Nanyuki: Living in the Shadows of a British Army Base in Kenya: Centring the Host Community to Understand the Impact of a Foreign Military Base on Local Social Relations

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Centring the Host Community to Understand the Impact of a Foreign Military Base on Local Social Relations

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Cover picture taken by Isabel Remers on 10.12.2023 in Nanyuki, Kenya.
Featuring the Nanyuki Police's Gender-Based & Sexual Violence Department, the POLICARE centre.

Contents

Abstract

This research aims to centre the perspectives and experiences of the host community of Nanyuki, Kenya, in the discussion of the impact of the British Army Training Unit Kenya (BATUK) on the social relations of this 'base' town. Employing the Aberystwyth School theoretical foundation, this thesis aims to prioritise often overlooked voices and explore the intersections of identity, community relations, and critical security in the civil-military field. Through conducting an extended observation method of various communities and quotidian life in Nanyuki, this method aims to highlight the social tensions that have emerged in the community hosting the British Army in Kenya. Coupled with colonial racial-capitalist tensions, this thesis reveals that beyond the focus on increasing geopolitical security and military capacity, the presence of the military base in Nanyuki furthers insecurity in the host community's relations. This research argues that the British Army's presence in Nanyuki emphasises existing class, racial and urban-rural divisions in the social relations of Nanyuki. This thesis will argue that local communities feel that their actions and abilities are constrained due to the sizeable presence and economic importance of BATUK, the illusiveness of personal connections with the soldiers, and the simultaneous feelings of not being able to change the conduct BATUK nor being listened to by the base, makes the local communities feel insecure. This insecurity of the base creates divisions in the urban community as people conform to existing racial and class divisions due to the financial weight of the base over the town of Nanyuki. In the rural area, a different division emerges. Here, the rural community feels abandoned and separate from the town due to the perspective that they experience the detrimental impacts of BATUK yet none of the benefits that they perceive the urban community to receive. Without understanding the insecurity that these bases cause in the local community, these military bases may create security for the national, regional, and international at the expense of the local.

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Abbreviations & Key Terms

BATUK	British Army Training Unit Kenya
FMB	Foreign Military Base
KAF	Kenyan Air Forces
KDF	Kenyan Defence Forces – including Kenya Army, Kenya Air Force and Kenya Navy
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
SACCO	Savings and Credit Co-Operative Societies – a form of cooperative banking focused on affordable credit and accessible funds
UK	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland – written also as '(Great) Britain'. Whilst the 'UK Government' and the 'British Government' are used interchangeably
UN	The United Nations
US	The United State of America

Boda boda	Taxi and delivery service via bicycle and motorbikes that are common across Kenya and East Africa. Usually, unregistered men drive these vehicles as a form of informal income
Mzungu	A common word (of various spellings – in Kiswahili - *Muzungu*) used to describe White people across Africa. Although the more literal translation means foreigner, or explicitly a 'wanderer', it is implied that the person is White or 'Western or European descent', even if they have lived in the African country permanently for many years or generations[1]
Nanyukians	People from/living in Nanyuki
South Korea	Officially the Republic of Korea
The Base	Used to refer to the Nyati Barracks, in Nanyuki
The Army	Unless otherwise specified, describes the British Army

(Christian & Namaganda, 2023, p. 217; Manley et al., 2016; Spitzer, 2017, p. 568)(Christian & Namaganda, 2023, p. 217; Manley et al., 2016; Spitzer, 2017, p. 568)[1] (Christian & Namaganda, 2023, p. 217; Manley et al., 2016; Spitzer, 2017, p. 568).

Introduction

I first heard of the British Military Base in Nanyuki, Kenya after reading a BBC article reporting the alleged murder of a local woman, Agnes Wanjiru, who engaged in sex work to gain money for her new-born.[2] The article reported that following an inquest Kenyan judge declared that Agnes had been murdered by a British solider.

A quick Google search found further community outrage in the rural Nanyuki area where the local community was outraged by the thousands of acres of land burnt resulting in the loss of livelihoods and a catastrophic environmental and community health damage.[3] Again, the British soldiers in Nanyuki were seen as the culprit. Self-incriminating evidence arose as social media posts by the soldiers recounted how;

> "Two months in Kenya later and we've only got eight days left. Been good, caused a fire, killed an elephant and feel terrible about it but hey-ho, when in Rome."[4]

So, when I arrived in Nanyuki to undertake fieldwork I expected to have to downplay my British nationality. I assumed I would face some peoples' anger and frustration at the British soldiers, multiplied by a legacy of living in a community so heavily impacted by settler colonialism.

To my surprise, I was welcomed into Nanyuki. On my first days, I asked shopkeepers and taxi drivers what they thought of the British Army, I was told a mzungu walking down the street meant 'money was walking down Nanyuki's streets.'[5] None of the frustration or hatred which I had read online or in the media seemed to arise in these conversations. Next, I pushed for stall owners' thoughts on the British soldiers

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[2] 'Agnes Wanjiru murder: Kenya family's anger over UK army 'cover-up'' by the BBC (Omondi, 2021). The murder allegations have been reported heavily across the global media (Abuso, 2024; Africa News, 2023b; Al Jazeera, 2021; BBC NEWS, 2021; Campbell, 2021; Hall, 2021; Kigo, 2024; C. Kim, 2023).

[3] Some of the article I found in the Google Search from Kenyan sources and further afield (Vidija, 2021).

[4] The reported caption of the *Snapchat* post from a British Soldier as reported across many Kenyan and global news sources such as Kenya's *The Standard*. (The Standard, 2021) (Christian & Namaganda, 2023, p. 217; Manley et al., 2016; Spitzer, 2017, p. 568)(Christian & Namaganda, 2023, p. 217; Manley et al., 2016; Spitzer, 2017, p. 568)[5] A common word (of various spellings – in Kiswahili - Mzungu) used to describe White people across Africa. Although the more literal translation means foreigner, or explicitly a 'wanderer', it is implied that the person is White or 'Western or European descent', even if they have lived in the African country permanently for many years or generations (Christian & Namaganda, 2023, p. 217; Manley et al., 2016; Spitzer, 2017, p. 568).

specifically, expecting this would at least raise some criticism. However, my request for an evaluation of the British soldiers in Nanyuki received responses of resounding positivity. Nanyuki wouldn't be so rich, so safe, so cosmopolitan, without BATUK., Locals told me that if the British base was not in town, "Nanyuki wouldn't be Nanyuki".

King Charles III of the UK arrived in Kenya a few weeks after I began my fieldwork exploring the social impact of a British Army base on the surrounding town of Nanyuki. The new King's visit could not have had more significance for Kenya in the year that marked sixty years of independence from his Kingdom. In the days preceding the Royal visit, debates of whether he would apologise for the harm committed throughout colonialism featured in the newspapers and echoed in the streets of Nanyuki.[6] Yet this Royal attention was quickly replaced with news of government debt crises, education statistics and climate-caused subsistence struggles.[7] "Many young people hardly know about the detention and torture of the Mau Mau. They are more concerned about the economy and wonder if King Charles's visit will have any impact" (Soy, 2023). In a country that ranks 146 on the United Nations Development Programme *Human Development Index* (2022) and where many deaths occurred amidst the intense cost-of-living protests around the country (Muiruri, 2023), for much of the population, quick fixes to the economy are more pressing than the abstract benefits of historical apologies. In a time of increasing geo-political competition in Africa (Obadare, 2023; Olewe, 2020; Polakow-Suransky, 2023; Soulé, 2020), with a growing number of global trade and investment partners in Kenya, some would argue that the allure of the British has diminished. This was evident by newspaper titles which described how "King Charles III, Queen Camilla jet in with little fanfare"(Ng'ang'a, 2023); for many across Kenya whether in distrust, dissatisfaction, distraction or disinterest, the public did not idolise the visit of the Royals as a solution to their problems. Yet for the Kenyan political elite, the Royal visit was a red-carpet event.

[6] *The East African* (Mutambo & Anami, 2023), Kenya's *The Nation* (Kamau, 2023; Maundu, 2023)
[7] For various other headlines following the King's visit see (Bit, 2023; Munda, 2023; W. Owino, 2023; The Nation, 2023).

When the King arrived, he 'acknowledged the "abhorrent and unjustifiable acts of violence committed against Kenyans" during their independence struggle' yet failed to give a formal apologise (Coughlan & Soy, 2023). Despite his "greatest sorrow and regret", much of the emphasis of the royal visit was focused on collaborative projects between the two states particularly related to climate and democracy. One area which warranted a visit from the royals was the Kenyan Marines' training centre whose training is supported by the British Marines. For Nanyukians, the choice to visit the coastal base over visiting Nanyuki was surprising. When discussing the King's visit with the local community, street hawkers stated their confusion that the King would not want to visit the British Army's newly opened £70 million Nyati Barracks in central Nanyuki.[8] However, this surprise reveals much more complex feelings and views of Nanyuki's community towards the British, the Royals, and the Base.

Some groups in Nanyuki were certainly disappointed in the lack of a Royal visit to emphasise the importance of Nanyuki as one of Kenya's central investment hotspots and to build on these opportunities. Other community members were simultaneously disappointed and relieved that their town was not on the Royal route for more adverse reasons. Many of these are disgruntled and dismayed with the historical or current relations with the British Government, Royal Family and Armed Forces. Some saw this as a missed opportunity to claim compensation for historical and current misconduct and harm caused by the British presence in Nanyuki and wider Kenya (Kirka & Musambi, 2023). This was most explicitly expressed in the weeks running up to Charles' trip to Nairobi. For instance, a road blockage outside the Barracks arose in protest to the Royal visit due to the inaction of the British Army's response to a fire that reportedly was caused by the British soldiers that had ruined 12,000 acres of land in the greater Nanyuki area (Africa News, 2023b). The protests followed the presentation of an open letter signed by 7000 plaintiffs demanding that the UK, its representatives, and Royals "stop treating Kenya like a colonial outpost". Some community members and their legal representatives denounced the British presence and insisted that the "British Must Go" (Africa News, 2023a). It is evident that for reasons of praise and opportunism, or, anguish and anger, there was

(Ministry of Defence & Defence Infrastructure Organisation, 2021)(Ministry of Defence & Defence Infrastructure Organisation, 2021)[8] (Ministry of Defence & Defence Infrastructure Organisation, 2021)

disenchantment from across Nanyuki that the Royal party had chosen not to visit Nanyuki. For the local community in Nanyuki, this was a missed opportunity.

The King's visit to Kenya passed relatively smoothly. Although police shut down protests and conferences in Nairobi that were planned to be held concurrently with the Royal's arrival and thereby blocked the 'airing of allegations of UK army abuse' (Miriri, 2023). Evidently, there is a tension between some of the Kenya population's concerns over the former colonial power's visit and the Kenyan government's focus on increased bilateral progress. This tension demonstrates a lack of consistency between how the British (and their Army) may be viewed at a local level and how they are treated/received at an international level. The visit represents the dichotomy of ethical concerns of British injustices juxtaposed with immediate worries about how people will eat, afford schooling, and pay their bills which presents a key avenue of thought for this research. Despite celebrating sixty years of independence, parallels of the visit can be found by the continued involvement of the British Government and its military in the lives and living standards of Nanyuki's inhabitants. That is despite the end of colonial rule, this research will demonstrate through the continued presence of the British military there is an extensive impact on life in Nanyuki. This argument will highlight such neo-colonial undertones of the continued hierarchy of the UK over one of its former colonies through its defence relationship in Kenya. Simultaneously the squashed protests contrasted with the indifference of many Kenyans to the British Crown echoes the division of feelings amidst many community members in Nanyuki towards the British Army base. Along these lines, a Kenyan MP asked "why does the contribution of BATUK to Kenya always look bigger than the human rights violations" (Owino, 2024). The national government's positivity towards the visiting Royals despite the mix of disdain and disenchantment of many ordinary Kenyans, emulates some of the local communities' sentiments in Nanyuki towards the Base that is highly valued by the Kenyan government.[9]

This thesis will discuss the impact of the British Military base's presence in Nanyuki on community relations within different groups and spaces in Nanyuki. This research

[9]As the Kenyan "Defence Minister said in an TV interview this week that Kenya had benefited from the historic defence partnership with the UK" (Kigo, 2024)

questions the social impact of the presence of a foreign military base and the extent to which this presence impacts how groups in the surrounding community perceive and interact with one another. In the data collection phase, the research focused on collating and observing the viewpoints and sentiments of members of Nanyuki regarding the British Army base and their surrounding community relations. This research will contend that the British base in Nanyuki causes insecurity in the local community due to a lack of ability to engage and communicate with the base and feelings of being ignored or undervalued within the relationship between BATUK and the community. This thesis will then argue that insecurity is manifested in Nanyuki's social relations as it leaves different community groups in Nanyuki divided and anxious about each other's retrospective position and 'power' in connection to BATUK. Much of these community divisions and insecurity which are heightened via the military presence sit within wider class, race, and socio-economic divisions. Hence this thesis argues that BATUK's presence exasperates these tensions through its operation and base model in Nanyuki and creates insecurity between these groups due to its elusiveness.

This thesis adds a social community-centric perspective into the sub-field of the civil-military sphere in the fields of Political Science and International Relations. This community-focused lens aims to incorporate political anthropology into these fields through the data-gathering method of longitudinal observation (also known as the Manchester School Methodology which will be explored latterly). This discussion signals the importance of including community awareness and views in international defence policy and foreign military base operations. Rather than being seen as a passive object, this research centres the host communities' voices and argues that in terms of the long-term sustainability of foreign military bases, in an ever more unstable world, these voices should be understood and respected in terms of fair ethical conduct of the armed forces but also for the efficiency of the defence operations of the foreign military.

Moreover, this discussion is critical as it investigates the British utilisation of military bases which is simultaneously tied explicitly to the past. Smułek explains this as "military bases have a special relationship with the territory in which they are located, particularly in countries with a colonial or semi-sovereign past" (2023, p.

235). This is especially interesting considering the UK's changing position within the global international system (Freedman, 2020; Połońska-Kimunguyi & Kimunguyi, 2017; Shapiro & Witney, 2021). This is highlighted as Jureńczyk traces the defence and cooperation trajectory between Britian and Kenya. He states Brexit is one of the reasons for the renewed importance of BATUK as the UK tries to re-establish its top position in the international system through its security role (Jureńczyk, 2021, pp. 38–39). Kenya as prime military base location is further demonstrated as "the "Horn of Africa" has become particularly important to control and protect trade routes" (Smułek, 2023, p. 235). Sjökvist argues that foreign bases are a manner in which to maintain international legitimacy (2019). This importance of Kenya is further demonstrated that within the African continent, beyond the overcrowding of Djibouti (Damon & Swalis, 2019; Fox News, 2018; NBC NEWS, 2021; Sun & Zoubir, 2016) and the increasing anti-French sentiment and resultant instability for foreign military bases in West Africa (Châtelot & Bensimon, 2023; Voice of Africa, 2024), the British-Kenyan civil-military relation is arguably of more importance than ever especially considering the particularly instability in the nearby Middle East. "Military bases can perpetuate lasting stability, but they also carry the potential to unleash pernicious violence. This applies not only to U.S. bases, but to emerging overseas Chinese and Russian bases in contested spaces" (Yeo, 2017, p. 135) as there is an increasing number of bases from wider non-traditional global powers. If there is a new "base race", the communities which host, provide, and allow for such bases to thrive, should not be forgotten nor should violence and insecurity in these small communities be ignored.[10]

Later in this introduction, there will be an explanation of the background of the town of Nanyuki and its history, before an depth description of BATUK, the Barracks and the training in greater Nanyuki. It will then continue to present an overview of the civil military & International Relations academic fields, particularly discussing military bases academia, the relationship between Kenya. Next there will be a discussion of the absence of Nanyuki and BATUK in the academia. Moving on there will be a theoretical reflection on the foundations of this research through an

[10] Concurrent with the USA and USSR's 'arms race' during the Cold War, Holmes identifies a similar competition to gain as many global military bases between the two hegemons with the concept of the 'base race' (2014a, p. 2)

overview of the Aberystwyth School. Finally, this introduction chapter will conclude with an explanation and justification of the Manchester School as the principal method utilised in this study. This sub-section will also contain a critical reflection of the research process, findings, and the impact of my positionality upon this work.

Following this, the first of the two empirical chapters will discuss the impact of BATUK through exploring the groups and spaces in the urban setting of Nanyuki town. The second empirical chapter will evaluate the effect of the base, through exploring its manifestations in the division of perspectives and sentiments between the town of Nanyuki and the wider rural communities of Greater Nanyuki. Finally, this thesis will end with a conclusion reiterating the findings, the importance of these at the local, national, and international levels of analysis and highlighting the need for future research into the impact of foreign military bases' presence on the local host communities.

Nanyuki: More than a Small Town

"If towns in Kenya were to be ranked, Nanyuki would probably take the trophy home for its uniqueness." (Muema, 2017)

Nanyuki is a small town around 200 kilometres north of Nairobi situated on the Equator in the Rift Valley area often known as the Central 'White' Highlands (Giger et al., 2020, p. 3; The British Army, 2024)[11]. Despite only housing around 73,000 residents, Nanyuki has become a hotspot for Kenyan and international tourists (County Government of Laikipia, 2024; Gikandi, 2024). Nanyuki has a semi-arid climate with two rainy seasons throughout the year (Giger et al., 2020, p. 7; Ogega, 2018, p. 61). Nanyuki is notable as an area of high diversity in Kenya (Wiesmann et al., 2016, p. 59). This is demonstrated in the *Kenya Atlas* whereby Nanyuki town has no "main community" that exceeds 50% of the population (Wiesmann et al., 2016, p. 56), meaning there is not one 'tribe' or ethnic group has a

[11] Much rarer today is the name of the 'White' or 'European' Highlands although it is still used when discussing the region in a historical, see Odhiambo for an example of this (2021, 23).

majority in the town.[12] This is rare in Kenya where ethnic (tribal) groups are synonymous with political power and tensions (Apollos, 2001). Although Christianity is the dominant religion across Kenya, Nanyuki equally has interfaith peace with a notable Muslim presence in the town. When asking people what they liked most about Nanyuki, at the foremost is retrospective safety and usually the absence of tribal divisions are raised in some apparition. Yet this does not mean that Nanyuki is some kind of utopia, divisions and disconnect exist here aplenty. Power dynamics between and within different groups are heavily impacted by the foreign presence's role in business, land and community engagement.

Sitting at the base of Mount Kenya, Kenya's highest mountain and the second highest in Africa, Nanyuki is a main base for keen hikers and thrill seekers. It includes a hospital, multiple government, private and international schools, shopping centres, sports grounds and hospitality catering from Kenyan middle-class tourists to even the world's richest celebrities (Muiruri, 2016; Navarro, 2017; Yogerst, 2017). The town is surrounded by nature conservation parks and game ranges such as Ol Pejeta Conservancy, Ol Jogi Conservancy, Mount Kenya National Park and Lewa Wildlife Conservancy (The Standard, 2023). One such wildlife conservancy in the *Nanyuki area* is Ol Jogi gives a visitor the opportunity to "reserve the 58,000-acre Wildlife Conservancy exclusively" for themselves (Ol Jogi Conservancy, 2024), for the exuberant costs of between 200,000 to 300',000 USD per week (Yogerst, 2017). Despite its small domestic population, the town is a financial hotspot with around 100 banks and savings centres (known as SACCOS) (Gikandi, 2024; Ndemi & Mungai, 2018). With Kenya attracting over 1.5 million internationals visitors a year (Christian, 2016), land prices and investments in Nanyuki are rapidly increasing as investors look to profit from the spiralling numbers of hotels and Airbnbs (AMG Realtors, 2016; The Standard, 2023). "The town [of Nanyuki] has turned into a playground for the nouveau riche who are scrambling for a share of the vacation homes on sale"(Sammy, 2018). This has knock-on effect whereby Nanyuki has a medium to high rating of inequality measured by the Gini Coefficient (Wiesmann et al., 2016, p. 117). Nanyuki is composed of a mix of industries, from banking and

[12] The *Kenya Atlas* is officially Wiesmann et al's 'Socio-Economic Atlas of Kenya: Depicting the National Population Census by County and Sub-Location (2016).

insurance, construction and automobile manufacturing, to tourism and flower farming (Axis Assets, 2023; County Government of Laikipia, 2018b; Gikandi, 2024).

Nanyuki historically has been a centre for ranches and farms in the rural surrounding counties (Duder & Youé, 1994) and today it remains "one of the most important areas in Kenya for export-oriented horticulture farms" (Giger et al., 2020, p. 3). Across Kenya, including in the greater Nanyuki area "in the 1980s many large private ranches created private game reserves for luxury-market ecotourism" (Blair & Meredith, 2018, p. 498). Thus, agriculture investments on the highly arable slopes of Mount Kenya compound the booming investments in tourism. Nanyuki has the reputation of being one of Kenya's most expensive and luxurious towns. Nanyuki's town centre is one of the hotspots of formal employment across Kenya (Wiesmann et al., 2016, p. 150). The town has boomed both in population and wealth in the last decade. "Aside from Nairobi, few other destinations have as thriving a real estate market as Nanyuki" (Sammy, 2018). People I spoke to in Nanyuki, informed me that this boom in migration to Nanyuki was partly because of upper-class workers choosing to benefit from the hybrid-working aftereffects of the pandemic alongside the working class seeking to find opportunities amid cost-of-living crises.[13] This 'great migration to Nanyuki' was further explained to me as being due to its close proximity to Nairobi for business, the perceived safety of the town and hope for agricultural and business opportunities; the so-called "quiet town with a booming economy" (Ricco Homes & Developers, 2024; Upper House Properties, 2021). Nanyuki is connected to Nairobi and other tourist hotspots via well-maintained roads frequented by private cars, commercial vehicles and matatus (small public minibuses used by the majority of Kenyans), its popular airport, and its central railway station (Cloud Safaris, 2024; Gikandi, 2024; Kenya Railways, 2024; Kenyan Government, 2022; Ol Pejeta Conservancy, 2024).

Nanyuki town sits at the intersection between Laikipia, Meru and Nyeri counties with the greater Nanyuki area existing across these spaces (Giger et al., 2020, p. 3). The greater Nanyuki area including the town and the surrounding rural areas will be conceptualised as 'Nanyuki' throughout this research.[14] It is critical to state that this

[13] Nanyuki is now one of Kenya's hybrid work hotspots (Wangui, 2021).
[14] See Appendix Number 3

boundary is undetermined and not officially delineated. Whilst the town is densely populated, the rural communities are much more sparsely populated and often poorly connected to the main metropole of Nanyuki. In the greater Nanyuki rural area, there is a low population density average of between 50 to 500 people per kilometre (Wiesmann et al., 2016, p. 33). “Most parts of the [rural] road network is impassable during the rainy seasons” (Karema et al., 2017, p. 168). These communities often have to travel miles and miles to reach healthcare and education support; “the rural areas have low access [due to poor road network] hence movements to the major urban centres is hindered” (Karema et al., 2017, p. 167).

