more important factors in the stratification of the colonial forces in the colonial police (Killingray, 1994:206). Further hierarchies, based on the ethnicity of the recruits and influenced by the concept of martial races, were frequently present among the local members of the British colonial force (Bayani, 2021:63). The Europeans believed that their race was superior to all others (Magubane, 1996; Njoh, 2008:580). In the colonial police, the Europeans naturally acquired supervisory positions, followed by Asians, while Africans remained at the bottom of the police

strata (Mamdani, 1992:19). Indian policemen made significant contributions to the upkeep of law and order in Kenya, although their advancement within the Kenyan Police's hierarchical structure was not particularly encouraging. This was made clear when a comparison was made between Indian and white police officers at the time. The European police continued to hold positions of greater respect and status than both their Asian and African counterparts (Wolf, 1973: 45; Ghai & Ghai, 1965:35).

A multiracial committee investigating personnel complaints in the Kenya police in 1946 verified that the Asians did not consider African and European Police satisfactory. As a result, the committee recommended that Asian officers be commissioned to manage Asian grievances wherever possible.

Wolf observes;

This recommendation did not go far enough for the Asian member of the committee, who charged in a minority report that the committee had "failed to gauge correctly the strength of the feeling of the disaffection permeating the mind of Asian police personnel against what was, in fact, racial discrimination and the intensity of pain which it causes (Wolf 1973: 406).

According to Wolf (1973), the recommendations did not succeed due to sentiments of racial discrimination. If the Asian police were disrespected and subjected to prejudice by the British, their African colleagues would have even more reason to protest. The British did not appreciate African culture as much as they did Eastern civilization, but they also did not fear it. The Africans were expected to be tolerated while being educated and groomed to conform to the Western traditions enforced by British control (Wolf, 1973: 406).

A retired police officer interviewed in Kwale noted that racial disparity was made clear when it came to proper accommodation for the police officers. For the most part, African police officers lived in appalling conditions due to a lack of housing, whereas adequate housing was provided for their European and Asian counterparts (Sule O.I., 2022). The colonial government made sure that the European police officers had suitable housing, but it was thought superfluous to provide good housing for the Asian and African police. He pointed out that for married European police officers who were unable to get housing, a sufficient allowance was offered in their place (Mohammed Sule O.I., 2022). Wolf (1973:303) agrees, pointing out that African quarters in many stations across the colony were substandard and in need of urgent repairs. The tradition of providing hotel accommodations for European officers had been maintained for a while. This was another example of the racial hierarchy and unfair working conditions that prevailed in the colonial police force in Kenya.

The police were under the command of European officers, with Asians only holding lesser positions. The British colonial police held the unwavering belief that these units should always be under European command (Killingray, 1994: 206). This idea was later stated in a 1946 annual report of the Kenya Police with the words, “Naturally, as the supervising staff is mainly European...”; (Wolf, 1973;303). A retired police officer points out that young European police officers, because of their race and rank, were given enormous authority and responsibility over their Asian and African subordinates despite their inexperience and lack of training (Kioko O.I.,2022). While the above report suggests that Asians had a higher social standing than Africans, it also suggests that they had a lower status than Europeans.

Poor Terms and Conditions of Service

Asians were frustrated by their inability to advance in the police hierarchy. This disparity in promotion opportunities was matched by a compensation gap between Asians and Europeans doing essentially the same positions (Wolf, 1973:406).

The Asian community in Kenya itself was allowed upward mobility but was altered by restriction or fostering of advancement. The Asian community, therefore, had valid reasons to fear unfavourable interference with its advancement (Wolf, 1973; 406). In 1949 the Kenya police force stabilized and had a force suited to deal with the changes that had taken place in the previous years. Through the year, 44 assistant inspectors of European origin were commissioned; 12 from the local population, 24 from the crown's agents, and eight on transfer from the police force in Palestine. Notably, about 35 of these officers were appointed to new positions, and the rest replaced officers who had retired, resigned, or transferred. The additional 35 officers to the force resulted in a significant strain on its resources, matched only by the excellent standard set by the new individuals (KNA, Police Annual Report 1949).

At the start of the Kenyan police force, the pay for officers was generally low and less rewarding, and individuals of Asian and native origin often shunned police work. By 1952 starting salaries for African constables had not been increased; furthermore, salary increments were poor, and unlike Europeans and Asians, African policemen were not given pensions despite economic hardships and limited mobility in the force. Asians, on the other hand, received constant salary increases and had relatively more rewarding careers. The annual pay for Select Indian constabulary was increased from 180 euros to 190 euros per annum in the year 1954. These included Constables Surjeet Singh Thati, M.L.D. Costa, O.P. Sharma, and E.R.C.

Bajina. In the same year, all Asian sergeants were promoted to the rank of assistant Inspector, with pay alterations from 144 euros to 336 euros per year. For special branch officers of Asian origin, allowances were commissioned for the chief inspector, inspectors, and all other ranks to the tune of 130, 120, and 90, respectively (KNA/POL 19/4/3)/ 1954).

Between 1945 and 1963, the police officers' terms and conditions of service were often thought to be insufficient (Chtalu, 2014). Retired police officers from all backgrounds who were questioned stated that they did not receive fair pay for their work. They also noted that housing was a problem for junior officers because they had to live in two- or three-bedroom apartments with other families. Given the potentially fatal risks they faced while carrying out their duties as law enforcement officers and fighting crime, the police also lacked proper health insurance. Their operational and logistical infrastructure also showed inadequate service conditions. Promotion and transfer were other issues that many serving officers expressed dissatisfaction with. Respondents claimed that promotions and transfers within the police department were not conducted openly (Muhammad, O.I., 2022).

Transport Deficiencies

In a focused group discussion with retired police officers in Mombasa, it was noted that the Kenyan colonial police faced serious transportation infrastructural challenges. The respondents pointed out that Kenya's policing system was severely constrained. Communication and mobility issues added to the challenges brought on by labour scarcity. In addition, the respondents pointed out that policing the interior of the colony was particularly challenging due to the lack of accessibility by road.

