St. Andrew's, Turi

Forming Subjects and Affects for
Privilege in Kenya

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Abstract

This thesis is based on six months of fieldwork at and near St. Andrew's School in the Rift Valley in Kenya from January to July 2012. The ethnographic material that I present and my analyses both concern two related topics.

The first topic is the production and reproduction of social differences in Kenya. A private, formerly racially exclusive European school, St. Andrew's has been a domain of privilege since it was opened in 1931. I first present a historical ethnography of how children of (mostly) propertied European parents in colonial East Africa were separated from the children of poor Europeans as well as Africans in early colonial Kenya. I then comment on how this has changed over the passage of time and provide a detailed ethnographic description of the current practices of separation. I address both spatial and social separation in the form of enclaving and discursive practices that construct "others" as different.

The second main topic of this thesis is the effect on the students at St. Andrew's of being raised and educated in this context – the processes of subject formation at St. Andrew's. I approach this through a Foucaultian anthropology of ethics and recent anthropological theory on affects. I suggest that this must be understood in relation to the vast differences in lifestyle and income between the students' families and other Kenyans, and my analysis shows how the students at St. Andrew's are physically and socially removed from the Kenyan national public to be integrated into a partial and hierarchical alternative public through practices such as volunteering.

In my conclusion, I indicate how the two topics can be merged to address how the history of St. Andrew's influences the current student as the inheritors of Kenyan privilege.

Appreciations

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Introduction

Rumours circulate in Nairobi, in Mombasa, and even amongst Kenyans abroad, about the wealth of the students at some of the Kenyan private schools. Soon after my fieldwork arrangements were in order, I told a Kenyan acquaintance in Oslo that I was leaving for St. Andrew's School in Turi. "St. Andrew's?" he replied. "The students there are so rich that the school even has a helipad!"

Three months later, I landed in Nairobi near midnight one Wednesday night in January. After immigrations, I quickly found my bag on the belt and ventured into the night outside. I ordered a taxi from a tour-operator. A brand new Toyota sedan arrived shortly after. As we were leaving the airport for my downtown hostel, the driver asked me what I was doing in Kenya. When I told him that I was going to Turi and asked him if he knew where it was, his face brightened up: "Turi? There is a school ... St. Andrew's. I used to drive students there." I told him that I had never been there before and asked him what the school was like. "Ahh! The school is good. All the students become doctors or lawyers. But it's very expensive. And it's luxurious. The taps pour sparkling water. It even has an airstrip!."

<p align="center">***</p>

Late in February, I went on a full-day geography excursion to Nakuru with the year ten students at St. Andrew's. Their teachers had told me about how challenging it was to fulfil some of the curricular requirements that were designed for schools in Europe given the prevailing security situation at St. Andrew's. This excursion to Nakuru both allowed students to complete their coursework requirements and the teachers hoped it would help them understand how the theoretical models they learned applied to their surroundings. The excursion was set up as a mini-fieldwork where the students would gather data that they later used to make a land-use map of Nakuru that they could compare to the urban models that they read about.

After a briefing in the dining hall, the students, two teachers, a bus driver and I boarded a school bus and drove about forty kilometres to Nakuru. Like the school's other vehicles, the bus is painted bright white and has a large school logo on the sides. The bus stopped on a lot in the busy centre of Nakuru to let the students off. Wearing dark blue polo shirts stitched with the school logo – "travel tops" – and jeans or shorts, the students walked in small groups along the main road towards the gate of Nakuru National Park. The walk was about three kilometres and took them from the office blocks in the centre of town through various housing schemes and finally to the gate of the national park where we had lunch. The students were equipped with a survey table with variables they had agreed on in class over the preceding weeks. Each of the groups stopped about ten times on the way to record "land use" and to rate variables such as "greenery," "general appearance," "smell" and "do you feel safe?"

Most of the students made little of the comments from the people whom they passed. Their clothes and hairstyles, as well as the fact that they were doing a survey, make them stand out from other people on the streets and bored men along the roadside call to get their attention. Some of the students waved back and others walked past without turning their heads. In one instance, some men in their twenties who a sat few meters away from the road addressed a group of three boys in Kiswahili. Only one of the boys spoke Kiswahili, and the boys ignored them. The men persisted for some time, but eventually gave up. When the one Kiswahili-speaker amongst the boys laughed, the others asked him why. He said that one of the men had asked his friends to stop, and translated his last comment: "You're talking to people who don't even hear Kiswahili."

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During my fieldwork, I made several day-trips to meet people who had been involved with St. Andrew's during the different eras of the school's history. On one such trip, I met a white Kenyan farmer who had attended St. Andrew's as a student in the late 1970s. When I met him, he told me that he was now sending his own children to Pembroke, another British school about 80 kilometres from St. Andrew's. I asked him why, and he told me that "Pembroke is now what St. Andrew's was thirty years ago."

As I show in Chapter 1, St. Andrew's still had a predominantly white student body in the early 1980s, as Pembroke does today. This was important to the farmer, as it had been to his father, because he wanted his children to "learn to be Europeans." When the portion of black students rose sharply at St. Andrew's in the 1990s, the farmer further told me, it became rather "an African school with a European curriculum." One of the white fathers who do send his children to St. Andrew's told me more or less the same on another occasion. He emphasized that attending St. Andrew's allowed his children to become "competent in African culture" and thus prepared them better for a future in Africa than schooling mainly with other white students would.