These rural communities are mostly comprised of impoverished:
“peasant farmers who rely primarily on small-scale subsistence crop farming and livestock raising for their livelihood. These people reside either on small farms or on tribal land that is communally owned. Despite the huge sums of money that the government and people in the wildlife and tourism sector earn, the rural communities hardly receive any tangible economic benefits.” (Sifuna, 2011, p. 5). (Pas et al., 2023; Pas & Cavanagh, 2022; Scoones, 2022)(Blair & Meredith, 2018, pp. 489–499; Scoones, 2022)(Pas et al., 2023; Pas & Cavanagh, 2022; Scoones, 2022)(Blair & Meredith, 2018, pp. 489–499; Scoones, 2022)These communities also live between private conservation parks and national parks, with varying rules on access for the local communities and the use of the land for small-scale farming and pastoralism (Blair & Meredith, 2018, pp. 489–499; Scoones, 2022). Whilst some landowners and companies allow access, particularly in times of drought and work with the local community to provide employment opportunities others deny the local community any access to their private acres (Pas et al., 2023; Pas & Cavanagh, 2022; Scoones, 2022). Pastoralist researchers recounted the sights of a border between a conservation park and the local community in the greater Nanyuki area. They found that:
“On one side was plentiful grazing, open savanna and along the fence line expansive wheat fields, all beautifully laid out. On the other side was a barren, dusty selection of dwellings, with a few goats and some scrawny looking cattle around, and the odd irrigated garden for vegetables” (Scoones, 2022).

In this research, both those who live in the urban town of Nanyuki and the Greater Nanyuki area will be understood as the host community. As this host community is not one monolithic group it will be understood at times through different sub-groups of the Nanyuki community.

Steeped in (Colonial) History

"Anglo-Kenyan Military Diplomatic Relation is one of the enduring colonial legacies within Kenya's independence period and political dispensation"
(Odhiambo, 2021, p. 2).

Nestled at the foot of Mount Kenya, Nanyuki's beginnings as a town can be traced to the British colonial period (Duder & Youé, 1994, p. 256; Kiereini, 2022). "During the period of British colonial rule (1920–1963), many indigenous communities across Kenya's central uplands were dispossessed of their land. These areas in the "White Highlands" and adjacent rangelands were subsequently transferred to European settlers. All told, 20 % of Kenya's land – including prime agriculture areas – was seized in the process" (Giger et al., 2020, p. 2). In the greater Nanyuki area, it was mainly the Maasai people who through an ambiguous deal were pushed from these lands (Karema et al., 2017, p. 166; Kiereini, 2022).

Hence, Nanyuki was established amidst the forced land *aggrandisement* (Amutabi & Hamasi, 2023, p. 150), by which this land was then granted to veterans returning from the Second World War under the 'Soldier Settlement Scheme'. "The dominant element in Nanyuki white society was composed of retired military officers" (Duder & Youé, 1994; Jackson, 2011). Supported by the British Colonial Government, these settlers migrated to the region to exploit the incredibly fertile land and 'cheap labour' conditions as farmers and landowners (Atieno-Odhiambo, 1972, p. 104; Jackson, 2011). The local African community were "domestic servants in settler houses and hands in the field" whose economic and social activities were severely curtailed under the settlers' rule (Duder & Youé, 1994, p. 264). "Settlers in Kenya after 1919 rendered their claims to land [over local communities], resources, and labour in specifically environmentalist terms, laying claim to superior forms of land use by virtue of both their whiteness and nascent capitalist productivity" (Parker, 2022, p. 102). Hence for

the Whites, Nanyuki became a town focused upon profiting from agriculture and game, from safaris, and hunting to environmental interests in order to fund lavish lifestyles as they exploited local workers.

The article in *African Affiars,* 'Paice's Place: Race and Politics in Nanyuki District, Kenya, in the 1920s' by Duder & Youé utilises archives and particularly a set of correspondence letters from a prominent settler in Nanyuki, Arnold Paice, to present a fruitful image of colonial Nanyuki (1994). In terms of colonial community dynamics, they highlight that "Nanyuki had its peculiar identity. Indeed, white Kenya was more a congeries of localities than a unified whole… Settlers, therefore, lived in tiny universes" (Duder & Youé, 1994, p. 254). Further, they demonstrate despite the vitality of the African population as labourers for the settlers' economic prosperity, particularly in agriculture, they highlight in *Paice's Place* that 'the settlers seem to have viewed the Africans of Nanyuki as living in a separate, mysterious world of their own' (ibid., p. 256). Moreover, the article describes the separation of community in the eyes of the Whites, for as far as they were concerned and is documented in media and cross-continental communications; "Africans featured occasionally as exotic items, but otherwise they had no part to play in the dramas of white settlement. It was as if they were not there" (ibid., p. 266).

In 1930, the railway terminus was completed in Nanyuki further supporting economic progress in the town (Kenya News Agency, 2020). The construction of the railway introduced an Asian community of mainly traders to Nanyuki who quickly became second-class citizens (situated between the upper Whites and lower African population) (Duder & Youé, 1994, p. 264). There was such animosity against the Asian (sometimes called Indian) community, that when discussions arose of equal enfranchisement of Whites and Asians, the town of Nanyuki threatened armed force against the British colonial government (Duder & Youé, 1994, p. 264). During the Mau Mau Uprising "Nanyuki was an easy target for the rebels for food supplies and ammunition. It was also a convenient location from which to stage attacks on the sprawling European farms in the neighbourhood" (Kiereini, 2022). In post-independence, it became a site of cross-cultural connection as (some) racial barriers began to break down (Kiereini, 2022). Simultaneously Nanyuki began to cement its position on the map of global luxury tourism, with the Mount Kenya Safari Club

attracting the world's most rich and famous, as it is now known as a so-called "millionaire's playground" (Kamau, 2022; Muiruri, 2016). Hence Nanyuki has become an upper-class town, which whilst still hosting a majority working-class population, is a place of investment and prosperity across Kenya. Around town, there are remanets of this colonial legacy from Sportsman's Arms (a former colour-barred drinking and sports establishment), Nanyuki Sports Club, and the unique cosmopolitan demographic composition of Nanyukians. One other major legacy that remains is the presence of the former colonial power, with their foreign military installation of BATUK.

Nyeti Barracks - British Army Training Unit Kenya

The British Army's presence in Nanyuki is situated across Nanyuki town and the rural Greater Nanyuki area. The British Army Training Unit Kenya (from hereafter referred to as the British Army or BATUK) has a military base and barracks on the edge of Nanyuki town and utilises land across the rural communities of Nanyuki. The British Army shares some of these training grounds with the Kenyan military, has a very small garrison in Nairobi, and uses some training grounds in the distant areas of Isiolo and Samburu counties (The British Army, 2024). However, despite the outlying training areas, the scope of this research and the main community that will be discussed is that of Nanyuki and the greater Nanyuki area. This delimitation is partly due to practical reasons such as short fieldwork timeline and linguistic and logistical challenges to engage in research in the highly rural areas of Samburu. Although, mainly limiting the scope to one concrete geographical area, Nanyuki, was preferred to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the situation and how BATUK impacts the main communities that it is situated within.

Although it has changed location, composition and name, BATUK' roots can be found in the British Colony's King's African Rifles Garrison and the Royal Airforce Base that was based in the greater Nanyuki area (Kiereini, 2022). Huw Bennet highlights that Nanyuki was utilised as a "screening" centre amid the Mau Mau Uprising, the British colonial forces' process used in concentration camps (2011, p.

725).[15] Most significantly, during the transition period in the early days of Kenya's independence, Kenya's Army had a mutiny. "In the aftermath of the 1964 mutiny, the two governments signed a Memorandum of Intention and Understanding which secured key strategic benefits for Britain, including overflying and air-staging rights, while offering Kenya British training and finance" (Cullen, 2017, p. 799). As a result, Kenyatta, Kenya's first President asked the still-present British Force of 5000 soldiers to support the nascent state. "The British government entered into a number of agreements with the Kenyan government immediately after Kenya's independence" (Makinda, 1983, p. 302). One such was the following 1964 Defence Agreement between the United Kingdom and Kenya (Hornsby, 2013, p. 98);

> According to the agreement, all British troops stationed in Kenya would withdraw by 12 December 1964. In the meantime, the British would help build the Kenya Rifles into a national army. They would resource and train a new Kenya Air Force (KAF) and create a small Kenyan navy. Overall, the British would commit nearly US$40 million to Kenya's defence. In the meantime, the RAF and British land units would continue to shore up internal security in the north-east. British troops would help the Kenyans free of charge, as long as the army continued to be led by a British officer. The UK would relinquish rights to most of their military properties and cancel more than GB£6 million in military loans. The British also agreed to continue training Kenya's officer corps. In return, the Kenyans would allow British aircraft to overfly and stage in Kenya and the fleet to visit Mombasa. The British could continue to use communications facilities until 1966, and their forces would be able to train in Kenya twice a year.
>
> (Hornsby, 2013, pp. 98–99)

Amidst a heightening geo-political situation, with Western pressure on the UK as a key warden of 'Africa' against the Communist wave, it was critical that the UK maintained a close relationship with Kenya as in the African battlefield of the Cold War. As the new wave of African states faced mutinies and coups (Hornsby, 2013, pp.

[15] Hanslope Archive [hereafter Hanslope. All cited Hanslope documents are drawn from my second statement to the High Court, dated 1/4/2011] DO 3/2: 'Reorganisation of Intelligence in Kenya Colony. Progress Report Aug. 1953 Part I', by the Intelligence Adviser, 6. He cites Hanslope: AA 45/26/2A Vol. II Box 135: 'Screening Method and Policy Nanyuki District'

97–98), Kenya was no different. Moreover, in its early days of independence, tensions in the Northeastern Region of Kenya heightened with separatist movements on the Somalian front (ibid., pp. 96–98). The Communist Bloc did not hesitate to offer their support. Both the Soviet Union and China saw an opportunity to build relations with Kenyatta's new state (Hamud & Xavier, 2021, pp. 9004–9005; Hornsby, 2013, pp. 105–106; Odhiambo, 2021). Due to the White Settler population, the strong economic relationship, and the aim to continue to have a strong relationship with the colonial 'jewel in the Crown of the Commonwealth', the UK wanted to maintain influence and power over the Kenyan Government and its defence to ensure a "regime friendly to British interests" (Cullen, 2017, p. 797). Additionally, in seeing the vulnerability of Kenya via the 'Somalia Problem', the UK was opportunistic in creating the deal that would allow a continued British presence via regular training in return for UK protection and military aid, which Kenyatta believed his state desperately needed to maintain a domestic monopoly of power and external border sovereignty. "Britain needed an ideal climate and training ground for its soldiers proceeding to operations" (Hamud & Xavier, 2021, p. 9004). Thus, arranging a join Defence Cooperation allowed the UK to support the new Kenyan Defence Forces through joint training exercises whilst a permanent in-country support base allowed Britain to gain a "much-desired training camp" in Kenya (Hamud & Xavier, 2021, p. 9004).

It is this biannual training agreement which has sustained the British presence in Nanyuki. This is demonstrated by the most recently renewed version of the bilateral defence agreement where the presence of BATUK was renewed in 2021 (UK/Kenya Defence Cooperation Agreement, 2021). "The UK currently has around 230 military personnel based permanently in Kenya, most of them at BATUK, with thousands more visiting the country every year to take part in exercises" (Graham, 2021). Thus, despite the changing forms and apparitions, the British Army maintained its involvement in Nanyuki beyond Kenya's liberation from its colonial forces. Ironically, the maintenance of young Kenya's border security came at the cost of the continued infringement of Kenya's sovereignty vis-à-vis the settlement of the British Base in Kenya's Nanyuki (Odhiambo, 2021). Yearly, the UK Government pays Kenya around $400,000 for one of their most strategically important bases (Madawo, 2024).

(Ministry of Defence & Defence Infrastructure Organisation, 2021)(Calvert, 2019; County Government of Laikipia, 2024; Ministry of Defence & Defence Infrastructure Organisation, 2021; Voices of The Armed Forces, 2021)(Ministry of Defence & Defence Infrastructure Organisation, 2021)(Calvert, 2019; County Government of Laikipia, 2024; Ministry of Defence & Defence Infrastructure Organisation, 2021; Voices of The Armed Forces, 2021)Hosting around 10,000 British military staff per year for training and considering that Nanyuki has a population of roughly 73,000, this means that the British presence in Nanyuki is sizeable as 1 in 8 are BATUK. Although this British presence is usually not permanent, as some visit Kenya on six-week contracts, some six months and more permanent British staff are on two-year contracts in Nanyuki (Calvert, 2019; County Government of Laikipia, 2024; Ministry of Defence & Defence Infrastructure Organisation, 2021; Voices of The Armed Forces, 2021). BATUK conducts joint training expeditions and exercises with the Kenyan Defence Forces (Ministry of Defence & Defence Infrastructure Organisation, 2021). Nyati Barracks is a state-of-the-art permanent military headquarters on the outskirts of one of Nanyuki's central roads (Komu, 2021). These new Barracks cost the British Government £70-million.[16] "Facilities at the new site include a training headquarters, welfare facilities, 158 Single Living Accommodation and 1,400 transit accommodation bed spaces, a combined mess, a finance building, offices, stores and Joint Forces Enabling Exercise buildings which enable the Royal Engineers to undertake vital training in the construction of permanent infrastructure" (Graham, 2021). It acts as the residence for many British soldiers in Kenya, particularly those who are more junior and have short-term contracts. Yet most physical training exercises, occur outside the Barracks in the various training grounds in greater Nanyuki and beyond. Before the move to this new purpose-built facility, BATUK used to be based on the town's showgrounds (Calvert, 2019). A colonial relic in the centre of Nanyuki, it was impractical as it had to be evacuated every year for an annual agricultural show, so it had no permanent installations from the British military (Graham, 2021).

[16] Approximately 82 million Euros or 12 billion Kenyan shillings (30.05.2024)

Literature Review: International Relations & Civil-Military Relations

This section will briefly explain how this research adds to the literature of Civil-Military Relations and International Relations. The literature review summarises British-Kenyan military relations in the academia and the overwhelmingly historic view of the socio-political dynamics in Nanyuki. Through exploring the lack of focus on the community perspectives, this discussion aims to demonstrate how a deeper understanding of the complexities of host communities' feelings and experiences can be understood. Beginning with an overview of the civil-military field, this literature review will then overview Kenyan-British relations before finishing with an overview of Nanyuki and its place in the academia.

Civil-Military Relations: The Basis of Foreign Military Bases

In terms of the civil-military bases and the impact upon the local community much of the literature is focused on the relation between the base and the host community rather than exploring how relations within the host community themselves are impacted. This section reviews the large field of civil-military relations with a focus upon analysing the field's comprehension of community dynamics and social relations of the host communities of foreign military bases.

In his seminal book *Base Politics*, Cooley explains 'base politics' as a "two-level game" for hosting states to balance the "interplay between domestic political imperatives and these bilateral security contracts" (2011a, pp. 10, 9). He explains his argument as based on the way in which host countries prioritise "their own domestic political survival" (2011a, p. 10). He goes on to argue that base politics is therefore determined by the extent to which the host state relies on the added 'security' of the foreign military base and their conduct and operation of their state regime (if they utilise authoritarian or democratic rule, successfully) (ibid.). In explaining his various hypotheses on how hosting states will interact with basing states, Cooley argues that "if prevailing agreements were signed before a democratic transition, the

new democratizing regimes and elites will politicize or contest bilateral contract" and "will politicize contracts and demand renegotiations but will stop short of abrogating or terminating the contract" (Cooley 2011a, p. 23). This hypothesis fits the case study of democratising Kenya and its recent renegotiation of the immunity of British soldiers which caused a delay in the renewal of the bilateral defence agreement between the UK and Kenya (Hamud & Xavier, 2021, p. 9006). Whilst social relations in local host community as an impact of the presence of the base are mentioned from time to time in this book,[17] they are only done so briefly to illustrate changes in the relationship between the host and foreign state, rather than unpack these social relations of the host community. The case study of South Korea contains a similar tension of how a 'democratising state' through NGOs and civil society there was a change to the relative immunity that American soldiers had in South Korea (Cooley, 2011b, pp. 120–121). Although this chapter of Cooley's book presents an interesting and linkable case study, it is very short and develop a complete analysis of the social impact as it explores most of the host communities in question as monolithic group.

When social dimension and relations are understood they have been focused on military bases that operate within their own state such as Oyewole's research on Nigeria (2020). Oyewole explicitly discusses the impact of military bases' security and human development through an overview of Nigeria's many Nigerian military bases and their impacts on the local community. He presents a picture of the mutual benefits for the bases and the communities on the background of the many human rights abuses and incidents of insecurity in the host communities, arguing that the benefits are understudied (Oyewole, 2020, pp. 367–369). Rather than delving into one case study he makes an overarching summary of the impact of bases across Nigeria thus is unable to present an intricate picture of complex social relations in one host community. Another instance of the focus on the community with the foreign military base sub-field is Smułek's 'Foreign Military Bases and the Sovereignty of Local Communities: The Case of Poland' (2023).

Beyond this much of the civil-military literature is focused on the USA, whilst the American total of bases dwarves all other state's counts by far (Yeo, 2017, p. 130), it

[17] See Cooley's chapter on South Korea and Turkey (2011, pp. 109–113)

is critical to explore civil-military relations across the world beyond a US-centric viewpoint to understand different variations of the military bases. This is reiterated by Odhiambo in his review of the 'Evolution of the Anglo-Kenyan Relations' where he states that the civil-military field is mostly "American-centric and Eurocentric" (2021, p. 3). Cooley's influential book, *Base Politics,* focuses explicitly on American bases around the world (2008), as does Calder's *Comparative Base Politics and American Globalism*, where the focus remains on the US and factors which threaten or encourage the global power to maintain its monopoly of military bases (2008). In both these books, the host community are explored as a sub-factor and their perspectives and experiences lay at the periphery of geo-political and national security agendas.

Additionally, there has been an increase in research on the base politics of Djibouti, especially since China opened its first foreign military base in the state. Liyew maps the geo-political tensions over the Red Sea demonstrated through the increasing competition to ascertain a base in Djibouti (2024). With new global actors in the foreign military base field such as China and Japan investing in Djibouti, much of the research focuses upon the international relations aspect of foreign military bases as base competition looks to threaten the delicate security in a highly tense region of the world.[18] Whereas other articles explore the influx of bases to Djibouti, some articles explore the domestic impact on sovereignty in Djibouti including 'Djiboutian sovereignty: worlding global security networks' (Cobbett & Mason, 2021). Further articles explore the effects of military bases in terms of the host state's economic development such as Ezeh & Ezirim's discussion of the impact of the foreign bases on the Djibouti's economic security (2023).

Yeo's 'the Politics of Overseas Military Bases' is an important review article summarising 'base politics', the politics of basing an armed forces unit abroad, through three books exploring aversion to and apprehension relating to American bases around the world (2017). He begins by discussing the lack of media and

(Sun & Zoubir, 2016)(Sun & Zoubir, 2016)[18] 'Geopolitics of the Red Sea: Implications of foreign military bases expansion to the Horn of Africa secure' (Liyew, 2024), 'China's First Overseas Military Base in Djibouti: Assessing the Objectives, Motivations, Wider Networks and Future Prospects' (Neethling, 2021), and 'The Eagle's Nest in the Horn of Africa: US Military Strategic Deployment in Djibouti' (Sun & Zoubir, 2016).

academic interest of these often long-standing institutions until something 'bad' happens. "Only when a tragic accident or heinous crime committed by U.S. personnel erupts does a brief article about protests, sovereignty, or strained alliances make its way into the media spotlight … the politics of bases has thus been largely overlooked by scholars" (Yeo 2017, p. 129). This quote advocates for the exploration of quotidian politics of foreign military bases' host communities. Yeo goes on to cite Gresh's conceptualisation of 'base politics' as the "interplay between basing nations and host nations on affairs relating to the operation of local military facilities in host nations" (Gresh, 2020, p. 5). Whilst an interesting conception its focus on state level interactions neglects the emphasis on the impact to the host community within the aforementioned nation and how that impacts local politics and dynamics. This is common in civil-military field where there is a lack of focus on the perceptions of security and social community dynamics in the host community, with the international relationship between the hosting and basing states being prioritised.

Through reviewing Holmes' 'Social Unrest and American Military Bases in Turkey and Germany since 1945'[19] Yeo explains how Holmes alludes to the insecurity and threat to feelings of lack of emancipation for host communities near foreign military bases.

> Holmes, however, reminds readers that U.S. bases at times act more as a sword than shield. Bases are instruments of war that may appear even more threat-ening than the original threat against which bases claim to protect. The placement of missiles or stockpiling of nuclear weapons on bases may also endanger host nation communities as they become potential targets for war. Other forms of collateral harm such as sexual violence, crime, and environmental pollution may also diminish the legitimacy of bases as it risks the safety of the very people it claims to protect.
>
> (Yeo, 2017, p. 132)

Yet much of Yeo's focus tends to be on the resultant manifestations of host community protests rather than an exploration of the root causes which are just briefly mentioned as in the article above.

[19] (2014b)

Interestingly Smułek 's recent article 'NIMBY or YIMBY? Understanding the complex relationships between foreign military bases and host societies' presents a discussion into the social impact of foreign military bases (2024). Yet, he does so through analysing and collating previous research on military bases, particularly the Anti-Base Movement. The purpose of utilising Aberystwyth School alongside longitudinal observation in this research was to explore tensions and impacts that may not be or cannot be voiced, unlike focussing exclusively upon the voiced protests and mobilisation as Smułek does. Additionally, whilst he outlines a section on the social impact of military bases (2024), it remains centred on relations between the base and the host community, rather that within the host community itself. This is common across civil-military literature where the focus of the impact of the foreign military bases is on the community's protests or social movements.[20] One instance of this is *Base Towns,* a book analysing controversial American bases in Korea and Japan. The book has an explicit focus on sites of contestation and protest across different host communities. Yet one community dynamic that the book does highlight is the tension between the host community and their representatives who may refuse or be reluctant to oppose the base at the national government level due to threats to their political development or safety (Kim, 2023, p. 163). This dynamic will be discussed in the second discussion chapter of this thesis.

Hence whilst some research pieces in the civil-military field may explore the social impact, they fail to address the impact of foreign military bases on different social relations across groups in host communities.

The West's Darling: Documenting the Kenyan-British Relationship

A theme across Kenyan-British literature is a focus upon colonialism and the colonial legacy or impact in this relationship and in Kenya today. In 'Kenya: King's Shadow Army', Laugesen outlines the colonial origins of the KDF and the ongoing evidence of the British colonial aftermath in the KDF's operation today (2022). He describes how the KDF's conduct continues to utilise outdated ethnopolitical

[20] See Cooley *Base Politics* (2011) and Vine's 'No Bases? Assessing the Impact of Social Movements Challenging US Foreign Military Bases' (2019).

approaches, which in addition to the continued British presence and defence relationship through arms trade and training, has maintained a colonial influence of KDF's operations (Laugesen, 2022). Whereas Jureńczyk analyses how and when the UK and Kenya have cooperated since the 2010s over defence and security matters, again with a postcolonial focus (2021). He explores the British-Kenyan relationship to understand the motivations and pressure facing each of the counterparts over their interactions in this relationship. He argues that faced by their diminished position in the global system, the UK has revitalised their interests and involvement in Kenyan security. He states that this supports Kenya's goals of becoming a regional power and ensuring increased stability especially in terms of the threats from Somalia (2021). Whilst the article mentions BATUK and Nanyuki, it does so in a purely descriptive form as an indication of the cooperation in terms of regional and global security between Kenya and the UK, and fails to address any impacts of the base on the host community (Jureńczyk, 2021, pp. 41–42). Meanwhile, in their article, Xavierr and Hamud outline the 'Trends in Military Diplomacy between Kenya and the United Kingdom, 1963-2017' throughout the different eras of Kenyan presidencies (2021). They include a very brief discussion pertaining to anti-base sentiments in Nanyuki and thus hint towards the perceptions of insecurity in the host community. They discuss how this then caused a delay of the renewal of the bilateral defence agreement after Kenyan officials argued for the end to British soldiers' immunity on Kenyan soil (Hamud & Xavier, 2021, p. 9006).

