

Colonial legacy of the British: a narrative analysis of police service of Pakistan

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Abstract:

The colonial legacy remains visible in the Police Service of Pakistan (PSP). The PSP officers identify themselves as something different and superior to the public. It is common for PSP to view the public how the colonial master viewed the subjects of colonial rule. The study adopted an interpretivist approach with a constructivist ontological stance using thematic analysis on in-depth interviews conducted with the respondents. The study found that PSP has retained its colonial imprint. As an institution, the PSP identifies itself as above the law and disconnected from the public. The narrative of “us” and “them”. The xenocentric attitude, viewing the public as inferior and savage people and, most importantly, thinking that the main job of the police as an organization is to maintain order rather than prevent crime, serves as evidence that the police service of Pakistan has kept its colonial legacy intact. It treats the public as “subjects” to be suppressed rather than served. The 1861 Police Act and colonial legislations help the PSP keep the colonial legacy alive. The PSP as an institution serves as an example of the persistence of colonial institutions with resistance to change and reform.

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1. Introduction

Colonization has played a very important role in the modern-day development, progress and prosperity of post-colonial societies. The histories of Asia, Latin America and Africa are tales of the horrors of colonization. The institutional structure of the countries in these lands has an imprint of colonization all over them. The instrument through which the colonizers changed the fate of the colonized is the “institutions.” The colonizers set up extractive institutions and exploited the colonies through them. Those institutions persisted and determined the modern-day economic output of post-colonial societies. Police are one such institution that the colonizers relied upon heavily and the colonial police served the purpose of its masters in true letter and spirit. Since all institutions have a tendency to persist, the institution of Police has also persisted and carries on it the “colonial imprint.” This study discusses the connection between the Police Service of Pakistan (PSP) and its colonial predecessor the Indian colonial police. The study finds that PSP presents a perfect case of the persistence of institutions.

1.1. Colonial policing: an overview

The colonial state requires that its political and economic interests be always safeguarded and should design its institutions in that manner. The police were one of its most powerful and interventionist tools designed specifically for the purpose of “maintenance of order” and safeguarding colonial economic and political interests (Banton, 1964; Banton, 1970; Das & Verma, 1998). Before the British introduced the colonial policing model in India, they had already established a force by the name of the “Irish Constabulary” in the aftermath of the Irish Peace Preservation Act that was enacted in 1814. The purpose of the force was to deal with the hostile elements in Northern Ireland. It was a civilian force in appearance but was military in character. It got the “Royal” title after it successfully dealt with the Finnian uprising (Breathnach, 1974). The force although named by Irishmen as infantrymen but was loyal to the British Crown and was answerable only to the Lord Lieutenant (Das & Verma, 1998). In most of its colonies, the British modelled their colonial police forces after the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC).

India is a perfect example where the British were successfully able to implement the RIC model. According to writers such as Tobias (1977), Chakravarty (1989), and Gupta (1975), the Indian Colonial Police is a classic example of the perfected RIC model. It started off with Charles Napier’s Sind(h) police which was a police force raised along paramilitary lines, in order to neutralize the attacks by locals on the British trade caravans. Later in 1861, as the Indian Civil Service Act passed in 1861 and also the Police Act passed during the same year a new police force emerged. One that was loyal to the colonial state, answered to no one and had unbridled power.

The sole purpose of this force was to “maintain order” so that the colonial economic and political interests of the colonial state can be safeguarded. Literature on colonial policing is rife

with the argument that the Indian Colonial Police was in fact the perfection of the RIC and the main purpose of the Indian police headed by an Inspector General (IG) was to maintain order (Breathnach, 1974; Jeffries, 1952; Stead, 1985).

“The Indian police was the first overseas force to be formed on Irish lines and was and are the largest of those that followed the path. The Indian Police Service was to be a major formative influence” (Tobias, 1977).

The Indian police so designed recruited from the poor and low classes however, the police were insulated from the public so that no social ties or bonds are formed. Then their contingents were trained they were then sent for duty and posted (Brodgen, 1987). In this way, they imported the RIC model completely to India and it proved so fruitful that it was extended and practiced in other portions of the Colonial Empire as well. The words of Sir Charles Jeffries serve as testimony to the fact that colonial policing models were deliberately designed to be extractive institutions with one purpose only “serving the Raj.”

Sir Charles Jeffries sums up the impact of the Irish Model on the colonies as follows:

“It is clear enough that from the point of view of the Colonies there was much attraction in an arrangement which provided what we should now call a “para-military” organization or gendarmerie, armed, and trained to operate as an agent of the central government in a country where the population was predominantly rural, communications were very poor, social conditions were largely primitive, and, the recourse to violence by members of the public who were “against the government” was not infrequent” (quoted by Manzoor, 2014).