Waller (2010: 520) observes that the Kenya Police were unexpectedly underequipped for a force that was thinly dispersed and working across vast, tough terrain. Manpower, mobility, and communications all had a role in what the police could accomplish on the ground. A retired police officer noted that the available transportation resources were significantly insufficient compared to the policing needs. The police were consequently slow to respond to criminal situations due to the absence of reliable transportation (Muhammad, O.I.,2022).

Human Resource Capacity Deficits

From 1945 to 1963, Kenya's colonial police force was understaffed, which resulted in inadequate security for the colony (Wolf, 1971). Explaining the situation, a retired police officer observed that in colonial Kenya, the police were still quite tiny and had little power in the rural areas, which were largely uncharted. In terms of how its personnel was deployed, the police force needed to be reorganized (Bakari O.I, 2022). In a focused group discussion, it was pointed out that the capacity of the police was impacted by additional considerations that included the reduced capability of the police as a result of injuries, resignation in search of better opportunities elsewhere, and dismissal for disciplinary reasons. Manpower issues continued to be a problem. This was mirrored in the plans for protecting Colonial Vulnerable Points, which included hospitals, airports, water sources, oil installations, and "certain factories. In addition, the respondents pointed out that the police were involved in maintaining internal security, upholding law and order, and responding to crimes. The police personnel also performed a variety of other tasks like traffic management, disaster rescue, and the clearance of encroachments. The

upshot of this, they argued, was that the typical police officer had a heavy workload and long workdays, which reduced their effectiveness and performance.

A recruitment embargo by the colonial police affected the recruitment of police officers in the force. The prolonged embargo on promotions undoubtedly affected the morale of the police officers. The need for the recruitment of more police officers was echoed by the police Commissioners' recruitment policy on uniformed police on 30th August 1958.

He wrote;

I have received the current strength of the police force and the position which will arise if normal casualties continue, and I am unable to recruit to replace in the course of the next months. It is clear to me that serious consequences would result if this were allowed to happen. It is necessary to continue the process of promotion and appointment if the force is to be brought to the degree of efficiency which is necessary and be able to maintain law and order in the colony, give efficient service to the public, and ensure an effective intelligence system (Confidential recruitment policy on uniformed police 1958).

Difficulties in Managing Race, Ethnic Relations, and Violence

Ethnic tensions and violence presented a substantial challenge for Indian police officers. A retired police officer noted that racial privilege impacted policing in colonial Kenya in a variety of ways. Interests of the colonial government influenced police priorities through the white community (Athumani O.I., 2021). The respondent pointed out that though their bosses were Europeans, the majority of police officers were Indians and Africans. Sometimes white residents interpreted the dispatch of a black policeman when trouble arose in a white residential area as an insult or provocative act. Retired police officers interviewed explained that white

farms were private domains, and settlers were determined to maintain their right to govern both their boundaries and their farm labour, using force if necessary. The retired police officer pointed out that all seasoned police understood that in these areas, policing was best carried out gently and through private discussion as opposed to through the public assertion of official authority (Wahome O.I., 2021). It is also important to note that although there were also issues of gender and class, interracial policing was inherently contentious. Decisions on whether or not to prosecute were influenced by race. Although they were willing to use the rule of law when it suited them, not all white residents instantly accepted it.

Social and Political Environment

Other challenges resulted from the social and political landscape that the police had to work in. Anderson, (2017:192) argues that the colonial state in Kenya had been constructed and rebuilt over time, a network of overlapping jurisdictions and boundaries that made the landscape confusing, uneven, and challenging to travel over. While the police could not cross lines, offenders could. The "White Highlands," which also encompassed the major towns with the exception of Mombasa and Kisumu, and the African Reserves were clearly separated from one another. Kenya Police had jurisdiction over the (white) urban and inhabited areas. The government established its own force of Tribal Police in the Reserves, recruited locally in each district and were commanded by the District Commissioner (Waller 2010:530). The effectiveness and dependability of tribal police varied, and they were mainly unskilled in police operations (Tignor, 2015:47).

5.7 Conclusion

It was the objective of this chapter to analyse Indian involvement in state policing in Kenya during the decolonization period from 1945-1963. We have demonstrated that that the post-war years were significant for Kenya because it marked the maturing of agitation against the colonial system. This agitation had begun to intensify in various forms, such as trade unionism, actual political activism and ultimately real violence. The colonial government had to respond to the emergent problems by expanding the Kenya police, restructuring the intelligence network, and creating significant police training schools. The chapter has argued that political instability and widespread unrest following World War II were to usher in significant adjustments to the way the police were structured which also affected the Indians in the police force. The chapter has also examined the state policing by Indian officers during Mau Mau and the state of emergency in Kenya, 1952-1960. It has been demonstrated that Indian police officers were key participants in operations against the Mau Mau and they held positions in various police divisions and departments. The overall effectiveness of Indian officers in police work positioned them for frequent promotion. It has also been argued in this chapter that colonial policing faced a number of challenges. These included persistent racial inequities among police officers, issues of race and ethnicity as well as understaffing which resulted in inadequate security for the colony. It is concluded that despite the fact that there weren't many Asians in the colonial police force during this time, those who were held more superior and responsible roles than those of the African officers. In terms of discipline, European and Asians in the force proved reliable and were responsible, self-respecting, and proud of their work.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The aim of the study was to examine the history of Indian involvement in Kenya's state policing, from 1884-1963. The study covered the pre-colonial period, traversing the colonial period in Kenya up to 1963. The specific objectives of the study were to trace the emergence and early involvement of Indians in state policing in Kenya up to 1895, to examine the role of Indians in state policing in Kenya during the early colonial period 1895-1918, analyse Indian involvement in state policing in Kenya during the Inter war and World War II period 1919-1945 and lastly, to examine Indian policing during the decolonization period, 1945-1963. The study was conducted in Kenya, covering the period from 1884 to 1963. It was premised on the assertions that the Kenya police commenced under an Indian agency before colonialism, that Britain used the Indian police model to start the Kenyan force, and that Indians contributed significantly to the Kenya police force in the colonial period.