Odhiambo also tracks the 'origins' and 'evolution' of Anglo-Kenyan Military Diplomatic relations. He traces the evidence of the colonial legacy in Kenya's armed forces today and also within the current military interactions between the UK and Kenya (2021). Through mapping the development of their military relationship since colonialism and its different apparitions under different Kenyan Presidents, he explains how the British base emerged in Nanyuki. Following this chronological analysis where Odhiambo highlights both the domestic and international influences on the Kenya-UK relationship, he analyses the impact of this Anglo-Kenya Military Diplomacy on Kenyan sovereignty (2021). One main potential infringement of Kenyan sovereignty which Odhiambo focuses upon is BATUK. Interestingly his methods here include interviews with BATUK soldiers, Kenyan Defence Force Soldiers and the local elders and chiefs in Samburu County where the Kenyan and

British Forces train as part of the bilateral agreement (Odhiambo, 2021, pp. 16–20). He mixes this historical review, civil-military and Realist theory literature, and interviews to discuss the impact of the British base on Kenya soil. This article is comprehensive and conveys a complex debate upon the impact of military diplomacy, and the base, on Kenyan sovereignty, alongside other arguments in this military relationship, such as the issue for Kenyan national security of eavesdropping by British soldiers (Odhiambo 2021, 33-34). He concludes that BATUK is essential for British 'global geo-political security' and for the perceived safety of British interests and diaspora in Kenya (ibid., 2021, p. 39). Secondly, he contends that that the British Base in Nanyuki threatens Kenyan sovereignty (ibid., 39). Whilst Odhiambo's research should be applauded for its inclusion of local (indigenous) voices, the focus of this research remains on the international relationship between Kenya and the United Kingdom. Though his discussion about the base and sovereignty is situated within a local community, the discussions themselves pertain to Realist and Westphalian debates and international law rather than the experiences of the local community. Although, he raises an alternative conception of sovereignty, the 'responsibility to protect' (R2P) or 'responsible sovereignty'[21], (ibid., 29), he neglects to include a human security-based analysis of the impact of the base on the host community and thus the British Army's role in 'responsible sovereignty' in greater Nanyuki.

Another article that focuses upon the British base within the Kenyan-British military relationship is Nissimi's 'Illusions of World Power in Kenya: Strategy, Decolonization, and the British Base, 1946-1961' (2001). Documenting the changing strategic importance of the base for geopolitics during the time, Nissimi, conducts an historical analysis of the process towards the creation of the British permanent presence in Nanyuki and how it was situated in the British 'decolonisation' agenda (2001). The discussion focuses on the increasing geo-political importance of the base throughout this time period, especially following the Suez Crisis and the threats to other British colonies in this period, the threat of the Mau Mau, and the Colonial

[21] Odhimabo connects these to the United Nations Charter on Human Rights, and former United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan who among others, argued sovereignty is built upon responsibilities rather than as it is traditionally understood, power or force. For a brief overview of the Right to Protect, see this United Nations article https://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/about-responsibility-to-protect.shtml (2024).

Government's focus on protecting European communities at the time (Nissimi, 2001). Hence, Nissimi highlights the host community only amidst the overview of the Government's debate on how best to protect the European population in post-independent Kenya. Here a foreign military base was seen as a way to continue a security presence beyond government's departure and protect the European population (2001, p. 829). Therefore, the impact of the future base on Nanyuki and on the local population is absence in this article, as Nissimi charters the decision-making process of the British Colonial government which views the local population as mostly something to control for their geo-political agenda (2001). This argument continues to be of relevance today as the UK no longer has a 'unique exceptional role' in the international system (Freedman, 2020, p. 130), therefore the extent to which geopolitics is prioritised over host community security and relations is significant.

Stuck in the Archives: Discussing Nanyuki Today

This research aims partly to bring conversations surrounding Nanyuki, and Kenyan-British (defense) relations up to date. Although there are discussions of Nanyuki within the spheres of environmentalism, health, tourism and conservation particularly.[22]. Considering the multitude of conservation parks and ranches surrounding and existing within greater Nanyuki, the extent of environmental research is not surprising. When discussing social relations, animal-human or environment-community relations, these discussions focus on the community that exists directly on the periphery or within these lands and does not include as wide of a scope between the rural and urban communities as this research does. There is a lack of discussion of the impact of BATUK or other community dynamics or local politics that involve both the urban and rural areas. Whilst Ameso et al.'s discussion of slaughterhouse politics in Nanyuki explains local society relations intertwined with debates on tourism, wildlife and/or pastoralism (2017), it does not mention if there is an impact of BATUK on these relations.

[22] Research on the environment such as land/water politics, pollution, agriculture, climate change and conservation there are an array of articles that utilise Nanyuki as a case study (Gatari et al., 2005; Giger et al., 2020; Haruna et al., 2014; Kiboi et al., 2019; Munjogu & Namusonge, 2017; Owuor et al., 2015).

Of the academic literature relating to Nanyuki and the local community, politics or social relations most is based upon colonialism or the beginning of the independence period. Particularly illustrative of the social scene colonial upper-class European experience of Nanyuki is Ambani's 'Leisure in Colonial Nanyuki' (2007). Meanwhile Paice's Place, although based upon a White-centric outlook through an analysis of a prominent White landowner, the article presents a descriptive analysis of colonial Nanyuki (Duder & Youé, 1994). The in-depth analysis of 'race' and 'politics' in colonial Nanyuki by Duder and Youé only discusses the military in terms of background of the soldiers who became the first settlers in Nanyuki (1994). Whilst many of these articles are interesting, they present a research gap as they do not focus upon the modern-day developments of Nanyuki and instead focus on its colonial history. Moreover, particularly in terms of the impact of the armed forces and the British impact in town, there is an almost total negligence of this topic in the academia. This contrasts the increasingly highly publicised media posts and newspaper about the impact of BATUK and of the reports of harm to the local community which are proliferating across Kenyan, British and global news media sources today.

Theoretical Foundations

Introduction

The main reasons for employing the Aberystwyth School in this thesis is the theory's focus on elevating the voices of those often ignored. Secondly, the theory's conceptualisation of security as being determined by to what extent people feel that their choices and abilities are inhibited. This chapter will first explain the theory's roots in (Critical) Security Studies. Following this, the three main components of the Aberystwyth School, 'emancipation-as-security', non-state centred, and identity politics. Next the employment of this theory in this research will be explained. Finally, the weaknesses of this theory will be addressed before a sub-conclusion.

Security Studies, Critical Security Studies & the Aberystwyth School

Security Studies became a sub-field of International Relations in the Cold War following increased conversations regarding the importance of national security questioning "how to protect the state against external and internal threats" (Buzan & Hansen, 2009, p. 8). As the Security Studies developed the understanding of security further to environmental, gender, economic and human conceptions of security in international politics.[23]

Within Security Studies, Critical Security Studies (CSS) aims to look beyond a state-centric focus of traditional Security Studies to understand the impact of the global capitalist and Westphalian system on 'human security' (Floyd, 2007, pp. 331–332; Rolf, 2023, pp. 558–559). Human security is a paradigm to understand how global threats and vulnerabilities can compound and converge to threaten peoples' lives. It does so by focusing on the human experience and their social, economic, and political grievances (GPPAC, 2024; NATO, 2023; Rolf, 2023, p. 558; United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security, 2024). According to Wæver, "CSS argues that researchers should avoid seeing the world through the eyes of the state as implied by

[23] 'Human security' rose as a concept following a change of direction for how to understand violence, peace and conflict and the concept can be traced from a mix of academia and a 1994 United Nations Human Development Report (Ağir, 2023, p. 112; Rolf, 2023, p. 258)

use of the 'national security' concept. The state is often the problem as much as the solution" (2012, p. 52).

Within CCS, the Aberystwyth School is a normative theory which seeks to both analyse and provide solutions for the future, through representing the 'ideas and experiences of the underrepresented' (Bilgin, 1999, p. 33), those "least able to have their own voices 'heard'" (McDonald, 2007, p. 254). Critical in this disjuncture from *traditional* security studies is the possibility of the referent object being either an individual or a group (Bilgin, 1999, p. 32).[24] Therefore, considering a principal factor in this research is the military of a colonial and global power operating within a former colony, the value of this theory is found in its centring the experiences and perspectives of those who exist on the periphery.

Aberystwyth School & Emancipation

The Aberystwyth School, which is also known as 'Emancipatory Realism' or the 'Welsh School' (Rolf, 2023, p. 255; Yuan, 2022, p. 21) and has "been developed most explicitly by Ken Booth and Richard Wyn Jones" (Nunes, 2012, p. 350). The central concept of the Aberystwyth School is 'emancipation'. For the Aberystwyth School proponents, "the best way to conceptualize security in a way that aligns it with people instead of the state is to define it in terms of *emancipation*" (Wæver, 2012, p. 52).

'Emancipation' in the Aberystwyth School can be understood as;

> The freeing of people (as individuals and groups) from those physical and human constraints which stop them carrying out what they would freely choose to do. War and the threat of war is one of those constraints, together with poverty, poor education, political oppression and so on.
>
> (Booth, 1991, p. 319).

[24] Although cultural imperialism is a "contested concept" (Smandych, 2005, p. 4), central thinkers of 'cultural imperialism', Galtung explains (cultural) imperialism is a structural relation of domination between the centre and the periphery (1971). Whereas Said demonstrates how politics, literature and other means of culture act as a form of control and influence, particularly between the West and the Non-West (1994).

Relating freedom of choice and the ability to execute such choice, Booth explains that "the greater one's insecurity (bodily, materially and existentially), the greater is one's everyday life determined" (1999, p. 50). The Aberystwyth School therefore argues that the concept of 'security-as-emancipation' can be understood as the "absence of threats" to human security and the resultant lack of barriers to free choice (Jarvis, 2019, p. 113; Rolf, 2023, p. 559). Yau continues to describe the theory as "based on a constructivist logic of knowledge, which is the result of social formation and acts as a social filter in deciding an agency's actions" (2019, p. 36). Thus, the Aberystwyth School is a dialectical conversation which serves not to ignore power, but to recognise the multitude of ways in which power is 'spoken' and 'heard' from actors, groups and communities that are often ignored (McDonald, 2007, pp. 253–254).

Aberystwyth School & Non-State Centrism

The Aberystwyth School, through its security-as-emancipation framework (Nunes, 2012, p. 351), utilises a "different referent object: it is about "real" threats directed against "real" people, and not the allegedly real ones voiced by the state" (Wæver, 2012, p. 52).[25] This moves away from Security Studies state-centrism and argument that securitisation occurs in response state threats. Security in this thesis is to be understood "beyond its narrow military and statist confines, and bringing neglected issues to the fore, such as economic insecurity, transnational crime and terrorism, environmental security, and health as a security issue" (Agius, 2023, p. 25). Hence for understanding the repercussions of an international institution across community groups, the Aberystwyth School's flexible outlook allows for a greater understanding of the multiple ways in which BATUK impacts social relations of Nanyuki.

[25] In employing a security studies approach, it is critical to note that "security as a concept, however, is meaningless without a referent object to secure" (Solomon, 2015, p. 221). Traditional securitisation theory sees the state as the referent object in which threats are perceived and acted upon (Floyd, 2007, p. 334).

Aberystwyth School & Identity within Community Social Relations

"Security as emancipation sees knowledge about security as a social product and process," (Nunes, 2012, p. 351). Booth highlights that this insecurity can manifest in the 'form of existential threats to people's idea of their self and their identity', which he connects to the concept of *cultural imperialism* (1999, p. 49). Security threats are therefore 'socially constructed'. Further it is argued that the relationship between the ideas of 'self' and 'other' are critical in determining people's experiences of security (Ağir, 2023, p. 104).[26] Security is therefore intertwined with how someone views themselves, others in their (global) community, and the reality that they all live within. Consequently, in analysing social relations, factors impacting how people view their position in society in relation to others' retrospective positions determines to what extent they feel secure and 'emancipated'. The socially constructed nature of these feelings and views of security alludes to the importance in understanding how people perceive the reality that they live in. In other words, beyond physical events and statistics, to truly understand the feelings of (a lack of) security, human perceptions are key as they explain how people believe they are impacted by the reality around them.

The Utilisation of the Aberystwyth School in this Research

The purpose of the theory is to understand political developments and pressures people face as "according to Aberystwyth School, emancipation should be comprehended as not a final end, but as a process… a direction for a better world order" (Ağir, 2023, p. 113). In this research Aberystwyth School will highlight the role of BATUK in the insecurity in the community, how people view themselves in retrospect to others, and how cohesive the community feels. This insecurity will be debated through analysing case studies to examine how free they feel in their ability or choices. The theory will thus analyse an extensive understanding of the multiple

[26] This is related to the post-colonial concept of *othering* (the creation of view of person/group based on what one believes they are or not. With post-colonial thought this concept is often credited to Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) whereby Said explains the idea of the East in Western minds was constructed based on an idea of being the opposite of what the West believes its own identity is, thus the East is the *other* of the West.

pressures and structures which the people of Nanyuki feel their 'security-as-emancipation' is impacted by. Through understanding how the people of Nanyuki perceives their abilities and choices are limited, this allows for a greater understanding of how they view themselves, others in Nanyuki and the community as a whole. Additionally, the definition of community will be utilised heavily during this research is Booth's is when a group shares the same identity as social relations "break down the barriers between 'us' and 'them'" (1991, p. 325).

Criticism of Aberystwyth School

Floyd argues that "the biggest problem with Booth and Wyn Jones' approach is where does security stop? Neither of the two theorists offers guidelines for when an issue is not a security issue, always implying the more security the better" (2007, p. 333). McDonald highlights this in Terrorism Studies as he argues the theory risks justifying "the 'enforcement' of freedom" through extremist means (2007, p. 258). Yet this conceptual limitation has been delimited by Booth where he described the theory as the; 'the fight for bread, knowledge and freedom'. He clarifies this as emancipation-as-security can be understood as the "struggles against oppression: struggles for material necessities ('bread'), struggles for truth in the face of dogmatic authority ('knowledge'), and struggles to escape from political and economic tyranny ('freedom')" (Booth, 2011, p. 70).

Some criticise the Aberystwyth School for its Western foundations and Eurocentrism (Browning & McDonald, 2011, p. 248; Makinda, 2021; Rolf, 2023, p. 565). However, Booth's focus on employing a cultural imperialistic analysis and the concept of *othering* within the Aberystwyth School indicates the value of this lens through its connection with postcolonial non-Western-centric thought. In addition, considering the Western-domination in the academic field of Civil-Military relations, the employment of the Aberystwyth School to highlight voices and experiences that have regularly been ignored thus far by the discipline demonstrates further the value of this theory despite its Eurocentric foundations.

In this research, a weakness that might be highlighted is that due to the research's focus on the impact of BATUK on the social relations that this theory inherently

examines to what extent the British Army is 'to blame' for any problems in the community. However considering the aforementioned emphasis on community perceptions and extensive presence of BATUK in Nanyuki, this research instead aims to highlight the multiple structures and actors in which the British Army's presence impacts in Nanyuki. This discussion does not aim to find the fault of all problems and issues in the social relations of Nanyuki in the presence of BATUK. Rather, through employing Aberystwyth School, this research seeks to explore how the people of Nanyuki's understanding of their ability to make a decision, their position within their community and their understanding of the community itself, is impacted by the presence of BATUK.

Conclusion

This theory attempts to bring ignored and sidelined experiences, perspectives, and voices to the centre of the discussion of the impact of BATUK on the Nanyuki community. Through engaging with the Aberystwyth School, this research aims to understand the nuances of the impact of BATUK on Nanyuki's social relations and the pressures and privileges which people feel they face living amidst BATUK. Aberystwyth School is important as it unveils how insecurity can be masked amidst different perceptions of reality but also appear in a multitude of forms, and thus this theory will help to explain how tensions and divisions occur in Nanyuki's social relations. The theory is important as it explains security in such a broad sense so that there is room for a nuanced analysis of such a complex situation.

Methodology: From Manchester to Nanyuki

Introduction

Arriving at Jomo Kenyatta International Airport, I was looking forward to beginning my research. My first test to discover how my research would possibly progress occurred as soon as I landed in Nairobi. I was being collected from the airport from a BATUK driver. Consequently, I believed that there would be one of two outcomes on as I sought to begin my research as soon as I arrived.[27] Option number one: I mention my reason for visiting Kenya and the driver feels defensive at the potential criticism of BATUK, his employer, that could be found in my research, and I face a very awkward and quiet three-hour drive to Nanyuki. Option number two: having explained the headlines that brought me to Kenya, he opens up and shares more experiences of BATUK. Yet, I did not predict option number three that arose, being laughed at. Harmlessly laughed at, nonetheless laughed at. When I explained I was in Nanyuki to explore the impact of the British soldiers (as was my original intention), he joked and rolled his eyes, as if he had heard the allegations and accusations against BATUK too many times before. Rather than any awkward silence, he was more than happy to share that he had made many friends with British soldiers and saw them outside of work regularly. He talked of how his regular work transporting the soldiers, their families, and people, who had been recommended him through word of mouth (myself included) and his reputation of a safe and secure 'BATUK' driver.

This set a precedent for my data collection. Whilst working-class people in Nanyuki seemed more than willing to share positive encounters with BATUK and how it impacted their daily life, when I suggested some more difficult aspects of the British Army's presence it was brushed off and laughed at as a rare exception, *a bad apple*. Yet I noticed after a few days that there was an uneasiness, an edge to the atmosphere in town. This transpired when I saw people judging each other, hierarchies emerging in queuing and servicing practice across hospitality spots around town and realising there were spaces that had imaginary barriers for only the

[27] After inquiring with contacts of contacts to find a recommended driver, I picked this driver based on price, availability, professionalism, and the opportunity to instantly connect with someone directly connected to BATUK.

richest and the Whites. I began to see that despite a continual praise of how special Nanyuki was, which for many this was linked to the gains of BATUK's presence, that town of Nanyuki was fractured, there was a lack of feeling of community and I often witnessed a lack of trust to how people treated each other in Nanyuki.

Having realised I was learning more about Nanyuki by connecting with as many groups as possible and watching quotidian life go by, I decided to switch my main research method to an extended case study doing participant observation, utilising the Manchester School. Originally, I aimed to do formal interviews and focus groups. However, the reluctance that I saw when approaching the reported negative aspects of BATUK's presence made me realise most people may not be willing to share potential criticisms of the British Army. This chapter will begin by explaining the Manchester School method and how it fits within my research outlook. Secondly, I will outline how I conducted this data collection over my fieldwork period. Thirdly, I will address some potential research limitations before finally address how my positionality impacted by overall research journey.

The Manchester School

This research principally employs the Manchester School, sometimes known as the Extended Case (Study) Method. The Manchester School method is a qualitative method which sits within the field of anthropology and connects everyday realities to wider interactions, structures, and actors of political phenomenon. The main founder of the Manchester School (a loose group formed at Manchester University, UK) is Max Gluckman (Kapferer, 2005, pp. 85–89). Gluckman's Manchester School has a focus upon social life (Kapferer, 2005). Gluckman believed that "human social existence is one of constant change" (Kapferer, 2005, p. 87). He argued that in order to understand wider phenomenon, there must be an understanding of the social developments that have led to these outcomes. "The extended case method does not seek to generalize but nonetheless attempts to explain its findings with reference to the wider context" (Wadham & Warren, 2013, p. 9). This 'situational analysis' is the underlying concept which lead to the development of the Manchester School. Gluckman's "conception of the situation as crisis demands an understanding that micro dynamics are always integral within macro forces, and that these larger

processes must be attended to if anthropological explanation and understanding are to achieve any kind of adequacy" (Kapferer, 2005, p. 89).

The Manchester School is described as "the extended case method applies reflexive science to ethnography in order to extract the general from the unique, to move from the "micro" to the "macro," and to connect the present to the past in anticipation of the future" (Burawoy, 1998, p. 5). This method situates long-term anthropological observation within a 'global historical context' (ibid.). It involves the daily observation of routine lives to identify struggles and relations which occur over an extended period. Hence in understanding the impact on the relations and community dynamics of an extended period, this methodology allows such connections with wider themes across "space and time" (Burawoy, 1998, p. 6).

Through understanding and observing daily life, Gluckman explained that;

> We then used the apt and appropriate case to illustrate specific customs, principles of organization, social relationships, etc. Each case was selected for its appropriateness at a particular point in the argument, and cases coming close together in the argument might be derived from the actions or words of quite different groups or individuals.
>
> (2006, p. 15)

Gluckman goes on to state;

> I am arguing that if we are going to penetrate more deeply into the actual process by which persons and groups live together with a social system, under a culture, we have to employ a series of connected cases occurring within the same area of social life
>
> (ibid., 17).

As these proponents of Manchester Schools argue the value, particularly for understanding social relations and tensions within a community can be identified through connecting and relating different incidents over an extended period to identify external themes that may impact these dynamics.

Data Collection

Hence alongside engaging with academic literature and media, this research relies on a four-month fieldwork visit where I lived in the centre of Nanyuki. I

became a known face within the town attending a range of different events and spaces often attended by different social classes in Nanyuki. My daily routine consisted of going to the markets or small street vendors in the morning before walking, taxing or car sharing to a gym. My afternoons I spent visiting markets, cafes, stores and generally walking as much as I could and speaking to people. Nanyuki is a small town, so I quickly became acquainted with some shopkeepers, mobile money vendors and waiters. When I was not speaking to people, I was watching. I tried to become familiar with as many people from different backgrounds, I found that over time people began to trust me more. When meeting people working in the informal industries in the streets of Nanyuki, there was quite often confusion that I was working for the British Army or I was the girlfriend of a British soldier. My revelation that I was in Nanyuki to conduct research independent of BATUK usually brought one of two outcomes; for some there was disappointment and disinterest when I confirmed that I was not connected to the British Army so I could not help them to getting a job there. For others, often there was surprise that I was interested, and after confirming that my research would not lead to BATUK's departure people became more relaxed and freer with their thoughts. Over time after making more friends, I would sit with the housekeeping staff and nearby mountain guides on their breaks and talk. Occasionally I would attend parties or events in the town, often with the upper-class Black, Asian and Mixed Kenyans who had welcomed me into their friend group. Through trying to observe as many different ways of life and connect with as many groups of Nanyuki society, I hoped to be able to observe as many case studies as possible.

