



University of Nairobi

MASTERS IN ARMED CONFLICT AND PEACE STUDIES

**SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF MILITARY CAMPS ON HOST COMMUNITIES:
A CASE OF MOI AIR BASE EASTLEIGH, 1964-2008**

OPIYO KELLY OTIENO

M.A PROJECT

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DECLARATION

I DECLARE THAT THIS IS MY ORIGINAL WORK AND TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE, HAS NOT BEEN PRESENTED FOR A SIMILAR OR OTHER AWARD TO ANY UNIVERSITY.

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OPIYO KELLY OTIENO

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DR. HERBERT MISIGO AMATSIMBI

DEDICATION

I dedicate this project to my parents, Daniel Opiyo and Emily Opiyo Mum whose sacrifices and determination ensured that I had an education in spite of the profound challenges. I also dedicate this work to my brother Dr. Newton Opiyo, my wife Beryl Opiyo and to my lovely children Jayden Daniel and Liam Kelly Jnr. My love for you all can never be quantified. Lastly, in honor of our fallen heroes, who paid the ultimate price for the love of this great Nation. I salute you.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project was shaped at an early stage by my experience as the officer commanding a squadron within Moi air base. This experience gave me an unparalleled window into the impact of MAB to the local communities. Over the years I interacted with hundreds of men and women in uniform whose last breath keeps our flag flying higher, my respect for your service is deep and profound. Greater love has no one than this.

This research project has spanned a significant portion of my academic career and throughout its meandering course I have accumulated a series of intellectual debts that I cannot repay. First, my appreciation to God for the give of life. Secondly, my gratitude goes to the Department of History and Archaeology University of Nairobi. Special thanks to my supervisors, Prof Vincent Simiyu and Dr. Herbert Misigo Amatsimbi for providing invaluable guidance throughout this research. I am particularly thankful to Dr. George Gona, Dr. Mary Mwiandi, Prof. G. Muriuki, Prof Wahome and all Departmental lecturers and staff.

Special thanks go to all my classmates, including Nicholas Aura, Robert Waweru and Peter Musyoki among others for their genuine support throughout this research work. Am indebted to my brother Dr. Newton Opiyo and Kenya Air Force Commander, Maj General F O Ogolla whose dynamism, vision, sincerity and motivation have deeply inspired me.

ABSTRACT

This project focused on the socio-economic impact of Moi Air Base to the local communities. The study sought to assess three hypotheses, first that Eastleigh Air Base was established due to its centrality in Kenya's capital; secondly, that MAB has a policy on Military-Civilian interaction and thirdly that the presence of Eastleigh Airbase has led to enhanced security in the area. The outcome of this would be useful in filling the existing knowledge gap in civilian military relations while providing a basis for policy making.

The study was guided by two theories. The Interdependence Theory, which supported my idea that there was a social exchange between Moi Air Base and the local community in terms of rewards and cost associated with any kind of interactive associations collaborated with what people expect. The theory emphasized the importance and effect of communication and interaction between MAB and the local community while the corporate social responsibility supported this research by emphasizing both the responsibility of the local population to make money and MABs interactive roles morally with the with the local communities.

To get the findings I carried out interviews, observations, interacted with the community reviewed publications and records, while examining economic and demographic data to understand the social-economic impacts on the area and other demographics such as the youth and children in Eastleigh area. The study also looked at how the locals have impacted on the military base socio-economically. By so doing, the study hopes to bring out a better understanding of the influence of the military base in Eastleigh to the socio-economic development in the area and how the locals improved the socio-economic conditions of military bases installed near them.

Based on my study, it is evident that local communities have a solid sense of attachment to Moi Air Base; the presence of MAB has had a major influence on the lives of local populations. Other than their military sanctioned role, Kenyan military bases often have corporate social responsibilities to the local communities around the bases. Corporate social responsibilities imply a situation whereby the military incorporates environmental and social concerns in their day to day activities and interaction with the local populations nearby on a voluntary basis.

The base as an institution carries out many duties to the communities nearby as part of the military's vision and mission. In general, these duties include planting of trees and provision of

health care to the local communities, engaging in rescue missions during times of national calamities and most importantly the Base employs over 5500 local civilians annually both as permanent and casual employees draws a big number of work force from the local civilian communities who work and run their facilities such as supermarkets, messes, canteens and bars. While others serve as house girls, casual workers, temporary contractors, tailors and cooks. An additional over 500 jobs are supported by the presence the base in the area.

Apart from the employment opportunities, the local populations also enjoy and increasingly intermingle in non-segregated social facilities like bars, restaurants and places of worship placed inside or in areas nearby military bases. The increased interaction has come about with an increase in the number of civilians engaged in income generation activities in the base.

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DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

Military Base - In this study this refers to a facility operated or owned by military to aid in its operations and training. It could consist of more than one unit.

Civil–Military Relations-In this study, this refers to the interaction among military personnel and civilian population in a given setting.

A **barrack** – In this study, this refers to buildings or infrastructures used to house service personnel.

Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) -“A concept whereby companies/institutions integrate social and environmental concerns in their operations and in their interaction with their stakeholders on a voluntary basis”.

A **barracks** -In this study, this is a building or a group of buildings meant to house service personnel

Human security-In this study refers to absence of threat to human life, lifestyle and culture through the fulfillment of basic needs.

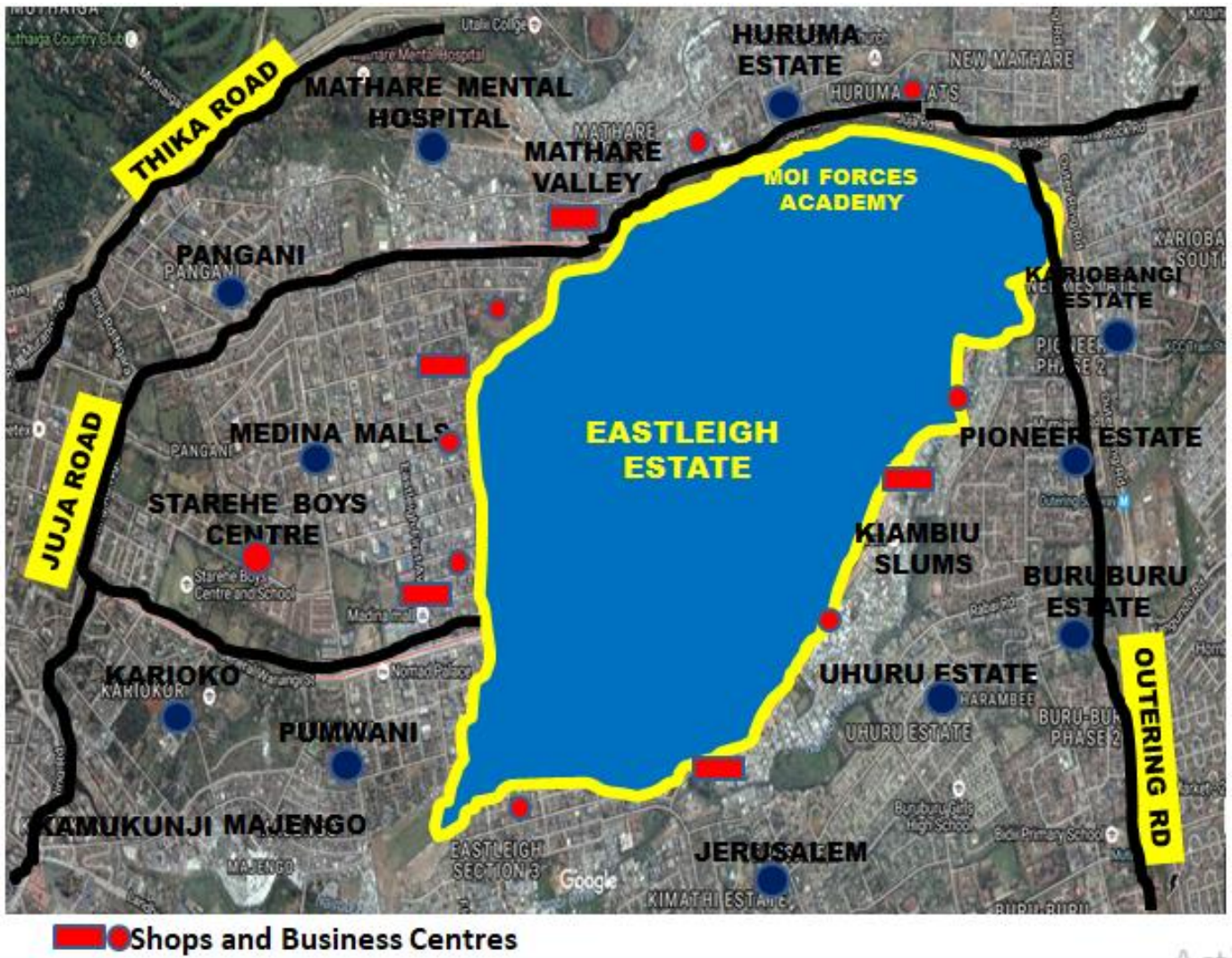
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BX/PX	Base/Post exchange
CIMIC	Civil Military Cooperation Activities
CMR	Civilian Military Relations
DoD	Department of Defense
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
IHR	International Health Regulations
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KA	Kenya Army
KAF	Kenya Air Force
KDF	Kenya Defence Forces
KMOSD	Kenya Ministry of State for defense
KN	Kenya Navy
MAB	Moi Air Base
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
OOTW	Operations Other Than War
PEV	Post-Election Violence
REAN	Royal East African Navy
WHA	World Health Assembly
WHO	World Health Organization

Map of Kenya showing Nairobi.



Map of the Study Area and its environs



Moi Air Base is located at the heart of Eastleigh ward in Nairobi County. Its geographical coordinates are $1^{\circ} 16' 10''$ South, $36^{\circ} 49' 36''$ East. Original name (with diacritics) of the place is Eastleigh.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction to the study

This study examined the impact that the military base in Eastleigh has made in the socio-economic sphere of national development in modern society. Attention was focused on the role played by Kenya Air force in the community around Moi Air Base Eastleigh. There have been many debates on the involvement of the military in state development and the scopes in which many military forces have contributed positively to national development. This study got into the debate by analyzing how KDF's Eastleigh Airbase has transformed the community around it.¹

From ancient times, history has been dominated by military conquests, movements and technological innovations. In the ancient time, the military force was used to control kingdoms and empires and this was achieved through mass production of weapons and armor. The military arsenals were considered a sign of prosperity and virtues and were directly linked to the life and times of prominent warriors.² This marked the importance of military and military installations in human history.

To support the interest of the nation, the military is viewed as a force authorized to use extreme power to achieve its national mandate. Typically the military is composed of an Army, Air Force and Navy and in certain countries like the United States of America it has an additional auxiliary force consisting of the Marine and the coast guards. The key role of any military is to ensure territorial integrity through the defence of the state against external aggression. In addition the military has both the sanctioned and non-sanctioned may also have sanctioned and non-sanctioned duties like promoting political plan, protecting commercial, economic interests, control of the local population, building of structures ,disaster and rescue services , social celebrations and provision of security to important areas . Other roles of the military included acting as discrete subculture within a larger civil society by developing through the development of detached infrastructures like schools, housing, food production, finance and banking, logistic utilities and health facilities³

¹ Kamenju J., et al, F., (2013). Terrorized citizens, Security Research and Information Centre, Nairobi.

²Acemoglu, D., et el (2008). "A Theory of Military Dictatorship". National Bureau of Economic Research, Working Paper No. 13915, pp. 2-11.

³ Ogot B.A. and Ochieng W.R. (eds) 2010. Decolonization's and Independence in Kenya, E.A.E.P., Nairobi.

A military base can be viewed as a facility that provides accommodation for one or more units, though it can be used to serve as a command Centre, training ground, or a proving ground. It is directly owned and operated by the military and shelters, military equipment and personnel while facilitating training and operations. In most states, the military depends on some external help in order to operate. The main aim of this study is to assess the socio-economic impacts of Eastleigh Air base to the local civilian population in the surrounding areas.⁴

In addition to providing housing for military personnel, military bases may also provide support amenities such as supermarkets, clubs, schools and colleges, churches or mosques, hospitals or clinics and restaurants. The population living close to the bases has different interactions and experiences based on the nature and size of the military base. For example, quite a number of military bases are strategically located for unobtrusive spying and intelligence facilities, radar site equipment stores resupply and refueling bases and a host of rest and recuperation centres. Some military bases are in the form of landing rights, and landing rights for high precision military and equipment flights.⁵

In Kenya, as is the case with other countries, the main responsibility of the military has been the protection of the country's sovereignty. This involves protection of territorial boundaries, including national borders, national airspace, vital facilities like airports, and territorial waters. In addition to these traditional 'war-oriented' duties are Social Corporate Responsibilities enshrined in the constitution under KDF Act 2012. The Operations Other Than War (OOTW) include environmental soldier programs, provision of emergence health services and road constructions.⁶

In the last two decades, Kenya has witnessed an increased involvement of her military in several development activities. The new activities fall outside the traditionally sanctioned activities of the military. This trend has been predominantly evident in Kenya, where the need for societal and economic development is pressing. In the recent past, the military and civilian in areas surrounding the bases have socially and economically interacted. This relationship is presumed to spur socio-economic development beneficial to both groups as the military bases are being exploited for economic and social purposes. The socio-economic impacts of this military installation on the host communities are therefore, of interest, particularly in recent years. This

⁴ Ibid

⁵ Ibid

⁶ Ministry of Defence. "*Kenya Defence Forces Act - No. 25 of 2012*"(PDF). National Council for Law Reporting. Retrieved 6 May 2014. <http://www.md.go.ke/pubsa//kdfAct.pdf>

study has explored the roles that Kenya Air Force's Eastleigh Airbase has played in the socio-economic development of the areas around it. The study also looked at how the civilians around the bases have participated and contributed to the social and economic development brought about by the presence of Eastleigh Airbase in the areas. The study has used two theories; the interdependence theory and Corporate Social Responsibility Theory show the impacts of interactions, social and environmental responsibilities between MAB and the local communities. The study will use a qualitative research design since the data to be collected is qualitative.

1.1.1 Background to establishment of Kenya Air Force

To begin with, it should be appreciated that security is paramount to any meaningful human existence and therefore a core concern to any political institution. The renowned writer Machiavelli laid the basis strategic military studies. Before Machiavelli, the political-strategic environment was mostly focused on the personal wars led by princes and kings, impermanent private armies, poorly equipped and motivated militaries who were mostly mercenaries. There was a lot of penchant for personal acts of bravery, and particularly endless sieges, wars of the crusades, and inconclusive combats. There was a lot of preference to large armies as strength was viewed as right and every large army could use her might and force to expand its territory.

According to Machiavelli the competitive nature of the global system is important in its own survival and wars are seen as a natural and a necessary way of the struggle to survive among expanding and growing organisms. Every organism depends on its capability for wars to disengage the conduct from the sterile concept of his times as such the political foundations must be organised in order to create the prerequisites for the functioning of the military.⁷

When the modern nation state system was born at the Westphalia treaty, the definition of a state was given in terms of a population within a geographical territory with clear boundaries, and a government with legitimate authority. The treaty introduced sovereignty and integrity within the state and in the world community of nation states. Each state was to have a legitimate government that controlled a given population through political establishments and guaranteed security for the people. In return the people obeyed the government and it's within these developments that these governments became legitimized by being recognized by their subjects. To maintain this, the government had to control all the instruments of violence, so as to defend

⁷ Kenya Air Force Story 1964-2014 (2012). The Air Force story, behind the scenes of Kenya Air Force dating back from our independence. *Text Book Centre*.

their territory against any aggression outside the recognized boundaries and also to secure the people within the boundaries against any other group that might wield arms. In return the governments got the mandate to tax people for these services. In this new thinking, militaries became a necessity for governments as a well-organized and armed institution that could be called upon to fight and win wars against any enemies that would invade a sovereign state.⁸

An example of the modern organized armies can be traced to the days when Napoleon conquered Europe. The success of the Napoleonic army against its opponents and especially in 1784 when they defeated their European opponents brought Napoleon Bonaparte to power in France and thus provide a valuable lesson for the understanding of military operations. The study of strategy became a military domain with the interest of safeguarding the security of a state against any external aggression.