“Terror”, “awe” and “fear” were the weapons with which the British ruled. The Police forces were to terrorize the people so that order is maintained. There was no room for any liberties or rights when the company interests were at stake. Chakravarty (1989) calls the Napier model as having a love for glamour and arrogant behaviour designed as such. Gupta (1974) opines that the terror spread by the police was the backbone of the British Administration. It was a system where there was no mechanism where someone could complain, the police were a terror organization as it ruled and ensured British rule through terror. The police brutality remained unchecked, their authority unquestioned.

1.2. History of police reforms, colonial legacy and beyond

After independence, Pakistan adopted the same structure as was prevalent in the British Raj and the structure was as it is (Qadir, 2011). Police have acted as a powerful institution and have remained an organization for fairness (Fida, 2020). The 1861 act has remained in practice for the past 70 years or so. There have been a number of attempts to change it but none has been

successful in total. With the act being in place, and the Pakistani Penal and Criminal procedures being the same as those set up by the British, the police do not change much.

The police system that Pakistan inherited was in no way fit for the administration of the Pakistani society, which got recently independent (Imam, 2011). The system became more oppressive with time keeping its colonial character intact. The society of Pakistan had been a society where in there were divisions, military rule, and political incompetence. The internal divisions made it possible for the elite to control the civil service and civil institutions even more (Malik, 1997). The police in principle need to be controlling crime and preventing it but due to elite control corruption and its colonial heritage, which it has maintained to this day, is not able to perform, as a police force should (Malik, 1997). The police were viewed as a symbol of coercion and fear said by (Rafique, 2004).

The first attempt to reform the police was when the Sindh Assembly, passed a bill to modernize the police system of Pakistan. This bill fell victim to the politics of police reforms (Suddle, 2003). Later, Sir Oliver Gilbert Grace headed a committee in 1951 and recommended that the police setup of Karachi must be overhauled completely (Ahmad et al., 2006). Following the recommendation, in 1960-61, Justice Constantine headed a team and visited India to come up with a metropolitan police model for Karachi as was in place in Mumbai and Goa, India. However, during the same period, the Federal Capital shifted from Karachi to Islamabad and hence the commission could not provide any recommendation (Suddle, 2003).

However, the first radical change in the policing structure and the Civil Service apparatus came from Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who even introduced a system of lateral entry, laid off Civil Servants and Police Officers who were not competent. The reform was not popular with the Civil Servants and Bhutto did not give them employment security (Imam, 2011). Still today, Civil Servants and Police Officers are not encouraging any such reform that could threaten the permanent jobs that the current public service offers.

Following Bhutto, the first serious step that totally aimed at a total revamp of the police structure came from Musharraf regime in 2002 and the order known as the Police Order of 2002. This was radical departure from the colonial policing. In 2004, the major parts of the order were deleted and by 2009, it had lost its value since it lost the presidential protection (Imam, 2011).

Although police officers put the entire blame on the political intervention since the order made police more independent but the police senior management especially the PSP also did not want the order to be implemented because it introduced accountability mechanisms in the form of safety commissions, community policing and oversight. Petzschmann (2010) opines that the Kerry-Lugar Bill, the arming and strengthening of the Police through Aid and assistance while conditioning that Aid to improvement in police performance was a good step but it had serious opposition from the PSP and many political parties. Petzschmann talks about understanding

the importance of the colonial history of Pakistan police and the need for decentralization of police while the government and the Police service itself want more centralized police which is not in the interests of the society.

Decentralization has been an attribute of pre-British governance structures and it has worked well. Moreover, economics and governance literature are rife with the advantages of decentralization. The author uses the “history” of Police in Pakistan and traces it back to the colonial origins and from there, Petzschmann makes an emphatic argument about the centralization of the police force as a colonial practice, something with which Pakistani Civil Service should part ways with if it wants better governance with special reference to Police. Pakistani Police remain a feared institution and the public does not look up to it for protection.

1.3. Scholarship on police reforms and police organization

Suddle (2003) gives a detailed account of how the entire PSP and the department of Pakistani Police to be structure on the colonial model and the outmoded colonial rules and regulations are still in place. Behaviour of the police is another matter of great concern, and this is even worse when women an already vulnerable group have to visit the Police Station (Hassan, 2015). While resource scarcity often cited as a constraint in way of good policing, they are not the prime reason behind police inefficiencies. One has to look at the corruption rampant in the organization as it has been among the top three most corrupt public institutions according to different reports of Transparency international as well some scholarly research (Malik & Qureshi, 2018; Singh, 2022). Keeping this factor in consideration Grare (2010) and Petzschmann (2010) propose that Foreign Aid given to PSP should be condition to good policing performance with measurable Key performance indicators. While talking about restructuring the police and coming up with reforms in the outmoded colonial system Perito and Pervez (2014) believe that reforms should start from the basic unit of policing which is the Police Station. They also contend that Police as an organization is abusive, it misuses it power and these patterns are common among officers and Rankers. The origin of this excessive use of power lies in the colonial legacy of the police.