As for gathering data in the rural areas, I relied on friends of friends or connections I made. Physically, the rural areas of greater Nanyuki were difficult to reach because of the lack of public transport and the harsh terrain. Moreover, for much of these rural working-class communities, considering many negative perceptions and experiences of the British, having an interconnector meant that these communities were open to sharing their thoughts and experiences. However, it should be stated that most of my trips to the rural communities I relied on a lawyer supporting much of these communities in engaging with the British Army either through hearings, confidential meetings, legal proceedings or community-based activism. That being said, there is a bias with the communities he connected me with. From attending community

councils to visiting families who wanted to share their experiences of living near the British Army training, in these settings I was engaging with some people who had already reached out for legal representation in their struggle of living near BATUK. However, on these visits to the rural areas, amidst the planned visits to certain groups or speaking with some specified individuals, I also spoke to passersby, market sellers, and *boda boda* drivers. These encounters with random individual and other casual visits with friends to the rural areas lessened this bias.

As part of the extended case study method, informal discussion utilising open-ended and constantly adapted questions were emplooyed to gather perceptions, anecdotes, and experiences in the local community. As a critical research method, the extended case method "requires a "democratic" research approach in which the participants' own voices are heard throughout" hence the importance of a 'dialogic approach' in conducting research (Wadham & Warren, 2013, p. 10). These 'informal conversations' "have the potential to produce more realistic or naturalistic data with less performativity from both interviewer and interviewee" (Swain & King, 2022, p. 2). Swain & King debate the extent to which ethics and information regarding the research are needed for these informal conversations (ibid., p.6). Due to my informal research methods, I tried to mitigate such issues by always introducing myself through my role as a researcher and through a quick summary that I was explore the impact of 'BATUK on the people of Nanyuki'. In terms of ethics, I often conducted these chats after having built a rapport or already engaged in casual conversations that were unrelated to the interview, yet I was clear that I was visiting Nanyuki to conduct research. Most often if I did prompt a conversation from someone, I had established a rapport with I asked extremely general questions such as "What do you think of (living in) Nanyuki?" or "What do you think of the British Army (in town)?", thus letting people direct or end the conversation if they were not comfortable to share. The open nature of these questions allowed for the participants to present their perceptions and shape the conversation to these perceptions. Further, the open discussions gave respondents a sense of control over the research. This is essential due to the sensitivity of the topics and making the respondents as comfortable as possible. As I believe this comfort can only improve how freely they share their perceptions and how comfortable they feel to suggest further respondents for data gathering.

Data Recording

Every evening after returning to my accommodation, I wrote a reflection of the day and any findings I had observed. I always anonymised my notes and mostly recorded these on my password-protected computer, and when I wrote them by hand (most often if I had just witnessed/heard something midday and I wanted to quickly record) and tried my best to make my writing illegible so if my notes were found they would not incriminate anyone. Often, I employed 'nick names' in my notes that I believed were not traceable to the actors involved. This research diary was an intrinsic part of my data collection. I then recorded these securely online. When writing the daily reflection, I reflected upon how my presence, as a White British Female researcher may have impacted the situation. Even in observations I gathered from walking through the streets or sitting in cafés where I watched from afar, it was still important to question if my presence impacted the situation I observed and how my bias and assumptions impacted what I believed I was observing. Considering a substantial part of my data arose from conversations, my presence undoubtedly impacted my findings. For these conversations, I very rarely wrote down notes during the discussion itself. This could therefore result in confusion or 'mis-remembering' in my research notes. To mitigate this, anything I was unsure of if I had understood the situation or conversation correctly, I would try to follow up on the conversation or try a corroborate my findings via asking someone about a situation or looking out for a similar situation to occur to avoid false recording of data.

Swain & King explain the difference between informal interviews and these 'casual discussions';

> Although these data are different, the data produced through both the observed and participatory informal conversations is as valid (in the sense that the results correspond to real properties and events in the social world), and should have the same epistemological status, as data obtained through more formal interviews. Both informal and formal conversations are a co-construction between researcher and participant, both sources of data are subject to same caveats and limitations in the sense that people can be evasive, mis-remember, mis-lead and lie.
>
> (2022, p. 8)

In the quote Swain & King highlight the potential limitations of this method. Yet I tried to avoid such mis-leading and 'mis-remembering' through the critical research diary where I would reflect upon conversations, and mark down if I could remember direct quotes, body language, eye contact and other relevant information to ensure the remarks had more background and could be reflected upon with greater certainty.

Limitations of this Methodology

A limitation of this methodology could be found in the lack of engagement with the British Army and the soldiers themselves. It could be argued that this discussion fails to substantiate the ways in which BATUK attempts to mitigate or improve its impact on the local community. However, I will argue that this limitation is itself a strength of this research as it devotes the entire central voice and focus of this discussion to the community. Hence as a thesis within in the civil-military field, it is a change to have the focus be the community rather than the base. Another limitation could be the grand scope and the resultant generalisation of what is understood as the 'rural' sector within this research. Due to having to leave the research field earlier than planned, I did not manage to engage in fieldwork in the rural hard-to-reach areas as often as I would have liked. However, I found here the sentiments extremely strong and engaged with direct focus groups thus I was able to access perceptions and experiences through this method. Moreover, anecdotes and rarer observations of the rural community allowed me to substantiate my argument here. That being said, if the opportunity arose, another extended fieldwork engagement would be very valuable to witness daily lives living on the edge of the British training grounds. One other limitation was a language barrier predominantly in rural Nanyuki in spite of two months of Swahili. In addition to a personally weak level of Swahili compounded by linguistic diversity in Greater Nanyuki and a lack of English speakers, meant that I had to rely on others for translation. However, often in these rural areas people demonstrated their views or experiences through showing to me physical evidence, from scars from human-animal conflict, cracked walls from sound damage of the training sessions, to the lands burned reportedly by the British Army in the Lolldaiga fire. Thus, despite speaking different languages, the

Manchester School observation method, and non-verbal communication, allowed for a continued insight into peoples' emotions, experiences, and daily lives.

Positionality

"The centrality of this form of participant observation is the reflection of the role and impact of the researcher" (Burawoy, 1998, p. 6). Consequently, the Manchester School finds value in understanding the impact of the researcher on the findings which I believe was central to my research in a town so heavily impacted by racial and classist divisions. These divisions are incredibly critical considering my positionality as a White British student studying African Studies at Leiden University in The Netherlands. As someone who has grown up in the UK, my educational and cultural background has undoubtedly been centred around 'Western' perspectives. Beyond this, it is important to state that I have no family or employment connections to the British Army or UK Government.

My White and British positionality undoubtedly meant that I had a privileged experience and was treated as upper-class in Nanyuki. From being served first, standing out on the streets, to always been offered to be taken care of, how people treated and interacted with me made me witness but also often be part of the divisions that existed in Nanyuki. "Gluckman's recommendation of situational analysis is an insistence that anthropology and anthropologists should be aware that the subjects of their inquiry, as well as the anthropologists themselves, are always engaged within the changing forces of history." (Kapferer, 2005, p. 89)
Considering that I was confused as being part of BATUK for many, this also informed my understanding to an extent of how some local people viewed and interacted with BATUK. In this regard, I believe it was important to utilise this privilege to uncover and access a fuller understanding of Kenyan-British relation with a focus on highlighting local Kenyan's voices and experiences. As an African Studies student, my educational journey has been heavily impacted by the works of post-colonial critical scholars, thus I hope that this research adds to a field of knowledge that highlights a more transparent representation of how the British presence and relations in these Kenyan communities today are perceived by the local community.

Chapter One: Beyond the Barracks - Social Relations Within the Town of Nanyuki

Introduction

Nanyuki has been an unequal and divided town since its conception as a White Settler colonial community. Today it is known as one of Kenya's 'White towns' with British soldiers of BATUK, White Kenyan families, and tourists roaming the streets. Amidst its foundation of colonial inequality, today, the town has gathered a reputation of assured security, due to the presence of the British and Kenyan militaries; safety, thanks to the community's high ethnic diversity and religious tolerance; and prosperity, a small town of luxury for the rich and modest opportunities for the working classes. The reputation of security, safety, and prosperity does not mean that Nanyuki is some kind of paradise, in lieu divisions continue to exist. Considering the sizeable population ratio of 10,000 British personnel to 73,000 Nanyuki residents (Calvert, 2019; County Government of Laikipia, 2024),[28] and the simultaneous ever-presence of the British Army yet elusively of connections with the British soldiers themselves, it will be argued that BATUK's presence in town reinforces classism and racism as the local population tries to optimise a continued colonial cohabitation.

Through centring the perspectives and experiences of the people of Nanyuki town, this chapter will highlight the extensive divisions which proliferate Nanyuki's social relations in the public realm of Nanyuki town.[29] This chapter acknowledges that the main divisions discussed of class and race are not unique to Nanyuki, nor to other towns or cities around the world with notable exclusive groups or institutions (race,

[28] Although the 10000 BATUK personnel are dispersed throughout the year. However, this figure does not include families and friends who also may visit or stay temporarily in Nanyuki. Moreover, this figure relates to the British military presence rather than the Kenyan Air Force with a secondary base in Nanyuki and the Kenyan Defence Force that trains with BATUK from time to time. KDF has around 300 soldiers that train with the BATUK in greater Nanyuki on a yearly basis (Graham, 2021). Kenya's Air Forces main base is far from Nanyuki in Eastleigh, so the presence of KAF personnel is minute in Nanyuki (Wabala, 2024).

[29] Before the discussion, it must be noted that within this chapter, Nanyuki's social relations and the 'community' of Nanyuki pertain to the permanent population of Nanyuki therefore not including the British soldiers and their guests. This is because despite the ever presence of the institution of BATUK, the soldiers and guests change regularly. This by a key theme that will be addressed later as in Nanyuki BATUK exists as the 'wallpaper' to the town, yet for majority of the residents they will never enter the room and sit at the same table as the soldiers.

religion or ethnic groups). However, this chapter will argue that these racial and class divisions common across Nanyuki are emphasised and mutually reinforced by the sizeable yet enigmatic presence of the British Army in town. These divisions create insecurity and a lack of community cohesion between different social groups in Nanyuki town. Therefore, despite perceptions of increased physical and financial security in the town because of BATUK, the uncertainty and insecurity caused by the British Army, encourages continued optimisation of the current status quo of classist and racial divisions in the town as overwhelmingly people feel stuck or constrained by the BATUK's presence.

To understand how BATUK may impact the community relations and any divisions in Nanyuki town, first the working-class group's perspective on BATUK and its presence will be explored. The next section will explore the financial impact of BATUK on Nanyuki through employment opportunities and the perception of a more wealth town due the base's presence with a case study of the town's taxi industry. Next, these sections will discuss how forms of insecurity manifest. First, working-class people feel that living in a socially divided town is a sacrifice for the aforementioned greater town wealth. Second, the division of feeling able to criticise the British Army between class groups in Nanyuki will be explored as a social impact of BATUK's presence. An exploration of the division of spaces in Nanyuki along race lines featuring a yoga club will demonstrate the impact of BATUK on continuing racial divisions in Nanyuki. Finally, an exploration of sex work and relationships between the community and the British Army will demonstrate the social repercussions of both class and race insecurity in Nanyuki.

Who are the British Army in Nanyuki? The Working-Class Perspective

Before the discussion of the impact of BATUK on the social relations of Nanyuki town commences, there will be a summary I collated over my experience of how the vast majority of working-class people in Nanyuki viewed BATUK. This perspective is important to understand as it sets the foundation for understanding the impact of BATUK on the social relations of Nanyuki in the eyes of the working

class. The upper-class view of BATUK is much more convoluted and based on personal experiences, backgrounds and interactions with British soldiers and will be addressed in different forms throughout this chapter. This section analyses how although BATUK as an institution has existed in Nanyuki for decades, the British soldiers continue to be viewed as apart from the Nanyuki working-class community and as 'White', rich, and mzungus.

Primarily, BATUK is composed of a majority of staff who only work in Nanyuki temporarily. Few live permanently in Kenya and this impedes their ability to become part of the permanent Nanyuki population. This lack of connection between the local Nanyuki community and the short-term soldier population has increased due to the harsher British Army rules restricting leisure opportunities in Nanyuki town.[30] Secondly, because of this lack of connection between many local people in Nanyuki and the soldiers, people often talked about BATUK as one monolithic group rather than individual soldiers who are part of the British Army. These two factors compounding to the group-centric view of Nanyuki were mitigated when people had increased interactions with British soldiers. The third manner in which much of the working class viewed BATUK is as 'mzungus'. Although not all the British Army members are White, a substantial number of BATUK in Nanyuki are White. When speaking with local working-class people I would ask 'what do they think of the British Army', the replies would begin along the lines of 'I think… the British, the soldiers' or most often 'the mzungus'. For instance, it was assumed from time to time that as a White person, I was the partner of someone at BATUK or I worked for BATUK, and this was the reason for my visit to Nanyuki. This explains the reason many working-class Nanyukians summarised BATUK, tourists, White migrants and White Kenyans as all 'rich mzungus'.[31] Therefore, such perceptions even if muddled, inform how much of the local working-class community views the British Army soldiers. Considering the centrality of the community of Nanyuki's perspectives within this discussion, the working-class generalisation of 'mzungus' & BATUK is important to note.

[30] People in Nanyuki told me that BATUK's junior soldiers had 'bedtimes', the locations they could attend in their free time are now controlled and often nightclubs are surveyed by a senior member of staff (Ndirangu, 2023b).
[31] There is an assumption in the working-class community that mzungus 'white people' are inherently wealthy. Considering the global wealth disparity, White visitors to Nanyuki tend be much more financially secure than the working-class.

BATUK: The Silver Lining in Clouds of Unemployment

This section will explore what the local community of Nanyuki believe the financial impact and employment opportunities of BATUK's presence are and how these affect their daily lives and their subsistence struggles. To some working-class workers, with high rates of national unemployment, there was hope that being employed by BATUK would end their income worries. I experienced this expectant view of BATUK, as when introducing myself to street hawkers through my purpose of researching Nanyuki and BATUK, often I was asked if "I knew anyone at the base who could connect them to a job". Further down the streets of Nanyuki, 'everyone knows someone who knows someone' who has worked either directly or indirectly with the base. One shoe shiner who had been employed by BATUK told me that it offered a rare chance of "good employment". This was echoed as I asked why people wanted to work for BATUK particularly, street merchants replied "they are good to us"; the British Army has a reputation in Nanyuki of regular trusted pay and good working conditions. The shoe shiner told me that he was relying on another chance to work for BATUK to pay for his children's upcoming school fees. However, over months of daily encounters discussing life in Nanyuki, I failed to encounter more than a handful of people who had been directly employed by BATUK.[32] In the working-class communities' eyes, the British Army brings jobs and optimism to Nanyuki town. Although opportunities are limited, there is hope of gaining 'good' employment with BATUK amidst a harsh cost of living crisis in Kenya. Economically, BATUK represents a rare prospect of increased financial security and thus raises the hopes for much of the town's population to gain employment with the base.

Despite the lack of direct employment with BATUK, the perception of the working class is that the town's prosperity is defined by the maintenance of the presence of the British Army due to the economic benefits it brings to Nanyuki. Furthermore, BATUK injects over $60 million into Nanyuki's local economy yearly (Servant, 2022). For much of the community, this income arrives via the many gift shops which increase in number on approach to the British Army barracks. I would ask

[32] In the year 2023/24 BATUK only hired 500 people in the year to directly work on the base. See *Appendix 2*.

these small stall owners what they thought of BATUK. Those selling curio shop gifts catering directly to tourists and BATUK explained that for them their "livelihoods depended on the British Army" … "it hurts my business when they will go home".[33] The general response was that BATUK "was good for Nanyuki", even on the edge of town at grocery stands where British soldiers "never bought anything".

These limited transactions between BATUK and much of the working-class population did not seem to harbour resentment towards BATUK. Opposingly, I was told by working-class business owners that the "*mzungus equal money"*. Chatting to a security guard outside a bank one day, he pointed up the street lined with his fellow security guards protecting the many banks and SACCOs. He explained that he was from a nearby town, for him "the mzungus are what makes Nanyuki different". Compared to other small towns, the multitude of banks represents the financial fortunes of Nanyuki which he attributed to the mzungus. This dynamic was emphasised as one shopkeeper was that he stated he that did not cater to the British Army soldiers. He knew that they wanted "expensive and foreign goods" available in the supermarkets in the guarded shopping centres. He explained the trickle-down impact of BATUK shopping at the national supermarket chains, which gave fellow Nanyukians a salary that would allow them to purchase goods from his stall. In his perspective, BATUK strengthened his economic capability by adding to the economy of Nanyuki. Across town, it is evident that the working-class community can visibly see the economic benefits of BATUK which have increased the overall town's prosperity. Critically, the belief that Nanyuki stands out compared to other local towns because of BATUK's investment demonstrates the strong extent to which the working-class population feel reliant upon the British Army's income.

(Taxi) Drivers Towards Competition

Having discussed the perceptions of the working class on the economic stimulus of BATUK to their daily lives in Nanyuki, this next section will explore a case study to analyse how these perceptions have created insecurity and competition

[33] This shopkeeper was discussing the upcoming Christmas holiday when many British soldiers went home.

within the working-class community of Nanyuki. It will be argued that the lack of engagement with the community and what many perceive as an unclear job application process creates frustration, distrust and a feeling that they are unable to succeed without a BATUK contract. Having discussed the case study, the analysis will connect back to the wider working-class views of BATUK's economic influence to understand the ways in which the British Army impacts the social relations of Nanyuki.

I witnessed this as soon as I arrived in Kenya as the driver that picked me up from the airport held a contract as a private licenced driver for BATUK. Which I soon learned to be, was a coveted role within the sizeable taxi and driver community of Nanyuki. For this driver, he felt secure in his role with the Army as he had to guarantee his employability through special driving exams, (extra) insurance, and background checks. In return, he had regular employment from the base and their visiting families and, across the upper-class community was seen as an accredited driver as he was a BATUK-approved driver. Moreover, he had fostered friendships with the soldiers which he believed meant he had more opportunities beyond work but also leisure and greater global connections, something he was very proud of. He warned of going with other drivers that were not accredited as they may use poor hazardous cars and have risky driving practices. Thereby he looked down upon the unregulated drivers and saw them as being of a lesser standard due to their lack of accreditation with BATUK. The social impact of employment with BATUK is evident in this case, as for this BATUK-connected driver, his employer has become part of part of his identity and has transformed how he views others as less trustworthy in Nanyuki's taxi industry.

In contrast, other 'less legitimate' taxi drivers, often who shared crumbling cars without insurance, satnavs, and Bluetooth speaker systems, equally seemed positive regarding BATUK and its influence upon their future employment opportunities. They idealised a permanent contract like my first driver as something that would turn their families' lives around. Yet they were frustrated that they felt that they rarely were able to pick up British soldiers and they did not know how to become accredited drivers. To them, they thought British Army staff paid well, yet they struggled to engage with the British soldiers. They said to gain employment "you had

to know someone at the base". I began to be told by the drivers, that Nanyuki was a town based on social connections. Considering the aforementioned idolisation of gaining a contract with BATUK as one of the few 'good' job opportunities in Nanyuki, this has left these drivers feeling dependent on BATUK and frustrated due to the difficult and unclear process of gaining such employment. A reliance on industry connections in Nanyuki is distinct due to the overwhelming presence of the British Army in the town and has resulted in these drivers feeling that in order to gain financial freedom, their social circles must expand to connections with the British Army.

In turn who you knew and who you worked with, impacted how Nanyukians perceived themselves, such as my first driver, who saw himself as a higher standard of driver and how they saw others in the community, such as he saw the (generally) young men waiting in cars on the street as untrustworthy and unsafe. This community fracturing is based on who has connections to certain industries, people, and opportunities, and how such connection curates one's identity and position in Nanyuki. Thereby, for the taxi and private driving trade in Nanyuki, tensions in this business community are revealed as some workers feel that their ability to engage in this industry is curtailed via the lack of access to BATUK. For these drivers, the lack of access to BATUK means that within their industry they are looked down upon and they feel that they cannot access a large part of the market, hence they become frustrated at their well-connected counterparts. This lack of emancipation was expressed as the shoe shiner pinned all his hopes upon employment with BATUK and the curio shop owner said that his 'livelihood depended on BATUK'. Although there are other industries and some job opportunities in Nanyuki, the ever-presence of BATUK, the connection to reputation and identity, and the allure of 'good work conditions', have left many of the working-class community feeling as if a job/income with BATUK is their only opportunity for improving their livelihoods. The use of Booth's 'insecurity-as-emancipation' is critical here because of the centrality of reputation in Nanyuki, beyond feeling as if they are limited in finding other career options or sources of customers, BATUK's presence continues a society which is judgemental and wary of each other's job occupation. The British Army in Nanyuki particularly impacts this dynamic in town due to the allure of 'good employment' which entices more people to work for them. Yet these tensions of competition and

judgement of who gains such employment can be linked to BATUK because of the consensus that there is either no official job application route or that these employment opportunities are based on personal connections to the Army.

Paying the Price for Prosperity

Another manner in which the financial influence of BATUK impacts the social relations in Nanyuki is how many working-class people perceive that there is a price that they have to pay for increased prosperity in Nanyuki. This price is experiencing class and racial divisions. In other words, for many working-class people in Nanyuki, their freedom of choice or to act in the way they would prefer is dictated by the racial norms which are emphasised via BATUK's presence.

I often witnessed such racial dynamics. Frequently in restaurants, I was the one being prioritised by being served more with more attentiveness before other tables on non-Whites. Black upper-class friends noted that in certain restaurants across town, they felt frustrated as they were not being prioritised and felt that they struggled to get the servers' attention if there were White customers in the venue. Whereas in the working-class echelons of Nanyuki society, this hierarchy appears to be a matter-of-fact situation, people didn't seem visibly upset when they were not prioritised amidst the presence of BATUK or White tourists. Sometimes, local working-class people would anticipate such prioritisation and move to the side as if to signal that I would go first before them in a queue. This pre-emptive awareness of racial dynamics occurred as I was driven into one of the shopping centres in an unofficial rundown taxi. To quicken the search of the underside, boot, and inside of his car, the driver would roll down my window, I would give the security a wave and we would be swiftly passed through. Thereby a separation occurs in how the different classes perceive such racial discrimination.

This normalisation and expectance of such racial prioritisation is evident in the prediction of such prioritisation in the range of actions of working-class people in Nanyuki. They followed a norm in Nanyuki which restricted or changed the action that they would have done had the White person not been present in this situation. There did not seem to be much visible anger or outrage by the people I was given

priority over. It seemed throughout my time in Nanyuki that racial inequality was withstood as a norm of the town's daily interaction. Moreover, when discussing class divisions in Nanyuki, I was sort of scoffed at by local working-class community members. For them, "they said there was not much to be done", 'they had bigger worries about paying their next bills'. Beyond this, in their eyes, in comparison to other nearby similar-sized towns, Nanyuki was more 'prosperous'. Many working-class people, saw that the economic influence of BATUK, the Whites, and the upper-class members of Nanyuki was more important for their quotidian quality of life than amending any great inequality struggles taking place in the town. The next section will explore this racial dynamic's connection to BATUK.