The study is significant because it will help in providing important data on how the colonial government used Indians in policing the Kenyan state. The study utilized both crucial elements of securitization and the essential features of the theory of the modern state in an integrated theoretical approach. The study adopted the Descriptive Research Design. Purposive and snowball sampling techniques were employed to identify respondents. Both primary and secondary sources of data were used to generate the required data for this study. The data collected were analysed and interpreted using the historical method.

The study established that policing is traceable throughout history, with almost all civilizations with recorded history having some aspect of social control by mandated forces. Starting from Europe, the recorded history of policing as it is known trickled down gradually to the rest of the world. However, it would be unjust to overrule the existence of policing systems, in some form, in other societies especially in Africa before the adoption of the European model. It would also be erroneous to discredit the Indian policing model, which considerably influenced policing majors in Africa, Asia and some European regions as well.

Policing has been studied over the past few decades, with scholars interrogating the dynamics of policing across history. Of particular interest has been the nature, composition and robustness of known policing systems, the manifest and latent motives behind the establishment and growth of the systems, and the legitimacy of the systems thereof. Nonetheless, the study argues that the point of convergence for the assessment of policing systems across history is that they existed to enforce power interests, protect the resources of government systems, and provide security for societies.

The study also revealed that policing has proved, in history, to be the machinery employed by governments to enforce order. It has, therefore, been an essential element of governance in history and police forces have had significant authority over societies within their jurisdictions. Furthermore, the forces often acted as information channels for the government, and have historically infiltrated societies to the lowest echelons. These aspects of policing surfaced in Kenya's policing experience in the past two centuries, with the most unique features being the robust involvement of Indians in the Kenyan police force, and the development of the

police force in sync with forces of trade, modernization, and European imperialism. On this basis, this study presents an assessment of the emergence and early involvement of Indians in state policing in Kenya. It has been noted that European imperialism was a significant factor in assessing the development of policing in Africa and in Kenya. Prior to European imperialism, a basic system of policing had developed along the Kenyan coastline, formulated by Indian merchants to protect their property.

The study established that during the colonial period, the Europeans also prioritized Indians in the first police force in Kenya. The study then presents a partial answer to the question about Asian involvement in policing in Kenya, approaching the phenomenon from a position of colonial subjugation, insisting that a police force is “a tool at the state’s disposal”, a component of the state that safeguards its legitimacy by enforcing its interests. It then points out that the British colonialists sourced service men for the force from select ethnic and racial groups, which they believed would better enforce their interests. Naturally, Europeans took the top positions, deputised by Indians with African assistants. The hierarchical system favoured Indians who the colonialists preferred for not only their loyalty and valour but also for their past experience and familiarity with the system. It is these Asians that took up senior positions as the force built up and took shape. The study builds a strong case for the central role of the Indian race in policing in Kenya in the 18th and 19th centuries. The vast knowledge throughout this study is conceptualized through the securitization theory and Max Weber’s theory of the modern state. The two theories and the vast knowledge are elaborated, assessed and synthesised in an integration of primary sources and secondary sources, through the historical method.

The former broadly encompasses the rich historical knowledge of policing in Kenya in the pre-colonial, colonial and decolonization phases, and the central role of Indians in policing the state. The latter, however, constitutes in-depth interviews with families, key informants, and officials in the police force or affiliated to select Indians that were part of the police force in Kenya in the target period. These were sought from urban zones that were the core of police activity in the country, including Nairobi, Mombasa, and Kisumu.

Chapter two explored the historical and political foundations of policing from 1884-1895. Historical evidence suggests state policing has existed in various societies in different historical contexts and geographies. From the study, it emerged that the eleven-year period spanning 1884 to 1895 was arguably the incubation period for policing in Africa and in the Kenyan state, culminating in the entrenchment of the force into the state system. The events did not happen in isolation but were arguably a spill over of the of policing in the west. The chapter notes that some form of policing always existed in human society for law and order maintenance, and of course, the subjugation of majorities by powerful minorities for economic and political reasons. This is evident in the histories of renowned civilizations such as those of the Greeks, Egyptians, and Mesopotamians, which left policing to military forces. Gradually, policing became more concrete, taking on discrete definitions and well-defined roles, as in the 16th century in England and Germany.

The chapter further examined the evolution of communal policing in pre-colonial Kenya and argues that many traditional African societies had social structures that were responsible for policing the society. The chapter argues that policing mechanisms varied between communities but control, justice and law were realized in policing.

The study argues that modern policing as we know it followed colonialism in Africa, following the scramble for Africa between European great powers. It was also responsible for local needs. The assertion based on the imperative to have order in the colonial territories, and the notion that colonial powers needed organized forces aligned with their interests. In East Africa, the chapter argues that the Imperial British East African Company played an important role in the establishment of state policing. Moreso, with its establishment at Mombasa, the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEAC) imported guards, police, clerks and accountants from India to help in the running of its affairs. The British resorted to recruiting Indians for policing duties, as they deemed them easy and dependable servicemen. Indeed, the forces secured European interests, using force and aggression to deprive natives of rights and resources. Initially, the forces aided the colonialists in pacifying the masses at the start of colonialism, while protecting European settlers from retaliation, in a blend of reactive and regime policing. The chapter concludes that Indians played a significant role in helping the British to establish colonial control and to protect British interests in East Africa.