The deep colonial root of the PSP was not given much attention when talking about reforms. There are some studies which have tried to connect the current-day policing organization with its colonial heritage for example Manzoor (2014) talks about the PSP being a despotic organization with a despotic culture preventing it from becoming a good police force. Khalid (2017) accurately pinpoints the organizational issues of the PSP and its impact on the “Trust deficit” that exists between the police and the public. Other notable studies on policing include Noreen and Sarfraz (2016) who propose that the 1861 act and the British way of policing were far better than what we have today. Islam and Khan (2020) believe that there needs a total overhaul of the system to make it compatible with modern-day policing standards and requirements. Abbas (2011) also believes that the police’s ability to work is severely constrained by equipment, training, corruption culture and the judicial processes. There needs

to be wide-scale reforms in the police system, but public consensus should be there while designing and implementing those reforms. There is a need of well thought of organizational reforms in the PSP.

There have been studies on police corruption for instance of Malik and Qureshi (2021) who find the rampant corruption in PSP has economic reasons but also has social, cultural, historical and political aspects, which need to be understood if the whole phenomenon of police being one of the most corrupt institutions in the country has to be investigated. Klockars et al. (2003) while discussing at length the structural and organizational linkages between the PSP and its colonial predecessor also shed light on how the PSP is the most corrupt public institution in the country. While Malik and Qureshi (2021) have taken a sample and dwelled into the current-day social, cultural and political structures. Klockars et al. (2003) has attempted to explain the transmission of colonial heritage through these channels. The corruption that takes place in the PSP goes from the lowest rank to the highest and which is one of the main reasons why every police station in the country struggles with resources needed for police work.

While these studies have taken the police department and the PSP as their object of investigation, there are other scholars who have come the other way around. For instance, Khan (2007) talks about police being considered the least trustworthy, highly corrupt, and arrogant by 92% of the respondents where the sample size was three thousand. Khan (2007) noted that alongside corruption issues there were issues of misconduct and bad behaviour in the police officials and the PSP cadre too. The findings are also supported by the Transparency International Surveys (TIS) for example TIS 2006 reported that the public had severe distrust for the PSP. Klockers et al. (2003) also find misconduct of police and corruption as a colonial legacy. The majority of Pakistanis considered police as the most corrupt department in 2006 and similar results were reported in 2008. Furthermore, police appointments, loyalties, benefits to family and friends, and the unlawful policing methods are the hallmark of the Pakistani police (Chene, 2008).

With corruption come extra judicial and extra-legal activities. The PSP along with having the reputation of being the most corrupt are being involved in extra-judicial activities including extra-legal encounters and killings. Extortions and bribes are reported among police officers who use the power of the police and adopt the extra-legal acts (Singh, 2022). Khan et al. (2021) also supports the findings of Singh (2022), and Malik and Qureshi (2021) also make the case that the PSP uses its official de-jure influence for de-facto gains.

It is perhaps due to these reasons that the society does not look at the police department as a protector but rather as an element of fear, tyranny and cruelty. The people in general do not tend to cooperate with the police due to the picture of the PSP imprinted on their minds. Public cooperation is essential for good policing. Good policing models in the world are based on consensual policing and community support. There are many examples; the British metropolitan unarmed police be cited as one example. There exists a trust deficit between the

public and PSP and that is one of the reasons why every government tries to introduce police service reform in its agenda.

The aloofness of the police from the public is rooted in its colonial origins. The post-independence trust deficit is seen throughout the history of Post-colonial Pakistan. Police are viewed as corrupt inefficient, unprofessional, and biased with no regard or respect for the public. Ullah et al. (2016) reported these findings for a district in the conflict-ridden KPK province of Pakistan.

Police stations in Pakistan are supposed to be spaces where one can report cruelty and often the very places where some of the cruellest and most heinous acts are experienced by the ones who go there to file a complaint (Jamal, 2011). According to a Transparency International Report in 2010, 84% of the respondents reported police to be one of the most corrupt and least trustworthy public institution in the country.

Jackson et al. (2014) also find the corruption prevalent in the police from the PSP officer cadre to the constable level and their inefficiency to control crime as a leading cause of distrust between the public and the police the study conducted in the city of Lahore. The public does not trust the police and has a hostile view of them. Moreover, the police have established itself, as a force to be feared not one that is there to protect. Shabbir et al. (2018) report similar findings for a district in Punjab province with a stratified sample that included lawyers, doctors, students, businesspersons, educated and illiterate respondents, and they concluded that the general perception about the police is that it is one of the corrupt institutions with bad and unacceptable behaviour neglecting their duty and control by those who held political and economic power. Khoso et al. (2018) found that even the juveniles had a negative impression of the police department since they had witnessed police in criminal activities near their neighbourhood.