The term security therefore became synonymous with the military and in the years after the Napoleonic wars, states, mainly in Europe developed their armies and navies for the purpose of exerting their political power over other states abroad. The European states thus used their armed forces, mainly the Navies to conquer other territories that were not among the signatories of the Westphalia treaty. These countries colonized Africa and subdivided the continent amongst themselves in 1885 according to the cartographer Bismarck of Germany at the so called scramble for Africa conference. Bismarck proposed the scramble for Africa during the 1884-85 Berlin conference. The 1898 *Fashoda incident* between UK and France was the beginning of a bitter rivalry between various imperial nations that consequently triggered World War 1.⁹

There was a great concern over the attainment of military bases for strategic roles and the ultimate exertion of power on the global scene as reflected by the scramble for African territories. New armaments, including steel ship driven by steam power were seen as the best way to influence international events. This further promoted the need for a proper management of the growing armies, ports of calls and coal stations. Equally, there was a need for defending protection of sea lines of communication and routes mostly of vital and expensive global waterways including the Suez Canal.¹⁰

⁸⁸ Kenya Air Force Story 1964-2014 (2012).Op.Cit

⁹ Bell, D. A. (2014). The first total war: Napoleon's Europe and the birth of warfare as we know it. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.

¹⁰ Ibid

As a result of the economic and political struggles among the European states during the 19th century competitions as a result of the and the positioning and partitioning of Africa among the European unions at the time, the partitioning and scramble for Africa became a good to avoid war amongst themselves. Colonial imperialism was later brought about by the transition from informal imperialism to direct rule through military influence in the later years of the 19th century.¹¹ Onset of colonialism in Kenya was the beginning of European big game hunting in Kenya. Asians, mainly qualified workers from India, were allowed to settle down in the north-east of Nairobi (Today: Eastleigh). A road system for the CBD was established. Nairobi was founded as a depot for the British Uganda railway on half-track between Mombasa and Lake Victoria.

The word 'Nairobi' originates from the language of the Maasai and means 'place of the cold waters'. Soon, the British colonialists allowed Europeans to settle down in the undulating west of the city center. The first newspaper was founded. Karen Blixen came to Nairobi just before WWI broke out. Many country clubs opened. Kenya became a crown colony with more rights for the white settlers. Nairobi was declared a political community and the City Council was founded. A first city plan was drawn while the borders of the city were expanded twice. The East-African Shilling was introduced as the common currency of the colony. The City Square was built, as were first brick buildings. The first radio station began transmission.¹²

The British army occupied Nairobi and virtually scanned every African resident (Operation Anvil) during the Mau Mau uprising. In order to rebuild the newly formed Kenya air force, the new government recruited and trained young Kenyans in areas like flying, engineering, general management and supplies, this was also viewed as a faster way to achieve rapid Africanization. Equally a flying unit was established at Eastleigh to train 10 pilots per annum in order to cater for the expanding requirements for local pilots. In line with the training policy a ground school was set up to train technical manpower for the rapidly growing Kenya Air force. During this time eighty technicians were produced annually but the expansion and modernization program was at its peak in 1965 and 1966 when more squadrons were added due to the purchase of created new aircrafts.¹³ The training of the Royal Air force led to the formation of Kenya Air Force in 1940 and to the subsequent opening of the airfield. During this time other RAF stations were also

¹¹ Ibid

¹² Nzuve, S. N., & Njeru, L. K. (2013). Perceived Factors affecting Performance Management among local Authorities in Kenya: A Case of the City Council of Nairobi. *DBA Africa management review*, 3(2).

¹³ Ibid

opened in Kisumu, Thika and Mombasa and they formed a larger East Africa air headquarters that controlled the East African countries of Kenya Uganda and Tanzania and also parts of the Indian Ocean islands¹⁴

RAF Eastleigh was used as a transit airfield for both civilian commercial and military aircrafts after the war, while they both served a common purpose; both RAF Kisumu and RAF Thika were closed due to lack of relevance and due to economic pressure. The primary mission of Kenya Air Force, according to the 1964 act was to defend the Kenyan airspace and maintain its sovereignty at all times²³ KAF grew fast and on the 18 February 1965 saw the graduation of the first indigenous pilots from KAF training school. Since then the training wing has produced many pilots for Kenya air force and the country at large. In pursuance of its national mandate, the force is fully equipped with the relevant equipment and personnel to enable them carry out their mandated tasks.²³

KAF was later disbanded and replaced with 82 Air Force on 21 August 1982 following the unsuccessful coup attempt by KAF Eastleigh base without any legal Act. This was the lowest point in the history of the Kenya Air Force. A new service was formed. Kenya Air Force Eastleigh was renamed Moi Air Base while Kenya Air Force Nanyuki got a new name in Laikipia Air Base respectively on August 22, 1982. Moi Air Base was presented with its first presidential and regimental colours on 14 December 1983 by the then president Daniel Arap Moi at Jamhuri Park.¹⁵

This study proposes to assess the socio-economic relevance of the Moi Air Base Eastleigh to the local civilian population in the study area. This proposal contains an introduction to the establishment of KAF, a problem of the statement, research questions, and a methodology of study among other sections.¹⁶

1.2 Statement of Research Problem

Other than their military sanctioned role, Kenyan military bases often have corporate social responsibilities to the local communities around the bases. Corporate social responsibilities as applied to military institutions imply a situation whereby the military incorporates environmental and social concerns in their operations and interaction with the local populations nearby on a

¹⁴[Historical Background of the Kenya Air Force: Pre-Independence Period](#) (2015). Ministry Of Defence- Kenya

¹⁵ Kenya Air Force Story 1964-2014 (2012). The Air Force story, behind the scenes of Kenya Air Force dating back from our independence. *Text Book Centre*.

¹⁶ Ibid

voluntary basis. These duties are often conducted by military personnel in the communities nearby as part of the military's vision and mission. In general, these duties include planting of trees and provision of health care in times of need. Other than these, the military also engages in rescue missions during times of national calamities. The local civilians are also engaged by military personnel and institutions to run some facilities such as supermarkets, messes, canteens and bars. They also serve as house girls, casual workers, temporary contractors, tailors and cooks. Recently too, military and civilians in surrounding areas have seen inhibitions which previously separated them wane as they increasingly intermingle in non-segregated social facilities like bars, restaurants and places of worship placed inside or in areas nearby military bases. The increased interaction has come about with an increase in the number of civilians engaged in income generation activities in the base.¹⁷

The interaction has come with its effects as often, conflicts arise in places like bars, though they are rare. When they do happen though, there are military guidelines and rules which are invoked. Where either party, especially the civilian is dissatisfied with the resolution, they can resort to civilian courts. Other than the negative outcomes, the interaction of the military personnel and locals is also assumed to have a number of positive socio-economic impacts.¹⁸ Though a lot of literature has been written about civil-military interactions, they are generally on the security aspect of the relationship. Nothing specifically has been written on the corporate social responsibilities that the military performs in the local communities as a result of the increased interactions and proximity with local communities'. This study aims to fill this knowledge gap

This study assessed the impacts of the interaction between military personnel at Eastleigh Airbase and the locals in the nearby areas. This focused on the socio-economic impacts of Eastleigh airbase to the local civilian population nearby. The study looked at the impacts of the military base on the civilian community and other demographics such as the youth and children in Eastleigh area. The study also looked at how the locals have impacted on the military base socio-economically. By so doing, the study hopes to develop the body of knowledge regarding civilian military relations in Kenya and the role of the military in national development.

¹⁷Hornsby, Charles (2012). *Kenya: A History Since Independence*. London/New York: I. B. Tauris. p. 98. ISBN 978-1-84885-886-2.

¹⁸Ibid

1.3 Research Questions

- i. What is the historical background of Eastleigh Air Base?
- ii. What are the areas of interaction between civilian and MAB?
- iii. What are the impacts of Moi Air Base Eastleigh on the locals nearby?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

- i. To assess the history of Moi Airbase, Eastleigh.
- ii. To examine Civil-Military interactions between MAB and the local communities.
- iii. To examine the impact of Moi Air Base Eastleigh on the locals around.

1.5 Justification of the Study

The location of any military infrastructure and facilities is always viewed to be on some kind of strategic importance. The latter can be said to have been the motivation for the establishment of Eastleigh airbase due to its placement in the center of Kenya. However, with time, the role of the base has gone beyond the provision of military and functions for inclusion of non-military duties to the locals. In addition to their constitutionally mandated roles, military bases also have corporate social responsibilities to the local communities around them which is part of their mission and vision.

Though this phenomenon of military-civilian interaction has had a past analysis, the majority of the previous studies are general and tend to focus more on the security aspect of the relationship, leaving very little research on the non-sanctioned roles and corporate social responsibilities of the military to the communities around them as a result of increased interaction and proximity. The findings of the research would fill the existing gaps in the available literature on military-civilian relation. Other than this, the findings of the study would be relevant in policy making in matters related to civilian-military relationship and the impacts of military bases to local populations.

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study focused on the e study is on the association between military and host populations within Eastleigh area. The areas of interest were the social and economic impacts of the military base to the local population. The study was therefore based in Eastleigh locality including within the military airbase. Other areas of interest include *Mathare, Huruma* and *Kiambiu*. The Eastleigh civilian population is cosmopolitan, having members of the Somali refugee community, Ethiopian and indigenous Kenyan communities.

The study focused on MAB because it's the old air base, hence has a long history of the civil, military relationship and narrowed on social, economic affairs because the relationship between MAB and the locals is basically on a social and economic platform as the military has little relations with the public in politics.. The study period ranged from 1964 to 2008. 1964 was the period in which Kenya Air Force (KAF) Eastleigh base was first involved in non-military duty of saving the landslide victims in Tana and other areas. 2008 marked spread of PEV which happened in late December 2007 following a disputed general election, witnessing involvement of the Airbase's airmen in quelling the conflicts.

In conducting the research, a number of challenges were expected. The military nature of the research may scare some respondents bearing in mind some of them are aliens. On the sensitivity of the study, the researcher assured the respondents that the study is purely academic hence no fear of victimization. Equally a translator was engaged in situations where language barrier was experienced.

1.7 Literature Review

In this section, the paper addressed the key ideological, historical and political reasons for setting up military camps and the benefits they bring to the host communities. The history of civil-military relations was pioneered by Sun Tzu (500BC) and Carl von Clausewitz (1780-1831) – On War. The two writers postulated that soldiers were predominantly servants of the state. They raise concerns about the growing militarism in the society and delved into the impacts of the institution within the society. Samuel Huntington talks about the qualities of a professional army which, according to him must include expertise, responsibility and collaboration. He stresses the importance of professionalism in any Army.

In his book *The Man on Horseback*, Finer postulates that many governments lack the managerial talents to competently rule which could be a precursor for armed forces intervention..²⁹ These works underline the relevance of military to nations and governments. The studies, though important, do not discuss the non-military cases in which military intervention may be necessary.¹⁹This literature enumerates the historical development of civilian-military relations.

¹⁹Samuel P. Huntington. 1957. *The Soldier and the State; the Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, pp. 15-29.

However, it falls short of discussing the channel of interaction and how such interactions have benefited the civilians.²⁰

The use of military in non-military missions is not a new concept. It has always been there even in the third world countries and was introduced as joint military exercises and aid to militaries. A case in point in Kenya is the exercise code named “*Natural Fire 2000*” which was a joint effort of the Kenya and United States military, which saw the rehabilitation of a school in Tana River County in the area of GAO.²¹ Though these activities are conducted under the training department, they are meant to complement the military in its duty of preparing for war in order to protect the country against external aggression.

The United States army developed and introduced the concept to the third world countries and since there has been no such studies undertaken in the developing countries, the use of the Kenya military will be discussed based on this concept, in the introduction of the MCA was designed to meet civic requirements so as to reduce Soviet military support to insurgent causes. It was therefore viewed as a way of promoting political stability in Africa by addressing poverty which is a core threat to political stability and seeks to encourage military participation in social and economic development.²²

The program was designed to provoke the militaries in addressing some of the domestic problems that faced the fragile governments that had been left by the colonial powers. Among the issues that were pertinent in starting MCA are intrastate ethnic division, economic stagnation and towering foreign debt that had been made worse by the exponential increase in the price of petroleum, falling real prices for primary commodity exports, ill- conceived economic policies of new governments, and runaway population growth. The African population growth rate was the World’s highest at approximately 3 percent per year. The continent's population has nearly doubled since 1960, while economic growth per capita stagnated. Food production per person fell 15 percent in the 1970s and over 25 million Africans were facing famine.²³

²⁰Michael C. Desch. 2001. *Civilian Control of the Military: The Changing Security Environment*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. Pp. 21-24.

²¹ Makinda, S. M., Okumu, F. W., & Mickler, D. (2015). *The African Union: Addressing the challenges of peace, security, and governance*. Routledge.

²² Kenya Air Force Story 1964-2014 (2012). *The Air Force story, behind the scenes of Kenya Air Force dating back from our independence. Text Book Centre.*

²³ Kenya Air Force Story 1964-2014 (2012). *The Air Force story, behind the scenes of Kenya Air Force dating back from our independence. Text Book Centre.*

Samuel Huntington in his book, *the soldier and the state* brings out the idea of objective civilian control of the military while advocating for a professional force guided by the expertise, responsibility, and cooperativeness. He believed that the military has a primary responsibility to the society and communities around and that the military should perform these duties by displaying a cooperative character and professional ethics while Vyonne Jones in her book *closing the gap- understanding your serviceman* (2012) delves into the common misconceptions that people have on the manner and ways of military lifestyles. According to her, it is important that the military should reconnect with their civilian counterparts and urges the local communities to stay close to the military who have a duty to protect their rights and freedom.

The military has a role to perform during emergencies and disasters. This comes as duties in aid of local authorities and the communities at large. Thomas Weiss in his book *civil-military interactions –humanitarian crisis and the responsibility to protect*, (1946) argues that there is a strong association between the military and crisis management based on their training, experience and resources. According to Thomas, in the mind of the general public, there are expectations that the armed forces will assist the civilian populations during and after an emergency.

Active interconnections between the military and the civilian population is key, according to Morris Janowitz (1960) In his book *the professional soldier* (1960) Morris postulates that the military should have a sense of citizenship and that military actions and conducts always has a political consequences as such there should be a strong civilian control of the military while preserving professional military autonomy.

1.7.1 General Roles of the Military

The relationship between the political leaders, the military and the society is as old as humanity itself and started from the moment the society depended on its population to fight all forms of aggression. There has been a concerted effort to understand civil–military relations in Kenya and this has made its own mark on security research, though the above literature does not bring this out.²⁴

²⁴ Huntington, Samuel, 1957, “The soldier and the state: The theory and politics of civil–military relations.” *Journal of Security*, pp. 32-37.

Though the military originally originates from the society, the military's detached existence has led to the growth of a unique culture which may not be the same as that of the society from which it originated. These arguments show the link of the military and the civilian population it represents. The author, however, does not discuss how the location of a military unit in an area could potentially impact on the local population. In addition, the role of military security policy is to minimize or neutralize enemy's capability to threaten a nation's territorial integrity.²⁵ This shows how the military needs civilian population cooperation for security purposes. However, Huntington does not demonstrate how the civilian population can benefit from having the military around them.²⁶

In the book, *The Soldier and the State*, Huntington notes that there is a global concern over the increasing occurrences of disasters. The international community has Millennium Development Goals, which range from sustainable development, combating disease, environmental sustainability, and poverty reduction as part of its Millennium Development Goals (MDG) on the basis that these issues could influence vulnerability to disasters. Since the end of the Second World War, the role of the military, including during disaster management has been re-defined. The military has been deployed to militate against disasters owing to its specialized training and equipment and organization. It is clear that the military have quickly put their logistics and humanitarian capacities to good use to help resolve humanitarian crises more than any other agency. Huntington identifies a number of uses of the military in the modern context of conflict. However, these do not touch on socio-economic aspects of the civilian-military relationship.²⁷

The military has many complex roles in a developing country which vary both in details and how they change in composition and structure over time. Many agencies and actors like private sector, foreign investors, IMF, World Bank, United Nations, Non-Governmental organizations influence the operations and composition of armed forces.²⁸ Janowitz depicts that for a successful existence, the military needs other 'agencies' to which the civilian population may be party to. They may be financiers or help with data collection. However, how the study is too general and looks at the relationship between the military and other institutions and not individual civilians. To this, he does not discuss civilian socio-economic benefits from hosting a military camp.

²⁵ ibid

²⁶ Ibid

²⁷ Ibid

²⁸Morris Janowitz's, 1960, "The Professional Soldier." Peace and Security. Pp. 2-14.