Chapter three examined Indian state policing in Kenya from 1895 up to 1918. The chapter demonstrated that in Kenya, Policing was part of the foundation of the colonial state and colonial control came with a new source of supreme authority as well as new judicial structures and personnel. The chapter notes that the construction of the Kenya-Uganda railway facilitated the growth of infant police forces inland which were manned by Indians. The chapter further argues that the construction of the Kenya-Uganda railway was a trigger for the accelerated immigration of Indians to the region, a move that explains the robust Indian presence in the region's

colonial and post-colonial policing. The security personnel were thus recruited from India and were governed by Indian police statutes giving the force a quasi-police status. This marked the beginning of Indian policing in Kenya. It was evident that the Indians in the force were tasked with protecting territorial and economic interests of the British.

The chapter further explores the emergence of Indian policing activity in major Kenyan towns up to 1918. The major towns discussed in this chapter include Mombasa, Nairobi and Kisumu. It was noted that Police service units were established in Mombasa, Nairobi, and Kisumu to safeguard construction workers and their tools and that Indian police were heavily involved in maintaining order in these emerging cities. It has been observed that maintaining order in the cities during the period of colonization and establishment of colonial control was critical to the health of the new Kenyan colonial state. It has also been demonstrated that the emerging infant towns attracted large populations which in turn bred insecurity. The Indian forces were tasked with protecting and providing security for these infant towns. Additionally, the chapter argues that Indian involvement in the Kenyan police system went beyond actual enrolment into the force, to include the actual formulation of the initial system. It reveals that the force in Kenya was initially based on the Indian penal code, police act, and criminal procedure code, borrowed from British India and manned by Indians themselves. Clerks of Indian origin also kept records in Urdu. By sheer force, Indians formed a significant part of the force in Kenya at the start of the 19th century, usually in higher ranks. The chapter concludes that Indians played an important part in aiding the British in establishing colonial rule in Kenya, and that the early colonial period in Kenya was marked by

persistent efforts to do so, with the Indian police playing a crucial role in attaining this goal.

In chapter four the study presents an account of Indian policing during the inter-war and Second World War II period from 1919 to 1945. The chapter demonstrates that these periods witnessed increased recruitment and involvement of Indians in the colonial police force in Kenya. The chapter examined outstanding Indian officers who contributed to the force's success during this period. It has been argued that around this time Kenya Police had matured into a dependable and professional force by the time it became a colony in 1920. The chapter argues that Indians served faithfully in the force, and by 1925, they carried out most of the force's demanding work, usually investigation. The chapter reveals the commitment of Indian officers to the Kenyan force, pointing out select Asians who received accolades for their good work. Apparently, Asians continued to stand out in the force and received accolades all through the duration of the colonial police. The chapter notes that from the start of the Kenya police force, Indians in service contributed phenomenally to the ability of the force to successfully execute its roles. From clerical work to actual police work in the streets, Indian officers were outstanding for the most part and often received recognition from the colonial authorities. The chapter concludes that Indians contributed fundamentally to the Kenyan force in its growth phase. It also reveals the pivotal role that the Indian race had in the force in the period, pointing out specific Indians who, amongst other things, drove the force's success.

Chapter five builds on the role of Indians in the Kenyan police force in the colonial period, touching on its development towards the end of the Second World War, and the restructuring after the war. The chapter analyses Indian involvement in state

policing in Kenya during the decolonization period from 1945-1963. The chapter begins by examining the Kenya police in the post- World War II period arguing that the end of World War II posed economic and social problems for both African and European colonies. Colonial administrations' inability to address these economic and social problems in their colonies, along with the rise of an educated middle class in Africa, fostered the formation of political groups in the colonies. Because of this, the post-war era was marked by growing nationalist opposition, which in certain regions resulted in independence wars. Therefore, the duty of policing political disturbance presented itself to the colonial police forces that existed at this time. The status of the Asian police during this period was very significant. There were new admissions of Indian police officers to the superior colonial police service. In Nyanza province (Kisumu) Mr Hazara Singh received his appointment as Assistant Superintendent of police and Mr Bhajan Singh of Special Branch Nairobi area was also appointed to the position of Assistant Superintendent of police. The period also saw the appointment of more Indian police officers in the Signals Department at the headquarters.

The chapter further examines the role of the Indians in state policing in Kenya during the Mau Mau and noted that Indian police officers were key participants in operations against the Mau Mau. They held positions in various police divisions and the overall effectiveness of Indian officers in police work positioned them for frequent promotion. For this reason, Indian officers rose through the ranks faster compared to their African counterparts. The chapter concludes by examining the challenges the Indian police officers faced in policing the state. Some of the challenges included; racism in Kenyan colonial police, transport deficiencies, human

resource capacity deficits, difficulties in managing race, ethnic relations and violence as well as rebellions and violent confrontations. Despite the challenges, the chapter concludes that Indian involvement in the Kenyan force was pivotal in suppressing crime and in the general maintenance of law and order.

The research was centered on the following premise; That incorporation of Indians in state policing in Kenya began with their recruitment as indentured labourers by the Imperial British East African Company, that the participation of Indians in state policing in Kenya was noticeable during the early colonial period and later during the First World War, that the role of Indians in policing the colonial state was more pronounced during the interwar and World War II Period, that the involvement of Indians in state policing in Kenya declined during the decolonization period because of African demands.

It has been observed that European imperialism was a significant factor in any assessment of the development of policing in Africa and in Kenya. The study established that during the colonial period, the Europeans prioritized Indians in the first police force in Kenya. The study has established that the Imperial British East African Company played an important role in the establishment of state policing. More specifically, the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEAC) established itself in Mombasa and imported guards, police, clerks, and accountants from India to assist in the management of its activities. Hence the analysis confirms the premise that the Imperial British East African Company's employment of Indians as indentured laborers marked the beginning of their inclusion in state police in Kenya. The study has also shown that during the inter-war and Second World War II period 1919 to 1945, there was a rise in the recruitment and involvement of Indians in the Kenyan

colonial police force hence confirming the research premise that the role of Indians in policing the colonial state was more pronounced during the interwar and World War II Period.