The police image in Pakistani society is not a positive one. They are perceived as a corrupt paramilitary force that gains legitimacy through outmoded colonial legislations and use of force. There is no cooperation or consensual policing model in place in Pakistan. The people in general do not trust the police and view it negatively.

1.4. Research gape

All the research work done on the police as an organization and as an institution of the social control has concentrated upon certain areas such as police reforms, the police institution, its structure, corruption, rules and regulation and the image of police in the society. From the survey of literature, it becomes clear that studies have focused on these themes keeping in view the British's colonial legacy of the police. However, these studies have focused on the legal side or the societal side of the issue i.e., the colonial legacy of the police. The most important instrument of the colonial heritage is the police officer himself/herself. Therefore, it becomes

important to study how colonial is a PSP officer? How has the colonial legacy transmitted through him/her? Is there any graft or print of colonial legacy on the officer? What does the police officer think? How does he or she view the society? And how is it ascertained that the police officer views the society in the same way as the British Colonialists did? This study has tried to answer these questions by applying a method of thematic analysis on in-depth interviews of police officers. The *hypothesis* of the study is: the colonial institutions of the police have persisted, resisted changes in structure, formation, and recruitment and have become more extractive over time.

2. Theoretical framework

The Europeans colonized America, Asia, Africa and Australia. In some colonies, the Europeans settle and make it their home while on the other side where they could not settle because of the climatic condition so they made extractive institutions (Acemoglu et al., 2001). Those extractive institutions persist and become even more extractive. Moreover, according to Alvi (1972) in post-independence, the metropolitan elites were replaced by the local elites and these local elites made an alliance with the bureaucracy and the metropolitan elites. Their interests converged and they established a rent-seeking extractive mechanism.

2.1. An overview of the Institutional theory

Explaining why some countries grow while others do not have always been a point upon which consensus is difficult to be found. There have been different opinions and theories that have tried to explain the phenomenon of growth its cause and its necessary ingredients. For instance, Solow believed it to be an exogenous phenomenon where in there is saving and investment and there comes a role of the exogenously introduced technical change which later on leads to higher output. Harrods - Domar looked at it from a saving and investment perspective. There were the linear stages models (Rostow) and the structural change model (Lewis). All of these different approaches dealt with the question of growth and development differently. These models explain growth and development but in essence, they focused on the causes of growth rather than the reasons.

For instance, higher investment is an approximate cause of growth, and high employment is an effect of growth, the real question is how to achieve high investment and how to increase the employment of human and non-human resource. These questions were answered by the Institutional theory later on, the strong proponent of which was Douglas. C. North. He put forth that the actual reason for growth is provided by the Institutional structure of a society (North, 1989). An Institutional structure as defined by North was the combination of the formal and informal constraints that a society faces. A detailed discussion of the Institutional perspective of growth and development is out of the scope of this paper but the theoretical framework that is borrowed in part from the works of North (1989a; 1989b), Acemoglu et al. (2001) and in part from the work of Alvi (1972) in the realm of post-colonialism.

2.2. Institutional theory explained

The society governed by certain rules and regulations. Part of the rules and regulations (formal) are documented and available in written form while part of them is conveyed through traditions and are as such intangible (informal). The tangible of written rules known as the formal rules and regulation while the culture, norms, values a tradition make up the informal institutions. Together the combination of formal and informal institutions makes up the Institutional structure of society (North, 1989). While the formal rules changed instantly, the informal rules take time and changed incrementally. With reference to current research, the formal rules or institutions are the documents, laws and regulations that are drafted by the legislature and are defined as the police working and operations for instance the 1861 Police Act, the Police Order of 2002, the KP Police Act of 2017 etc., while informal constraints or institutions refer to the policing culture, the perceptions of the police about the society and vice versa. The internal culture of the police station and most importantly perceptions of the police about themselves and the people.

3. Methodology

The research is conducted with an interpretivist epistemology and a constructivist ontological stance. The epistemological and ontological approaches determined the methods, tools and procedure of analysis. The study adopted the thematic analysis approach of Clarke et al. (2005). The data collection tool was the *in-depth unstructured interviews* informed by an *interview guide*. The themes for the interview guide were extracted from the literature while some themes are added as the study moved on. Due to the official hurdles cited by the respondent, the recording was not done in some cases. However, the researchers made extensive use of field notes. The interviews taken were first transcribed in the language they spoke and later on in English and during the interview, the probing technique was conducted.

The reading and re-reading of transcripts were completed in an iterative process, certain codes were assigned and from those codes, themes and sub-themes were generated. Purposive sampling was used to generate the sample. The reason behind this was the fact that the respondents had to meet a criterion to be selected as a subject of the study that included being part of the PSP or the police department. Training at the civil service academy and the police academy were also part of the criteria. Probability sampling cannot give the desired results, therefore non-probability purposive sampling is adopted.