In support of the above, Huntington addresses both military effectiveness and civilian leadership and postulates that the interplay between civilian and military operations affects military effectiveness. This dissertation borrows from his work as the basis of a larger conceptual analysis, which focuses on the use of political and military sociology, international relations, and military science to define the key concepts and ideas of civil-military relations. These are best elaborated by an in-depth analyzing the details of the specific national military force and not the grand theories and strategies.²⁹ This literature shows the importance of collaboration between the civilians and the military. However, like the previous one, it discusses the importance of such collaboration to the military and not the civilian.

1.7.2 The New Security Paradigm

According to Bonn Declaration 1991 Human security is “the absence of threat to human life, lifestyle and culture through the fulfillment of basic needs”, which emphasizes the safety and security requirements of individuals. In this case the state is only one of the many actors and might not be the most important in every situation.³⁰ In essence the new security paradigm argues that the civil-military relations does not suggest a problematic relations, but rather reflects on a variety of other factors that may affect ,either positively or negatively the relationship between the military and the civilian population. This leaves a gap in the understanding of the socio-economic benefits of military to civilians in a given area.

In their study of the impacts of military spending on economic growth in African countries *Mohammed* and *Thisen* found that there are both positive and negative effects. However, certain groups of third world countries that are more successful economically and more stable economically or those that engage in military production have positive effects as a result of the military spending. The less economically successful and those that lack domestic arms industries register no positive economic impacts from defense expenditure.³¹ Thus, at national level, military spending impacts differ depending on economic status and stability within that country. This study intends to establish if the same is applicable to local communities hosting military bases in Eastleigh.

²⁹ Op cit, Samuel Huntington, 1957

³⁰Omari, A.H. 1995, “Regional security: One view from the Frontline States,” University of the Western Cape, Bellville, pp. 7-13.

³¹Looney, R.E., 1995, “*The economics of Third World defense expenditures*,” JAI Press, Greenwich, Conn and London, p. 218

1.7.3 Corporate Social Responsibilities (CSR)

CSR refers to situations whereby organizations and companies incorporate environmental and social concerns in their day to day operations and interactions with other stakeholders on a voluntary basis. Just like in other institutions, business and corporate organizations, CSR exist in the military formations and other security agencies for the purpose of making the lives of the society better through sustainable practices and for providing a better platform for a achieving sustainable development.

Ehrler in the book titled, *The Impact of Multinational Enterprises in Developing Countries*, observes that in developing countries Public Private Partnership (PPP), Globalization, and Millennium Development Goals (MDG) are increasingly debated with a view of overcoming the food crisis and poverty. CSR incorporates different policies to work with employees, their families, the local communities and the society at large in order to contribute to sustainable economic development.”³²

The author brings out areas in which CSRs are used to encourage development globally. However, the discussion is basically general and does not look at how specific institutions like the military are involved in it. This has led to many developed companies in developing countries having a deep concern about the environment and sustainability in the society.³³ The authors differentiate the different stages of CSR in developed and developing countries. They, however, do not discuss how institutions like the military in those countries make use of CSRs.³⁴

Generally, many African countries incorporate CSR in terms of the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) as seen in many leading corporations which have adopted the programs which incorporate social and environmental practices in their business and organizations long term mission and vision. According to *Philippe Jacylyn* many businesses in developing countries insist on CSR as a strategy to achieve their strategic mission and mission and are mandatory in many growing organizations across the world.

³²Ehrler, S., 2009. The impact of multinational enterprises in developing countries. Universite De Geneve, Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences. Geneva. Switzerland.

³³Philippe, G., & Jacylyn Y. J. Shi, (2009). Corporate Social Responsibility for Developing Country Multinational Corporations: Lost War in Pertaining Global Competitiveness? *Journal of Business Ethics*. 87:3–24 DOI 10.1007/s10551-008-9801-5.p.7

³⁴Carroll, A. B., and Buchholtz, A. K., (2008). *Business and Society*, International student edition: ISBN-13:978-0-324-5865-5.p.46

1.7.4 The Impact of a Military Base on the Society

There is need to for the military to establish proper surveillance and mobile resources during humanitarian emergencies. In such cases well equipped armies deploy their resources for surveillance and logistical coordination to help populations affected by epidemics and disasters.³⁵ The US overseas laboratory set up in Jakarta played a key role in assisting Banda Aceh during the 2004 tsunami. The facility was thereafter turned to the Indonesian government who now use it not only to provide reference services on epidemics and timely intervention but also to research on infectious diseases emanating out of the conditions created by the Tsunami.³⁶ This shows how the military has been helpful in Indonesia in dealing with an emergency. This study intends to see if this has happened to the people of Eastleigh who host a military base.

D'Amelio and *Heymann* argue that many militaries have well equipped laboratory and epidemiological capabilities and often share these with civilian health authorities tasked to respond to epidemics. The German and US Military medical organizations, for example, are partners in the Global Outbreak Alert and Response Network that is led by the World Health Organization and provides human and technical resources for rapid identification and confirmation response to epidemics of global importance.³⁷ The authors bring out another case study of the importance of military installations to local communities. It shows that military institutions can work together with local communities to better conditions during an emergency. This study will use this literature to test is the same has been noted in the Eastleigh area.

Currently, many militaries in developing countries are undertaking operations in functions related to the delivery of health and medical services especially in remote areas. There has been an increased global involvement of military forces in public sector due to the rising needs for effective surveillance in the population for protection of both the military units and civilian populations affected.³⁸ *Eloff* argues that the military can play a valuable role in contributing to public health and hygiene promotion, as health is not only desirable in itself, but also on

³⁵Sharp T.W., Luz G.A, and Gaydos, J.C. (1999). Military Support of Relief: a Cautionary Review." In: Leaning J, Briggs SM, Chen LC, eds. *Humanitarian Crises: the Medical and Public Health Response*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press; 1999:pp. 273-91.

³⁶ Chretien J.P, Glass J.S, et al, (2006). Department of Defense Global Emerging Infections Surveillance and Response System Indian Ocean Tsunami Response." *Mil Med*, pp. 4-5.

³⁷ Neville J, Kisilev O.I, (2005), eds. *Strengthening Influenza Pandemic Preparedness tThrough Civil-Military Cooperation*. Amsterdam: IOS Press, pp. 3-9.

³⁸World Health Assembly.Resolution.Revision of the International Health Regulations. Geneva: World Health Organization; 2005, p. 11-12.

economic grounds.³⁹ The authors identify the role that military has over the years been playing in health sphere in developing world and its potential to positively reflect on economy. However, how this can be of direct importance to the local host population has not been discussed.

The Kenya Defense Forces draws its authority to intervene in national disasters from Section 3(2) of the KDF Act Cap 199. The Act spells out the role of the military in the defense of Kenya's sovereignty and support to civilian authority in other duties as and when the need arises. The Kenya Defense Forces recognize other Acts of Parliament that empower Government agencies to regulate the operations and activities of the public and private sector in the course of their activities and in particular disaster management issues. This Act thus, draws the line between what the military can get involved in and what it can't. However, how such interventions can benefit a society socio-economically needs further review, which is what this study will focus on.⁴⁰

Kenya Defense Forces' role in disaster response and mitigation is both proactive and reactive. The KDF must, however, enter and exit a disaster response operation within the shortest time possible in order to allow line ministries to assume full control. Specialized training, structural organization, equipment and operational doctrine place the military as suitable lead agency in disaster and humanitarian management. The common disasters that the KDF respond to include; drought, earthquake, flood, landslide, civil strife, terrorism, transport accident, fire, structural failure, disease and epidemics, and industrial/maritime hazards and pollution.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

In order to address the variables, explain the phenomena and support the findings of this study, the research was guided by two theories .These are the interdependence theory and Corporate Social Responsibility theory .

1.8.1. Interdependence Theory

According to the major proponents of the interdependence theory, Harold Kelley and John Thibaut, there is always a social exchange in society showing rewards and cost associated with

³⁹Eloff, J.L., 1978, "Difficulties encountered in the development of health services in developing countries" South African Journal of African Affairs, No 2, p. 148.

⁴⁰Ministry of Defence. "*Kenya Defence Forces Act - No. 25 of 2012*"(PDF).National Council for Law Reporting. Retrieved 6 May 2014. <http://www.md.go.ke/pubs//kdfAct.pdf>

any kind of interpersonal relationship. According to the theorists, communication among people living close enhances their closeness. Every relationship and interaction has its rewards and costs and that people try to maximize the rewards while minimizing the cost.⁴¹

Kelley focuses his study on reward and return and argues ideal relationships are characterized by maximum rewards and reduced levels of costs. He defines rewards as the exchange of pleasurable and gratifying resources and costs as resources that lead to in a loss or punishments. Kelley states that the emotional rewards consist of positive feelings while costs consist of negative feelings. Interdependence theory, according to *Kelley* and *Thibaut* has several primary features including the structure, transformation, interaction and adaptation.⁴²

According to *Johnson* and *Rusbult*, when the outcome of individuals is affected by each other people's action then interdependence exists. In line with the four types of reward and costs, this theory has its variance both from social interdependence and economic interdependence. The theorists argue that mutual dependence is a necessary reality of life.⁴³

Interdependence theory is thus useful in understanding the motivations and impacts of civilian-military relations in Eastleigh area. The relationship between the two different social groups is built on mutual dependence in which both benefit from each other. The relationship has both positive and negative outcomes as security around the area has supposedly improved while cases of sexual immorality have over the years increased. Also, the theory has both social and economic dimensions as the interactions have adopted a socio-economic involving sporting and economic activities. As such, this theory will be used in explaining the closeness between the military establishment at the airbase and locals around it in addition to giving the socio economic impacts of the presence of the military base to the local populations. The aim is to understand the gains realized through various social economic benefits derived by the locals from leaving close to the base while also understanding the rewards acquired by the occupants of the base from the locals. The theory will also explain the costs involved in such interaction.

⁴¹Ibid

⁴²Kelley, H. H., & Thibaut, J. W. (1978). *Interpersonal relations: A theory of interdependence*. New York, NY: Wiley. Pp. 2-13

⁴³Johnson, D. J., & Rusbult, C. E. (1989). Resisting temptation: Devaluation of alternative partners as a means of maintaining commitment in close relationships. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 57, 967–980.

1.8.2 Corporate Social Responsibilities Theory.

CSR refers to situations whereby organizations and companies incorporate environmental and social concerns in their day to day operations and interactions with other stakeholders on a voluntary basis. According to Edward Freeman, CSR has four key obligations which they should respond to .These are the economic obligation, ethical obligation, legal obligation and philanthropic obligation.

According to A.C Fernando business ethics and corporate government is key to the success of any organization. They argue that business and the society at large are interrelated and remain inseparable and that all business should strive to be accountable to the society in their operations. In this they bring out the importance of the military as a business organization to the general public and the society at large. CSR exists in the military formations and other security agencies with an aim of improving the livelihood of the society and putting in place better sustainable development projects.

Other proponents of this theory include *Erhler* who wrote the book, *The Impact of Multinational Enterprises in Developing Countries*. He argues that the Public Private Partnership (PPP), Globalization, and Millennium Development Goals (MDG) cannot be ignored in any developing countries as they are important in address many challenges including food security and poverty. In order to achieve this, the military should incorporate different policies to work with employees, their families, the local communities and the society at large in order to promote sustainable economic development.⁴⁴ *Carroll and Buchholtz* in their book *Business and Society: Ethics and Stakeholder Management (2003)* argues that any business or institution has a total social responsibility to the society and therefore urges managers and leaders to view CSR as a dynamic pyramid.

CSR is therefore viewed as a way of encouraging the development globally and therefore should also narrow down to institutions like the military, which over time have increased in terms of operation and numbers. It is therefore important to delve into the importance of CSR in the military in developing countries.⁴⁵ Mostly many countries including Kenya has incorporated CSR in terms of the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) by adopting ethical, legal economic and

⁴⁴Ehrler, S., 2009. The impact of multinational enterprises in developing countries. Universite De Geneve, Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences. Geneva. Switzerland.

⁴⁵Carroll, A. B., and Buchholtz, A. K., (2008). Business and Society, International student edition: ISBN-13:978-0-324-5865-5.p.46

philanthropic practices to the communities around them as enshrined in their mission and vision and sometimes form part of their performance contracts (PC).

1.9 Hypotheses

- i) Eastleigh Airbase was established due to its centrality in Kenya's capital.
- ii) There are civil-military interactions between MAB and the local communities.
- iii) The presence of Eastleigh Airbase has had both negative and positive socioeconomic impacts to the local communities.

1.10 Methodology

The study used qualitative research design since the data was collected through interviews, observation and satellite image research. . This study focused on civilian-military relations and looks at how the location of Eastleigh Air base has socio-economically impacted on the civilian population around. The target respondents were local populations of Eastleigh area comprising of traders, vendors, hoteliers and the general population of the locality. Military personnel working with departments related to construction and specialized officers in the base will also be targeted.

Purposive sampling technique was used to put together required number of respondents. Purposive method was preferred since the researcher, having worked in the Air base, is aware of individuals he wishes to use as lead respondents. Selection of respondents from the civilian population, followed a snowball approach, starting with predetermined respondents who introduced the researcher to other respondents.

This study used both secondary and primary data. Secondary data entailed printed materials and were collected through review of documents on the topic of study. The materials that were consulted included books, journal articles, newspapers, magazines, and internet sources. The study sourced the materials from libraries like Jomo Kenyatta Memorial, National Archives and Documentation Services, and McMillan Library. Primary data were collected from field work and from analysis of unpublished materials on the civilian - military relationship. A descriptive cross-sectional household survey was conducted in which a total of 60 randomly selected households were interviewed using a structured questionnaire. Data collection strategies involved the use of structured questionnaires, interview Schedules, observations and

assessments, and transect quantitative measurements as well as processing and interpretation of satellite images.

While in the field, with the consent of the respondent, a tape-recorder was used to store the data electronically. The collected data were analyzed qualitatively through the use of narratives and quantitatively using frequencies and percentages with means.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORY OF MOI AIR BASE

2.1 Introduction

This research paper studies Kenyan military with a specific emphasis on the Kenyan defense forces. The study also looks at the history of the military in Kenya and the events that led to the training of the first Kenyan Navy and Air Force. The study then provides background information about the Kenyan Air force. The chapter continues to analyze the historical background CSR and more specifically the type of CSR that was present in the 20th and 21st century. The study further establishes the expansion of the Kenyan Air force and the pre and post-independence Kenyan Air force. The chapter then describes the establishment of the Kenyan Moi Air Base Eastleigh. The study goes ahead to explain the role of KAF in 1982 Attempted Coup. Finally, the chapter will end with the study area and the conclusion.

2.2 History of Kenya Military

The Kenya Defence Forces was established by an act of parliament under article 241 of the Kenya constitution 2010. The president is the commander in Chief of the defence forces as ascribed in the constitution. It is governed by the laws of the Defense Forces Act of 2012.⁴⁶ It's currently made up of three main arms, the army, Air Force and the Navy. The notion of the formation of Kenyan military started with the local rebellions against British colonial rule. Kenyans resisted British control by waging war on many fronts. Among the documented rebellions include the Nandi resistance and the Giriama resistance which were led by *Koitalel Arap Samoei* and *Mijikiti* respectively. These became the initial aggressive acts against the British. As a result, they became the causes of the first military expeditions.

The present-day Kenya Army began in colonial Kenya under the King's African Rifles (KAR) that were under the British colonial forces. At that time events the abolition of slave trade in the now East Africa region first began when a treaty was signed by *Seyyid Barghash*, the Sultan of Zanzibar in 1873. To enforce this abolition, the British Royal Navy Fleet under the Admiral Freeman Tie formed a small troop of about 300 Zanzibaris to combat slave trade. By 1880, the Zanzibari force had grown to a stunning 1300 men who were now armed with snider rifles

⁴⁶Ministry of Defence. "*Kenya Defence Forces Act - No. 25 of 2012*"(PDF).National Council for Law Reporting. Retrieved 6 May 2014. <http://www.md.go.ke/pubsa//kdfAct.pdf>

donated by the British. As the Sultan's main authority on the mainland, it later became the East African Rifles (EAR) in that same year.⁴⁷

By 1890, the British Africa Company was charged with the responsibility to deliver the now East Africa as a crown colony. The company, as was observed by Sir William Mackinnon needed armed troops or police but scale its requirements.⁴⁸ Therefore, the Sultan was sought to provide assistance. This assistance came in the form of mercenaries known as *viroboto* who were used to strengthen the East African Rifles. But even with the mercenaries there was the inadequacy to offset and maintain order in the vast land. This led Mackinnon to recur it more reliable soldiers from outside East Africa. Five years later in August 1895, a new force was formed that comprised about 300 *punjams*.⁴⁹

The East African Rifles thus became the earliest military force in the British East African protectorate. Backed by the IBEAC, its mandate was to protect and safeguard both economic and strategic interests of the company. Between 1896 and 1900, the EAR was deployed in a number of campaigns in line with British colonial policies. These included subduing a number of local rebellions starting with the Nandi where there was a tough rebellion. In collaboration with Uganda Rifles, expeditions were organized around the region and succeeded in suppressing a number of mutinies in the protectorate.⁵⁰ In January 1902 all many military units in British Somaliland, East Uganda and Central Africa, were organized and came together under one command. This regiment was officially called the King's African Rifles.