Further research needs to be done on the role of Indians in Kenya security sector in the post-Independent period. It is also necessary to conduct more research on the interactions between native African forces and Indian colonial police forces. Further research can also be done on the ways in which colonial policing was modified to fit local conditions and the evolving nature of colonial policing throughout the history of the colonies as seen through the lenses of Police Studies. Additionally, there is room for a comparative study on Indian policing in Kenya and Uganda in the colonial period. Lastly, a study of the police forces of colonies on various continents that were governed by foreign powers from various European regimes would provide important insights into the interdependencies between historical and subsequently modern types of policing worldwide.

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 Leader of East Africa 8 Aug. 1914
 The East African Standard 2 Oct. 1915

ORAL INTERVIEWS

Participant Name	Age	Interview Date	Location
Abdallah Athumani	71	21-7-22	Malindi
Abdallah Ngao OI	75	18-6-22	Mombasa
Abdi Osman	76	20-9-22	Mombasa
Abdulswamad Ali	70	20-6-22	Mombasa
Davidson Njogu	76	25-6-22	Nyeri
Dr. Julius Gathogo	76	24-6-22	KU Mombasa campus
Ezekiel Moindi OI	78	2-12-21	Nyaguta Kisii
John Kamau	79	30-6-22	Nairobi
Kamau Thuo	71	21-6-22	Nyeri
Kimeu Kioko	80	7-7-22	Machakos
Kioko Nzuve	83	7-8-22	Embakasi
Mohammed Sule	71	4-7-22	Kwale
Muriithi Wahome	70	20-2-22	Nairobi
Mutua Ndile	87	20-6-22	Kahawa West
Mzee Kahingu Harrison	71	16-6-22	Sokoke Kilifi
Ndungu Mwithaga	76	25-6-22	Nyeri
Njogu Wangombe	78	25-6-22	Nyeri

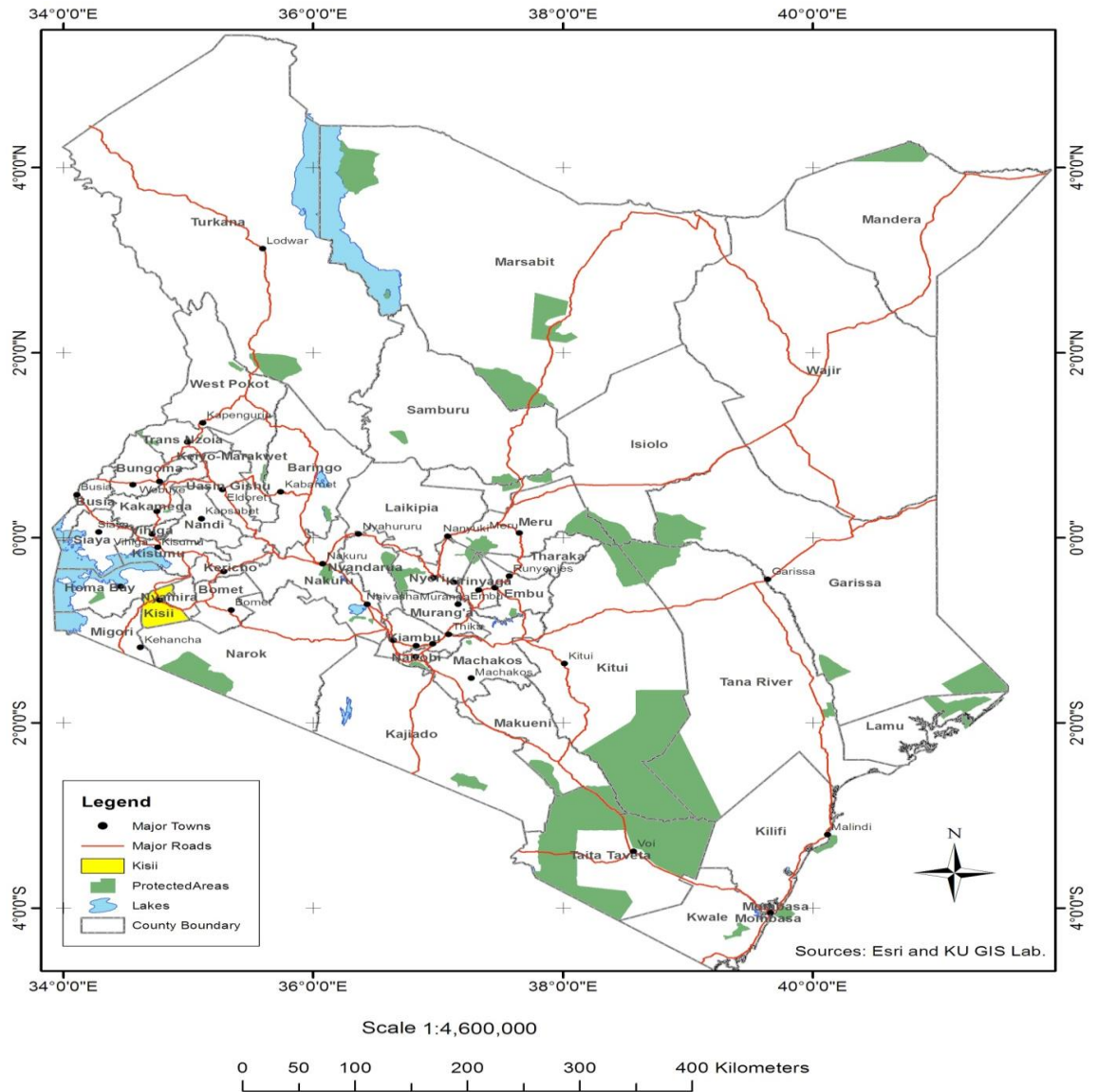
Njoroge Kagunda	75	24-6-22	Uthiru
Onesmus Gachoka	71	21-6-22	Nyeri
Rashid Muhammad	77	3-6-22	Takaungu
Rocha Chimera	70	20-6-22	Pwani University
Salim Swaleh	74	6-7-22	Likoni-Mombasa
Wahome Muriithi	77	6-1-22	Nairobi
Wandeto Mwangi	77	6-6-22	Ruaraka, Nairobi
Yusuf Bakari	74	20-6-22	Kibarani Kilifi