Although this argument does not blame the existence of racial tensions in Nanyuki, however this racial prioritisation practice can be connected to BATUK through the pressure of the town to gain customers from BATUK and tourists, to continue its relative 'prosperity'. For instance, the different treatment of people based on their racial background allowed the shopping centre to gain its reputation as 'safe' for BATUK. The driver who collected me from the airport told me that 'these gated shopping centres were safe, it's where the British Army shops' as he dropped me there on my first day. Across venues, I learnt that namedropping the British Army in town as guests to a venue was the equivalent of declaring it safe, internationally orientated and luxurious. Thus, considering the importance of the tourism industry in Nanyuki, the magnitude of being able to describe a space as 'safe' is critical. I witnessed this dichotomy across cafes and restaurants I attended in Nanyuki where blind eyes (or begrudgingly closed eyes) were turned to soldiers' misbehaviour, whereas working-class Kenyans were carefully observed. It occurred numerous times, in an outdoor café that I was checked upon by staff that I wasn't being 'disturbed' by a Kenyan local community member who either, because of their clothes or because of their perceived background, looked out of place from the usual clientele. Thus, across shopping and hospitality venues, the need to ensure that the space was 'suitable' for 'BATUK' and other privileged visitors me that there is a continual analysis and judgement of local members of Nanyuki.

Thus, whilst such racial and class prioritisation exists across the world, with the looming presence of BATUK over the town and the extent to which having BATUK as

a customer equates to an assured reputation advertisable to tourists and visitors, this explains why there is an almost lack of objection from working-class people in Nanyuki. Therefore, the feeling that for the local working-class community such divisions were part of the price of living in a slightly more successful town with better opportunities because of the British Army's presence demonstrates the extent to which BATUK underlines the reoccurrence of such racial and class tensions in Nanyuki. Further, this continual evaluation of fellow community members leads the community of Nanyuki to be insecure and subtly divided as has been demonstrated to guarantee the continued popularity of their venue in the eyes of BATUK, a substantial continued client group in Nanyuki.

The Cost of Criticism is Only Affordable to the Upper Classes of Nanyuki

This section will discuss the extent to which people perceive that their economic survival is curtailed by the presence of BATUK. This will be demonstrated in how restricted people feel to criticise BATUK and its impact on Nanyuki. For the most part, when people asked why I was conducting such research I replied that I had read 'those shocking headlines', this was brushed away. There was a quick rebuttal of there being a 'few bad apples but as a collective, the Base brought money and jobs to Nanyuki'. If I asked specifically about the soldiers' abuse allegations or reports of unruly behaviour, working-class people would hesitate in their replies. I could quickly see people becoming slightly nervous or awkward, avoiding eye contact and rambling quickly. In instances when shopkeepers did raise criticism of BATUK such as a curio shopkeeper who argued the reports of robbery in town by some poorer Nanyukians was because of the glaring opportunity of such 'walking wealth' in the soldiers on the streets. She argued quickly that despite this all, she hoped that my work wouldn't threaten BATUK's presence. 'Although I want them to change, we in Nanyuki need them'. Statements such as this by the slightly critical and open curio shopkeeper exemplify the position in which many Nanyukians feel stuck. They are constrained through the lack of freedom some people felt they had to criticise BATUK due to the risks to their subsistence that they feel could arise if complaints left to BATUK's departure. To much of the working-class of Nanyuki, without the

economic inflow into Nanyuki from BATUK, it would be a very different place. This insecurity is of the extent to which it causes them to accept the previously demonstrated racial and class divisions and demonstrates the feeling of community inequality for the working class living in the shadows of BATUK.

Yet a division emerges here between the classes of Nanyuki, as the extent to which the working class demonstrated a feeling of vulnerability based upon a view that they needed BATUK to continue to contribute to Nanyuki for their daily subsistence, stands in stark contrast with the richer citizens of Nanyuki. After British soldiers drunkenly damaged one luxury restaurant's premises one evening, the restaurant owner recounted how they complained to BATUK and demanded compensation. When I asked the wealthy owner if they would ban the British soldier responsible, as they recounted this was not their first incident of BATUK damage, even this upper-class business owner stated that it would be financially senseless to ban the whole group of such a huge proportion of relatively wealthy visitors. 'If you ban 1 British soldier, you risk banning all the soldiers for the next year and ruining your reputation' they told me. Yet a drunken wealthy member of the public in Nanyuki causing similar damage would quickly be banned following such an incident. Hence due to the institutional background of the British soldiers, and their connected pool of customers (the 10,000 per year), the presence of BATUK means certain business owners feel pressured into allowing or not punishing as harshly behaviour that would have the non-BATUK population banned.

This example presents two divisions in the social relations of Nanyuki. First, the upper-class business owner felt free to criticise BATUK and was confident to demand compensation from the British Army. This stands in contrast with previous working-class examples who cannot risk at all a loss in potential customers and therefore may withstand unfair treatment from British soldiers. This signals a lack of community unity for discussions on the impact of BATUK on Nanyuki and demonstrates that when such conversations arise people's perceptions are heavily impacted by how secure or insecure the Base's presence makes them specifically feel. Second, due to the group configuration of the British Army, British soldiers in Nanyuki are less likely to receive criticism, blame or ejection from a public premise as owners risk losing the business of thousands of personnel. Hence the business owners of Nanyuki

may withstand more misbehaviour than they would with local citizens. Evidentially, there is a contrast in how local members of Nanyuki, both rich and poor, may be treated more critically, as evaluated in the previous section, to ensure the popularity and respect of a venue by BATUK. As demonstrated in the first section where working-class members of Nanyuki were ejected from venues, the overwhelming presence of BATUK and the goal to maintain or achieve a reputation of being a venue that BATUK attends means that there is a continuation of peer judgement and evaluation between members of Nanyuki to ensure this reputation is not threatened. There is no doubt that class and racial hierarchies would still exist without BATUK and this argument does not claim that there would be utopia if this situation was otherwise different. However, due to the perception and risk of losing not just one or two customers who are disturbed but a whole military corps, it can be stated that BATUK's presence at least sustains or hardens this hierarchy and mode of continual peer assessment in the Nanyuki community.

Yoga: Continued 'White' Clubs

This section explores how certain spaces in Nanyuki become physical manifestations of this continued racial and class division to ensure the 'spaces' appeal to British soldiers. To begin there will be a brief comparison of such spaces before a case study of a yoga club. For some spaces in Nanyuki, such as the Nanyuki Sports Club which was founded during colonialism, entrance is based on membership and subscription.[34] Yet many spaces in Nanyuki had no official requirements. Instead, members of Nanyuki would be treated differently based on class or race, leading to either their access or experience of such spaces being different based on these identity markers. Most obviously are the few internationally orientated private schools, often catering to a British curriculum in Nanyuki. Having been invited to various school events, I witnessed how these created communities of upper-class parents who worked together for kids' clubs, after-school classes, and weekend festivities. At the most expensive of these schools, BATUK children

[34] However, these exclusive spaces are not the focus on this argument. This is not to say that such colonial legacy establishments do not have an impact on the dynamics of the town, yet these spaces exist in such a small number. Furthermore, due to BATUK's transitionary presence, these long-standing institutions are more suited to a greater historical investigation than this thesis' current discussion.

composed a sizeable amount of the roll call. This was one example of when a community formed between the base and host through entrenched family relations. Furthermore, through frequently visiting a variety of hospitality venues across Nanyuki, I observed the clients and noticed patterns in the guests across each venue. Hospitality and leisure sites in Nanyuki are viewed as either White/upper-class spaces or working-class spaces. I found this as some working-class people were shocked when I visited some small cafes and assumed that I would only go to the tourist, or upper-class places often placed in guarded shopping centres and exclusive areas that had to be driven to.[35] Over time I noticed, there were no real examples of community-wide spaces where there was not a price barrier to much of Nanyuki's population. In this section, a case study of a sports club will demonstrate how different spaces have become divided along, in this instance racial lines, through the effect of BATUK's presence in Nanyuki.

I experienced this aforementioned communal peer assessment and hierarchical society in the upper echelons of Nanyuki with a group of Kenyans I became friends with that I regularly drank coffee with. An Asian Kenyan friend voiced some complaints that they were unable to get a place at the yoga class that took place in the same building where we met for coffee. Over the last two years, they had reached out several times to the instructor via WhatsApp to ask to join. The response was either ignored, or informed that they were full for now, but when a space became available the instructor would notify them. This complaint arose when we met one day we were discussing with some White members of the gym class about people they knew attending the class/having attended it themselves. My friend began to voice their concern. They thought that they might not 'fit the image' or be the sort of client that the yoga class aimed for. We all saw the class regularly as they met at a similar time as my group. The class was almost always entirely White. With everyone knowing someone in town, it was gathered that the class was attended by a mix of White Kenyans, recent White immigrants to Nanyuki and BATUK (and their guests). My friends had an idea for me to see if I could join the yoga group. I sent a quick bubbly message about being interested in joining the yoga classes. It is necessary to point

[35] With rising fuel prices, although *boda bodas* remain accessible for the majority, hotels and restaurants outside of town gain a degree of exclusivity with the added cost (unaffordable) for the working-class inhabitant of Nanyuki

out here that with my profile picture available on WhatsApp, it was clear that I was White. I received a quick reply, the classes were full for the moment. However, within a few days, the instructor told me that there was a space available for me and I was welcome to come join the class. For my friend who had reached out every few months for a few years, there was still no space available.

Whether or not race or background came into the consideration of entrance to the yoga club, amongst my Black, Mixed and Asian Kenyan friends that I met for coffee their feelings were similar, albeit disappointing and slightly surprising to see such inequality at play, no one was incredibly shocked. The Asian Kenyan friend recounted, that although racism exists around the world, they had never experienced it in the same way as here as it is "uniquely masked in Nanyuki". Although rare, they argued that these almost White-only spaces they said still existed in Nanyuki. That is to say, based on their perception, the group of friends believed and reasoned that this was a situation of racial hierarchies. Another such instance of racism within the town was in a luxury restaurant. People had complained that on attending this restaurant it was evident that White people were to be served first, with Black customers waiting and having to go to some lengths to get the waiting staff's attention. Following this, there was a boycott of this restaurant by many of the upper-class community, Black and White in Nanyuki. To the upper-class community in Nanyuki, whether benefitting from or disadvantaged by such racism many perceive that Black people in Nanyuki are continuing to be limited or treated in a lesser manner in the favour of Nanyuki's White population.

Returning to the yoga class, even without confirming through confronting the yoga instructor if there was a racial bar to their classes, it is significant that my Black, Mixed and Asian Kenyan friends, understood and perceived that this was an incident based on racial exclusion. Without confirming this, it is difficult to say 100% whether there was a racial factor in my friend's exclusion from yoga, however, it is still significant that in the view of these local upper-class Black, Mixed and Asian Kenyans it was not shocking that their ability to join a space was curtailed to maintain a White image of space, particularly to secure the attendance of BATUK members. Therefore, some in the upper class, believe that their ability to make a free choice is continuing to be curtailed by a hierarchical racial system in the Nanyuki

society. As the incident demonstrates, the system is sustained via the pressure and influence to perform towards BATUK's presence. Consequently, the division of spaces between groups in Nanyuki, whilst predominantly unofficial, is directly linked to people's perception of their freedom and ease of movement.

Potential Partners, Parties, Prostitution, and Pursuing the British Army

The Times UK published an article reporting on the recent Nanyuki injustices hearing which was headlined, "My child's father is a British soldier. He has abandoned her" (Daniel et al., 2024).[36] In the article, the mother confirms that the relationship with the BATUK soldier that she argues fathered her mixed-race daughter was consensual. She explains how he had promised that after his retirement, he would take care of them, and they would be together. Instead, shortly after the birth of her daughter, he stopped contact and now both she and her daughter face community ostracization (ibid.). Although I did not meet this mother during my fieldwork, the short example exemplifies the hope of a relationship with British soldiers for a better life juxtaposed with the risks of social exclusion and criticism for the surrounding community. This section will explore how the presence of the British Army's romantic tensions impacts community dynamics and how women are viewed in Nanyuki society before analysing the impact of the sex trade industry on social relations in Nanyuki. It will be argued through these discussions of relationships and sex work that BATUK's presence in Nanyuki continues racial divisions, a critical judgemental society, and (especially female) insecurity.

Without any more of a prompt than my usual question about what a tourist shopkeeper thought of BATUK and Nanyuki, the shopkeeper quickly went on to say how the "British Army brought out the worst in young people of Nanyuki". Considering the depravity in Nanyuki, she explained the 'chase' in town for working-

[36] This hearing will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter as many of the speakers live in rural/greater Nanyuki. Although the roughly 40 children who are mixed race and were abandoned did arise in conversations in Nanyuki, I never met any of these individuals (that I knew of), yet as demonstrated by the article it is a well-known albeit small community (Daniel et al., 2024). These individuals and their families would be interesting in further research. Further, the example of this mother in The Times article does not take place in Nanyuki town, yet as will be discussed similar themes and relations transpire in Nanyuki's town social dynamics.

class women to find a 'rich British husband to secure a better life. Working-class friends of mine in Nanyuki asked if I had a brother or friend "for them". Attempts to 'marry richer' occur around the world, however with the 'rich' soldiers roaming around town and frequenting the dance floor, this marriage is seen as more plausible in Nanyuki. This shopkeeper continued, and she argued that this potential wedding encouraged women in Nanyuki to perform and "compete for these men". She explained that this brought out tensions between young women as they would in a 'shameful way' and led some men to become jealous of the mostly male British soldiers. For some of the working-class men, the shadow of the British soldiers can make them feel insecure, unable to compete economically with the allure of the rich soldiers offering financial security and life opportunities that are out of reach for most. Some in Nanyuki see this 'chase' as logical and rational, considering the lack of opportunities, some families encourage and hope for a marriage to secure better life opportunities, a British passport, and a life abroad. This again relates perception of the soldiers as vessels for economic opportunities.

Beyond this, considering the small proportion of Nanyuki's upper class are White and not members of the British Army, for this small group, some feel as if they are also as part of the 'chase', thereby creating further racial tensions, particularly between social classes. No matter which social circle I interacted with, when the topic arose, such relationships always produced an opinion, with sighs, excitement, or often, disgruntled frowns. Whether in support or against such relationships between Nanyukians and BATUK, these women are judged and relationships between the base and the community are never seen as a neutral matter. The shopkeeper addressed this as I asked about solutions to the problems with the youth in Nanyuki that she had raised. She outlined that there needed to be opportunities for the soldiers of the base and the people of Nanyuki to get to know one another in a social setting or community council platform. Without any social spaces, she argued, the soldiers and the working-class women view each other as objects to 'gain from'.

Marriage and relationships aside, a direct impact of the British Army's presence in Nanyuki is the notorious sex work industry. Amidst the discussion of migration to Nanyuki for investment, and hybrid work opportunities, the allure of sex work with 'the rich White British soldiers' was also discussed as a reason why some women

would move to Nanyuki. She explained harmful opportunism as a product of the desperate economic climate alongside the commonhold view that the 'mzungus are all rich'. She emphasised that sex work in Nanyuki has boomed in the last few decades as BATUK grew. Along with this are the many accusations against British soldiers of sexual assault, rape, and buying sex over the last few decades (Kahongeh & Murimi, 2021; Kigo, 2024; Komu & Mwende, 2023; Madawo, 2024; Ndirangu, 2023b; Rayment, 2024). An indication of this is demonstrated as the British Army & the UK provided much of the finance for the new building of Nanyuki's Police Department's gender-based and sexual violence centre and continue to support the centre (Mwangi, 2022). "The centre, under the Policare programme of the National Police Service, is meant to create a friendly environment for victims and encourage them to come forward, even if their abusers are British" (Komu & Mwende, 2023).[37] Consequently the funding of this department exemplifies the intersection between sexual violence, gender insecurity and the British Army's presence in Nanyuki.

The precariousness of prostitution and sex work means that many women become vulnerable through their encounters with the British soldiers. In a deeply religious culture, sex work is highly stigmatised in Kenya (Lukera, 2022, pp. 202–206).[38] The community repercussions of the increased prostitution often create a rhetoric whereby these women are looked down upon. This creates both class divisions, but also within the working class, these sex workers were seen as the lowest of the low. The men of Nanyuki talked of the risks of flirting and finding romance in town at one of the nightclubs and, "constantly guessing if I was starting to dance with a sex worker". Upper-class men described feeling as if they would have to gauge whether someone was interested in them romantically or, rather, their business when at the town's dance venues. For these women who engage in sex work, they risk their physical security and their societal security as it has the potential for them to be ostracised within Nanyuki.[39] A highly divisive topic, these women can often struggle

[37] This centre is featured on the cover page.
[38] Discussions of physical and emotional insecurity and vulnerability in sex work are greatly documented across academia. However considering my lack of interactions with anyone who identified as a sex worker, this research instead focusses on the community perspectives and greater social repercussions of sex work in Nanyuki. Research on the sex work industry and the social dynamics of this industry in Nanyuki would be of noteworthy further research.
[39] Related to bodily security and health, a recent The Mail article reported upon how "British soldiers in Nanyuki [were] 'having unprotected sex with prostitutes' as part of initiation" (Rayment, 2024).

to gain support, from medical to police, due to stereotypes and the shunning they face. Hence, although there may be instances of increased financial security for people engaged in sex work, there are immense risks to personal safety and community integration. Considering the extensive migration towards Nanyuki of sex workers because of the substantial base of customers at BATUK, sex work threatens to continue to heighten tensions in Nanyuki. Moreover, the resultant shunning and judgement of the sex workers, and, the insecurity of men in Nanyuki about whether they are accidentally engaging with a sex worker, demonstrates that the sizeable presence of BATUK which attracts the sex workers therefore substantially influences how people view each other in Nanyuki.

Upper-class Black female friends recounted how they struggled to attend nightclubs or bars in Nanyuki, unaccompanied, "without feeling that they were being watched or evaluated by the venue's security to gauge if they were a sex worker". This story was recounted by many Black upper-class ladies as they felt as if they struggled to attend hospitality venues without men fearing they would raise suspicions in the community that even, as part of the upper class, they could risk being seen to be having sex work as a side job. No matter what background, Black women in Nanyuki could be the object of constant evaluation and suspicion in the town's night-time venues. Yet when I walked into these venues alone, I faced no similar treatment or looks. This can further be attributed to BATUK's presence across town as BATUK screens the venues and the security of certain venues to allow their personnel to attend these venues (Ndirangu, 2023a). In these venues, Nanyukians informed me that there were pre-agreed sex workers or policies of no sex workers, hence when Black women entered the venue alone, they raised suspicions of sex work (competition). This is another instance in which people feel unable to access certain spaces in Nanyuki and their freedom of choice is curtailed based in race. Moreover, for some Black women, if they enter the nightclubs alone, BATUK's influence fuels the continual judgement of their purpose and their credibility by others in the community thereby continuing racial prejudices. Further the British Army's nightlife policies of the valuation of certain sex workers are perceived to promote this continual criticism between community members in Nanyuki.

Conclusion

Whilst such divisions in class and race are not explicitly caused by BATUK, this chapter has sought to demonstrate how the influence and tension to appeal to and attract British soldiers' business means these patterns of division are enforced. These hardened lines between communities alongside the continual judgement and evaluation between community members means the relations to and interactions with BATUK have become part of how people view themselves and each other in Nanyuki. Racial and class tensions are emphasised via the feeling of an inability to change the presence of BATUK and for the majority the lack of long-term connection and integration of the British soldiers in the community of Nanyuki. Considering the perception of the permanency and rigidness of BATUK, its immense presence, and the significant economic income of the base for Nanyuki, the presence of the British Army base in Nanyuki continues class and racial tensions as the people of Nanyuki optimise BATUK's presence for economic gain despite the cost of continued community divisiveness and peer judgement.

Chapter Two: The Rural Reality of Living Amidst BATUK's Training

Introduction

Having explored multiple perspectives from different groups within the town, the perception and impact of the British Army upon the rural greater Nanyuki's social dynamics will now be explored. It is amongst these vastly dispersed, often impoverished and remote rural communities that the British Army's training for future warfare takes place. From meeting with such communities, whether elders, community councils and ordinary citizens, there is a resounding consensus which can be easily summarised; these communities feel that they are the most highly impacted by the British Army's presence, yet they feel that they gain the least. They face relentless insecurity, particularly in terms of the negative effects of the training on the surrounding environment and wildlife and how these effects of BATUK compound to threaten their livelihoods. This is all exacerbated through a feeling that across these rural communities that they do not have a voice, or that their words are ignored, creating a sentiment that they cannot change the impact of BATUK on their lives. For much of these rural working-class settlements, the presence of BATUK leaves them feeling ignored and isolated from the town of Nanyuki.

Having befriended a lawyer who was supporting many of these rural communities in compensation claims towards BATUK, I had a connection to over 5000 plaintiffs across affected communities (Gee, 2023; Lawal, 2024). These communities blamed BATUK for a whole host of short-term and long-term effects that they believed they experienced living next to the British training. The lawyer told me of the various struggles faced by different groups he was representing. Despite this immediate connection to groups wanting to share their experience and create change, reaching these communities was another task. During one visit, driving along the road, multiple times the lawyer's car was caught in potholes that had turned into miniature canyons. The drive took much longer than I had thought, I was quick to realise that life for those living amidst the training grounds was far from the urban settlement of Nanyuki town. The greenery was gone, land was arid, and settlements were distantly dispersed. Between these small villages, there was a mix of pastoralist land, small

agriculture plots and immense industrial farming. Some of the larger villages contained a small shop or two, schools were a rarity and as recounted by many locals, healthcare facilities were almost non-existent. As we drove through the arid and tumultuous terrain, we passed a young woman walking on the side of the road. The lawyer pulled over to pick her up. He told me that picking up those walking and dropping them off further along their undulating route was commonplace because of the rarity of non-commercial/military cars in this rural community. When we dropped the woman off closer to her destination, the lawyer informed me that she was the family relation of someone who had accidentally blown up an explosive that he retrieved from a training ground as he lit it in his home thinking it was a candle. This resulted in his death. This situation was explained as a result of the British soldiers being unable to communicate with him due to their poor knowledge of local languages.

This set a precedent for my interactions with the rural working-class community of greater Nanyuki. Just as everyone in Nanyuki town 'knew someone who was employed or received their income thanks to BATUK', everyone in the rural working-class community of greater Nanyuki 'knew someone who BATUK had negatively impacted'. Beyond the normal attention that any rare visitors in cars brought to these communities, as soon as the purpose of my visit became evident, people would gather as we stopped across different settlements. During these visits to the rural communities, people invited me to their shops, their homes, and even to their community meetings to share their grievances against BATUK. To them, whilst occasionally Kenyan soldiers utilised the training grounds or operated in shared training practices with the British, BATUK was described as the noisy neighbour who rudely awoke them and slipped out early in the morning without even a goodbye. In other words, potentially some of the blame of these grievances could be shared by the Kenyan forces as occasionally some of their training was done in combination with the British. However, the rural community believed that most of the military presence they witnessed, and experienced was that of BATUK's. Throughout the quiet, sparsely populated villages spread far apart from one another, the stories, and experiences which these people shared with me about the British Army's training were easy to imagine considering the destitute landscape.