To protect the identity of the respondents, their anonymity is ensured with mentioning designations. Therefore, only the ranks of the respondents were mentioned. The mentioning of ranks also added to the strength of the narrative to helped and understand the colonial legacy that still has a strong influence on the language and working of the police service of Pakistan and understanding it's colonial origins.

4. Maintenance of order

It is found that the PSP officer thinks of himself/herself different from the society. In their minds, they are above the common Pakistani. This sense of superiority comes from the colonial legacy. The following thematic chart explains it well.

Table-1: Examples of superiority that comes from colonial legacy

Theme	Sub-Theme	Example
Colonial Legacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Police perception on maintenance of order as their primary role. • The narrative of “us” and “them”. • Xenocentric attitude • Inferiority. • Savagery and civilization. 	<p>The responses that led showed how the PSP officer perceives his or her job to be. It was found that they considered maintenance of order as their job.</p> <p>There was also a narrative of us and them where in the officer would refer to Police service fraternity as us and the rest of the society as them and this pattern was found across the board.</p> <p>The officers displayed a Xenocentric attitude praising the British system and explicitly saying that India did not have enough indigenous capability to come up with any systems of its own. They even used the words “savage” for the current Pakistani society</p>

As discussed earlier, the colonial state had always wanted to maintain order and discipline. Its objective was to subjugate, terrorize, and use force to create “awe” and fear in the society. The colonialists also considered themselves as being a superior race. Therefore, the main theme of colonial legacy divided into subthemes of maintenance of order, xenocentrism, a narrative of “them” and “us” calling the society savage and finally an inferiority that we still are inferior to the west in all aspects.

The police officers that the researchers interviewed had this belief in common that the primary purpose for any society to have a police force is to maintain order. Although it appears synonymous with keeping peace and preventing crime but if look from the lens of governance, it is the backdrop of the colonial history of Pakistan. The maintenance of order does not equate to the maintenance of peace or the prevention of crime. For instance, one of the respondents of the study in the rank of SSP said the following:

SSP: “To maintain order and stability and to keep people safe from each other and to ensure that that the law is upheld at all costs.”

Order means putting things in the right place. Making sure that everything is where it belongs. Normally if things are in order, it means that, the things that were out of place are in order now. The person who puts the things in order needs to have “knowledge” about what the right place of a particular something is and in what way or symmetry is the setting going to be ordered. The one in charge of ordering will also need to keep the order from breaking and for vigilance and intervention to be justified, so the SSP while describing the police function began with

“maintenance of order.” Often, the people will use the words that come to their mind as soon as a particular word or phrase is mentioned the officer directly said, “maintenance of order.” Therefore, order and order being kept would be of vital importance to the respondent.

Finally ensuring that the law is to be upheld at all costs. This shows an unquestioning allegiance to the law. In any social setting where the law is upheld at all costs, means that even if one has to go to extremes and trespass personal boundaries, social boundaries and other limits he or she will do it. The approach that comes with it means that the ends justify the mean, so the law being upheld at all costs means that human realities, social contexts and the associated costs come second. This approach dehumanizes the person practicing it but this was also visible in other interviews.

Another respondent (DIG) said: Police is an organization that keeps society from deviance. It is us (the Police) that made the sustenance of the system possible. If the police were weak there would have been complete chaos. Maintaining law and order and disciplining society is the job of the police if your police is not there or people don't fear it then you will see. “Murders, dacoits, and rapes happen every day. Thankfully it's us (the police) and our fear (in the society) that this society is somewhat disciplined.”

The respondent believes that the police is the standard or the one to set the standard so that society does not deviate. Deviation normally is a term used when something leaves its true path and goes for a path that is not meant for it. In simple deviation means how far away, something is from the standard. The police's job is to ensure that deviance does not happen. It is observed that the respondent is talking from a position of power and the respondent believes that his organization has the power to keep the people in check. The organization is responsible for ensuring that all deviant behaviours are deterred.

ASP: “to maintain order and security. Plain and simple...what would you do without us?”

“Maintain order and security” The respondent is assuming that an order persists in society. There is a certain level of calmness and a certain level of security. His job as a police officer or the role of the police is to maintain that order, keep things going, and ensure that the order is not disturbed. The keeping of the order from getting disturbed means that chaos does not take place or if anything in the sequence were out of order, the policing organization would have to put it in place.

4.1. The narrative of us vs. them

In interviews, the researchers found that the PSP officers always referred to the people and to the society as “them” while referred to themselves as “us.” In some cases, they used the words

“we” to refer to the PSP while in other they used the words “us” and “our.” Upon probing and follow-up, I used to ascertain that what they actually meant, and I found the narrative of “us” and “them” was very visible.

A DIG while discussing police behaviour and the way the public objects said the following in an angry tone.