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

PARTICIPANTS	PLACES	YEAR
Ex-Police officers	Kwale	2.6.22
Retired Police officers	Mombasa town	3.7.22
Sergeant	Nairobi	11.6.22
Ex-AP officers	Mathira East	9.8.22
Ex-AP officers	Kisumu	28.6.22
Ex-AP officers	Utawala	6.7.22
Clan elders	Takaungu	9.8.22
Clan elders	Ruringu	20.8.22
Elderly men	Kilifi	14.8.22

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: MAP OF KENYA



SOURCE; ESRI AND KU GIS LAB

APPENDIX II: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Hello Sir/Madam,

I am a PhD student at Kenyatta University. I am carrying out research on **Indians and colonial state policing in Kenya, from 1884-1963**. I am approaching former and current European administrators, African administrators, Indian ex-police officers, and African ex-police officers, particularly those who worked with Indians in the police force, retired officers commanding police stations, police reservists, both current and former, elderly men and women. The information given will help in understanding the history of Indians and colonial state policing. All the information obtained will be treated with confidentiality. I will be very grateful if you can respond to my questions. Thank you.

SECTION ONE

Background Information

1. Respondent.....
2. Rank.....
3. Station of work.....
4. Level of education.....

SECTION TWO

General information about the police

1. Why do you think it is important for having a police force?
2. Have you ever been in contact with the Kenyan Police?
3. Do you think ethnic minorities have a role to play in policing the state? Explain
4. Do you think the police service as it exists today is all-inclusive?
5. Have you ever been in contact with an Indian serving the Kenyan Police?
6. To what extent were Indians involved in the emergency of state policing in Kenya?

7. (i) what is your assessment of the way the Indians were recruited in the Kenyan police force? (ii) Was the procedure biased?
 (iii) If so, in what way?
8. What were the consequences (operational, public relations, etc) of the actual recruitment of Indians in the colonial police force?
9. How were the Indians involved in state policing in Kenya in the early colonial period?
10. In terms of sufficiency, how do you classify the information used to define and attract qualified Indian personnel to the Police Department? Sufficient
 Not Sufficient
 Others (Specify).....
11. (i) what is your perception of the effectiveness of the Indians who worked in the Kenya Police Force?
 (ii) Why do you say so?
12. In your opinion, how competent were the Indian police officers who were involved in policing the colonial state in Kenya?
13. In your own assessment, how do you rate the adequacy of the colonial Police Department's resources (people, money, facilities, skills, etc) in policing the state?

SECTION THREE

Personal Comments

1. What other information do you regard as important to this study?

2. What has been the general impact to police performance when the Department utilizes members from different/Minorities races?

3. What do you consider to be the Indian contribution to state policing in Kenya during the decolonization period?

Time the interview ended.....

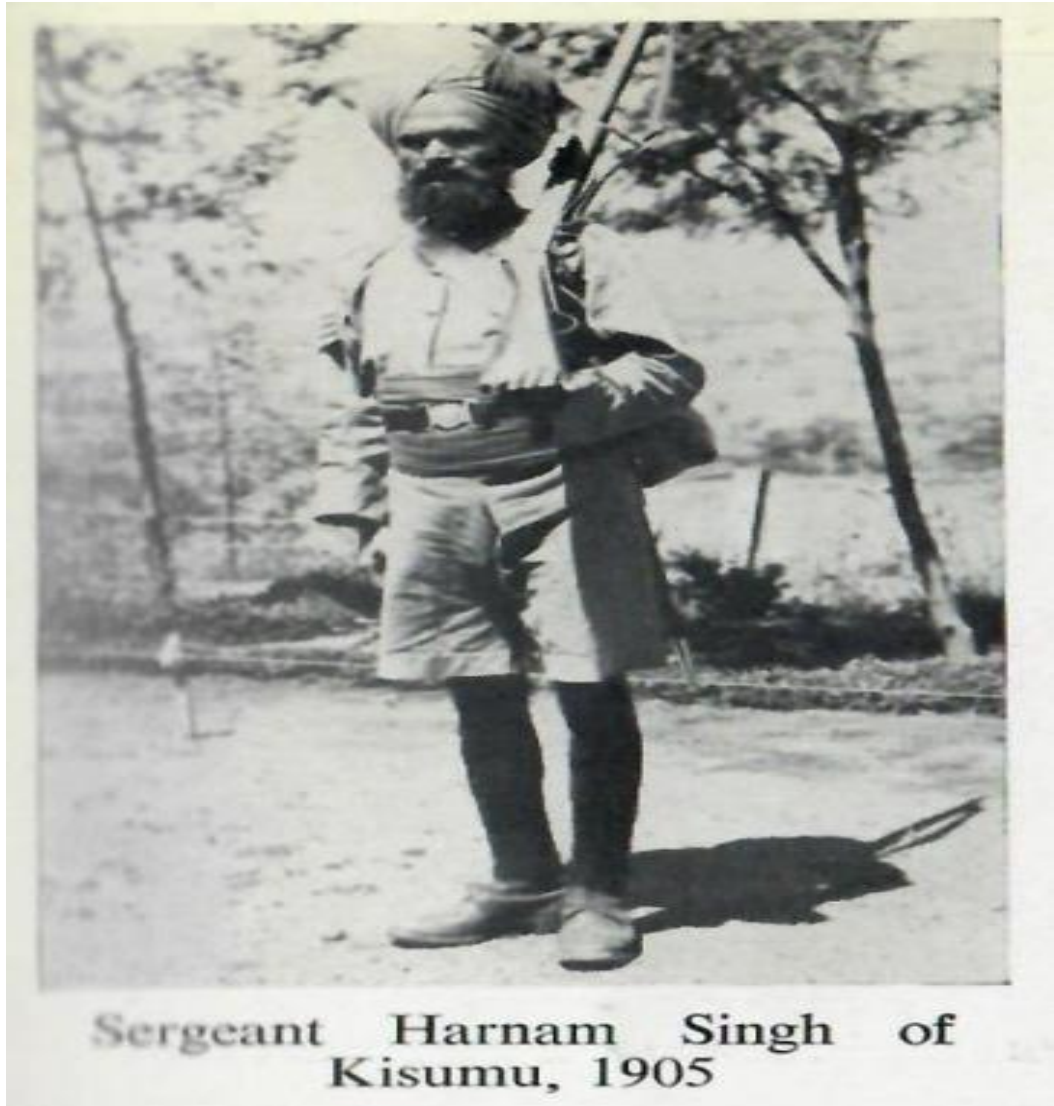
Time taken.....