The Headquarters of KAR was shifted from Mombasa to Nairobi central in order to maintain local resistance against the British rule in April 1 1902. After the Second World War, the military units were originally utilized by the colonial administration to quell the MAU MAU resistances. The Mau Mau uprising, which took place between (1952-1964) was a war against British colonial rule. Comprised of local tribes, namely Kikuyu, Meru, Embu, Kamba and Maasai people who fought against the colonialists from the Aberdare and Mount Kenya regions

⁴⁷Brands, H. "Wartime Recruiting Practices, Martial Identity and Post-World War II Demobilisation in Colonial Kenya", *Journal of African History*, Vol. 46 (1), 2005, pp. 103-125.

⁴⁸Hill, M. F. *Permanent Way: The Story of the Tanganyika Railways*, Vol. II (Kenya: East African Railways and Hebrews, 1957).

⁴⁹Huxley, E. *White Man's Country: Lord Delamere and the Making of Kenya 1914-1931*, VOL II, (London: Chatto and Windsus Ltd, 1935), pp. 3-4.

⁵⁰Hodges, G. *Kariokor: The Carrier Corps: Abridged Edition* (Nairobi: University of Nairobi Press, 1999).

and this later on led to the Kenyan national assembly passing Kenya Bill 2 of 1963 which amended the status and structures of the Kenya armed forces.

Upon the independence of Kenya, the KAR battalions transferred were dependent on the middle and senior ranks almost all white British officers. These personnel were retained in their former units as a way to provide stability and continuity in the new army as well as the pragmatic matter of the inexperienced African officers. It was agreed that their retention would also enable the government to buy time in order to cope with the ethnic and political strain foreseen in the process of africanization.⁵¹ It was at this juncture that the KAR changed its names to Kenya military forces granting the autonomy for various units names which were assigned on the midnight of 12 December 1963 .through this process military units like 5KAR, 11 KAR, and 3 KAR changed their names to Kenya rifles making this one of the greatest milestones in the development of Kenya armed forces.⁵²

In January 1964, some men in the 11th Kenya Rifles junior soldiers mutinied after grievances arising from pay rise.⁵³ This led to the disbandment of 11th Kenya rifle and 1st Kenya rifle was formed and based in La Net Nakuru. According to Hornby Kenyatta established a commission to look into the issues affecting the military and as a result the condition of the soldiers was improved including pay rise. This marked the spread of Africanization which improved the intelligence services for the government’⁵⁴

After discussions between the Kenya and Britain defense secretaries, it was agreed that the British forces should depart by 12 December 1964 while the British government was to take part in the training of Kenya armed forces and assist in resource and structural development. In return, the British government would benefit by having a transit through Kenya, stage their communication facilities and train in Kenya twice in a year.⁵⁵ Soon the British commander brigadiers Hardy handed over military powers over the Kenya army to brigadier Joseph Ndolo on 1st December 1966. Ndolo took over from Penfold as the new chief of general staff in 1969 but was later retired on 24 June 1971 after he was implicated in the coup plot which according to the

⁵¹Ibid

⁵²Ibid

⁵³Timothy Parsons, *The 1964 Army Mutinies and the Making of Modern East Africa*, p 120.

⁵⁴Hornsby, Charles (2012). *Kenya: A History Since Independence*. London/New York: I. B. Tauris. p. 98. ISBN 978-1-84885-886-2.

⁵⁵Ibid

government was allegedly orchestrated by Joseph Owino. After this the position of the Chief of General Staff was to report directly to the minister of Defence James Gichuru.⁵⁶

The Army's infantry command and structure grew faster by mid 1970s and by late 1982 it had increased to another two armoured battalion, air Calvary, additional five infantry battalions and included another armoured recce battalion and two artillery battalions, engineers squadrons, transport, and signal units. The merging of the battalions was purely done on their ability to support each other operationally and nationally under the command of one brigade commander.

Due to the availability of funds, the army was poised to expand even more to include three brigades, one in Nakuru and the other at Gilgil.⁵⁷ The position of the Chief of the General Staff was filled when the then president appointed Lieutenant General Jackson Mulinge from the Army commander to the position of the Chief of Staff of the defence forces in November 1978. General Mohamoud Mohamed took over from General Mulinge in 1986 and was appointed the CGS until 1996. Thereafter he was succeeded by General Daudi Tonje who was appointed the CGS between 1996- 2000.⁵⁸

The Kenya army officially started United Nations peacekeeping involvement in 1990 which generated both finances and resources to the Kenya government and further increased their international experience difference. The first Kenya peacekeeping mission was in Namibia (UNTAG) between 1981 to 2001. This opened up other peacekeeping missions across Africa and the world, including areas like Macedonia between 1996 to 1999, Angola between 1997 to 1999, East Timor between 1999 to 2001 Croatia.⁵⁹ The military has a structured whereby both the ministry of state for defense and the ministry of internal security and provisional administration forms part of during the. This study focuses on Kenya Air force⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Ibid p.180

⁵⁷ Ibid, pp.228-229

⁵⁸ Global Security (2018). Kenya Air Force. Retrieved from <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/kenya/air-force.htm>

⁵⁹ Vince Sinning. "[Peace-Keeping Operations: Kenya Mission to the United Nations in New York, USA](#)". *Web.archive.org*. Archived from the original on 27 September 2013. Retrieved 10 July 2017

⁶⁰ Ibid, 554

2.2.1 The Role of KDF in Community Service Provision

Apart from upholding security in the country, the KDF is also involved in acts of community service such as planting of trees. For instance, the Kenya defence forces were joined by Mr. Francis Mutie the Secretary Administration Ministry of Defence to plant trees in Ngong Forest Kibiko during a tree planting function on 28th March 2018. The Secretary Administration Ministry of Defence Mr. Francis Mutie led Kenya military personnel in a tree planting exercise at Kibiku forest in Ngong Kajiado County on 28th March 2018. In his speech Mr. Mutie expressed his gratitude to the soldiers, for effortlessly agreeing to the Environment Cabinet Secretary, Keriako Tobiko, call of planting more and cutting not. He urged the soldiers to extend a hand to water catchment conservation not only in their workplaces but also at their home areas. Floods and drought have been the main calamities in Kenya and to eradicate the menace, he asked the soldiers to cooperate with the local authorities in reporting any case of environmental pollution.⁶¹

As Environment Cabinet Secretary, Keriako Tobiko concluded, he gave a brief history of the KDF tree planting program that started back in 2003 with a goal of planting more than 22 million trees. Last year soldiers managed to plant 1.8 million trees a number he confirmed that they would beat this year with a target of up to three million seedlings.⁶² In attendance were Lieutenant Colonel Michael Maingi of the Armored brigade, Major David Wando, head and Coordinator Environmental Soldier Program among other officers.

The KDF is also involved in community organizations that involve children and communities in schools. Their main aim is to have significant influence and reduce the suffering of people facing various health issues that are serious in nature and assist those negatively impacted by natural disasters. They also provide service to patients and families that are going through serious health-related issues and the least advantaged in society such as the orphans. They also donate items to children centres and hospitals⁶³

⁶¹ Revolvly. History of Kenya Air Force. Retrieved from <https://www.revolvly.com/main/index.php?s=Kenya+Air+Force>

⁶² Kenya Law. Kenya Defense forces Act, 2012. Retrieved from <http://www.kenyalaw.org/lex/actview.xql?actid=No.%2025%20of%202012>

⁶³ Ombati, M. (2015). Feminine masculinities in the military: The case of female combatants in the Kenya Defence Forces' operation in Somalia. *African Security Review*, 24(4), 403-413.

2.2.2 Expansion and General Roles of the Air Force

On 1st Aug 1907 a minor aeronautical department was established by the USA Army signal corps in order to take "charge of all matters pertaining to military ballooning, air machines and all kindred subjects." they generally took part in division maneuvers and reconnaissance activities. Most aviation units were attached to air combat units of the Army hence did not operate independently.

The signal battalion was expanded to include an aviation section which originally replaced then aeronautical department. The bill creating this signed into law by the president in July 1914. The law further directed that the aviation section will operate and control all other military aircrafts to include aero planes and air balloons, equally all applications relating to the craft will have trained officers and enlisted men with skills relating to military aviation and as such should reflect the Army's air structure an organization.^{64 65}

One of the key roles of Kenya air force lies in their ability to control the airspace, information technology superiority and their ability to suppress the enemy on land, water and space through the use of precious equipment with minimal collateral damage, The Kenya Air force has the ability and capability to rapidly position their forces anywhere within their operational jurisdiction and ensuring that they provide agile combat support and combat service support globally. Though traditionally the air force is primarily for flying, there are a variety of other career opportunities within the ground establishment.⁶⁶

Group Captain Stockwell handed the command of KAF to Captain Rothwell on 22 February 1967. The command was later passed on to Captain John Edward in August 1971. The first indigenous KAF commander was Colonel Dedan Gichuru who was only aged 30 years the time. He went on to hand over the powers of command to Major General P Kariuki in 1980 whose tenure was marked with an attempted coup to overthrow the government by a group of soldiers led by Spte Hezekiah Ochuka as a result, he was relieved of his duties and command of the KAF on 12 August 1982 and was tried by court martial and sentenced to four years imprisonment in January 1983. This saw the disbandment of Kenya air force and was later renamed 82 Air force and as a result major general Mohamoud Mohamed was appointed the new commander

⁶⁴ Ibid

⁶⁵ Ibid

⁶⁶ Ibid

This also resulted in the change of KAF uniform, flag and motto which changed from *Twatumikia uliwa ngani* to the current motto *Tuko Imara Angani*.⁶⁷

Come the year 2000, the women's service corps was disbanded and incorporated into the Kenya air force. In order expand KAF operational capabilities, October 1979 and 1986 and 1992 saw the formation of FOB Wajir, Mombasa and Lokichogio respectively, while KAFTU which became the main KAF training college was established in 1981. It later became DEFTEC (102) Nanyuki air base was formed on 25 February 1974 and it became the fighter base of the Kenya air force and all efforts were made to equip it with necessary personnel, and equipment.⁽⁹⁹⁾ this saw the purchase of buffalo and Dornier aircrafts in 1977 while the fighter jets the puma and the gazelle helicopter were introduced in 1978

2.2.3 Establishment of Moi Air Base Eastleigh

Moi Air Base dates back to the early times of the Royal Air Force (RAF). The Service had its headquarters in Nairobi Eastleigh while the other Units were located in various regions in East Africa. Royal Air Force controlled not only the air territory of Kenya but also air territories of Uganda, Tanganyika and West Indian Ocean.⁶⁸

Brigadier H G Wilmot OBE saw the Royal Air Force opening on 1 August 1940 with the Swahili motto of '*Shupavu Thabiti*'. Its significant step was in early 1953 when it was provided with Armed Harvard aircraft capable of offensive action. Thereafter there was air re-organization in June the same year and this marked a considerable step of its kind in air action.⁶⁹ Subsequently, in the year 1962 the Kenya Air Force was formed when Commander Royal Air Force East Africa Commodore J C McDonald, began corresponding with United Kingdom Air Ministry in London with the view of Kenya having its own Air Force once independence was attained.⁷⁰

Six months after independence, the inauguration came on the 1st of June 1964 at the Harambee house Nairobi. This was one of the great moments for the Kenya Air Force as Group Captain Stockwell became the 1st Kenya Air Force Commander. KAF was officially formed. Captain Stockwell was to hand over to Captain Fred Rothwell on 22 February 1967. KAF was mainly

⁶⁷ Historical Background of the Kenya air force ;pre-independence period ministry of state for defence –kenya 2015. Retrieved 25 June 2016

⁶⁸ Goulter, C. J. (2014). *A Forgotten Offensive: Royal Air Force Coastal Command's Anti-Shipping Campaign 1940-1945*. Routledge.

⁶⁹ Ibid

⁷⁰ [KAF Past Commanders](#). Ministry of Defence- Kenya. 2015. Retrieved 25 June 2016

supported by 3 constituent wings namely Technical wing (TW), Flying Wing and the Camp administration wing. The wings were commanded by officers commanding who were of the rank of Majors and were responsible to the Station Commander. The first-ever pilot course commenced training at Flying Training Wing (now FTS) in March 1964 with an intake of five Kenyan flight cadets with Lieutenant M Pettey as OC FTF.⁷¹ The Kenya Air Force grew rapidly and had most of its pilots trained abroad in countries such as Israel. Wing Commander V Bridges was the last RAF officer to command KAF as he handed over to Lieutenant D. Gichuru.⁷²

Dedan Gichuru was appointed the commander KAF on 27 February 1986 for the second time until 10 May 1989 being the 7th commander KAF. Major general Wachira took over and later on handing over to Major General Leshan who served between 28 June 1994 to 1st December 2000 and was later promoted and appointed the Vice Chief of Defence Forces (VCDF). Major General Mutai took over from Major General Leshan and commanded the air force until 27th November 2003 handing over to Major General Karangi who held the office until 10th August 2005 when he was promoted to the ranks of Lieutenant General and appointed the VCDF. He was later promoted and appointed the Chief of Defence Forces (CDF). Replacing him was Major General Harold Tangai who served until 13th May 2011 and handed over to Major General Joff Otieno who handed over to Major General SN Thuita. Major General Thuita served until he was promoted and replaced by the current commander, Major General F O Ogolla in August 2018.⁷³

2.2.4 History of MAB with Coup d'états

African militaries are known to have conducted several coups in the first 50 years of the continent's experience with political freedom. African militaries emerged from obscurity in the 1950s to become one of the most important institutional actors in African politics. They used to acquire power and influence via armed forces coup d'Etat and by the end of the 1960s, military leaders had staged over twenty five successful coups. During this period, military leaders were viewed as the source of political change in Africa.

At the time of independence, the militaries inherited by the newly elected African leaders were small and lacked sophisticated weapons, such as armoured cars, combat aircrafts and guided missiles. However, as the countries consolidated their independence this notion was becoming

⁷¹[KAF Past Commanders](#). Ministry of Defence- Kenya. 2015. Retrieved 25 June 2016

⁷²[Historical Background of the Kenya Air Force: Independence and Post-Independence Period](#)". Ministry Of Defence- Kenya. 2015. Retrieved 25 June 2016.

⁷³

questionable when in 1966, eight civilian regimes were overthrown. The overthrow of governments was based on various reasons. The first one is that the military leaders claim that they are very popular among the populace. However, this popular notion is disputed that it is only temporary; the people only favour the change after an oppressive regime. Otherwise with time the civil population becomes disillusioned with the military more so because they are incapable of running a government.

The other notion posited by the military leaders is that the very nature of military organizations makes the military rule more efficient than that of its civilian counterparts. They argue that the military is a more unifying institution in building national unity. The argument is that, the military is comprised of different ethnic groups who have trained together and have developed a common Esprit de corps and that they have a common mission of defending the country. Therefore, the existence of close contact between the military and the civilian population is often frowned at by the civilian governments in a number of countries. Though not, openly curtailed in Kenya, such interactions are often limited to certain special occasions.

2.3 History of CSR

Several scholars trace the origin of CSR to different ages and events in human history. Charles Wilson (1958) tracks the origin of CSR to the Birmingham of the lunar society around 1750s and mentions key industrialist proponents like the curd Barry brothers and William Lever. According to Morell Heald (1957) CSR has a long history dating back to the corporate donations made by railroad in order to support the YMCA activities.