“These people are a nation of donkeys and only understand the language of the stick therefore, I deal with them as donkeys should be dealt with.”

The officer comfortably compares the rest of the nation to “donkeys” and uses this comparison as an excuse to be harsh. This was the colonial way where the colonial masters considered the colonized nations as sons of lesser gods.

The narrative of “us” and “them” was present throughout in the other respondents as well. A retired police officer in the rank of Additional IGP said the following towards the question regarding corruption.

“What do you people think? ... you people think it is only we that appear as Animals. We have to deal with these animals (the Pakistani public) and therefore we appear like monsters. These animals can only be brought in line when they are shown the stick and they are made to fear. They only understand fear.”

What do you people think the officer mentioned this repeatedly in his narration. The emphasis on “you” was somehow again a reference to “them” being a different species but the words used later, for instance while referring to the Pakistani public he used the word “*janwar awam*” which can be literally translated to “*animal people*” or meaning the people who have animalistic tendencies.

4.2. Xenocentric attitude

The police displayed a Xenocentric attitude as far as the top leadership was concerned. For instance, they applauded the British for putting in place a policing system, while finding the Indians as incapable of putting a good system in place. In many of the interviews, the researchers found them praising the system and treating its colonial legacy as a plus point. the researchers witnessed that the Civil Servants either directly praised the British system or made subliminal comments showing praise and appreciation.

DIG: “the British though colonial masters, but they knew how to rule, how to set-up things and how to run things.”

So, they are acknowledged as colonial masters, but the praise is there that “they knew how to run things.” While the global literature on post-colonialism and the impact of colonialism on present-day former colonies posits that colonization was an extractive process that made the colonized societies worse off. The Pakistani civil servant at high rank has the view that the British knew how to establish the institutions, how to run the systems and how to carry out business. The statement “they knew how to rule” is yet another example of the way the PSP positions itself and views itself i.e., “ruler” and secondly the objective of the civil service for them is to rule.

SSP: “I don’t think we as a society had the capacity to do that, we still don’t, it’s good that we inherited an already established system. It needs tweaking but still it’s a way better system.”

An SSP while talking about the police system made it clear that the system is good, and he is thankful that we had the system. Because according to him, the Pakistani society did not have the intellectual capacity and capabilities to come up with a better system. The Pakistani society is intellectually inferior according to the SSP. Therefore, we should stick with the politic system as it is.

This brings us to the question that what sort of tweaking did the SSP want, the tweaking he wanted was more financial autonomy, the increased role of the SP at the district level and the appointment of police officers at ministries especially where matters pertaining to police are discussed, and policies are made. We do not have a say, it is all the PAS or the Secretariat groups. There is no one to look after police interests.

DIG: “have you seen the roads built by the British? (and) The bridges and railway track they laid? We make roads today and build bridges, yet they don’t even last a year. After every year we have to do the maintenance. And millions are spent on that. I have been posted in far-off corners of the country and I have seen the marvels of British engineering. They ruled us for a reason, they were better than us. There is a lot for us to learn from the British and European societies. We should adopt the European way of doing things here.

Had it not been for them you wouldn’t have this irrigations system or the canal system. Your agriculture capacity would have been limited, you would not have communication networks, or the rail roads. The education through which you have come and are able to converse with me wouldn’t have been possible. This is what Sir Syed was talking about. We need to embrace the British ways so that we could win the race. But we are stuck to our traditions. It’s our luck that they left us with the system, this system may have flaws, it is old, but the basic skeleton is there, and we can improve them but we cannot divorce the system altogether. It’s the only thing working in this country.”

Therefore, since the British rule has given us infrastructure so the policing system that they put in place is also a good one and we should not look at taking this system out. Comparison of the infrastructure with institutions is unfair. The respondent was implying that all the development and progress that post-colonial Pakistan has had is because of the colonial past.

4.3. Inferiority

Regarding the inferiority, one of the DIGs believed:

DIG: "... in this country you have a corrupt army and incompetent politicians. look at our universities do you think you can even compete with the school children of Britain in terms of skills and competence. You have studied economics, but I bet you, the economics you were taught in Pakistan is what the high school students in Britain already know."

The respondent believes that Pakistani society in no way can be compared with that of Western society. According to him the education that we have at the university level is far below in quality compared to the education of the western high school student. This is a bold claim since university curriculum are made differently and there is a difference between high school curriculums and university curricula but the important reflection is that of the mindset of the respondent who actually believes that the British high school is better compared to the university here in Pakistan, There is no denying that many systems in the west are far better than they are here in the developing world but it does point out the fact that the respondent acknowledges the superiority of that system in comparison to his system.

4.4. Savagery and civilization

DIG: "... these people that we deal with, this society it's savage and if you don't make them fear you are inviting trouble."