Date.....

Thank you sir/ Madam for your patience and co-operation.

APPENDIX III: SHOWING LIST OF PLATES

Sergeant Harman Singh in kisumu 1905



Source: Robert Foran's Book Published in 1962 page 64

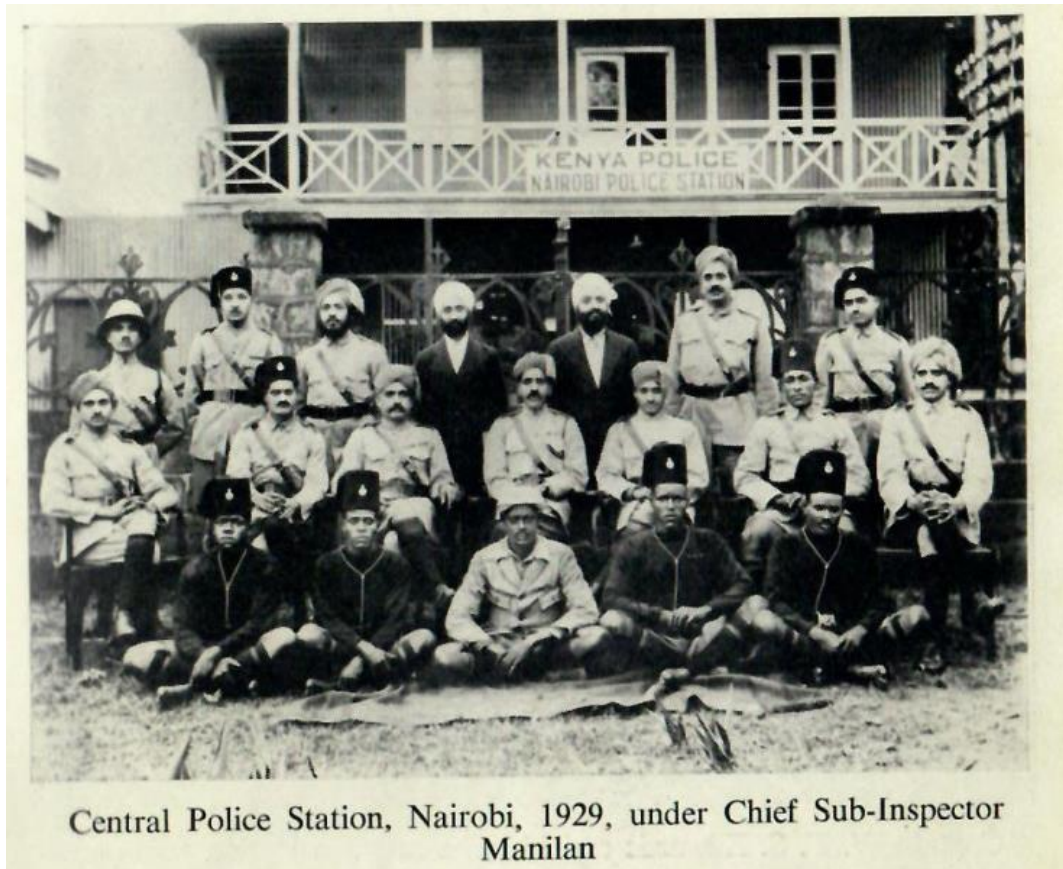
Harry Thuku Riots Nairobi 1922



The Harry Thuku riots, Nairobi, 1922. *(Above)* A police party stands by outside the police lines in Government Road. *(Below)* A crowd scene opposite the Norfolk Hotel just prior to the riots