This section will argue that in terms of social relations, the British Army's action creates a feeling of a huge distance from the metropole, as these rural communities overwhelmingly feel abandoned and ignored due to the repercussions of BATUK on their daily lives. Despite living on the borders or sometimes within the training areas of BATUK, these communities expressed their feelings of isolation and inability to change or influence the operation of BATUK which so drastically impacts their everyday realities. Through employing Aberystwyth School, it can be identified that these groups feel they need to be emancipated from the conduct of BATUK. It will be argued that the rural communities have the perception overall that their choices and chances are restricted thanks to BATUK's conduct and the British Army's influence over the land use in rural Nanyuki. As a result, these communities feel distant and disengaged from the wider Nanyuki community and feel they have no voice to engage with BATUK. These feelings are compounded by the quotidian conduct of BATUK which creates feelings of being totally ignored and exploited. Yet rather than divisions emerging within different groups in the rural community in the face of this insecurity, this chapter notices how social relations unite and work together to strengthen their community's voice through various mobilisation efforts. In the previous chapter, the impact of BATUK tended to have immediate negative social repercussions. Whereas in this chapter, the division and impact of BATUK on the rural communities' social dynamics manifests in these communities' understandings of themselves, their position in the wider Nanyuki society and resultant mobilisation efforts to change their daily lives.

This chapter will commence with a brief description of the rural area of Nanyuki and the training grounds of BATUK. Following this, the economic insecurity caused by BATUK will be discussed to understand how the rural working class feels forgotten and left out of the benefits received in the town. Next, BATUK's effects on the rural communities' daily lives will be outlined. First, noise and physical destruction; second, human-wildlife conflict and third, the physical danger of BATUK. Afterwards, these impacts will be explained to create the group feeling of having no voice and value to BATUK. Following this, the resultant mobilisation efforts and increased voice of the rural community due to the British Army presence will be evidenced. Afterwards, a case study of the 2021 Lolldaiga fire will exemplify how the insecurity caused by BATUK unites the rural working class in their journey towards

emancipation from mistreatment by BATUK through their range of mobilisation efforts. Finally, a discussion of the intersection between conservation parks, White settler ownership and the leasing of these parks to BATUK for their training will expand the scope of this research to understand the manifestation of BATUK's presence through other actors and how its impacts the rural community's perception of security.

Living amidst the (Semi)-Arid and the Armed

This section will discuss the background and socio-economic nature of greater rural Nanyuki, before discussing the training grounds themselves and their relationship with the British Army, the British Government and the host communities. The area of greater Nanyuki is ethnically diverse, these include the Maasai, Samburu, Meru, Kikuyu, and Turkana ethnic groups among others (County Government of Laikipia, 2018a, p. 13; Servant, 2022). For most of the rural communities in discussion in this thesis, Nanyuki is the closest urban settlement they rely upon to access central services such as healthcare and banking. As confirmed in the visits to these rural communities and across academic literature,[40] these settlements can be understood as part of greater Nanyuki. In the recently updated *Kenya Atlas*, the new atlas features a rich demonstration of the urban/rural divide between Nanyuki town and the greater Nanyuki area.[41] Whilst the town is densely populated, the rural communities are much more sparsely populated. They are often poorly connected to the main metropole of Nanyuki despite the town housing much of the closest public services such as medical care and banks for the rural communities.

In the greater Nanyuki rural area, there is a low population density average of between 50 to 500 people per kilometre (Wiesmann et al., 2016, p. 33). "Nanyuki is one of the most important areas in Kenya for export-oriented horticulture farms. At

[40] Kenya's Nanyuki Area as seen in Giger, M., Mutea, E., Kiteme, B., Eckert, S., Anseeuw, W., & Zaehringer, J. G. (2020). Large agricultural investments in Kenya's Nanyuki Area: Inventory and analysis of business models. *Land Use Policy*, *99*, 1–14.
[41] (Wiesmann et al., 2016, p. 19)

the same time, there many large cereal and livestock farms and ranches in the area" (Giger et al., 2020, p. 3). The rural communities here are mostly comprised of impoverished "peasant farmers who rely primarily on small-scale subsistence crop farming and livestock raising for their livelihood. These people reside either on small farms or on land that is communally owned. Despite the huge sums of money that the government and people in the wildlife and tourism sector earn, the rural communities hardly receive any tangible economic benefits" (Sifuna, 2011, p. 5). These communities also live between private conservation land, private ranches, national parks and intense farming plots (Zaehringer et al., 2018). with varying rules on access for the local communities and the use of these lands for small-scale farming.[42]

"Most parts of the [rural] road network is impassable during the rainy seasons" (Karema et al., 2017, p. 168). These communities often have to travel miles and miles to reach healthcare and education support; "the rural areas have low access [due to poor road network] hence movements to the major urban centres is hindered" (Karema et al., 2017, p. 167). Whilst there are wealthy inhabitants within the rural area of Nanyuki, they are sparse and are often located far away from other settlements.[43] This chapter will be focused on the majority working-class

[42] Those living on the edge conservancy-tourism areas particularly are at risk of human-animal conflict (Okech, 2010). Some farmers informed me that occasionally landowners and (tourism/conservation) companies allow access, particularly in times of drought to their lands and work with the local community to provide employment opportunities. Yet others stated the "fear" they faced as the occasionally grazed and snuck on to conservation land to keep their herds alive during weather extremes as other landowners deny the local community any access to their private acres.

[43] It must be stated that within this discussion the wealthy farm and owners amongst other upper-class who live in greater rural Nanyuki are not a main subject group of discussion within this chapter. The main reason behind this is that they have much better (social) mobility. Physically, they often own expensive 4x4s making the journey it to town much easier and quicker than rural communities who have to rely on dangerous motorbikes across the rugged roads. Socially and economically, their upper-class status and increased financial capabilities means they can integrate in the social lives within town. They often visit the town centre for schooling, shopping, social events, and work, hence despite the geographic distance, they feel much more part of Nanyuki town as much of their lives occur in the centre. Equally, some of the rural upper-class were White. Those who were from the settler lineage thereby came from an extremely exclusive history, and other Whites, as discussed in the first chapter, were heavily central within Nanyuki's upper class. Hence within this chapter, the working class of the rural community will be the focus. Additionally, in terms of physical repercussions of the base, which will be demonstrated for many in the rural community to cause havoc and destruction on their daily lives, some of this is mitigated for wealthy landowners. They live in more expensive and structurally sound houses on greater land, that is often fenced and supervised by at least one security guard. This means that some of the risks against animals ruining their family houses are lessened. Moreover, considering the many complaints about noise, wealthier families live often on extensive land, so they

communities of the greater Nanyuki. This focus on the working class is because of the upper classes' increased mobility this means that despite their home being geographically located in the rural areas of Nanyuki, they can integrate with the upper classes of town as much of their lives occur in Nanyuki town. Consequently, from here on in this chapter, the utilisation of 'rural Nanyuki' or 'greater Nanyuki' describes the vast majority working-class population of rural/greater Nanyuki.

Meanwhile, the actual military training takes place across a wide range of locations across greater Nanyuki, "mostly in the expansive wildlife conservancies in Laikipia and Samburu counties" (Madawo, 2024). It allows BATUK "to train in an area similar to and close to the warzone" (Awuor, 2015, p. 238). "The army says Laikipia is perhaps its best training ground because the conditions there — high altitude, extreme heat, hilly terrain — are remarkably similar to those found in Afghanistan" (Wadhams, 2009). This exemplifies the harsh living conditions for locals and the ruggedness of the local terrain. Moreover, this description emphasises how disconnected the local communities are from the urban population of Nanyuki where the health care, government services, and work opportunities are located.

The venues in which the training takes place range from private conservation parks such as Lolldaiga (Onyango, 2021). Many of these conservation parks are still controversial due to their debates of their origin during colonialisation where White British settlers evicted local communities and the "land grabbing" period after independence (Halakhe, 2017; Kenyan Human Rights Commission, 2023; Letai, 2021, 2022). The "ranches hosting the army in Laikipia increase to eleven in 2009 from one in 1964 when training began on Mpala Ranch." (Awuor, 2015, p. 238). Consequently, the entwinement of BATUK in the local communities, the industries of tourism and conservation, and the White settler community is evident. In the British Parliament, one question about the amount paid to private landowners for BATUK's usage in Kenya was met with the response "the amount the Department [Ministry of Defence] has paid private landowners in Kenya to allow training on their estate

are at a greater distance from the noise and their buildings are structurally stronger against the damage from the vibrations. Finally, some of the tragic news arises from the overlap of people trying to make a living and children playing and the negligence and training accidents occurring in BATUK training grounds. Again, the sizeable and protected private land that the wealthy families live on means that these accidents are much less likely.

cannot be released as it is commercially sensitive" (2021). However, in 2009, it was noted in a discussion surrounding the combability of the conservancy and tourism industries with military training that "neither the military nor the ranches will disclose how much money has changed hands, but it's believed to be in the millions of dollars" (Wadhams, 2009). Written over fifteen years ago, with inflation it is hard not to imagine how much this figure will shadow the 400,000 USD received by the Kenyan government annually (Madawo, 2024). Therefore, the vast wealth and military presence that passes these lands contrast greatly with the living standards of the majority in greater Nanyuki. Having created a picture of the demographic, topographic and institutional background of greater Nanyuki, this next section explains the economic causes of the insecurity which has fostered a group identity in the greater Nanyuki area of feeling ignored, undervalued, and reaping ruins over rewards.

Unemployed & Unnoticed

Despite living on the doorsteps of BATUK's training grounds, these rural communities recounted that their young people are rarely hired. I met village elders, exclaiming that if their young boys were hired for a few days, it was deemed a "good year". The lack of employment opportunities is aggravated considering the background of destitution and the almost total absence of industries within these settlements. I was told that outside of (flower) farming opportunities for the youth were rare,[44] with many struggling or leaving the family home. Considering the intensity of their presence and the potential transformation of these otherwise impoverished communities, shop sellers asked rhetorically if they could "not just hire a few of our young men". Such dynamics of inequality in rural settings are not rare across Kenya or even Africa, yet there is a distinguishing dynamic regarding BATUK and greater Nanyuki. In these quiet settlements, the roads were rocked with the rumbling march of large military vehicles. Helicopters busied the skies, and noises of explosions and shots fired littered the night. When a training programme takes place, local *boda boda* drivers describe how the fallout from military simulations impacted so many parts of their and their communities' lives. That being said the frustration I

[44] Many of the workers on the rural farms are bussed in from Nanyuki town.

found when I spoke to Maasai elders at a community council, elderly female shopkeepers and young men on the street was that considering all of the military consequences that they need to live amongst, surely the young could gain some form of employment from BATUK. With so many soldiers involved in such extensive training operations, "we don't think we are asking for much" as community councils asked for some jobs in return. Hence in combination with the nationally shared insecurity of unemployment, the processions of military vehicles seem to increase feelings of being ignored amidst the lack of work opportunities.

This tension is exacerbated as they perceive that all the opportunities and benefits of BATUK's presence in Nanyuki go towards the townspeople creating a division in their eyes between themselves and the people of the urban centre. Men across the rural community recounted how "all the jobs go to the boys in town, they sign up at the barracks, whereas we cannot stand at the training ground fences and ask for a job." The rural working class feel left behind as many have the perception that BATUK employs many people in the town of Nanyuki, meanwhile, they view that virtually no one is employed in the rural communities. This continual allure of job opportunities and employment in town transverses to greater Nanyuki where local community groups expressed disappointment that they did not receive their fair share, nor even close to that, of the employment opportunities offered by BATUK. This is emphasised by the reality that for many in the rural communities, the standard of living is considerably higher in town as that is where the schools, hospitals and shopping centres are located. This insecurity, the lack of ability to gain employment, whilst not caused only by BATUK, is made worse by the base's presence and reputation of fruitful employment in the urban centre of Nanyuki, leaving the rural working-class community to feel disadvantaged and ignored in comparison to the townspeople. On multiple visits to different areas and different dispersed communities within these areas, similar sentiments around asking for employment opportunities to extend beyond the centre. Therefore, it is telling that for those living in the rural apparently poorly interconnected communities, that for each of these groups, similar sentiments regarding the British Army emerged.

Secondly, beyond direct employment, whilst many mega busses and trucks carrying weapons and battalions barging through their settlements on a daily basis during the

training weeks, locals explained that BATUK never stop to spend money in these rural areas. The contrast between presence in intrusion but absence in spending is especially notable given the impossibility to ignore due to the loud noise, the vehicle encores do not stop on their way to the training grounds in these local communities to buy drinks or fresh fruit from the market ladies. For such small settlements, a visit of few trucks full of soldiers would be a very welcome difference to businesses used to very few clients. Yet these huge trucks roll through these towns without stopping. "Not even buying a bottle of water" a market lady exclaimed to me with frustration. She explained that she was annoyed that despite all the time training in her local area and the noise and barrage when they bustled by her shop, that all their money went to shops in town and that they did not engage with her or her neighbours. She said they don't even engage or really look in their direction as their vehicles parade through their struggling communities. In many of the market ladies' eyes, all the benefits went towards town meanwhile they stood on the roadside, ignored.

According to market sellers, the 'money that walks in town', does not even stop or glance in their direction in rural Nanyuki. In other words, these market ladies feel small, ignored and despite bigger hopes for long-term employment for the youth, they are frustrated that these huge processions of vehicles don't even contribute a few shillings to their small informal businesses. "I understand I don't stock everything that you can find in Quickmart, but they could still buy some fruit or water for the journey."[45] Despite the loss of huge potential inflow with the groups and grounds passing through their small villages, it was the feeling of not being valued and ignored which seemed to hurt most and had upsetting consequences for settlements that rarely receive any external visitors. This is critical to understand that beyond a weakened ability to ensure the community's subsistence, BATUK's presence in greater Nanyuki leaves these rural communities feeling ignored and isolated from their fortunate neighbours in town. These feelings are demonstrated latterly to be intensified when discussing the negative impacts of the base upon their lives, these rural working classes feel they are trapped and not free to gain from the British Army's presence in their communities.

[45] Quickmart is a major Kenyan supermarket chain.

This section explained the lack of employment from BATUK and how it creates a distance and envy of the urban centre from the viewpoints of the rural working class. The next sub-section will argue that the disturbance caused by the British Army training in the rural communities reduces living standards, increases animal-human conflict, and ultimately leaves the rural working class of greater Nanyuki feeling as if they have no voice amid the clamour of BATUK.

IMBY: The Brits are Practicing for War in my Backyard

This subdivision, IMBY, will first describe how the presence of the British Army in the rural areas of greater Nanyuki overall negatively impacts the lives of those in the rural working-class. The negative impacts of BATUK' training will be demonstrated firstly through the noise and damage, secondly the increased human-animal conflict and thirdly through the dangerous and occasionally deadly training practices. This portrayal of the physical and tangible impacts of BATUK's presence will latterly become the basis of the chapter's discussion on the presence's impact on the community's feelings, identity and perception of their relationship with the British Army and how this impacts the community's social relations and reaction to the British Army's training in their 'back yards'. [46]

[46] 'Not in my back yard' (NIMBY) versus 'in my back yard' (IMBY) compromise as anagrams across multiple disciplines essentially arguing whether people would want an action, phenomenon, or situation to occur in their proximity or an area they consider their community. Traditionally used to understand perspectives towards new developments in a community and whether people prefer that they exist, but not within close proximity or that impacts their lives or how they or their community are perceived. These new developments may be viewed as positive for the greater community and living yet they are negatively viewed from perceptions of discomfort or dislike. For instance, most people would view as a prison as essential in society however few would be thrilled to have a prison open in 'their backyard'. See Heiman (1990); Litvin et al., (2019). 'IMBY' is utilised here to demonstrate the perception of proximity to the training which leads much of these rural communities to view the training as occurring inside of their community. Additionally, the IMBY versus NIMBY is discussed latterly as some members of rural Nanyuki addressed the question of if they would rather BATUK moved location or no longer existed at all.

IMBY: Those are our Noisy Neighbours

War is not a quiet affair. Nor is the British Army's attempt to recreate war scenarios for their training exercises in Nanyuki. This means that combat occurs at all hours of the day, often at night to replicate real-life scenarios. Locals complain of not being able to sleep, especially with children being frightened and often awakening in fear throughout the night. They noted that this had a detrimental impact on their health and shared their concerns about the impact of poor sleep on their children's development. As elders invited me into their homes, they showed me their crumbling homestays pointing to cracks threatening to split their walls. These cracks emerged due to the rumbling vibrations of the training programmes. Shaking their houses and businesses so strongly, families pointed out the structural damage which threatened their homes and their livelihoods. Beyond shops, restaurants and other small businesses that are structurally damaged by the tremors caused by BATUK, it is important to consider the human-animal impact of "living amidst the blasts and bullets all through the night." Considering the range of training grounds that BATUK uses, farmers noted that they witnessed a negative impact in the period of the year when the training occurred close to their livestock. Farmers reported that this stress cost 'herds after herds' their quality of health and was deteriorating the standard of their livestock.

IMBY: The Elephant (is Threatening to Get) in the Room

Sitting around a Maasai elder meeting, I was told of the value to the Maasai community of protecting wild animals, particularly lions. The elders told of how they, and their people, had lived around the lions for generations and that these animals were to be respected. Yet in Maasai culture, if a lion is killed, its killer can be seen as a hero if its death occurred in self-defence or community protection. One of the gentlemen turned round, to show me his scars. He was such a hero.[47] The elders agreed this was one of the increasing number of negative encounters that they had faced due to disturbances caused by the British Army training. The elders explained that this animal-human incident in particular occurred following the 2021 Lolldaiga

[47] The BBC report on the Maasai gentleman's encounter within Kigo's article (2024).

fire which they believe was caused by BATUK.[48] They argued that following the fire, the animals were forced to venture into the community occupied spaces as their "land had been burned by the British".

Seeing that much of BATUK's training occurs in conservation grounds, such interactions between warfare, nature and the host communities are not isolated. The locals claim that these animals' increasingly erratic behaviour as they strayed away from the parks is caused by the extreme noise of BATUK.[49] For them, this is evidenced by the increase in destruction to their land, as in their distressed positions the wildlife escapes the confines of the parks in terror and stress. Elephants trample on crops or even knock down shelters. Others such as lions roam and become aggressive to the local population. Beyond threats to their physical security, the wildlife threatens their way of life. A community council expressed their frustration to me as they constantly had to try to rebuild fences to try stop the animals from encroaching on their pastures.

One promising interaction with the British Army was a request from a Lolldaiga community council to build an electric fence to stop the human-animal incidents. A community leader recounted this story with a chuckle of disbelief; "the British Army agreed to build the wall…! But only if our village paid!" Although some positivity in the ability to engage with BATUK considering the immense economic inequality, this proposition belittled the council. By offering to partly solve the problem, the council agreed that this was an admission of culpability by the British Army. For this community council, it reinforced their view their quotidian insecurity was insignificant to the British Army despite the reliance on their 'back yards' for their own national security.

[48] This debate will be discussed in the case study on Lolldaiga. Considering the many claims against the British Army in Kenya, it is telling that the UK Government has chosen to compensate some members of the communities negatively impacted by the fire. See Mwende (2022) 'British Army starts compensating locals affected by Lolldaiga fire'.
[49] For more on the impact of military training on human-wildlife conflict see Macharia (2016, p. 145).

IMBY: Back Yard Bombs

In practising for combat the British Army use loud and disruptive equipment including guns, explosives, and even white phosphorous in their designated training areas (Lawal, 2024; Ndiranngue & Murimi, 2022). As aforementioned most of these training areas are private land and are in theory separated from local communities. However, it would be a mistake to assume that such training occurs in a black box. In lieu, the training occurs amidst houses, farmland, grazing grounds, and their children's playgrounds. Therefore, as discussed at the beginning of this chapter through the example of the bomb/candle misfortune, there is unmistakable physical harm for the local rural working-class community who live on the edges of the violent military practice. Unquestionably, the British Army try to mitigate harm to the community. For instance, when using explosives, they clear the area afterwards and use signage to warn locals that the area is still under clearance from such detonators. Yet from time to time, the areas are not cleared 100% effectively. Sometimes searches are completed in unclear conditions or there is human error when signs have been removed too early. Lost limbs and deaths from unexploded practice ammunition are not exceptional events in these rural communities.[50] Markedly the death of a nine-year-old boy who accidentally pick up an explosive sparked outrage throughout the rural communities (Owino, 2024). As a consequence of living beside the British Army's training, these communities live in fear that they, or their children in particular, could somehow get caught in the crossfire or in BATUK's negligence.

To conclude these sub-sections, it has been demonstrated that the effect of BATUK's training on the lives of the rural working class, threatens their human and economic security and has a detrimental impact on those living closest to the training exercises. Beyond the envy and frustration towards Nanyuki's urban population that were fostered because of the presence of BATUK, the impact of the training upon the greater Nanyuki population's identity is momentous. These communities' daily insecurities caused by BATUK made them feel insignificant in the eyes of the British 'playing at war' in their backyards.

[50] Numerous articles describe such incidents such as Mwende & Komu's report in *The Nation* (2023a),

Being Left in the Dark by the British Army

This section will argue how the daily occurrences of insecurity which have been previously discussed are compounded by the lack of communication between BATUK and rural Nanyuki, meaning the communities feel ignored and unemancipated living next to BATUK. Standing amidst a small town an elder lady gestured towards the rocky road that led to one of the gated and heavily signpost BATUK training grounds; "We know BATUK have begun training, only when their trucks come rolling through."

Across Nanyuki, whilst attending another community council, I witnessed the elders debating the various negative impacts previously debated. Yet what garnered the most frustration from the elders was their inability to communicate with BATUK. Without any official correspondence, people responded that they also only knew of the upcoming exercise on its first day as the trucks come rumbling through their communities. "They don't speak to us" was murmured across the council. BATUK's exercises do not fall within a '9-5' schedule, meaning that communities also do not know when they will take place in the day in order to prepare for the impact of the operations. Likewise, the communities claim that they are not notified of which type of exercise will take place and any associated risks. They all were exhausted by and felt continually let down by the British Army as they had no contact to them or knowledge of their training schedule. Although there is a general awareness that these exercises last six to eight weeks they occur in a mix and range of sites, there are no official means of communication between the public and BATUK. In contrast to Nanyuki town, the lack of social casual interactions with BATUK means in these rural areas they are talked about as more of an 'institution' rather than the soldiers. In these conversations, the rural communities did not blame the training fallout on a 'few bad apples', as they would not even know which soldiers to blame on an individual basis. This lack of human connection undoubtedly adds to the feelings of being ignored and that they are seen as "invisible to the British" as elders recounted.

Market ladies expressed that 'maybe we could live with the training, if we could prepare for it', as they proposed that some information or warnings from BATUK would allow them to prepare and mitigate many of the damaging effects of the training fallout. This was reiterated with some Maasai elders as they argued that

despite all the negative impacts on their communities, they hoped in the future for a council or communication channel. Both these perspectives emphasise the feelings of being ignored and isolated as a community surrounded by an intimidating military presence. The modest request demonstrates some positivism towards a future where the working-class communities in greater Nanyuki are willing to adapt and work with BATUK. Equally, such a modest request of some form of communication emphasises the intensity of which these communities "feel as if they are talking to a brick wall" and are unable to change this external impact on their daily lives without some leeway from BATUK.

With Nothing Else to Lose: Confidence to Debate IMBY or NIMBY

Another major distinction became evident through the community council and home visits. Whether IMBY or NIMBY, the rural working-class community were freely discussing the impact of BATUK, including such open criticism of the base. This stands in stark contrast with the previously discussed trepidation in the urban centre. Being surrounded by such violent and tangible effects of the British training, it seemed that they were not fearful of many negative repercussions. Considering there was an extremely limited discussion of the positive impact of BATUK across the rural settlements, only a very scarce number of job opportunities, it can be deducted that this freeness to discuss BATUK came at the cost of feeling so detached and as if they had nothing else to lose.