The history of CSR can also be tracked back to then provision in the code of Hammurabi (1772BC) which was compensations paid by the builders to the Vedic sources in India between 1500 to 1000BC.⁷⁴ William Blake argued that the Industrial Revolution created such upheaval that it caused “dark satanic mills” according to his preface on in the poem *Milton, a Poem*, which captured the effects of the Industrial Revolution to the nature and human relationships. This created the negative perspective and consequences of industrial revolution in the mind of the people by this time, after the industrial revolution, there emerged responses to the negative consequence among various business peoples and companies. Consequently, numerous subjects of the same crew and CSR was modified to include issues like welfare, philanthropy, capitalism

⁷⁴ Sharma, A. K., and Talwar, B. 2015. “Corporate Social Responsibility: Modern Vis-À-Vis Vedic Approach .” *Measuring Business Excellence* 9 (1): 35 – 45.

and aspects concerning environmental pollutions. Welfare capitalism is used in this study to refer to the employees voluntary provision of benefits security, and employee representation to other blue collar workers".⁷⁵, Robert Owen is viewed as the father of social responsibility of business due to the amount of attention he dedicated to the study of the concept. He went ahead to conduct scientific research at New Lanark mills which he established in 1810. He is viewed as the father of policy of reducing working hours from thirteen hours to twelve hours a day and then to ten hours a day.

During his time he is accredited for making the New Lanark Mill one of the most profitable companies'. In additions to ethical ground Owen also justified the model on the CSR pays debate? He argued that fair treatment of employees resulted in higher returns and higher profits.⁷⁶ Britain is also accredited for producing the first private sector pension scheme as posed by Kastle and Moore (2010). This marked the traces of old age pension of 1749 which was meant for merchant seamen and solely responsible for what was best for the employees this ensured that many employees benefited differently from embracing welfare capitalism.⁷⁷. When it comes to environmental responsibilities, smoke production was one of the major challenges facing the America industrial department.⁷⁸ Upon smoke regulation, some slogans used by some businesses in the United States such as "smoke means prosperity" were seen to oppose the regulation.⁷⁹

Nevertheless, this sentiment was not undertaken by a majority of the business community. As a response to corruption and smoke regulations in Chicago, April 1881, reformers and activists formed the Citizen's Association. Business people joined in on the protest that saw the enactment of anti-smoking laws.⁸⁰ However, this first regulation failed due to lack of adequate inspectors and political inclinations of the municipal judges who were easily bribed by the anti-regulatory representatives.

⁷⁵ Moriguchi, C. 2013. "Implicit Contracts, the Great Depression, and Institutional Change: A Comparative Analysis of U.S. and Japanese Employment Relations, 1920–1940." *Journal of Economic History*, 63: 625 – 65

⁷⁶ Gorb, P. 1951. "Robert Owen as a Businessman". *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society* 25 (3): 127 – 48.

⁷⁷ Hoffman, R. C. 2007. "Corporate Social Responsibility in the 1920s: An Institutional Perspective." *Journal of Management History* 13 (1): 55 – 73.

⁷⁸ Stradling, D., and Tarr , J. A. 2010. "Environmental Activism, Locomotive Smoke, and the Corporate Response: The Case of the Pennsylvania Railroad and Chicago Smoke Control." *Business History Review* 73 (4): 677 – 704.

⁷⁹ Uekoetter, F. 2011. "Divergent Responses to Identical Problems: Businessmen and the Smoke Nuisance in Germany and the United States, 1880–1917 " *Business History Review* 73 (4): 600 .

⁸⁰ Op cit, Stradling, pp. 677-704.

Consequently, a society for smoke prevention was organised in 1892 with an aim of resounding many downtown businesses to connect smoke control facilities. There existed many responses. Given its focus on education for the business leaders the Society was more active and eventually, more successful than the Citizens' Association. Engineers were hired to advise on the reduction of smoke emissions. Within a year, there was a 40 percent reduction in smoke emissions among the businesses and factories producing smoke. Unfortunately, this was just a drop in the ocean relative to the big problem at hand. In the end the Society failed mostly due to its inability to prosecute those who violated the smoke ordinances. As it were, more companies became more reluctant to participate in environmental reform because of the high cost.⁸¹

In Germany some features of the Rhenish model that stand out go back to the coal and iron mines where unions started coming up later in the fourteenth century. This sooner saw the formation of the insurer fund and from around 1770; many mine owners were able to contribute 1/120th of their gross income from coal businesses to safeguard their families from the effects of death, sickness and accidents. By the beginning of the first century, it was evident that company welfare programs started emerging in Germany, but unlike previously, they concentrated on the issue relating to housing, company stores and health insurance.

These actions in an effort to protect the environment or welfare capitalism as it was called paved the way for practices in the 20th and 21st century. In as much as these early practices were paternalistic as they reflected the social organizations of that time, they focused on the issues that were prevalent then. Environmental impact, Income distribution and social welfare were generally aligned with the profit capitalist system and in the end if they cost a company more than they were willing to give then they generally didn't go far.

⁸¹ Stradling, D., and Tarr, J. A. 2010. "Environmental Activism, Locomotive Smoke, and the Corporate Response: The Case of the Pennsylvania Railroad and Chicago Smoke Control." *Business History Review* 73 (4): 677 – 704

2.3.1 CSR Practices -The 20th and 21st Century

Many historians will agree that the idea of CSR emerged first in the 1930s and 1940s and was soon on mainstream publications like the social responsibilities of the businessman written by Howard Bowen.⁸² By the beginning of the 20th century in November 1900, more formal companies were devoted to social responsibility in the public interest. One major corporation, AT&T in 1927 first introduced the modern CSR model which later saw the inception of the 'Five Themes of CSR': environmental protection, child welfare, labor rights, consumer education and protection and corporate transparency.⁸³

Within the same period, it emerged the personnel politics coupled with positive publicity played a great role in helping managers to control other disputes. By the end of WW1 some managers started making claims of their responsibility as employers hence were able to fight for more comprehensive and concrete social responsibilities. The arrival and aftermath of depression limited the importance of management's voluntarism up to almost half a century until the emergence of neo liberalism revived managerial CSR in order to survive the global crisis.⁸⁴ The evolution of the CSR historically can be looked at from the periods in which the impact was largely felt. (Johnson, 2010)⁸⁵

CSR is still viewed as a product of industrialization, which started way back in 1870s. During this time, many business activities and organizations affected the society in myriad ways and the principle of stewardship and charity came into play. There was a major shift in 1970 when the concept shifted from corporate responsibility to a wider range of corporate responsiveness. This further incorporated sustainable development, stakeholder engagement and many social regulations⁸⁶

2.4 Conclusion

The Kenya Defence Forces dates back to the Kings African Rifle (KAR) which existed during the colonial era being a creation of the colonial administration. Prior to the creation of an organized military unit as a formal institution, communities had their own traditional

⁸² Schwartz, M. S. (2017). Corporate social responsibility. Routledge.

⁸³ Tai, F. M., & Chuang, S. H. (2014). Corporate social responsibility. *Ibusiness*, 6(03), 117.

⁸⁴ Tai, F. M., & Chuang, S. H. (2014). Corporate social responsibility. *Ibusiness*, 6(03), 117.

⁸⁵ Suliman, A. M., Al-Khatib, H. T., & Thomas, S. E. (2016). Corporate social responsibility. *Corporate Social Performance: Reflecting on the Past and Investing in the Future*, 15.

⁸⁶ Caroll A.B (2015) Corporate social responsibility .*Organisational dynamics* ,44(2) ,87-96.

mechanisms of protecting their interests.⁸⁷ The EAR therefor immensely contributed to the transformation and the establishment of the Kenyan Defence Forces from the pre-colonial Kings African Rifles. Having been formed after independence, and located in Nairobi, the Moi Air Base Eastleigh has several duties enshrined in the constitution.

MAB Eastleigh is located in Nairobi County and is part of KDF which was established after independence. Upon its establishment, the base grew to several sub sections and departments which were formed with a view of expanding the operational capabilities of the base. The base has several mandated duties as enshrined in the constitution on of Kenya 2010. The base has had several commanders who steered its capabilities and operational readiness to meet the mandated tasks at different ranks and levels.

⁸⁷ Ibid

CHAPTER THREE

CIVILIAN-MILITARY RELATIONS AT MOI AIR BASE

3.1 Introduction

The background of the origin and practice of CSR was mainly limited to, business environment and focused mainly to the twentieth century. This chapter will concentrate briefly on understanding CSR practice in the 21st century among Armed Forces. The focus is on the military and non-military responsibilities of the Kenya Air Force Eastleigh Base to the local civilian populations.

Over the years, scholars analyzing relations between institutions/organizations and host communities have repeatedly acknowledged the need for the organizations to render part of their profits to the local communities. This is as a sign of goodwill for the community accepting to host the entity and partly as ‘payment’ for the damage the business may be doing to the locals’ either directly or indirectly. One of such scholars is Henry Grant – a 20th century scientific thinker who observed that it is paramount that any business accept its ethical and social responsibilities and as such dedicate itself largely on offering community service.

3.2 Involvement of Defense Forces in Civic Activities

The background to the military's experience with civic-military-action can be traced back to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Although there was no clear definition of civil-military relations at that time, the process involved the use of armies working on non-military projects in nation building. In the United States for instance, bridge builders and road developers such as John Fremont and pioneers in public health such as Walter Reed laid the foundation for the emergence of the United States as a world power in the twentieth century.⁸⁸ The use of the military in missions that are not necessarily military in nature is thus not a new concept. It existed in developing countries and was introduced as joint military exercises and an Aid to militaries.

In this concept, Military Civic action can generally be explained as assisting an area, in this case, the local area or community, economically or socially, by using the capabilities and resources of the military forces to engage in projects that meet this end. This can take be in areas such as

⁸⁸ Edward B Glick, 1967. *Peaceful conflict: The non-military use of the military*, Stack pole Books, Harrisburg.

education and training, public works, agriculture, transportation, health and sanitation or any other area that vests on the persons on that locality a socioeconomic benefit of some sort.

The concept of civic-military relations is the application of expertise and military equipment to carry out minimal infrastructure building during peace time. Most of these activities fall under the departments of training and are meant to be conducted concurrently so that they don't interfere with the military's core roles of preparing for war. The concept was coined and introduced by the American army to the third world countries. The introduction of the Military Civic Action (MCA) was designed to meet civic requirements so as to limit Soviet military support to insurgents. It was therefore viewed as a way of promoting political stability in Africa by addressing poverty which is a core threat to political stability and sought to encourage military participation in social and economic development.⁸⁹

The program was designed to provoke the militaries in addressing some of the domestic problems that faced the fragile governments that had been left by the colonial powers. Among the issues that were pertinent in starting MCA are intrastate ethnic division, economic stagnation and towering foreign debt that had been made worse by the exponential increase in the price of petroleum, falling real prices for primary commodity exports, ill-conceived economic policies of new governments, and runaway population growth. The African population growth rate was the World's highest at approximately 3 percent per year. By 1992, the continent's population had nearly doubled since 1960, while economic growth per capita stagnated. Food production per person fell 15 percent in the 1970s and over 25 million Africans were facing famine.⁹⁰

The exponents of military-civic action had decent intentions that were and still are important in the nation making. Amongst them was the encouragement of military establishments to take non-military actions that would benefit the civilian population, such that if the military was not committed in war then it should then be of benefit to the taxpayers. The military would also popularize the government's efforts in improving the lives of the citizens, consequently enhancing political stability and further contributing to the country's cultural, social, and economic development. When the military's presence in the rural areas is accompanied with

⁸⁹Field Manual 41 -10, *Civil Affairs Operations*, 17 December 1985, pp. 1-6 and 3-2; also, Department of Defense, JCS Pub 1, *Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms*, The Joint Chiefs of Staff, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, June 1987, p.230.

⁹⁰ John W . De Pauw and George A Luz, 1992. *Winning the Peace: The Strategic Implications of Military Action*, Praeger Publishers, New York. P29.

activities that promote the social well-being of the people in marginalized areas, they promote the sense of belonging amongst the people. The people then identify with the military and in the process reduce social discontent and promote the nation-building process.

However, third world political development in the early 1960s led political scientists to question the applicability of the MCA given that Military regimes had proven unable to promote political stability or sustainable economic and social development. Much of the West's development aid to Africa had been committed on an *ad hoc* basis to counter the spread of Soviet influence, the fear of which had, at times, dominated the objectives of economic development and military assistance programs. In spite of the billions of dollars invested in Africa, poverty remained the chief cause of political instability, and governments had increasingly fewer resources to meet the economic and ethnic demands placed upon their fragile political systems. By 1979, the African military was increasingly ignored by Western developmental institutions.

While the idea of military regime superiority in leading economic development in the third world has proven untrue, the Kenyan military has remained relatively best organized and trained than most civilian governmental institutions. Civil-military action in Kenya has over the years taken advantage of certain general strengths among the military such as: existence of a bureaucratic organization retained from colonial parent institutions; a general multiethnic composition and sense of national purpose that transcended ethnic allegiance; operational efficiency greater than civil organizations; substantial overseas training and familiarity with Western technical procedures; military budgets, and thus capabilities, which are less affected by renewed fiscal austerity measures; and, for security reasons, the frequent possession by the military of logistical and support resources in distant regions where private contractors could not operate and where civil servants resist being assigned.⁹¹

3.3 CSR within KDFs (Military and Non-Military Duties)

Corporate Social Responsibilities take many divergent forms in the Kenyan Defense Forces. The military experiences moral attitude, especially across top echelons related to CSR practices. Equally, many departments within the military have shown increasingly high tendencies to engage in CSR activities towards the orphans, widows and widowers. In most scenarios, military doctrine and leaderships have a moral obligation to put extra weight on caring for staff protecting

⁹¹ Oral interview, Maj. John Mutongoria, Moi Air Base, Eastleigh, 28th August, 2018.

customers, supplier rights and environment, a clear indication that the military has a strong influence on the value and social contributions to the society.⁹²

KDF has integrated social and environmental concerns by encouraging civic connection, economic progression and an improved quality of life. The greatest environmental impact has been the extensive planting of trees in various regions within the country, including Kibiko in Ngong, Bahati in Nakuru among many others. KDF's approach to social responsibility cogitates a vast number of sustainable initiatives including, but not limited to, healthcare, education, community and the environmental aspects. KDF's strong ethical principles and family traditions steer the Corporate Social Responsibility within the Kenya Defense Force. They encourage inclusivity, diversity and equal opportunity in a healthy environment; capitalize on their stewardship toward local communities and the country. This is done through providing Community outreach and support.⁹³ KDF has offered a number of non-military services to the locals of Eastleigh. This includes;

3.3.1 Education

Among other duties, KDF support various organizations and communities through Schools and other forms of educational centers within Eastleigh. This is aimed at helping local children by providing them with a stable learning environment. As such, KDF visits some of the nearby schools to offer guidance and motivational talks about issues such as education, Sexually transmitted Diseases, careers development and impact of engaging in crime. MAB has many resources available to support education, including a library which can be accessed by the local communities and children. *Evaline Nyachieng'a* a local resident of Huruma estate states expressly,

“Though I don't reside within MAB, I prefer to visit MAB library with my friend and classmates Jane whose parents are soldiers'.I prefer reading at the MAB library during school holidays because it has many reference books, facilities and materials. I get to type my work more easily and do further research on the computers. The library is never crowded, as most soldiers visit

⁹²Oral interview, Sgt Winfred Masereti, Moi Air Base, Eastleigh, 27th August, 2018.

⁹³Omanga, D., & Chepngetich-Omanga, P. (2013). Twitter and Africa's 'War on Terror': News Framing and Convergence in Kenya's Operation Linda Nchi. *In New Media Influence on Social and Political Change in Africa* (pp. 241-256)

the library during lunch breaks and after work. It is a serene and conducive environment for reading and revision due to the strict discipline.”

MAB personnel face continuous movements and transitions due to their nature of the job, these periods are usually very stressful for their families, especially children who are constantly separated from their parents, libraries provide a stable and welcoming destination for these children and spouses kids and spouses. In recent years, equally MAB has also put in place a lot of efforts to to connect their families with the outside world through a variety of educational services offered within the Base. Through various churches within the Base MAB has been able to offer many youth development programs, curriculums and activities, education and career programs. MAB library which is open to local communities is seen as a way of fostering a love and respect for books within the local communities as well as giving the locals an opportunity to meet and interact with military families and friends through various study programs.

Apart from the usual motivational career talks and donation of books and materials to the schools, Kenya Air Force has a motivational program for the less privileged but well-performing pupils from the area. Kids who perform well in national exams are given a treat by the Air Force staff. This includes an air lift to prestigious place like Mombasa. This is aimed at motivating the students to perform even better and encourage others to work hard and achieve academic excellence. Since the programme was launched about five years ago, MAB primary school and MFA has recorded improved performance in both KCSE and KCPE.⁹⁴

Through the M-pesa Foundation Academy many students and staffs visit MAB for the mentorship program. The students are usually taken through presentation showing various activities carried out by KAF, including mandate, roles and organization of KAF that are paramount for KAF to achieve its mandate as a security organ in the country. During such programs the students are usually challenged to work ⁹⁵hard in their academics if they intend to join the military after their secondary education.