SP: "... yes, no doubt the act talking about the Police Act of 1861 is a colonial invention but as far as I am concerned, and this is something you will come to see in the field that this this savage society of ours has to be kept in check and the only way to do it is through such legislation. The British ruled the land because it had the guts to enact such laws..."

These people, these savage people, this savage society of ours has to be in check, is pointing towards the disconnection between the police officer and the public. The police again here believe themselves as a superior alien species. It is the training at the police academy and then the field training that combines to instil this perception in the mind of the officers. The officers have internalized the feeling to such an extent that overtly displayed by him. The respondent had an insecurity of losing power and control over the people, and hence anything that went

slightly against the core of their power meaning the police act or police reform these insecurities flared up.

Most of the recruits to the police from lower cadres, NCOs, JNCOs and the PSP are from rural backgrounds. In the above excerpt, the elements of the rural setting of Pakistan are present for example, the civilization. The Rural Folks believe that City dwellers are civil and peaceful, in fact in Pakistan when someone is taunted and called uncivilized the terms “*paindo*” is used for him which is derived from the word “*pind*” meaning by village and *paindo* meaning villager. It is a word with a negative connotation.

Secondly, the words of the DIG “*we should be thankful to the British*” is yet again a reference to the fact that colonialism has brought us out of savageness into civilization. *Pind* or village in Pakistan is also characterized by the might is right where powerful groups with de-facto power can influence social, political and economic outcomes and also use state apparatus in their favour.

Finally, “*Chaudrees would have ripped you apart*” means that it’s the British system and the institution of police that has stopped or deterred the *chaudrees* (the wolves in this story) from ripping you off in other words had the British policing system not been in place there would have been no law and order.

5. The colonizer, the colonized and the PSP

The high-level police officials or the middle managers and the new entrants to the PSP all had one narrative and that was their job was to maintain order. No one mentioned the maintenance of peace or the provision of security to citizens. Order was the predominant word that the police as an institution emphasized upon and with maintaining order comes the use of force. It is necessary to use or resort to use of force when order is threatened.

In theorizing identity and explaining the “us” and “them” dichotomy Yuval-Davis (2010) gives a detailed explanation of how prejudices play into the creation of “Us” and “them” narratives. Yuval-Davis refers to the construction of these narratives of “us” and “them” as means of distinctive appearance of oneself, and making the worlds view the person/group as distinct from what is in the social context of the group “the other.” The narratives of *us*, *me*, *them* and *you* are actually the core around which identity narratives revolve.

In the case of the police officer the “*we*” could imply their reference to themselves as an institution of “social control” or their identification of themselves at an unconscious level with the British who had an empire where the sun never set and were their predecessors. However, looking closely, and in context it would appear that the police officer considered themselves as a distinct group and identified themselves as such. Statements such as “*These people are a nation of donkeys only understands the language of the stick; therefore, I deal with them as*

donkey's should be dealt with" as one senior officer remarked. Here the term he selected for identifying the society was "*these people are a nation.*" This implies that in the mind of the officer he identified himself as something different from "these people." He identified himself as someone from a different nation, a different group and different race. Although the officer was a part of the same society he is recruited from the same society, he is taught in the same school, but the police training and practice had made him undergo a transformation. He no longer identified with "these people."

Yuval-Davis (2010) cites Lacan (1966) while explaining Lacan's mirroring image, which the identity of being "us," a separate entity begins to construct when the "individual" realizes the "separateness between himself and the "other." Lacan calls it as Davis (2010) cites "a fantasy and imaginary." This imagination leads to self-alienation so what Lacan says that the individual has to self-alienate, has to develop an imaginary fantasy of the self and then he will develop the identity of the self. The police officer demonstrated the self-alienation and fantasy of being different multiple times. Consider the following statements.

PSP 1: "Your Pakistani public only understands harsh language. Your Pakistani public is designed as such. They are all Muslims (obedient) of the stick, they will take you for granted until you show them the stick."

PSP 2: "Thankfully it's us (the police) and our fear (in the society) that this society is somewhat disciplined."

PSP 3: "We are that face of the state the fear of which keeps people in check and they can never rise against the state. Now if we become jokers then there will be no state at all."

PSP 4: "we who join the police and District Management Group (DMG) are actually the best of the people who have passed the civil service examination in fact it is our superior intellect that gives us the edge. You will never find stupid police officers or DMG officers because owing to their higher calibre they are placed in these groups as far as intellect goes, we as a police officers have more command in understanding the right form of security policy needed but we can't exercise that because of the Army and the flawed structure which lets DMG and Secretariat group officers into the ministries. This country needs police danda (stick) if you want to make it a productive state."

PSP 5: "Being the best group of the civil service there are certain expectations from us."