When I asked the Maasai elders if they wanted BATUK to leave, they replied that it was the wrong question. Whether they want BATUK to leave, or for the training to occur elsewhere (NIMBY), this did not matter, they said they knew that their opinion did not count for much. This was reiterated as I was welcomed in a family home, where the father showed me the structural damage which he saw as caused by the military tremors, he described that he and his fellow community members were aware that 'it did not really matter what they thought or said'. He assumed that knew that they were seen as "small people" by the British. He felt that the 'British were not even listening or hearing them'. He connected this to the Kenyan-British history,

arguing that he knew they still 'could not stand up to the British', but having a means to talk and communicate with the British could at least improve their living standards and experiences. Across the rural Nanyuki, everyone I asked this question to replied in some form or other than this was a non-question. Such a reality many said was unimaginable due to the power dynamics of the British state, they said for as long as Kenyan politicians and relations serve to gain from this presence, it is out of the community's hands. They feel totally left behind by the political representatives in town who they say often dismiss their struggles. The answers inidicate the essence, power dynamics and core sentiment that was eminent across rural communities in regard to the British Army's presence and how it makes the communities feel as citizens of Kenya.

Having touched already on elders, community councils, and the mass groups fighting for legal compensation, it is evident that despite their rural communities living in highly dispersed settlements that are hard to travel between and are ethnically diverse, the presence of the British Army has united these distant communities. This unity is demonstrated as they increase their voice through these community groups and legal/protest movements. Moreover, these communities also unite as they compare themselves to the 'fortunate' townspeople of Nanyuki as they view them as the town as 'other' considering their perceived retrospective connections to the British Army. The social impact of BATUK on the rural communities is the perception that they are "speaking to a brick wall", and feelings of insecurity, and invisibility due to BATUK. However, this sector has also aimed to demonstrate the increased social cohesion and communal identity of greater Nanyuki in comparison to urban Nanyuki. This community unity and the fostering of a group identity of being undervalued and sidelined when faced with the insecurity caused by the British Army's presence is demonstrated in the following case study.

Lolldaiga 2021 Fire: The Communities Trying to Shout through the Smoke

In one of the privately owned conservation parks used by BATUK as a training ground, a fire broke out in 2021 causing 12,000 acres of damage (Onyango, 2021).

With over a quarter of the conservancy's land damaged by the fire, (as of 2023) a reported 50 deaths from the effects of the fire and an extensive list of environmental, health, development and livelihood challenges allegedly caused by BATUK (Mwende & Komu, 2023b). Endangering already threatened animals such as elephants and lions, the 12,000 acres lost has had an immense impact on the surrounding local peoples, particularly for their livelihoods and livestock. Just as the soldier's quote in the introduction chapter demonstrated, there is a consensus that the fire was the fault of the British soldiers in a training exercise. Although there was no official confession, the British Government began talks through an intergovernmental commission to begin compensating some of those affected the year after the fire (Mwende, 2022). When I visited the communities affected by the fire, many groups stressed their devastation towards the fire and the detriment it continued to bring to their daily lives. This case study exemplifies firstly how the harmful physical impacts of the British Army's presence in the rural area leaves the community feeling insecure, ignored, and viewing themselves left behind in comparison to the benefitted urban centre. In turn, this impacts social relations and communities come together to increase the strength of their voices against BATUK.

Amongst the differing impacts of the 2021 fire that range across diverse communities across this rural area, they all reported feelings of frustration that BATUK seemed to be in a limbo of denial, compensation, acceptance, and collaboration with the local communities. Meeting a community council that represented people living on the edge of Lolldaiga was an illuminating experience. A mix of men and women came out of their meeting to meet me near the roadside and tell me about their experiences. From this roadside verge, they could point towards the lands that had been destroyed. I was welcomed into the circle of people as each told me of horrors which they blamed on BATUK from the fire. However, their tone was that of frustration and concern, rather than anger. Once again, when I asked would they rather the British Army left, they chuckled as if I was posing a ridiculous future not even worth discussing. They instead each took it in turns to suggest positive changes and ways BATUK could support their communities and families. These ideas were not outrageous. Some propositions included a mobile medical centre, some jobs/training opportunities, and a contact person at BATUK that they could communicate with. As each person explained such recommendations, there was a mix of hope for a better

future yet, the frequent sighs, nodding and looks of having heard this before gave me the feeling that if my visit presented some glimmer of hope of change, this community was used to being disappointed.

In the council, an elderly gentleman noted that their communities had grown used to living beside the British (even through colonialism) but wanted the relationship change to become more "beneficial and respectful for both" groups. Despite years of feeling ignored, the fire for them was a "turning point". The significant long-term health challenges from the fire have also threatened the effectiveness of the community's livelihoods and cost unbelievable amounts to the rural settlements in health costs. The significance of the fire here was evident, as a community they said they were working together and constantly trying to change the situation with the British Army for the benefit of future generations. In this community council, I met a man who told me of his two children needing two weeks of hospitalisation due to smoke inhalation from the 2021 fire. The smoke was especially toxic due to the ammunition and chemicals used by BATUK in their training. Following those weeks in hospital which were incredibly worrying, he detailed that the community council had worked together to write letters with the lawyer to try and gain contact with BATUK. He stated that ultimately, he like most others in his community "do not hate" the British Army. A community leader reiterated this at the council meeting saying, "we are not at war with the British Army". Instead, he explained that the community simply wanted to communicate with BATUK to be respected and treated fairly following the fire.

Despite some compensation for some families' medical fees, locals feel that they do not understand or recognise the long-term damage that has occurred to the communities because of this fire. This was immediately evident as I was welcomed to a few basic houses on a hill where a Maasai community was living. The Maasai elders described how they were some of the first responders to the fire. In the immediate fallout after having tried to dampen the fire which lasted for days, they were outraged and let down that many of their communities had not been contacted, compensated, or even recognised for their efforts. As cattle herders, their losses were immediate due to their herds dying, yet the consequences of the fire continue to this day. Pointing towards the hills that shadowed their houses, the scorched land still bared

the colours of destruction and fire. The land had struggled to regenerate; the elders told me it will take "years to become healthy again" for their animals to graze upon. For the elders, 'half-hearted' attempts at reparations were belittling as some were compensated meagre amounts from the British for lost cattle. Adding to the dynamic of disrespect towards their rural communities, the Maasai community expressed their frustration towards BATUK due to their community's "respect" for the land and which had been passed down through generations. The elders' assumption that both 'their pasts and their futures' were invisible to the British Army.

These Maasai elders had made long journeys to Nanyuki town and some even to Nairobi, particularly during King Charles III' visit to try to have their voices heard. Meanwhile, some members of the aforementioned councils were part of a 5000-strong group have joined forces with the support of legal experts to sue BATUK over the 2021 fire (Lawal, 2024). The beginning of June 2024 saw a community-based hearing which was the "culmination of long-winded legal proceedings to try British soldiers under Kenyan law following years of lobbying by civil society groups and after initial pushback from the British government." (Lawal, 2024). The BBC called this a 'landmark public hearing', with a focus on the Lolldaiga fire but allowing the public to air other suspected human rights violations and other community grievances (Kigo, 2024). "Locals say their aim is not to force BATUK to close down but rather to make sure that troops who are still stationed at the base can act in a way that does not endanger the lives of villagers" (Lawal, 2024). From legal challenges, the current hearing against the British Army in Kenya, and the protest group that travelled to the capital during the King's visit, the impact of the British Army presence in rural Nanyuki, is evident in the various attempts to create a community voice to stand up against BATUK. Despite the great physical distance between these settlements, utilising (social) media, elder/community councils and legal challenges, the highly dispersed and ethnically diverse rural communities are continually coming together to try to create change. Rather than creating divisions in the face of insecurity and a restrictive existence in BATUK's shadow, the rural community of Nanyuki exemplifies various attempts to work together to make a positive change for their lives and their futures, particularly following the 2021 Lolldaiga fire.

Conservation of Colonial Attitudes through Wildlife Conservancies

This case study aims to exemplify further the impact of BATUK on rural Nanyuki's communities by demonstrating how BATUK's impact is entrenched, underlines and furthers the conduct of wider industries and actors in the region. Particularly conservation parks and the issues of land access and land rights on social relations are debated in this section. This discussion has the aim of exploring how conservation parks and BATUK reinforce each other within rural Nanyuki and therefore this reinforcement must be understood to have a more complete understanding of the impact of the British Army on these rural communities. Land ownership issues in Kenya are nothing new. From land stolen from Maasai tribes through unfair legal agreements by the British colonial governments to the nepotistic land (re-)distribution in the years following independence (Halakhe, 2017; Pas et al., 2023; Scoones, 2022). Who owns what land and who has true historical rights to own that land is a question that will undoubtedly continue to be debated in Kenya for the foreseeable future. Underlining this debate is British colonialism and its continued hangover on Kenya's domestic politics.

Nanyuki is situated in an array of conservation parks whose ownership and operation models differ greatly. Although I met some pastoralists who had agreements with Lolldaiga to utilise the land during droughts to maintain their herds, they noted there was a lack of investment flowing from the parks to their communities. Whereas other conservation parks, such as Ol Pejeta, had community-based ownership models and were heavily intertwined with surrounding communities supporting youth and employment opportunities. This conservation park demonstrates a supportive model where the community has the power to influence the actions of the operation of the park. Notable with Ol Pejeta is they do not rent their land to the British Army.

This land access and ownership debate transpires in the local community's perspectives of where the British Army's training takes place. For instance, if I asked a local where the British Army trains, they usually told me in the rural areas, also responding that the British training occurs in 'pastoralist or Maasai land'. Other answers expanded on that BATUK "rents out areas of some of the surrounding private conservation parks to use for their training". Yet other responses followed

with a disgruntled answer calling the conservation parks 'mzungu land'. When speaking to local people some raved about the economic benefits of these conservancies in attracting groups of wealthy tourists. Once a more critical friend living in the rural community described some of these conservation parks as 'saving elephants and lions just as a way of keeping the locals, the Kenyans, "off of the White land"'. When learning about these complex ownership models, a friend explained to me that "certain White settler families had turned their land into a private conservancy as a way of maintaining ownership of the land in a manner which was seen as more 'socially responsible'". Visiting the rural areas, the lawyer pointed at a map to demonstrate which land was still owned or exclusive in the hands of Europeans or their related groups. This delineation demonstrates how in spite of the complexities regarding access, cooperation with surrounding communities, and usually complex ownership models, much of the community found these conservation parks to either be strictly 'everyone's land' or 'their land'. For many these conservancies were another manifestation of exclusion, lack of community involvement and extraction of profits from their surrounding areas.

It was repeatedly told to me that the conservation parks had links to former settler families or continuing European links. It was explained to me by various upper-class members of Nanyuki, Kenya, particularly those associated with environmentalism in Africa that in a 'post-colonial' world where people are increasing the volume of the discussion of redistribution of past wrongs, eco-conservation has become for some a handy way of keeping the ownership of the land. Thus, in some of the community of Nanyuki's perspectives, conservation parks' boards had been changed to be 'representative of the present day' demographics in Kenya rather than having a board of (Kenyan) Europeans. Meanwhile, those who criticised some of these conservation parks argued that some of the real decisions and much of the profits were still ending up in the 'White settler hands' even after tokenistic board changes and ownership models.

A difference here emerged between pastoralists who would struggle to occasionally enter conservancies in times of drought compared to more benign viewpoint from permanent residents. Land access issues where much graver for the pastoralist groups, compared to the settled rural communities who saw conservancy parks as

neither necessarily financially beneficial nor incredibly harmful to their communities. Those living on the edges of conservation parks, recounted that although they may not have benefitted economically from the tourists visiting, who drive through without buying anything from their towns, what upset them more was when the British Army used these parks as they saw it as destructive and exclusive. In this viewpoint, the feeling that many had across Nanyuki across both the upper and working classes is that the local community has limited ownership and a curtailed ability to impact these local lands. Hence these arguments demonstrate how another industry in Nanyuki has created these feelings of a lack of emancipation, the ability to affect the industry of conservationism and continued race and class tensions pertaining to historical ownership debates and current queries of to what extent these huge swathes of land positively impact nearby communities in their daily lives.

In contrast to the peaceful and natural ambience of environmental conservation, some of these private conservation parks in the greater Nanyuki area are leased out to the UK Government for BATUK's training purposes (Letai, 2022). This is the concrete connection to the lack of emancipation that is caused by wider industry actors and how it is financially motivated by BATUK, and in return allows for the successful conduct of BATUK. Yet, this is not a cheap deal. These substantial amounts are reaching the pockets of some of the conservancy owners of which many the host community reported to continue to have links to the UK. A win-win situation emerges. The conservation park owners can increase their income by tens of millions of Kenyan shillings. As for the British Army, they are allowed to train on land that is usually relatively remote and because it is private land there is the suspicion among communities which I met in the rural visits that they could potentially do more things that may not be permitted elsewhere.[51] The cost of this great deal? Reports of the figure argued that the individual payments to the owners/boards of some of the conservation parks that BATUK utilised dwarfed the 400,000USD that the Kenyan Government received on a yearly basis for the Defence Cooperation Agreement to host BATUK (Lawal, 2024; Madawo, 2024).

[51] See the accusation reflected in the media about the use of White Phosphorus (Lawal, 2024).

Many locals recounted that the British Army's presence is continuing the restrictiveness and lack of access that most Kenyans have to environmental conservatories. One described this exchange as they felt as if it was 'two old friends' helping each other out at the expense of the local community's ability to access these lands and live safely in the company of the training grounds. This is a concrete structural example of how BATUK and a wider industry, wildlife conservancies, mutually reinforce each other's operation. Furthermore, the thesis does not argue that it is the purpose of either institution to create insecurity. However, both BATUK and some conservation parks in the Nanyuki area are perceived as restricting the local community's ability to access/own the land that surrounds their communities and influence the utilisation of these lands. The intersection between these industries is evident as they structurally allow for each other to reach their own aims.

Communities in Nanyuki therefore believe that the white settler families complement and are supported by the operation of BATUK in conservation grounds as each actors allows the other to reach their goals of profit, private land restriction and practice for war. This leaves the local community feeling left out and facing further barriers to what many believe should be open or national land returned from the colonial shadow. The social impact of this nexus is the continued feeling of a colonial hangover considering as many Black Kenyans still feel their access to their lands is restricted or too dangerous whilst some of the profits they perceive to be going to pockets of the descendants of White settlers. Within Nanyuki, this perception of an industry separate from BATUK continues to add to the underlying racial divisions and feelings of being second-class citizens in their own homes. This is one example of how the extensive presence of BATUK is both enabled and enabling of other industries in Nanyuki that also emphasise such insecurity in the social relations of Nanyuki.

Conclusion

The impact of BATUK on the rural communities' lives is harsh and unforgiving. In their eyes, they receive little-to-no benefits from the British Army's training exercises. These rural communities feel like they are left in the dark as passive objects on the roadside as the trucks parade towards their war practice.

Thanks to both the training ground and conservancies the local working-class community feel restricted from the surrounding land and unable to have an influence on the operation of such land which is so heavily intertwined with their communities' quotidian lives. Although the communities unite to propose solutions and methods to improve their coexistence with BATUK, their optimism and positivity towards a better future for BATUK and their communities is met continually with what they perceive to be silence or half-hearted attempts of financial compensation. Yet, as demonstrated through the aftereffects of the Lolldaiga fire, the insecurity and feelings of not being listened to have encouraged the heavily dispersed rural communities of Nanyuki to cooperate and increase the strength of their voice through legal and protest movements. Equally rural Nanyuki's relative state of destitution and the improbability in the eyes of the nearby community that the British Army will leave has made the community confident to speak out against the world power in their backyard.

This discussion is critical within the civil-military field to understand the interactions and experiences of those living besides conflict training programmes as it highlights suggestions for increased security for civilians through bilateral communication. Considering the global occurrences of host communities and their government criticising or even rejecting military bases[52], these feelings of increased security are essential for the British Army's future in Kenya. Additionally, the value of utilising Booth's Aberystwyth theory is evident, as aforementioned, the theory aims to give voice to and highlight the feelings and perceptions of those who feel that they are ignored by wider society and governments. Hence for these rural working-class communities, this discussion aims to bring their experiences and feelings out of the shadows of the trucks, the thrashing noise of the ammunition, and free from the dust from BATUK's training. Considering the recent victory in the establishment of the June 2024 hearing, this chapter is timely in expressing the increasing volume of rural Nanyuki's voice and its ability to affect change for the local community, Kenya and Kenya-UK relations.

[52] Such as Niger ending their military agreement with the French Military and their military bases in the West African state (Al Jazeera, 2024; Melly, 2023), Senegalese hesitation and uncertainty of the future of their French base (Reuters, 2024) and the souring of the host opinion towards American base in Japan (Ridgewell, 2023).

Conclusion

Introduction

During a time of heightened geopolitical tensions and spiralling defence budgets, a community-centric analysis of the impact of foreign military bases is essential. This thesis has explored civil-military relations from the perspectives and experiences of a community hosting a foreign military base. This local focus is critical amidst such tensions and increased interest in the global security benefits and state military advantages of foreign military bases. Through a security-as-emancipation lens, this research has aimed to explore the impact on the host community rather than the national or international realms of security. This thesis demonstrates that to create a fully encompassing understanding of how the local community experiences living next to a foreign military base their perspectives must be centralised. In this case, in order to understand how the presence of the British Army base in Kenya impacts the social relations of Nanyuki, the voices and rationales of the communities have been central within this analysis.

Nanyuki's divisions are interesting, as previously discussed the town is free of ethnic and religious homogeneity, relatively safe and free from violence and seen as one of the most developed and economically prosperous small towns in Kenya. It is this dichotomy between the apparent view of Nanyuki, as a center of prosperity, and the lack of unity and community cohesion, which uncovers the divisions of quotation life in the shadows of the British Army's presence in Nanyuki. The significance of this research in the discovery that despite a mix of increased living standards and feelings of general positivity regarding the base, the underlying uncertainty that the base causes in the social relations of the host community questions the extent to which military bases cause security. It argues that despite figures stating that life in Nanyuki is "better" and "safer" because of BATUK, it is at the expense of community cohesion and trust. This research emphasises the conundrum that living in the shadow of a military base may further insecurity local community, it fosters increased for the state and global politics.

In this concluding chapter, I will outline this thesis' argument, before briefly demonstrating my argument through summaries of my discussion chapter. Following this, there will be a discussion of the value of the methods and theoretical foundation utilised in this research. Finally, there will be a discussion of the importance and implications of this research for future academia and a consideration of the importance of this topic in current Kenyan politics and global international relations.

Having conducted extended fieldwork in Nanyuki, this research utilised the Aberystwyth School, the theory which sees security in the form of emancipation to understand the impact of the British military base in Nanyuki on the hosting community. This thesis extends beyond facts and figures to understand how the community perceives the reality of living in the shadows of a foreign military base. To conclude, this research argues that the impact of BATUK's presence on the social relations of Nanyuki is the creation of insecurity which leads to a continuation of racial, class and rural/urban divisions in Nanyuki. It finds that these divisions are continued, although not created, through the influence of BATUK in the business, social and political spheres of Nanyukians' daily lives.

This thesis argues that despite financial benefits, the community relations of Nanyuki are negatively impacted by the presence of the British Army due to the feelings of being insecure; that is being restricted in their ability to change the conduct and operation of BATUK and how its impacts the local community. This presence creates a breadth of emotions in the local community from feeling undervalued and left behind, anxious over employment/economic opportunities, sexually objectified, and racially discriminated against. This presence raises such feelings as according to Aberystwyth School these insecurities form part of people's identities. Considering the connection between the creation of a self-identity and that of another person or group's identity. Such racial, class and urban-rural divisions emerge as people are influenced to optimise their position in the host community which feels it is stuck and unable to change the conduct of BATUK. Therefore, in Nanyuki, people optimise their positions through peer evaluation and acting on how they view others in Nanyuki society to try to lessen their own personal security within the larger background of base insecurity. In town, this manifests in divisions

whereas, in the rural communities, with such overwhelming feelings of destitution people group together to optimise their ignored position. Much of this insecurity is created via the lack of communication from BATUK and the perception from the local community that they cannot change the operation and presence of the base. Further, this insecurity is exasperated due to the extensive presence and economic influence of BATUK over Nanyuki. Hence across Nanyuki, there is a norm of conforming to practices which maximise economic security due to the immense investment value and visiting population of the British Army. This is demonstrated due to the perception that despite the many negative effects of the British Army's presence, most members of Nanyuki preferred that the base remain as they believed its departure would be economically disastrous for Nanyuki. This will briefly be explained via a summary of each discussion chapter.

Chapter Summaries

In Chapter One, racial and class divisions were identified across the urban communities. These tensions are heightened in Nanyuki town due to the ever presence of connections to the base and the cumulative perception of reliance on the base for the town's relative good fortunes. Without an ability to engage, learn more about or integrate the town of Nanyuki with the secured British base, the soldiers and their families remain distinct from most of the community. There are increased racial and class divisions in Nanyuki between those who are integrated with BATUK. Here, it was evident that through both economic and social anxieties the feelings of being unable to predict or change the way in which BATUK operated with the town's population, led people to try to optimise opportunities in order to protect or increase their position in Nanyuki society. In other words, the anxiety of existing within the unequal relationship with BATUK leads to increased divisions between different class and racial groups within Nanyuki as people are risk-aware and constantly evaluating one another. Due to the feeling of the immense economic influence of BATUK over the town, in a ripple effect, people replicate the racist and class partitions beyond the interaction with BATUK. Thus, whilst BATUK is not the sole reason for such instances of class and racial divisions, it's presence promotes such divisions and effects of insecurity in the town's social relations. Moreover, due to the base's exclusive and inaccessible mode of conduct, such divisions are hardened due

to the community-shared feeling of a lack of freedom and ability to change their situation with BATUK.

Chapter Two examined relations in the wider rural communities of Nanyuki. Here a similar tension of insecurity was identified. Focussing more on the experiences and perceptions of the rural community and carrying on the sentiments uncovered in the previous chapter, an overwhelming feeling of being totally abandoned was identified across rural communities. For the working-class rural community, the focus group of this chapter, they were insecure due to a lack of employment, physical and structural damage but most of all the feelings of being ignored, not listened to and feeling as if they have no manner in which to address these insecurities with the British Army. The Aberystwyth School theory was logically employed here as people felt that thanks to BATUK they were restricted from living a basic life, from lack of employment, no funding and extremely limited health and education opportunities, it has left the rural working-class community of Nanyuki feeling far from emancipated. Thus, as Aberystwyth School dictates, this causes insecurity and anxiety, which in the case of the rural working class leads to animosity over the perception that despite living amidst the shells and echoes of BATUK's training grounds, the benefits all went to the townspeople. This acrimony demonstrated the urban/rural divide as the rural working-class communities saw their experiences as the 'other' to that of the town. Moreover, a similar theme is repeated as in Chapter One, as the colonial, class, and racial tensions arise again with debates occurring over conservation parks as the impact of BATUK is demonstrated to be exerted through the operation and restriction of some vast lands. In these sparse lands, it was interesting to highlight that whilst divisions and tensions emerged due to the intense insecurity that the working-class rural community experiences much of this tension is transformed into group mobilisation. Therefore, whilst there is a distance in perception between the rural community and the town, much of the rural community has united to increase the strength of their voice in order to be heard by BATUK and hopefully make a change to this insecurity. Due to such a dire co-habitation situation, this explains why the rural community attempts to change the status-quo rather than optimise and maintain as the urban community does in its divisions in town.