⁹⁴Oral interview, Miss Everline Nyachieng’ a Moi Air Base, Eastleigh, 27th August, 2018.



Fig.1 M-pesa Foundation Academy students pose for a photo with Kenya Air Force personnel at Moi Air Base during their visit at the base.



Fig 2. M-Pesa Foundation Academy students disembark from Dash 8 Aircraft after their air-experience in the Aircraft.

3.3.2 Sports and Recreation

Moi Air Base as a part of the community has endeavored to support the growth and development of various sustainable sports and recreational activities that encourage participation, nurturing of talents and contribute to the general well-being of persons at the individual level and at times in group capacity within and around MAB. This acts as an effective tool for making positive impact mentally, physically, emotionally and socially at both the personal and local levels.

MAB has organised several sports activities incorporating the local's communities. These sports include football, hockey, basketball, drama, handball among others. Through various competitions, MAB has been able to bring together the locals through engaging them in shared experiences and achievements. This has proven to help address anti-social behaviours and also support education and awareness in the area. MAB has also created inclusivity for some of the youngsters around the area by adopting and enrolling them in some of the military clubs and getting them out of unemployment. This has helped sustain the environment by protecting open space and natural areas. It has also encouraged cycling and walking as alternative modes of getting around, which have scientifically been proven to be good for the body. Such teams include St. John's netball of Korokocho slums, Mathare United Football Club, *Menonites* basketball club in Eastleigh and Umoja basketball team

Another initiative is the gymnasium that is frequented by many local youth who take pride in training for various sports activities like soccer, basketball, handball and squash alongside their military counterparts. The gymnasium also has fitness rooms for basic working out and game rooms for playing pool or board games with friends where people can relieve stress and tension of some sort. There are also volunteer and employment opportunities for those who want to engage in after school jobs or just want to volunteer as a way of keeping busy or giving back. These facilities aid the youth spend their time wisely and creatively and avoid such vices like crimes and criminal activities within the surrounding areas of *Kiamaiko, Huruma, Mathare Eastleigh* and *Majengo* areas.

On Friday, 23 March 2018 KAF commander launched the critically acclaimed Kenyan German short movie "*Watu Wote*" screened for the first time at Moi Air Base and attended by locals. His sentiments after the launch:

“I challenge all of us to learn from this short film and realize that no matter where we come from, as Kenyans we need each other. Let us reject all forms of discrimination and religious separation and continue to look out for each other.”



Fig. 3 Commander, Kenya Air Force Major Gen Samuel Thuita with the “WatuWote” short Film



The students under PURES programme enjoy a ride in the the Kenya Air Force Y12 Aircraft during their visit to Moi Air Base.

3.3.3 Disaster and Crises Management

Kenya has been affected by many natural and man-made disasters from time to time. These disasters range from floods, terrorism, landslides, accidents on land, air and sea, draught and wide breakouts of diseases among others. The occurrence of such calamities is usually beyond the control of humans resulting in almost instant alterations in the lives of the affected populations or victims. The socio-economic results of these calamities can be overwhelmingly devastating. KDF has a role to play in civilian life during these times. This is in line with the Kenya Defence Forces Act that provides for KDF's to intervene internally to address humanitarian, natural and man-made disasters. Implementation of which is done through the forces' working manual, the standard operating procedures.

According to Capt. Orina (Rtd) of Engineers Battalion Thika, KDF has a well elaborate organized and managed disaster response and rescue system which is capable of handling and responding to many natural calamities within the country and even across the border. The members of the KAF Rapid Deployment Squadron (RDS) are a selection of disciplined and well trained personnel with remarkable leadership qualities. They exhibit honesty, sincerity, co-operation, discipline and above all patriotism in performing given tasks. They can handle and manage any calamity successfully. This can also be attributed to their specialized and joint training with different armies and organizations in the world which impart training to the capabilities of the different members in the squad. These include doctors, engineers and other professionals needed to meet the different needs that come up during such emergencies. These experts become extremely necessary to meet any emergency and to conduct relief and rehabilitation work.⁹⁶

Since the turn of the last decade of the 20th century, KDF has been involved in a number of cases involving disaster management. The team is able to respond quickly with aid, both product and customer support because of KDF's strong associations across the field of care and its rapport with locals on-the-ground and organizations, and help restore the lives of people impacted national floods, draughts, collapsed buildings, accidents, including air crashes, and terror attacks. This was witnessed in the 1998 twin bombing of the American Embassy in Nairobi's Central Business District, the bombing of Israel Hotels at the coast, the collapse of buildings in Huruma Estate in Eastleigh, the floods in Mt. Elgon among other casualty areas. Each year they donate

⁹⁶ Oral interview, Capt Kevin Orina,(Rtd) Engineers Section, Thika Barrack, 29th August, 2018.

funds and products to help persons affected directly by these disasters and crises in areas like Boni, Mt. Elgon, Mpeketoni, Solai and North eastern counties.⁹⁷

Military's involvement in such sensitive activities is based on their extensive training and access to facilities capable of operating in such areas. Through their operation in such activities, the military has been in a position to save lives and property. Through the Rapid Response Unit, a wing of the Kenya Air Force, the military has often managed to transport individuals in crises to areas of safety where they can easily access medication or security. This often happens when an area is under attack, the threat of attack or a building has collapsed rendering many people homeless.

KDF makes contributions in dealing with such kind of disasters as laid down in KDF's Aid to Civil Authorities Act of 2012. Experience shows that the forces are very effective in counter-disaster role. This is due to their capability in sustained operation in diverse weather and terrain environments, flexible organizational structure, and highly trained management system than most civilian institutions. In addition, many of their day to day undertakings are highly comparable to those in public emergency services. KDF thus offers an invaluable amount of support to the victims, especially in the areas of engineering, communications, transport, rescue, emergency medical services, field sanitation, water supply and many more as various emergencies may necessitate.

KAF has played many roles in crisis and disaster management around the country. This includes various response strategies like: search and rescue, casualty evacuation, opening of communication lanes, clearance of debris, relief operation, field hospitals, provision of ground equipment, firefighting, digging of boreholes and dams, maritime search and rescue, sea casualty evacuation, maritime surveillance, supply drops and air surveillance among others .On 3rd June 2018, for instance, a building collapsed in Huruma estate near MAB, and the Rapid Deployment Unit responded quickly by providing relief, security, water, medical services and logistic support service to the victims and their families

⁹⁷Engstrom, J. (2013). Taking disaster seriously: East Asian military involvement in international disaster relief operations and the implications for force projection. *Asian Security*, 9(1), 38-61.



Fig 4. Kenya Air force soldier carrying an elderly man in his arms away from floods.

3.3.4 Environmental Stewardship

This deals with the responsibility to use and protect the natural environment by the application of proper methods of conservation and sustainable practices. Environmental concerns are a greater part of KDF's CSR. This is because of the effects of military installations on the environment. The aspect of training, testing armory and the net effects of confining a large group of military individuals and their families within a restricted environment often impact negatively on the environment. As a result, the KDF has taken it upon themselves to protect the environment, not only where the bases are located, but also in other areas that represent greater national interests like water catchment areas, forests among others.⁹⁸

KDF has been on the forefront in the preservation of the natural resources where the local population live and work. The MAB command structure has been keen on the utilization and preservation of various natural resources. Being careful stewards of the natural resources, MAB personnel continually endeavor to embrace measures that reduce negative environmental impact. For example, KDF plants trees in many areas where they are training, including Larisoro,

⁹⁸Oral interview, Cpl, Mercy Wanjiru, Moi Air Base, Eastleigh,, 26th August, 2018

Baringo, Laikipia, Kibiko in Ngong area Bahati in Nakuru and Bamburi in Mombasa just to mention a few. They also engage in waste disposal activities, including recycling whenever possible, selected suppliers geographically placed to reduce delivery distances, utilize renewable resources and facilities in the design and production of several products and in their daily business practices and facilitate source reduction and waste minimization best practices throughout manufacturing process and waste disposal activities within the various Kenya Defense Forces Ordinance Corps (DFOC) manufacturing outlets in Gilgil and Eldoret.⁹⁹

KDF has been involved in cleaning exercises in Kiondo and Ndodoro within Lanet region. Additionally, Kenya military academy have in many occasion taken part in the cleaning of the Nakuru Provincial General Hospital in Nakuru, mentoring children and students at Lanet primary and Moi forces academy, and visit to New Life Children Home for orphans where they do voluntary work, offer psycho-social assistance, mentoring, cleaning and provide basic necessities to needy girls including sanitary towels.¹⁰⁰

A stand out case in point relating to civil-military relations in Kenya is the Mount Kenya Trust that has been supported by the Kenya Air force since 2008 and is in continuing partnership to date. The Trust is dedicated to helping preserve and protect Mount Kenya, which is recognized by The United Nations Educational and Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) as a world heritage site. The engagement of the Kenyan Air force offers the Trust increasing publicity in their in-flight information pack. It is imperative that the Kenyan Air force display their support for local projects that preserve Kenya's heritage, which forms an intrinsic part of the Kenyan culture.

In the case of Eastleigh, there has been tree planting along the base's fences and in Moi Air Base Academy beside the camp. The aim is to make the environment habitable not only to the soldiers, but to the civilian population nearby. Cleaning activities on Mathare and Huruma areas have also been sporadically conducted especially on days marking a historical event within the military. The MAB leadership has also often partnered with environmental organizations in the city on areas of environmental conservancy and protection. They have visited Ngong forest and other areas of interest nearby to participate in tree planning in addition to carrying out sensitization classes on environment conservation to nearby schools in Eastleigh.

⁹⁹ Oral interview, Sgt. Michael Wanambisi, Moi Air Base, Eastleigh,, 28th August, 2018

¹⁰⁰ Oral interview, Pte David Otieno,.Lanet Barracks, Nakuru County, 2nd August, 2018.

Equally KDF continues to manage the environmental impact of military bases and training fields. This includes through the establishment of various incinerators within many bases barracks and formations. Equally they actively encourage and support awareness activities in the community and ensure the exercise of integrity and leadership in relation to the environment, including adherence to a no-tree-cutting policy even during training sessions.¹⁰¹ According to Sergeant Odhiambo:

The use of incinerators is meant to reduce pollution. Usage of incinerators helps in disposal of refuse in a safe manner without putting the environment in danger. This is very helpful, especially in areas like Eastleigh which are densely populated.¹⁰²

As a result of its interactions and integration with other institutions KDF institution's mandate goes beyond the strict legal obligations and therefore its structure, management and policies interlink with other societal, environmental and human rights concerns.

Regarding the Ministry of Defences Corporate Social Responsibility record, the ministry obtained the highest grade for sustainability as a result of its objective of reduction in energy consumption, environmental conservation, work life balance and ease of access provided for persons with disabilities.

3.3.5 Contribution to Economic Development

Traditionally, the role of most armies was limited to protecting countries against external threats. The political power vested in the statesmen gives them the authority to rule their subjects, tax them in exchange of freedom and security. These powers further extend beyond the territorial boundaries in the international system through diplomacy and other means of extracting capital to satisfy their obligations domestically. The realist paradigm also presupposes that the state is the main actor in the world community of states and that there is no other supreme authority above that of the state. Therefore, in order for a state to achieve its national interests both domestically and abroad, it must have sufficient power. To achieve these objectives, states use diplomacy through statesmen. However, to impose its will over others in the face of resistance, the state needs an institution of enforcement. The state must, therefore, have an instrument or

¹⁰¹ Oral interview, Sgt. Michael Wanambisi, Moi Air Base, Eastleigh,, 28th August, 2018

¹⁰² Oral interview, Sgt. George Odhiambo Moi Air Base Eastleigh, 27th August 2018

tool that will either promise dire consequences if compliance is not forthcoming or actually use brute force to achieve these objectives. The institution charged with the responsibility of achieving national interests using force, either to threaten or coerce or enforce obedience is the military.

One of the most important interests of a state is to maintain sovereignty and territorial integrity and this is the domain of the military, else known as a strategy. Therefore, in all its endeavors, a state has a military as one of its instruments of power that can be used to coerce or threaten other states in order to achieve its core goals and objectives, else referred to as national interests. This has been the military's traditional role and has been the main concern in national security. However, as from the early 1980s, it became evident that the economic threats and political stability became the mere survival threatening than military threats, in Kenya and other third world countries. The manifestation of the economic threat was in poverty where over 56 percent of the population lived below one dollar per day by 1992. Therefore, when marshaling the state's scarce resources the most vulnerable threat should receive the greatest attention. The national grand strategizing began to critically look at the three main instruments of a state's power, the political, military and economic. To come up with a well-balanced and coordinated security policy, it became paramount to inculcate the military in development activities. The aim is to achieve national security through harmonization of a country's elements of power, namely: economic strength, political leadership and military strength.

Since then, KDF has periodically been appropriated in development projects around the country. KDF has the capacity to participate in economic development and poverty eradication. This is done through the construction of road networks, water reservoirs for irrigation among other contributions. The capabilities of the Kenya Defence Forces that can be directly applied to poverty alleviation and economic development include the Engineering Corps who are capable of horizontal Construction; that includes construction of roads, bridges, and dams. The Brigade is also capable of tarmacking roads, road constructing and vertical which refers to both construction of new structures and renovation of existing ones. The current personnel strength, tools and equipment holding allows for construction of many more projects per year. The Engineers Brigade has a capability for borehole drilling and water purification. In terms of disaster management and prevention, the brigade has capability of preventing and management in areas of floods, construction of bridges and provision of water. Their capability can be

improved tremendously depending on the magnitude, as a number of projects can be undertaken simultaneously.¹⁰³

3.3.6 Provision of Health and Medical Services

The KDF is involved in various health programs, both as an institution and in conjunction with civil societies and charity organizations. As an organization, KDF has Medical Corps – a unit involved in the provision of medical care that has the potential of conducting MEDCAPS - scheduled large camps comprising of a broad range of medical specialists. Patients are screened and given medical and surgical treatment or referral services for follow-up in well-established medical institutions. Presently, the Corps does not have a capability to conduct MEDICAPS on its own due to shortage of staff, equipment and medicines. In the past, this has only been possible with the assistance of NGOs, Ministry of Health and foreign forces. On its own, the Corps can only offer consultancy services.¹⁰⁴ However, the inability to conduct MEDICAPS hasn't prevented KDF from offering medical assistance to the Locals. To cover for shortage of staff, the soldiers have resorted to conducting minor outreach medical services. According to Captain (Dr.) Richard Mwanza:

The outreach medical services are those services that can be offered to communities neighbouring military barracks. Unlike the MEDICAP, medical teams do not have to establish camps outside the barracks. The teams just serve the neighbourhood and move back to barracks. Such services can be organised from a central point, e.g. Medical Battalion and coordinated by regional medical officers. Also, unlike the MEDICAP, health education is provided in addition to disease diagnosis and treatment. ¹⁰⁵

However, the most easily available medical services provided by the military institution is Sentinel Assistance. The Sentinel Assistance medical services are outpatient services that can be offered to the local populace in military hospitals or medical centres free of charge. They are different from emergency services that are currently offered at military facilities. However, they involve only general counseling and VCT. No treatment is given. Presently, the Medical Corps

¹⁰³Francis, M. Kibicho, (2005). The Role of Military in National Development: A Case Study of Kenya. MA Project, University of Nairobi, pp. 70-71.

¹⁰⁴Francis, M. Kibicho, (2005). The Role of Military in National Development: A Case Study of Kenya. MA Project, University of Nairobi, pp. 70-71.