The officer while talking about the Pakistani public uses the words "*your Pakistani public*" show a separation between him and me. In this separation fantasy, the officer is identifying

himself as the “other.” The second officer talks about “we” as a collective for those who join Police service or the DMG. Here he is making a collective identity of those who are the best and is excluding all those who are unable to join these groups. However, there is an imaginary version of the self and the self-alienation is visible. The third officer says that “they” are the best group, which is evident from the statements that they identify themselves with the institution and do not use the pronoun “I” it is because of the sense of belonging that comes with being identified as a group.

This sense of belonging is there to feel safe, and security comes with being identified as a member of the group. Davis (2010) cites Hage (1997) to explain Hage’s explanation of identifying identity around the “us.” This construction is motivated or influenced by the desire to feel at home, safe, wanted, and recognized this was visible in the officers that were interviewed. The respondents had an emphasis on the “safety” provided to them by the collective identity that the respondent identified with for instance,

“I come from a rural background. My rank alone is enough to keep my family safe since in rural settings one needs to be in a position of power so for me joining Civil service in Police or DMG was a necessity.”

Joining PSP leads to alienation of self from society and then an assumption of a new identity, one constructed on the fantasy that I am being feared, but the subject is made to “feel at home” by being able to become part of a collective.

It wouldn’t be wrong to say that the world we live in today, the way it is shaped, the borders, the geography, the naming of regions, the existence of different countries, the classroom lectures, the discourses in academia, politics, economics and society are all shaped by the wave of colonization of the Asia, Africa, America, and Australia. Colonization has had an impact on the entire world in a very strong way. It was a course-altering process.

However, as colonialism ended with the abandoning of colonies, has the process of subjugation stopped? Have things returned to the way they were? There is little evidence if any, that can point out the things reverting, if at all colonization has manifested itself in a different form. Colonialism is still there. And the barometer for that is the institutions. The reason colonialism was such an invincible force was because of its impact on “institutions”. The colonizers set up institutions designed to be extractive and subjugating. Institutions are designed to favour those in power rather than the masses. And when they left, the institutions persisted so colonialism never came to an end in the real sense.

When the British left India, as happened with other colonies as well, the power shifted to the local bourgeois. The identity of the colonizer changed. The postcolonial societies now had to deal with a new kind of colonizer one that was brown in colour and local in appearance but internally not local but British, French or to sum it up European. The extractive system put in

place before it came to power favoured it and so it did not change it. On the other hand, the British put in place a Bureaucracy that was there to uphold British hegemony and help the colonial government as an assisting civil force. The officers of this band of clerks and constables were British. It was in very few cases where local Indians were promoted to low-level entry-rank officers after 25 to 30 years of service. However, as the British left India, these clerks became the new officers. They still kept the system as it was during colonial times. The officers now assumed the identity, way of life and style of governance of the British. A mutation and imitation took place over generations and persists to the present day.

This system of bureaucrats also had an inbuilt tussle with the political elite. The reason was that most of the political superiors and holders of public offices were outlawed and considered anti-state by the British. These clerks were on the side of the British Raj at those times. And therefore, it was more and more difficult for them to accept the very people that it used to put in prison, as their superiors. The fact that the public officer holder had a legal mandate had no significance for the bureaucrats. This too was imitated by the coming generation of bureaucrats. And both these diseases were found in the police officer that I interviewed (Alvi, 1972).

6. Conclusion

The study shows that the respondents assumed and accepted the “supremacy” of the colonizer in all respects. The colonizer was civilized, knew how to run governments, and was a symbol of perfection. This is very hard to find out that the supremacy of the British is a pattern being observed in all senior officers of the PSP as well as the junior entrants to the PSP. However, the trait is not found in the junior commissioned and non-commissioned officers.

The British colonizers conceptualized the indigenous populations that they subjugated as being incompetent to have systems of their own. The colonized had “no say”, “no thinking and “no voice”. The colonized people and their indigenous culture were inferior or made to look inferior in the eyes of the people while the colonizers systems were made to look powerful, classy and advanced. The colonizer being in the position of command subjugated the colonized population militarily, politically, socially and most importantly “mentally”. The phenomenon is studied by a distinct discipline “the subaltern studies”. The word subaltern actually has its origins in British military where a non-commissioned officer was called subaltern however, I believe that the British or the colonizer did not even give the subaltern status to the Indian society.

The PSP has in many forms retained its colonial heritage. The officer speaks, thinks and acts in a colonial fashion. The officers that join civil service, especially the PSP start thinking of themselves as something different from the society that they are supposed to serve. Colonial legacies are reflected in their training, language and running of police business. The study confirms the findings of Acemoglu et al. (2001) and Alvi (1972) that the colonial systems have persisted and become more extractive. The PSP still adheres to the colonial view that the police

is an organization the sole purpose of which is to maintain order. While in principle, police should be an institution of crime control. There needs to be total overhaul of the policing system from the uniforms, laws, rules, structure and training of the police to make it an effective public friendly organization.

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