Finding(s) the Community Central in the Debate of the Impact of BATUK on Nanyuki

To understand why these divisions continue it is important to be aware that across the urban and rural areas of Nanyuki, there was a sentiment that, they, themselves, are unable to force change or influence how BATUK conducts itself in training and town. Therefore, to optimise this situation of insecurity-as-emancipation, the townspeople conform to such class or racial divisions as they cannot end how BATUK's presence continues the strength of these divisions in Nanyuki and must protect themselves economically. Consequently, the rural communities attempt to mobilise legal, political and social movement agendas to increase their economic safety as they feel so left behind compared to the urban centre. Hence this thesis recognises that whilst people felt that they were unable to change or effect BATUK, they could try to change how they could engage with the base or react to the repercussions of BATUK's presence. It is this renegotiation of their retrospective opportunity and power positions which leads to increased stratification and anxiety in how different communities interact in Nanyuki.

Therefore, whilst this research does not claim that the base itself causes these divisions, as they exist in many similar situations around the world, this thesis contends that these divisions are hardened via the elusive and intimidating presence of BATUK in Nanyuki. These pre-existing divisions of racial, class and rural/urban anxieties are emphasised and continued through BATUK's conduct and how it is viewed, understood and responded to by the local communities. These examples of the divisive impact are thoroughly discussed in the chapter reviews. Yet to briefly summarise, the reactions to this insecurity and norm of divisions in Nanyuki is responded to by the different communities in two different ways. In the urban community with the multitude of these divisions, there is increased anxiety, separation, and caution between groups of Nanyuki town. Whereas, in the working-class rural community facing such immense feelings of insecurity means that people unite to create a louder voice together against BATUK in through political, legal and protest group mobilisation efforts.

There is a differentiation in the social results of such divisions and impacts of insecurity between Chapter One and Chapter Two, that is, the strong effort towards mobilisation in Chapter Two. This divergence is critical to understand as it emphasises how BATUK's presence creates insecurity which impacts the pre-existing divisions in different manners based on the specific sub-communities to therefore have different outcomes in the communities' interactions. Further, it is important at it highlights how such divisions and insecurities can manifest in various ways within the one civil-military example. Moreover, this difference between the two chapters exemplifies the importance of accessing community perceptions as although there is much less to almost no protests, mobilisation or legal movements of the townspeople towards BATUK, this does not mean that there is no insecurity caused by BATUK in the urban settings. Rather through exploring both of these case studies, this thesis exemplifies how the overwhelming insecurity in Nanyuki means that people feel constrained to optimise their position through exploiting existing community divisions. For the urban community, this conformation allows for the continued presence of BATUK which is seen critical for the town's economic survival. Whereas in the community, these mobilisation efforts and the articulation of feeling abandoned by the town, is because of the opposite, they feel so excluded they have no option but to try cause a change in the presence or conduct of BATUK.

Route towards Research: Value of Research Methods and Theoretical Foundations

To understand the impact of the British Army on the social relations of Nanyuki, this research involved conducting fieldwork and the engagement of the Aberystwyth School.

Utilising an extended case study methodology of Manchester School for my fieldwork data collection allowed me to understand the politics of insecurity and emancipation in everyday life and interactions within the community of Nanyuki. Becoming part of Nanyuki and witnessing the community's everyday practices allowed me to understand and analyse group interactions. I settled into my ethnographic research by becoming a routine feature and presence in spaces across Nanyuki. After having

made friends and connections via word of mouth I was no longer a stranger and trusted by people from different sectors of the community. For those who I did not have a connection to my frequent visits around town meant that people began to recognise me and share their thoughts as I became more familiar with them. My daily interactions with, and observations of, different communities allowed me to access viewpoints and anecdotes that often contained sensitive materials. This extended approach allowed me to gather non-violent 'unspoken' forms of 'oppression'. Through utilising the Manchester School methodology, I could "locate everyday life" in the power structures and socio-historical and political pressures in which it occurs (Burawoy, 1998, p. 4). Therefore, I was able to identify themes and explanations in the lived experiences and the tensions which faced groups in Nanyuki which would have been hard to access through a short visit to the town or through formal focus groups.

As a White British female, I was able to access spaces and communities, such as the upper-class community in Nanyuki, which may have been challenging otherwise. Moreover, constantly aware of my role and positionality in the research, I reflected upon how I might perceive things and how my presence may impact the relations and interactions I observed. From time to time my presence may have impacted the knowledge and data I accessed due to people's perceptions that I was connected to the British Army. In response to this assumption (which I always tried to demonstrate was not the case), people sometimes shared more because they thought I was connected and could make changes. Equally, sometimes people were less open over worries it could affect employment opportunities. Yet by becoming part of the local context, I was able to recognise such patterns and interactions of power and question how I may impact them. As I was part of a highly identifiable minority, the ways in which people interacted with me also allowed me to understand the greater segmentation of Nanyuki society. Thus, whilst it can be viewed as problematic by some positivist researchers to have the 'self' be so involved in the research, I believe that this allowed me to understand, witness, and observe a greater depth of interactions that often were not 'spoken' but 'acted'. Hence, this lived research experience through the extended case methodology was necessary to highlight how complexities and subtle divisions manifest in this community that is so enveloped in

the insecurity of living amongst an institution which they feel they have no influence over.

Employing the Aberystwyth School in this research has allowed for a human security focus on the impact of BATUK on Nanyuki's communities. Through the School's focus on exploring the multitude of ways in which people can feel emancipated or curtailed, the theory allowed for the understanding of the multiple perceptions and rationales that different groups had in Nanyuki. This angle was useful in this research as at first glance life in Nanyuki seems relatively 'secure' due to the peacefulness, prosperity, and the presence of the secure force adds an increased security presence to Nanyuki. Further, this wider conception of security was critical as an overwhelming nuance has been highlighted in the differing manifestations of the continuation of divisive social relations of Nanyukians as a response to the insecurity caused by BATUK. Another important factor of the Aberystwyth School theory was the focus on the voice of the underrepresented. This was the central aim of this work to uncover and demonstrate the mix of experiences and perceptions of Nanyukians to exemplify the complexity of base politics on social relations. Another important factor of the theory is the focus on identity and how security creates people's view of themselves and the other. This intersection of identity and security was intrinsic for the evaluation of how people perceived the impact of BATUK and how this transpired to affect the social relations of Nanyuki.

Marching Forward: Implications for the Future

Within the civil-military field, I argue that this community-centred approach is essential for gathering a comprehensive analysis of the impact of foreign bases on their supporting and surrounding civilians. Through centring their voices and observing both tensions and opportunities, it allows for a greater picture of this social impact that is not clouded by foreign or national government agendas to maintain such defence agreements. Additionally in African countries, especially one with such an unequal and colonial history, this community-centric analysis urges for the analysis of this group not as victims or bystanders but actors in which are trying to optimise a situation which they have limited control over. Hence, this research

encourages further the utilisation of Aberystwyth School to create a more comprehensive picture of the nuances related to human (in)security, particularly for civil-military relations and base politics. There is a need across academia to incorporate this more inclusive understanding of critical security in civil-military relations in order to understand tensions around the bases and create better relationships and conduct between the bases and host communities.

As for the defence and military sphere, this research urges a more sustainable and equitable engagement with local (foreign) communities. As seen in Nanyuki there is a lack of unity and understanding, underlined by subtle distrust between the local community and military base. Strategically for the continued existence and 'success' of the base within a foreign community, it is logical that BATUK seeks to engage more socially, economically and politically with Nanyuki. Through increased opportunities and clarity of engagement and how they operate within Nanyuki there would be more trust. With more understanding of how the local community can also benefit from BATUK and understand how such benefits are distributed, this research argues that there would be less anxiety within the social relations of Nanyuki.

In terms of how this research fits within today's geopolitics, it is valuable for numerous reasons and events. Current protests against President Ruto's finance bill in Nanyuki and across Kenya signify the power of the (youth) voice. The power of these mass movements has been demonstrated as the bill has been quashed (Musambi, 2024; The Nation, 2024). Hence, both the Kenyan and British governments should be aware of and respect the potential of the current mobilization efforts and the protest movements which has been galvanising (particularly in the rural areas of) in Nanyuki. Further for the British Army, despite the protests reducing and peace has vastly returned in Kenya, political insecurities continue as the Kenyan people continue to call for Ruto's resignation (Musambi, 2024). This hints towards a loss in Kenya's reputation as a stable partner, moreover, it raises questions of how and if BATUK would be involved if there was a coup or increased local political turmoil. This potential outcome raises the importance for the British Army to maintain connections, support and 'a good relationship' with the host community of Nanyuki amid tensions in Kenya's domestic politics.

This relationship between the UK and Kenya, and Kenya's stability is especially important as in June, Kenya was declared the first 'non-NATO' ally in sub-Saharan Africa(Ochieng, 2024). Further, the US raised concerns as China looks to expand further in the African continent as it explores the opportunity of building military bases in Kenya (Maina, 2024). This demonstrates the increasing geo-political potentiality of the military spaces in Kenya, thereby improving the standards of the base and its impact on the host community might become essential for the UK to maintain its status as Kenya's main foreign military presence. Additionally for the Kenyan government and the people of Nanyuki, the change in power in the UK Government is an interesting opportunity to renegotiate the relationship between BATUK, both governments and Nanyuki. Particularly as the new Prime Minister of the UK is a former human rights lawyer and the tough negotiations that occurred between the UK and Kenya in 2021. Moreover, the new British government has committed to an increase in defence spending to 2.5% of the GDP (Reuters, 2024). Therefore, there is potential for a change in the operation of BATUK and how this bilateral defence relationship impacts the people of Nanyuki.

In all these current geo-political events that highlight the timeliness in discussing Nanyuki and BATUK, this thesis hopes to demonstrate the importance of listening to community voices and perceptions to hold a better evaluation of 'base politics'. Without listening to the complexities of local lives in Nanyuki, the British Army and UK Government risk exploiting the community and curtailing their ability to be emancipated in their own sovereign state at the cost of the UK's security agenda. Nanyuki communities should have a communicative platform BATUK to lessen a neo-colonial repetition of divide-and-rule through military bases.

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Appendix 1: Suggestions for Improved Cohabitation with BATUK from the Communities of Nanyuki

Considering my background of being British and connected to various universities, people often asked if I could pass on a message to the British Army, the UK Government, and the Kenyan Government. Many of these messages had the following suggestions to improve the presence of BATUK on their lives and their community.

Below lies the list of suggestions that I collated amidst my fieldwork in urban & rural Nanyuki from the conversations that I had with community members. Although these suggestions are specific to the Nanyuki-British Army example, they are still of value for understanding community-centric wishes and suggestions for better standards of cohabitation alongside a foreign military base.

- Increased clarity regarding the quantity and type of jobs available, and the requirements for, and the processes to, apply for the jobs with BATUK.
    - For trades that are contracted members of the host communities such as taxi drivers, increased clarity on how to achieve accreditation to gain this accreditation.
    - Increased number of jobs from the local community rather than hiring from distant counties.

- For BATUK to hold regular open days/town hall meetings/social events to allow increased communication, trust, and a feeling of community between the host community and BATUK members.
    - At these open days/town hall meetings they would be an official and recorded platform to be able to share concerns and ask questions to the British Army to allow for more local influence over the base and its conduct.
    - For social events such as sports days and open days to learn more about the workings of the base and to lessen the 'mystification' and

'objectification' that occurs between the soldiers and civilians. This would allow for a more joint community feeling between BATUK, their guests and Nanyuki community members.

- A designated community contact point and assigned person where local members can track progress of concerns/requests.
    - This person to visit the settlements of Nanyuki and have a regular relationship with elders/councils to ensure people are listened to.
    - This person to be held accountable to this communication, rather than leaving the community feeling that they send letters/phone calls with no answer, there should be a required response procedure.

- Pop-up mobile health care facilitation and increased water/sanitation provisions in rural areas where BATUK conducts their training.

- When needed, the funding of fences to lessen animal-human conflicts.

- A news alert system, through both traditional elder/community council/town council but also an online news alert system or a connection with local media.
    - To ensure updates on when training will take place/for how long/in which form/and where so that communities can best mitigate any destruction.

- More transparency on financial impact into Nanyuki and increased cooperation with business leaders and local political representation to maximise economic benefits of the presence of BATUK.

- Increased Swahili and knowledge of local languages and more awareness of cultural sensitivities for visiting soldiers.

Appendix 2: Freedom of Information Request to UK Ministry of Defence

Ministry of Defence

Army Policy and Secretariat
Army Headquarters
IDL 24 Blenheim Building
Marlborough Lines
Andover
Hampshire, SP11 8HJ
United Kingdom

Ref: Army/PolSec/WF/M/FOI2024/06485

E-mail: armysec-group@mod.gov.uk
Website: www.army.mod.uk

Isabel Remers
isabelremers@gmail.com

16 May 2024

Dear Ms Remers,

Thank you for your email of 23 April 2024 in which you requested the following information:

A list of the number of local civilians employed by BATUK (Kenya), in the greater Nanyuki area on a yearly basis from the 1st March 2014 until the most recent statistics (ie of April 2024). As well as providing the overall figure for each year, please also break them down to:
A. Whether these employees have permanent or short-term contracts
B. Please clarify if these employees work
1. On the base of Nyati Barracks
2. In the community/town of Nanyuki
3. On the training compounds/areas

Please work back chronologically, limiting the data range, in the event that the request as currently worded exceeds the cost limit (ie 2024-2019 if that fits the data limit better).
Further, by 'local civilians', I am referring to non-UK nationals who are not service personnel and who are Kenya citizens.

I am treating your correspondence as a request for information under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) 2000. A search for the information has now been completed within the Ministry of Defence, and I can confirm that the information in scope of your request is held and is below.

2014/15 – 319
2015/16 – 316
2016/17 – 388
2017/18 – 423
2018/19 – 452
2019/20 – 451
2020/21 – 437
2021/22 – 460
2022/23 – 486

A. The figures to 2020 include a mix of employees working to indefinite and definite contracts. After this, all definite (short term/ annual) contracts were converted into indefinite (permanent contracts).
B. All employees included in the numbers above work or worked from the base of Nyati Barracks.

Under Section 16 of the Act (Advice and Assistance) you may find it helpful to note figures include locally engaged employees of the UK Ministry of Defence's Defence Infrastructure Organisation.

If you have any queries regarding the content of this letter, please contact this office in the first instance. Following this, if you wish to complain about the handling of your request, or the content of this response, you can request an independent internal review by contacting the Information Rights Compliance team, Ground Floor, MOD Main Building, Whitehall, SW1A 2HB (e-mail CIO-FOI-IR@mod.uk). Please note that any request for an internal review should be made within 40 working days of the date of this response.

If you remain dissatisfied following an internal review, you may raise your complaint directly to the Information Commissioner under the provisions of Section 50 of the Freedom of Information Act. Please note that the Information Commissioner will not normally investigate your case until the MOD internal review process has been completed. The Information Commissioner can be contacted at: Information Commissioner's Office, Wycliffe House, Water Lane, Wilmslow, Cheshire, SK9 5AF. Further details of the role and powers of the Information Commissioner can be found on the Commissioner's website at https://ico.org.uk/.

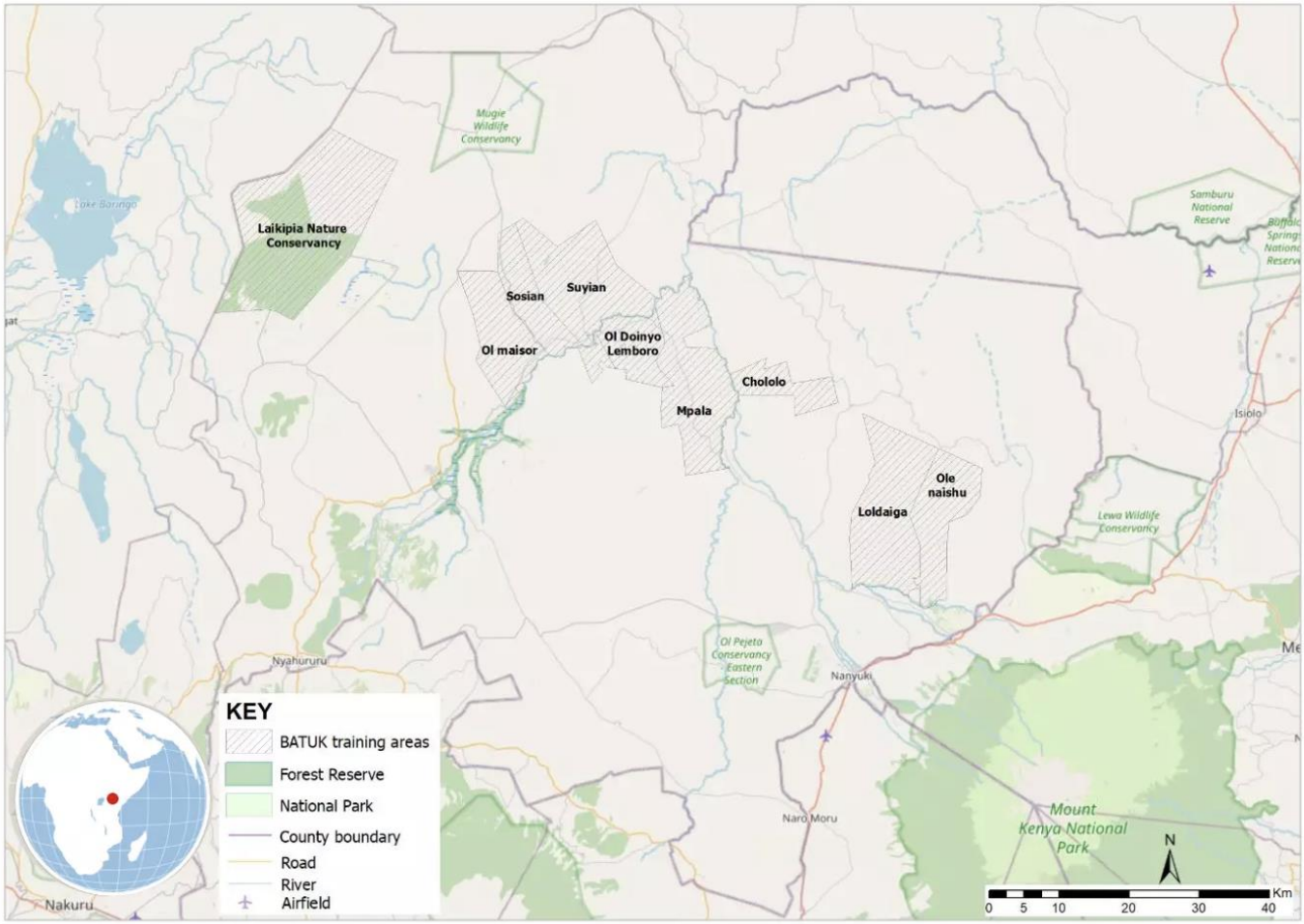
Yours sincerely,

Personnel 3
Army Policy and Secretariat

Appendix 3:Maps

Mapping Greater/Rural Nanyuki with documentation of some of the training areas utilised by BATUK.

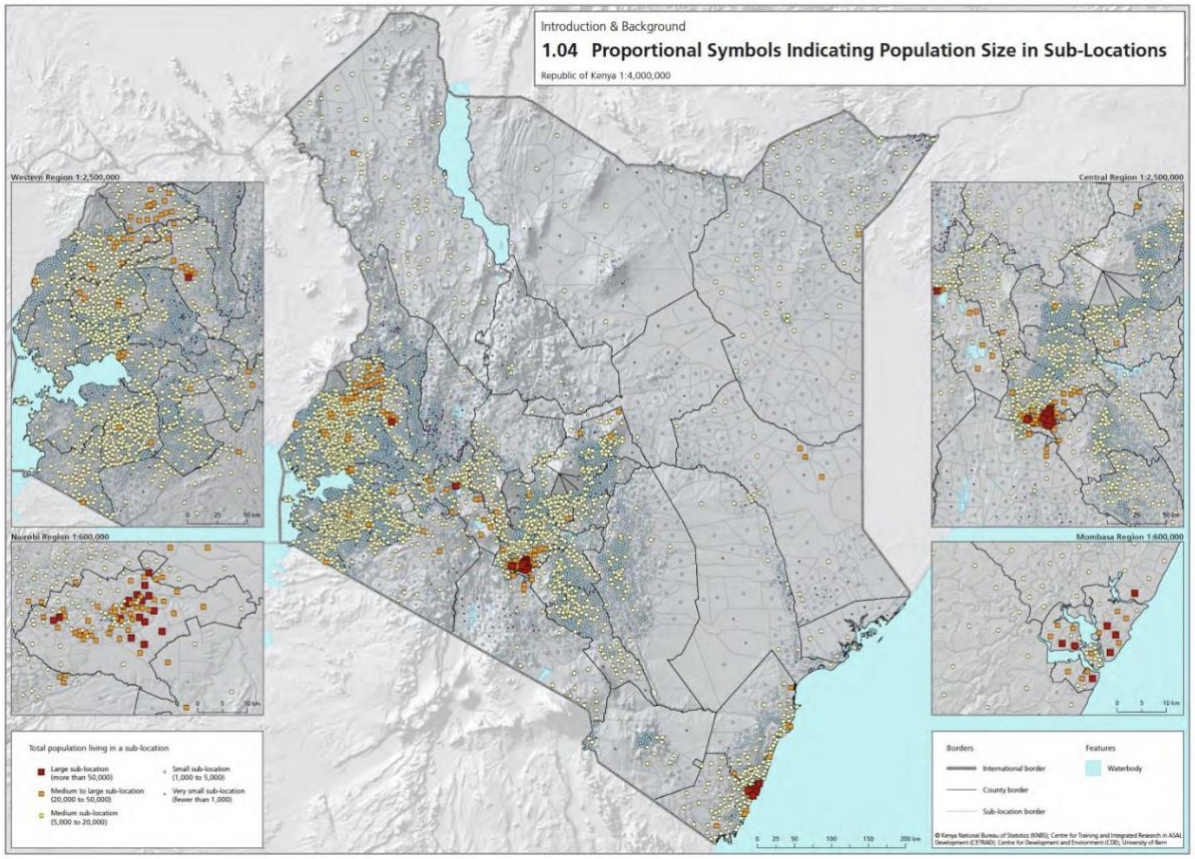
Map retrieved from 'The Sun Never Set: British Army's Secret Payments to Colonial-Era Farms (Letai, 2022).



Map of ranches available for UK military training (Source: Laikipia County Government Geo-Spatial Lab, January 2022)

Map of Population Density (Pink dot added by myself indicates Nanyuki) to demonstrate urban/rural division in population density.

Retrieved from Kenya Atlas (2016, p. 19)
BELOW



Map of Nanyuki Town featuring Nyati Barracks (BATUK).
Retrieved from Google Maps

Google. (2024). [Google Maps focus on Nanyuki, Kenya]. Retrieved 18.06.24 from https://maps.app.goo.gl/z4LAyRGYpGQukJtT9

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