¹⁰⁵Oral interview, Capt Dr. Richard Mwanza, , Moi Air Base Eastleigh, 26th August, 2018

has the capability to meet most of the requirements in this area. Moi Air Base Eastleigh often provides emergency services to nearby community whenever such need arises.¹⁰⁶

In addition to Sentinel Assistance is Special Assignments medical services which are special exercises that the Medical Corps can undertake in aid to the Ministry of Health. They include provision of medical services in areas where the ministry is unable to access and to nomadic communities whose movements may be difficult to trace. Services offered include routine national vaccinations and emergency medical treatments. As a result of the nature, this service is not provided in Eastleigh by the military, though, at times, the military facility is used in the event of emergencies or under request.¹⁰⁷

In the case of hospitals, KDF often helps children in emergencies by allowing them to access in-camp medical facilities and medication prior to being moved to civilian facilities. Orphans and disabled or street children are, however, allowed in a number of circumstances to have the full treatment in base-based facilities. In addition, the military has over the years been motivated to make a greater impact in the lives of families experiencing serious health issues, including military personnel and their families, and those impacted by natural disaster and crisis.¹⁰⁸

Moi Air Base Eastleigh supports various medical organizations and nonprofit organizations involved in the provision of free medical service to patients and families navigating serious health challenges like the epilepsy centers in Eastleigh area. Equally they take care of orphans in SOS where they have a responsibility to provide for the orphans and less disadvantaged members of the society within the region, which provides an accelerated pathway for breakthrough technology and further hope to patients in critical need.¹⁰⁹

For instance, the Kenya Air Force MAB fraternity on 13th October 2017 visited ‘Missionaries of Charity Mother Teresa Home of Mercy’ situated in Kiamaiko, Nairobi. Moi Air Base Commander, Brigadier Mohammed Badi led a contingent of officers and service personnel from Moi Air Base in this noble cause.¹¹⁰ According to Major Mutuku, of Rapid Deployment Unit,

¹⁰⁶ Ibid

¹⁰⁷ Ibid

¹⁰⁸ Oral interview, Cpl James Mutua Muli, Moi Air Base, Eastleigh,, 29 August, 2018.

¹⁰⁹ Oral interview, Sgt Wycliffe Ochieng, Moi Air Base, Eastleigh,, 27ths August, 2018

¹¹⁰ Strategic intelligence service (2018). Kenya Air Force. Retrieved from <https://intelligencebriefs.com/tag/kenya-air-force/>

The essence of the visit was to share with the less fortunate and share with them experiences of life. Since the inception of KDF Day in the Kenyan military calendar, personnel engage themselves in giving back to the community through Civil Military Cooperation (CIMIC) before the main celebration which is scheduled every 14th day in the month of October annually. This year, Kenya Air Force donated food and beddings to the Mother Teresa Children's Home.¹¹¹

This linkage with civil society is helpful especially to KDF members leaving the force. Through KDF's partnership with DEFOKA, DEFMIS, they have helped make the changeover from military to civilian life a little easier for service members who are looking for meaningful employment after courageously serving the Kenyan Region.¹¹²

Plans are underway to launch mobile health strategy which is a practice of medical and public health supported by mobile devices such as mobiles phones, patient monitoring, devices, personal digital assistants (PDA) and other wireless devices KAF has been able to reach treat and monitor many local patients suffering from diseases like HIV, AIDS, malaria, tuberculosis, respiratory infections, diarrhea and malnutrition among others this initiative has reduced both morbidity and mortality around the area thus attracting more locals closer to the military establishments.

3.4 New Concepts within Civil –Military Relations in Kenya

Globalization and its intended consequences of liberal trade and technological advancement has greatly influenced the way civil-military relations in Kenya and the world over. In addition, the interconnectedness and interdependence among institutions has further drawn people and communities closer hence leading to transnational crime, environmental threats and other vices that affect both the civilian and military populations.

Several countries have a hard time handling security challenges when using the police units – the traditional intra-state peacekeepers. Security threats such as terrorism in Kenya are now more diverse and complex. These emerging strategically innovative realities dictate that closer cooperation and multi-dimensional reactions between the police and military are increasingly needed to safeguard national and regional security. The military is therefore being increasingly employed in keeping internal security. In Eastleigh, the military are under some circumstances

¹¹¹ Oral interview, James Mutuku (Major), Moi Air Base Eastleigh, 27th August, 2018

¹¹² Oral interview, Warrant Officer 11, Philip Ole Loina, Moi Air Base, Eastleigh,, 29 August, 2018

involved in patrolling nearby areas such as *Mlango Kubwa* and the Eastleigh area. This has been common since 2012 following an increase in cases of terrorism in the area.

Humanitarian relief is also an issue of concern for the Kenya military in light of the many large-scale disasters that occur in the country. During the bombing of the American Embassy the military had to use their resources to minimize the level of suffering and save as many lives as possible. The collapse of a five story apartment in Huruma, Eastleigh area is another instance in which the military involvement was necessitated. These unprecedented disasters require highly skilled teams that can be mobilized within minimal time. Such kinds of attributes are easily available in the military. These major disasters inflict damage on local and regional economies, as well as the social stability and security of the people. These disasters inflict more damage than any military invasion and therefore need to be taken into consideration when training our armies. Eastleigh Air Force Unit has played important roles, when called upon, in a coordinated response to humanitarian and disaster relief contingencies in the area.

The Kenyan armed forces have contributed in reducing incidences of trafficking and illegal fishing by engaging in through navigational safety operations. Military exchanges and exercises and other defence, diplomacy operations such as exchange programmes and seminars have also contributed towards promoting a culture of peaceful dispute resolution.¹¹³

3.5 Conclusion

Moi Air Force Eastleigh Base derives its authority, duties and responsibilities from the Kenya Defence Forces Act. The Kenya Defence Forces, as established and constituted under Chapter 199 of the Laws of Kenya provides the military component of national power. In provision of national security, the Kenya Defence Forces translates the rules given by the Act as primarily categorized into two main areas, the primary role, which is to defend the country's territorial integrity from external aggression, preserve national sovereignty and guarantee security.

This role is achieved directly in war and indirectly during peacetime as follows; during war, the Kenya Armed Forces will defend the citizens, the national territory and assets against external aggression. The Defence Forces, according to the Chapter should, restore and maintain peace and security by bringing war to an end as quickly as possible and on terms most favorable to Kenya's

¹¹³Revolv. History of Kenya Air Force. Retrieved from <https://www.revolv.com/main/index.php?s=Kenya+Air+Force>

national interests. In peacetime the Defence Forces shall ensure that the highest operational readiness for deployment in the event of war. This is achieved through education and training of personnel and maintenance of equipment. This battle readiness preparation forms part of the deterrence posture to would-be potential enemies and subsequently guarantee some security for other activities to take part undisturbed.

The secondary role of the Kenya Defence Forces is aid to civil authority. This role includes internal security operations whose purpose is the restoration of law and order. It also includes operations other than war, such as disaster prevention or management, crisis management and humanitarian aid. As in the primary role, all these operations are aimed at restoring and maintaining an environment that is conducive to economic development. The primary and secondary roles of the Kenya Defense Forces gives the country's stability for both citizens and foreigners to engage in economic investment and in so doing contribute to poverty reduction and economic development, though indirectly. However, in times of peace, the Defence Forces are directly involved in civil activities that are beneficial to the citizens, such as borehole drilling, dam construction and de-silting of dams, road and bridge construction and participate in collaborative efforts in the provision of health services.

However, military-civic action should complement, and not detract from, the development of the private sector and civilian institutions. Projects should not benefit the elites or special interest groups. The program is only aimed at providing resources to the military to allow them to utilize the military manpower and equipment to participate in the economic development of the country, and thereby enhance the perceived legitimacy of the national governments in the eyes of the populace. Critics suggested that the use of the better-developed military would preclude the growth of public-sector development institutions and suggested that it would be safer to separate the roles of the military and civil government. Others feared that the military would rob the government of legitimacy in the eyes of its people. Despite fears raised, Kenya's Defense Forces have continued to play a critical role in developing and humanitarian, non-military duties.

CHAPTER FOUR

IMPACT OF CIVILIAN –MILITARY RELATIONS ON MOI AIR BASE EASTLEIGH

4.1 Introduction

In the current era of globalisation and the emergence of liberal democracy, issues of human development are high on the agenda of most countries especially the third world young democracies. The main question that lingers in the minds of leaders and strategic planners is whether the military is a priority to economic development. These questions have come to the fore in the thinking of policy makers and planners in determining the allocation of the meager resources amongst enormous needs. This has led to the renewed conceptualization of 4 national securities that has been said to include new issues that were not considered as threats. The broad conceptualization of national security has included political, environmental, economic and societal issues that are a threat to the survival of a nation state.

The question here in Kenya has become more pertinent in that, the failed state of Somalia has caused more insecurity than when the country was intact. Does the military have any role in combating this non-military insecurity that is caused by criminals, in breaking law and order in within Kenyan boundaries? What aspect of approach should be adopted in addressing factors that make local youths join up with terrorist groups across the border? Is national security limited to defense against physical harm? What is the post-cold war relevance of the role the military in nation building?

The argument in Kenya and indeed in a number of African countries is that the huge budgets that went to military building and amassing weapons for human destruction should now be turned to issues of national development. The prominence of the human security has permeated reorientation of the discourse on security from an individual perspective and broadened their understanding and analysis of the current and contemporary threats /

Lack of the basic human needs results in the competition of the scarce resources that are available and this becomes a source of conflict. The states are expected to arbitrate these conflicts which are mostly non-military in nature. However, the escalation of resource scarcity can cause more and more people to be involved and hence community conflict explodes. If these conflicts exceed without the government taking control, the afflicted communities arm themselves in readiness to defend their own people. These are the initial signs of a failing state in

that the state has ceded the sole authority of controlling the instruments of violence to a sub-national actor. After the demise of the cold war more of these conflicts have become evident, especially in Africa, where the secession of power was looked at as either cattle rustling or wars of self-determination sponsored by the protagonists of the cold war rivalry then. This has led to the collapse of states from domestic upheavals that could not be stopped by the militaries of those countries.

4.2 Role and Impact of Military in National Development

To avoid collapse of a state, it is therefore imperative to ensure that the instruments of power in the state are all harmonized. The harmonization means the tackling of domestic human development needs in order to provide the necessary security. In Kenya, the military as one of the most organized institution of the government and the custodian of the main instruments of unleashing violence should be in the main focus. Traditionally, there is no doubt about the role of the military in the defense of territorial integrity to achieve sovereignty in the anarchical world. The main concern is the role the military plays to assist in achieving human security which is a domestic matter, however, this might only seem so to those outside the profession of the military. KDF has specific roles within the domestic realm and human development is one of them. This role of the military in national development is not a new phenomenon, it is something the military has always done, but since it is not a core role it has not been highlighted.

The Kenyan military has always been involved in aid to the civil power in the form of disaster management, road construction, search and rescue and many other social activities to improve the lives of the citizens. But due to the secrecy surrounding military activities the public does not get to know about them and even considers such activities as free military services that cost the government no resources. By the end of the cold war and the demise of the Soviet Union security has been looked at from different prisms, military security has been taken as only one aspect. This has brought about the changing concepts of security, for it has been seen that the concept of security in the eyes of military strategy is narrow and deceitful. There have been new concepts that have involved other issues that are more survival threatening than military threats.

To increase operational effectiveness of the forces, the Kenya Defence Forces undertake public health programs, thereby contributing in advancing the broader national goals by reaching the broader civilian population, which might not be adequately served especially the marginalized communities are hard to reach populations such as those experiencing humanitarian emergencies.

4.3 Impact of Civilian-Military interaction in Eastleigh Area

There are several outcomes of the interaction between the military and civilian populations within Eastleigh area. These are both positive as well as negative in nature.

4.3.1 Positive Impact

Eastleigh Air Base has been in existence for over half a century now. Over that time, there has been interaction between the locals and the camp dwellers, including the soldiers, officers and their families. The interaction assumes economic, social and cultural aspects. Among the benefits of this interconnectedness are:

4.3.1.1 Cultural Enrichment

Culture involves how people live together, cooperate and interact with each other and how they justify such interactions through values, beliefs and norms. Moi Air Base Eastleigh has witnessed an increase in relations among the soldiers, their families and the civilian population living in nearby areas. They meet in common social joints such as restaurants within and outside camps, in bars and religious institutions. This has resulted in close ties leading to cross-ethnic marriages. Bearing in mind the cosmopolitan nature of Eastleigh area and the military barrack, this intermingling has resulted in cultural exchange in a number of variables. For instance, the soldiers are able to access a different variety of foods from the diverse traders outside the camps. People from different communities are in a position to try out different diets from other ethnic communities.¹¹⁴

Dressing especially for female soldiers has also been altered. This is because of the great presence of Somali community in the area – known for their unique, often Islam-guided mode of dressing. There are also people from the coastal region, Ethiopians, Eritreans, Congolese, Rwandese and Ugandans. According to *Sgt Mary Kendi* all these have contributed to an emergence of a diverse dress code in the area. This has gone hand in hand with dietary, in which the most influential are the Somali and the coastal type of dishes often comprising of rice, *pilau* with fish, chicken or goat meat. The majority of soldiers, especially the young unmarried ones, often get their food from nearby *kiosks* during weekends and public holidays when most of the Base canteens are closed. In a country where ethnicity is rife, the close contact among

¹¹⁴ Oral interview, Sgt Mary Kendi Moi Air Base Eastleigh, 29th August, 2018

individuals from different ethnic communities could only be beneficial as it fosters a sense of oneness and national unity.¹¹⁵ She adds that:

Inter-ethnic marriages have resulted in linguistic exchanges. This is likely to help reduce incidences of ethnic violence as most people get to individuals from other communities. The interactions, close linkages and shared interests in our national security is bound to foster peace. This in turn could result in development as people get to learn to trust each other and relate in trade and commercial activities.¹¹⁶

The presence of Mosques and Churches within the camps has also culturally enriched the population as individuals with varied backgrounds often congregate to pray together. This has helped in sensitizing the civilian population on matters of security and the consequences of engaging in terror and criminal activities. In a way, the preaching of peace has been centralized.

4.3.1.2 Boost Trade

Eastleigh area is known for its booming trade in clothing, restaurant and electronic commodities. The cosmopolitan nature of its population, plus the sensational population provides a rich hub of customers for the trader. The complex relationship between Somalis in the area and those in Somalia or abroad has created an international network in which trade goods from different parts of the globe are accessed and transported to Eastleigh for trade. With the help of these connections, goods are accessed from the USA, Dubai, Scandinavian countries like Sweden and Denmark as well as Oman, Kuwait, China, and Britain.

The addition of soldiers and their families in this area has made a contribution to the business ventures as they provide a ready-made consumer base for the businesses. The soldiers and their families are on the other hand able to access goods they require easily thanks to their proximity to *Eastleigh*, *Huruma* and *Mathare* markets. Those who are unable to access the goods in the market can still buy them in the camps from traders (usually, ladies) who hawk their wares within the base vicinity. They supply clothes, fruits and household goods often at a slightly

¹¹⁵ Oral interview, Cpl Timothy Banda Moi Air Base Eastleigh, 29th August, 2018

¹¹⁶ Ibid

higher price than the market prices. However, they are reliable and easy to transact a bargain with.¹¹⁷ Sergeant Okwiri adds that:

Because of the large number of soldiers in this bivouac, a number of bars, eateries, shopping outlets, vegetable shops, barber shops, little eating houses, carpentry shops and market places have been grounded in regions close to the camps to cater for the camp inhabitants. These have helped us as we can easily access what we need without having to walk long distances. We can also access a variety of goods from a single place instead of buying them in different outlets. On the other hand, it has promoted business for the locals who are able to get a profit from every transaction they make. We are therefore experiencing a symbiotic relationship in which we benefit the locals and they benefit us as well.¹¹⁸

4.3.1.3 Improved Security

Civil-military relation and close contact has reduced incidences of insecurity in the Eastleigh area. This has happened in a myriad of ways. Firstly, the existence of the military base serves as deterrence to criminals from engaging in criminal activities in the area. Secondly, the opening up of various business avenues due to the base population has accommodated a number of would-be jobless youths who could have been tempted into joining criminal gangs. The majority of youths engage in activities such as operating hair cut shops, running tuck shops and grocery shops. By providing a consumer base to this group, it facilitates their activities getting them occupied.

This has reduced instances of crime, such as petty theft, robbery and pick pocketing that were once prevalent in the area. Insecurity has also been hindered by constant patrols conducted in the area sometime by military, especially in response to instances of terror or robbery with violence around the military base. There is a security paradigm shift globally and MAB has made tremendous effort in ensuring environmental security through participating in environmental and food security programs.

MAB ensures its own security by first ensuring the security of the local communities around them. This they achieve through collecting networking information, sharing crime prevention

¹¹⁷ Oral interview Sgt Liam Okwiri Moi Air Base Eastleigh, 29th August, 2018

¹¹⁸ Ibid

strategies, joint participation and training in business and security events including counter and anti-terror strategies and promoting community. This has been extended to include partnership in crime prevention, investigations, joint incident and disaster planning and managements.

MAB also uses sports as a tool to manage and prevent crime and drug use among youth in the surrounding communities. Various sport programs and tournament nurture talents and provide life skills training programme which helps to motivate and build resilience in youths to reduce anti-social behaviour. Through this MAB has been able to increase adaptive and positive behaviour among the youth and address risk factors related to violence, crime and drug thus reduce crime rate around the areas of *Kiamaiko, Huruma, Mathare, Eastleigh and Majengo*.