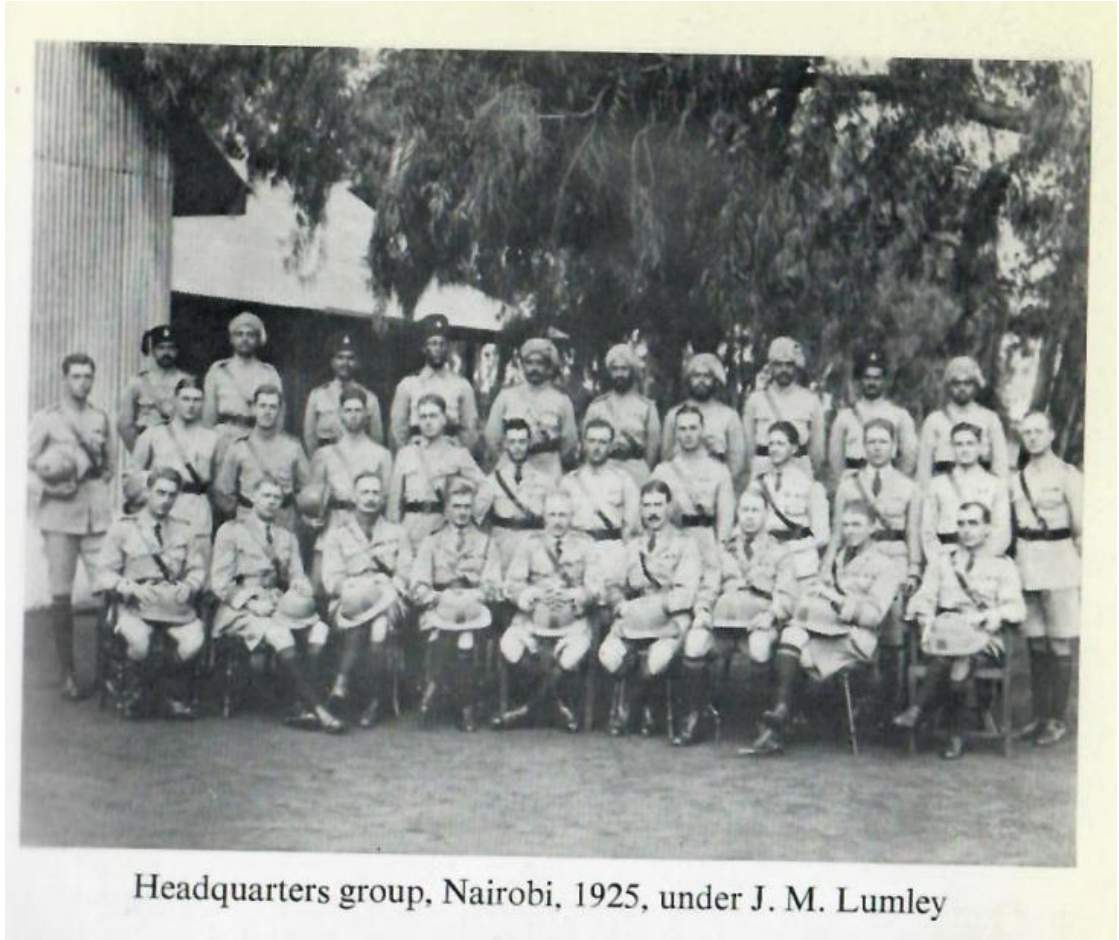
Source: Robert Foran Book Published in 1962 page 65

Central police station in 1929



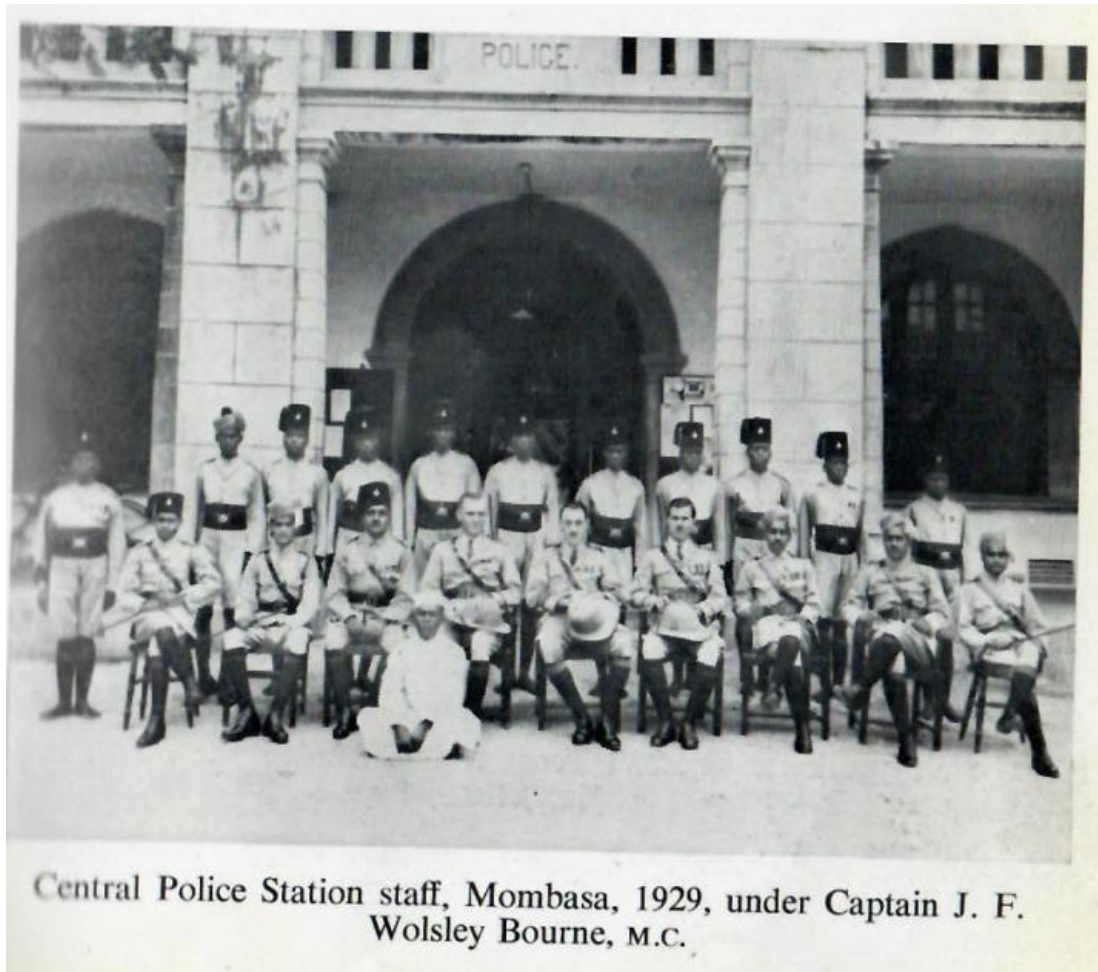
Source: Robert Foran's Book Published in 1962 page 65

Headquarters Nairobi Group 1925




Source: Robert Foran's Book Published in 1962 page 66


Central Police station staff Mombasa 1929



Source: A Research Report by Hans- Martin Sommer, N M K


APPENDIX IV: RESEARCH PERMIT


REPUBLIC OF KENYA


**NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR
SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION**

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