4.3.1.4 Education and Charity Programs

Kenya Air Force has a motivational program for poor well-performing pupils from the area. Kids who perform well in national exams are given a treat by the Air Force staff. This includes an air lift to prestigious place like Mombasa. Additionally, the Air Force base often contributes items including household goods and money to needy in the area, including orphans, widows and street children.

Moi forces Academy primary and high school, Moi Air Base Primary school and Moi Forces Academy High schools are all located in the camp. The advantages of having such institutions in the camp are that they assure the learners of security. In an age where terror organizations have been known to target school pupils and students, a guarantee of security often serves as an add-on to the young academicians. Also the students and their civilian teachers are allowed to shop within the military shops and supermarkets often at a subsidized price. The pupils and students are also allowed access to sports facilities within the camps in addition to constant academic talks by the top military hierarchy in the base. During times of water scarcity, students in schools within the camps are supplied with water by the camp administration. They are also allowed free medical services. The students, pupils and the civilian teachers are also allowed to access restaurant services within the camps. Food items are often sold at a lower price in the camp than outside. Through their activities and initiatives, MAB has been able to facilitate education of a number of children from poor families who would otherwise have been unable to proceed with their education. Contributions to orphans and street kids reduce the possibility/necessity of them engaging in criminal activities.

4.3.1.5 Environmental Conservancy

The Moi Air Base Eastleigh family has contributed immensely to the rather greenish environment of the area surrounding the camp, Moi Air force Academy and nearby forests in Nairobi. The purpose of tree planting as part of environmental conservation is based on the long history in bureaucratic organisations that demands institutions and facilities operating systems capable of polluting the environment should engage in some activities capable of protecting the environment. As a result, the MAB family often conducts tree planting and cleaning exercises in the area in beautification and conservancy programs.

The Moi Air force Eastleigh base also partners with various organizations in marking international green movement days and tree planting days. These are special days in the UN calendar aimed at celebrating environmentalists and sensitizing communities on the importance of conserving and preserving the climate.¹¹⁹The myth currently being propagated by high ranking military commander is the fact that the military is best qualified and experienced to promote economic development. The main argument here is that, the military have been trained to handle modern technology better than the civilians and therefore are seemingly most suited and ready to reap the advantages of technology for the general modernization economy.

4.3.2 Negative Impact

Despite the positives that emerge out of locating a military facility in an area, there are several other challenges that such a move is likely to pose. In Eastleigh, the existence of MAB has resulted in a number of developments that affect the population negatively. They include:

4.3.2.1 Threat of Attack

The existence of a military base in Eastleigh area has raised anxiety over the possibility of a terrorist attack. Military and police installations in the area have been targets of Al Shabaab attacks in the past few years. The attacks conducted by the terror group are as a reaction to the presence of KDF in Somalia. As they are launching platforms for military activities, base installations that provide troops, weapons and intelligence are also, by definition, military targets. An attack on Pangani Police Station and continued targeting of police stations and military bases in other areas has raised concern among sections of locals that MAB may at one

¹¹⁹ Oral interview Capt Mary Koech..Moi Air Base Eastleigh, 28th August 2018.

point be targeted too. The anxiety has forced some residents to relocate from Eastleigh and neighbouring areas like *Mlango Kubwa, Mathare, Pangani, Huruma* and *Mtoni*.¹²⁰

The threat of insecurity has also extended to business activities with some investors/business people relocating their business to other areas. The fear of attacks is also based on the presence of a large number of the Somali population in the Eastleigh area. Some of the Somali are believed to be of Somali origin, while majority of both them have links with Somalis in other parts of the globe. The strong link of the Somali population in Kenya to the Al Shabaab rebel terror movement has implied that wherever, there is such a concentration of Somalis in areas outside north-eastern region, there is concern over security. This scenario is also felt in Eastleigh area.¹²¹

4.3.2.2 Rise in Cases of Moral Decay

Location of institutions belonging to disciplined forces in Kenya in an area is often associated with an increase in cases of immorality and there is always a keen interest in cases involving abuse of women and school girls. In Eastleigh, many local civilians have opened up many business ventures, including bars, pool tables, wines and spirit and pub business around military bases due to the perceived security within the area due to the presence of military bases and several police stations. There has been an increase in cases of drunkenness, promiscuity, petty theft, pickpockets or robbery among other crimes by local civilian and are associated with the presence of disciplined forces within the area. According to *Miss. Wanjiku Nganga*, a local a resident and bartender within Eastleigh, civilians in the area believe that the disciplined forces have money and exceedingly generous to other revelers.

These pubs and bars are cheap and enticing to the local girls and boys who take advantage to engage in crimes like pickpockets, petty thieves, gambling, promiscuity drugging, and shylocking. Equally due to the perceived security around Moi air base many areas like Eastleigh has risen from dusty to the business epicenter with booming business activities due to rising demand of their products in the market. This has been indicated by the rise of the number of brothels, clubs, gambling dens and pubs within the area. The emergent of such business ventures also promotes the economy of the areas.

¹²⁰ Oral interview Warrant Officer 11 Mark Nyongeza, Moi Air Base Eastleigh, 26th August 2018.

¹²¹ Ibid

MAB as an institution has zero tolerance for all kinds of offenses stipulated in the penal code and the KDF ACT and endeavors to instill discipline among the ranks and files through the legal and Military Police department as stipulated in the KDF ACT of 2012. Overwhelming majority of members of MAB personnel hold themselves to the highest personal and professional standards. The country has come to depend more and more on the integrity of its people in uniform. But again the military cannot be immune to the cultural slide away from the high moral standards of past generations.

4.3.2.3 Negative Effects on the Local Economy

Many locals around the military bases like Eastleigh would prefer to buy household items from the military supermarkets due to their reduced prices. This affects other business around owned by civilians around the base due to reduced sales, this is due to the fact that many military shops sell items and household at reduced prices due to tax free and this is affecting other business around the base and subsequently the economic growth of the general area. Mr. John Nyanja a local businessman states that:

Many household items and electronics are being sold at substantial discounts in military retail outlets as they are bought on a tax free basis. In fact, the military is the only retailer, which consistently loses money on electronics. Cheap household and electronic prices have been identified by local businessmen as a cause of poor trade on the items within the area.

Thus the national policy of retailing goods at the military barracks at reduced prices has negatively impacted the relations between civilian population and military families, economically. This is because the consumer base of the military personnel has no incentive to acquire goods from shops and outlets outside the camp dwellings as they sale at high prices. Additionally, there are cases of smuggling of goods from the military base to local shops outside. This is because it is cheaper to acquire goods from within the camps. As a result, goods bought from the camp at retail prices can still be sold at wholesale value outside the camp. This has created an imbalance in trade relations between the camp dwellers and the local population outside, with the beneficiaries being unscrupulous traders operating in between the camp and with links outside the camp.

4.4 Conclusion

Civil-military relations are the principal institutional component of the military security policy. To discern this institutional component, there is need to know what this military security policy entails. The failure of the civilian society to understand that the military has always been used for civil socioeconomic wellbeing is a weakness in the civil-military relations. The Kenyan Defense Force has periodically been involved in civilian based duties. In MAB Eastleigh case, the military have been involved in tree planting, educational motivation and assisting the needy. The effect of this civil-military relation is that business activities/opportunities in the area have grown, children from poor families have been given a chance to proceed with education and security has also improved in the area.

The negative outcomes are that there have been a number of cases of military personnel being linked with girl child pregnancies in the area, resulting in an increase in school dropout rates, among other effects.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.1 CONCLUSION

The primary task of any government is the maintenance of some measure of peace and order within a given community. This civil imperative holds for any political grouping, and unless it is met, no organized society can exist. The requirements of this military imperative are starkly evident in times of war, but they are also present to some degree in time of peace as well, since a government must generally take some precautions against possible conflict with other communities. The concern for the security of a nation is undoubtedly as old as the nation state itself.

The formation of the permanent armies by the dynastic states became a consolidating force to form the Westphalia model of state after protracted wars in Europe of the 16th century. The dynastic monarchies of France, Spain, and England, which took shape in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were the result of a long process of evolution, a process which was facilitated by the fact that their peoples tended to have a common cultural background and a shared history. Then too, the territories occupied by these kingdoms were from a geographical point of view relatively well defined.

The pre-colonial states in Africa were not organized as nation states; there were nations but not states. The form of political organizations took different forms; there is what was called the 'segmented political system. However, most of the communities were nations for the members shared same language, traditions and culture all they lacked was a declared marked territory. The most decentralized political systems were the 'band organization' - in this form - the community lived in small hunter-gatherer groups that ranged from several dozen when there was plenty and reduced to ten to twelve people in days of economic hardship. This kind is represented by the Khoisan tribesmen who live in the Kalahari, commonly known as the 'Bushman'. This community still practices the same lifestyle to date. Then there was the 'classical segmented system' - this comprised of clans that could trace their genealogy to several thousand years and generations back to a common origin. The clans had a formal kind of leadership in terms of a group of leaders or a committee of elders; one of the most distinct and active today is the Somalis.

The historical background of the African modern (Westphalia) states can be traced way back to the Berlin conference of 1884. In 1879 more than 90 per cent of the continent of Africa was independent and ruled by Africans. However, by 1900 most of the African continent was under the rule of the Europeans, and by 1914 most of the lives of the Africans had been changed. The partition of the continent was hurriedly done, attracting the name 'scramble for Africa'.

The Kenyan state as it is today is the making of the British Empire. After the scramble for Africa in 1885, the British Empire came to Mombasa and built the railway line to Kisumu from 1895 to 1905, and in those ten years the footpath 600 miles long became a harshly politicized state called Kenya. The people of Kenya were initially made up of strangers consisting of both refugees and adventurers and the conversion of the Kenya people from the polyglot of strangers was done with force. The colonialist meted a lot of violence in a bid to divide and rule Kenya. The imposition of the colonial rule thus became the beginning of a state called Kenya

The state making of Kenya by the colonial British Empire was one of enslaving the indigenous people rather than consolidating them together to form a distinct nation state. The years of colonialism from the perspective of state making can only be looked at as the only beginning in putting up borders to specify a geographic area. The people of Kenya attained minimal rights and independence at work and freedom after civil struggle between 1945 and 1963. These struggles for independence were referred to as African nationalism and often as mass nationalism. Yet what these struggles yielded immediately was more limited to the capture of state power in 1963. The challenge ahead lay in making a nation out of the past (in other words nation-building).

With the colonial legacy of divide and rule still fresh in many people's minds, the idea of holding the different communities and classes of people into a single nation became the main concern at independence. The insecurity arising from mistrust and distrust of the collaborators and resisters at independence in addition to the need to foster peace necessitated the need to have an instrument of law enforcement. In addition, the borders were still porous. Realizing security became the prime goal of the independence government.¹²²

¹²² Craig s Synder(ed), 1999. *Cotemporary Strategy and Security*, Macmillan Press Ltd London, pl7

Most third world countries fall short of nation states and this affects the concept of security because the basic problem is state legitimacy, political order, and capital accumulation.

Therefore, when looking at the security of Kenya today, the most challenging threat is the economy and therefore the political and the military strategies are often formulated such that they can diffuse this threat. The state's main threat of survival is the level of poverty in the country which aggravated by the skewed distribution of the state's wealth among the Kenyan populace. This source of insecurity is in conformity with the general situation in the East African region characterized by few natural resources like minerals. Therefore grand strategizing in Kenya involves (should involve), the prioritization of national interests in a hierarchy such that those that threaten the survival of the state are securitized and therefore removed from the political arena and regarded as a matter of urgency. The number one securitized threat to the survival of the state of Kenya has been identified as poverty and therefore all efforts should be put in place to eradicate it.

As aforementioned, the state of Kenya as a result came into being in the eighteenth century under the British rule and that's when an organized military force was first formed. The current Kenya Army is a precursor of the Kenya African Rifles (KAR) whose formation dates as back as 1902. KAR was formed for the purpose of a force that would maintain the British authority in East Africa. The willingness of the Africans to serve in the KAR varied with the changing mission of the colonial army. In peacetime, *askaris* provided 'internal security' by intimidating potential opponents of the colonial regime. The command of the KAR was by the British commissioned officers and not a single African had been commissioned to the corps of officers.

In independent Kenya, the three arms of the Kenya Defence Forces, namely the Kenya Army, the Kenya Air force and Kenya Navy were formed. The Kenya Air Force (KAF) was formed by an act of parliament in June 1964, one year after independence. It took over from the Royal Air Force (RAF), the equipment, facilities and personnel elements that were based at Eastleigh station, today referred to as the Moi Air Base (MAB). The Easleigh station was a major Aerodrome in Kenya and a staging post for the Middle East command. The Aerodrome is older than both JKIA in Nairobi and MIA in Mombasa. Some of the facilities inherited by the KAF are the runway, the hangars, departure terminal and workshops.

The Air Force first trainer was the *chipchunk* and was the basic training facility for most of the first Kenyan air force pilots. In 1974, the second air force base was opened at Nanyuki and named Nanyuki station currently known as Laikipia Airbase (LAB) the first aircrafts that the KAF had were the Beaver, Caribou, Aero commander and Navajo for transport while the hunter and the strike-master were the early fighters. The key role of KAF is to defend the Kenyan Air space against enemy air threats to National Territory, assets at sea or on land and the National interest outside the territorial boundaries. To justify its existence and participate actively towards the realization of the National Goal, the Service has peace and wartime roles.

Despite the fact that the primary role of the Kenya Air Force is the defense of Kenyan air space, the fact that poverty rates higher as a threat than external attacks has meant that the military strategy should be tailored such that it should support this effort of achieving the objective of eradicating poverty. This called for the formulation of a doctrine that could achieve the overall objective without deviating from the primary role of the military. In developing this doctrine, military-civic action concept was looked into for it spells out the ways of undertaking civic activities without deviating from the core business of the military. The use of military in non-military missions in Kenya have been done for several years with the ‘Natural Fire 2000’ being the most significant effort done jointly with the American forces.

The main idea enshrined in Kenyan military Civic action program is to employ the skills and equipment in performing minimal infrastructural development during times of peace. The program was designed to provoke the militaries in addressing some of the domestic problems that faced the fragile governments that had been left by the colonial powers. Among the issues that were pertinent in starting Military-Civic Action in Kenya is intrastate ethnic division, economic stagnation and towering foreign debt that had been made worse by the exponential increase in the price of petroleum, falling real prices for primary commodity exports, ill-conceived economic policies of new governments, and runaway population growth. The proponents of the military-civic action had noble objectives that included the encouragement of the military establishments to take non-military actions that would benefit the civilian population, in the sense that if the military is not committed in war then it should benefit the taxpayers.

In Kenya, the Defence forces have an edge in accomplishing certain developmental tasks by virtue of their training and organization. For instance, to control insurgency, cattle rustling and banditry sometimes requires the military to establish themselves within the remote areas where these activities take place. In so doing the presence of the government is felt and as long as the military is involved in civic action the locals identify with the government and the peace won.

Therefore, the fact that poverty and underdevelopment are greater threats in Kenya than external threats, have resulted in an increased military-civilian participation in national development activities. In conceptualizing the role of the Kenyan military in national development, one need to look at the military from the prism of the new broadened concept of national security. The new concept of national security as seen to include more than external military threats requires the military to change its doctrine of analysing threats and by implication the grand strategizing. In this sense, therefore, national security therefore, involves the political, economic, societal and environmental facets meaning that to bring about security, the military has to do more than just defending borders, but also focus on ideological issues that affect their legitimacy and role, socio cultural, economic and environmental issues plaguing their country, all factors being diametrically linked.

The greatest source of insecurity in Kenya is internal conflicts more than external threats. Poor people with no basic needs in the state might cause a bigger security problem with a nation and its neighbours more than an armed invasion. Therefore, security here refers to the lack of threats. Liberation is viewed as the process of emancipating group of people from constraints of peaceful coexistence such as poverty, ignorance and disease.¹²³ To bring about security therefore, KDF have in the past undertaken a number of development projects in Kenya. They have been involved in constructing bridges, water reservoirs, and land reclamation efforts among others. The Moi Air Base Eastleigh has been at the centre stage of these activities. In Eastleigh area, they have been involved in environmental conservation activities, supported the orphans and widows with food items and household goods. Their presence has also resulted in booming trade activities in the area as they provide a ready market for tradesmen and women. However, though the increased civil-military relation in the area has had a positive impact, it has also led to an increase in cases of teenage school dropout and suspicion of a terror attack

¹²³ K Booth, 1991. Security and Emancipation, Review of International Studies, Vol 17 p319.

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