Subjectivation, Belonging and Affect

At the most fundamental level, this thesis is about how the students at St. Andrew's are formed by their experiences as privileged youth and, in the extension of that, what they are formed into. Because I will devote my four main chapters to the presentation and analysis of ethnographic material, I shall discuss the background for this overarching theoretical concern in this section. For this I draw upon two recent theoretical developments in anthropology, a Foucaultian anthropology of ethics (Faubion, 2001a, 2001b, 2011) and a concern with affects (Mazzarella, 2009; Stoler, 2004, 2010).

A central concern of the Foucaultian anthropology of ethics is the process of "subjectivation": the process whereby people transform themselves and are transformed into specific types of subjects. Unlike "subjection" in the sense of passive appropriation, subjectivation occurs in the interplay between passivity and action (Faubion, 2011, pp. 49-50). Michel Foucault's work is often understood as concerned with how people internalize the working of power as subjects, but by his later works, Foucault (1997a, 1997b, 1997c; compare 1977) was understanding the subject as fundamentally free and produced through the exercise of freedom within relations of power:

> ... if I am now interested in how the subject constitutes itself in an active fashion through practices of the self, these practices are nevertheless not something invented by the individual himself. They are models which he finds in his culture and which are proposed, suggested, imposed upon him by his culture, his society, and his social group (Foucault, 1997a, p. 291; also Faubion, 2001b, p. 89).

This points to one of the chief advantages of this as a theoretical backdrop to the study of subjects in what the early Foucault (1977) called "disciplinary institutions" – a boarding school in this case. With its "double edge" (Faubion, 2001a, p. 12), the notion of subjectivation makes it possible to study the formation of subjects as a single process of becoming. It does not imply an opposition between power and freedom, or between the institution and the individual, but rather emphasizes how the former in these binaries impinge on the latter in a single process. The exercise of power should therefore not be understood as diametrically opposed to the individual's freedom, but rather as defining or limiting the scope for practicing it. As such, subjectivation is related both to Foucault's notion of ethics as "the considered form that freedom takes when it is informed by reflection" (Foucault, 1997a, p. 284) and to his notion of governmentality as the "encounter between the technologies of domination of others and those of the self" (Foucault, 1997c, p. 225).

To me as a fieldworker and, subsequently, analyst, this implies that my analytic attention should not only be directed to practices as they are encouraged or enforced on the students by the school, the parents, or even by other students, but to how the students make use of these. Employing this double edge analytically, Friederike Fleischer (2011) shows how voluntary work is simultaneously encouraged by the Chinese state as a means to forming responsible subjects and appropriated by Chinese students to form themselves as modern, competitive selves. In this thesis, the tension between power and freedom is not treated as explicitly because my analysis of subjectivation is rather oriented towards the subjects that are formed at St. Andrew's. I approach the formation of these subjects directly through two types of relations: I describe the students' sense of "belonging" to certain places in Chapter 3 and the interaction between student volunteers and children from poor families at a Bible Club in Chapter 4. I analyse both as instances that produce affective attachments as bases for the formation of subjectivities and the constitution of both smaller communities and larger publics. To show how, I now turn briefly to the anthropological literature on affect.

In an essay that has been much cited in this literature, Brian Massumi (1995) distinguishes affect as presubjective "intensity" from emotions as the subjective and

sorted experience of the same. For Massumi, affective intensities emerge from interaction between people and between people and things (see Navaro-Yashin, 2009) and mediate between experience and action – between passivity and activity; the past and the future – and is therefore suited to theorize human potentials:

> Intensity is not only incipience, but the incipience of mutually exclusive pathways of action and expression that are then reduced, inhibited, prevented from actualizing themselves completely – all but one. [...] They are tendencies – in other words, pastnesses opening onto a future (Massumi, 1995, p. 91).

Appropriating this notion of affect for social analysis, William Mazzarella (2009, p. 292) writes that "society is inscribed in our nervous system and in our flesh before it appears in our consciousness. The affective body is by no means a *tabula rasa*; it preserves the traces of past actions and encounters and brings them into the present as potentials."

When Mazzarella notes that this might align affective theory with theories of social aesthetics, he arrives at one of James Faubion's (2001b) points of departure for his anthropology of ethics. To the extent that affects are presubjective and work on the subject, the practices that shape them may be understood as Foucaultian technologies (or practices) of the self.[1] Making this explicit in his study of listeners to cassette sermons in Egypt, Charles Hirschkind (2006) shows how specific practices of listening instil "ethical affects" or "affective potentialities" in the listener, that in turn produce the "ethical dispositions" for ethical action (Hirschkind, 2006, pp. 80-84). To the subjects of his study, the formation of virtuous selves through practices of listening is a project that individuals chose to engage in, a technology of the self. The practices are also part of the formation of a counterpublic – a public that is based on dispositions, attachments and identities in tension with those of national citizenship (Hirschkind, 2001).

In another vein, Stoler's (2002, 2004, 2010) work on children in colonial Dutch East Indies shows how the colonial state was concerned about instilling the appropriate affective attachments in European children who were born and raised in the colony. As I

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[1] When Mazzarella (2009, p. 293) suggests that this "calls into question the categorical coherence of modes of social inquiry [such as] Foucaultian poststructuralism" he does not allow for the inclusion of Foucault's notion of ethics as the exercise of freedom as developed in his later works (see Faubion, 2001b, p. 88).

will return to in Chapter 1, this and other colonial states favoured racially segregated schools and lengthy stays in Europe to instil the appropriate affective attachments as what, in Foucauldian terms, would be technologies of power. To turn back to Mazzarella (2009, p. 299): "any social project that is not imposed through force alone must be affective in order to be effective."
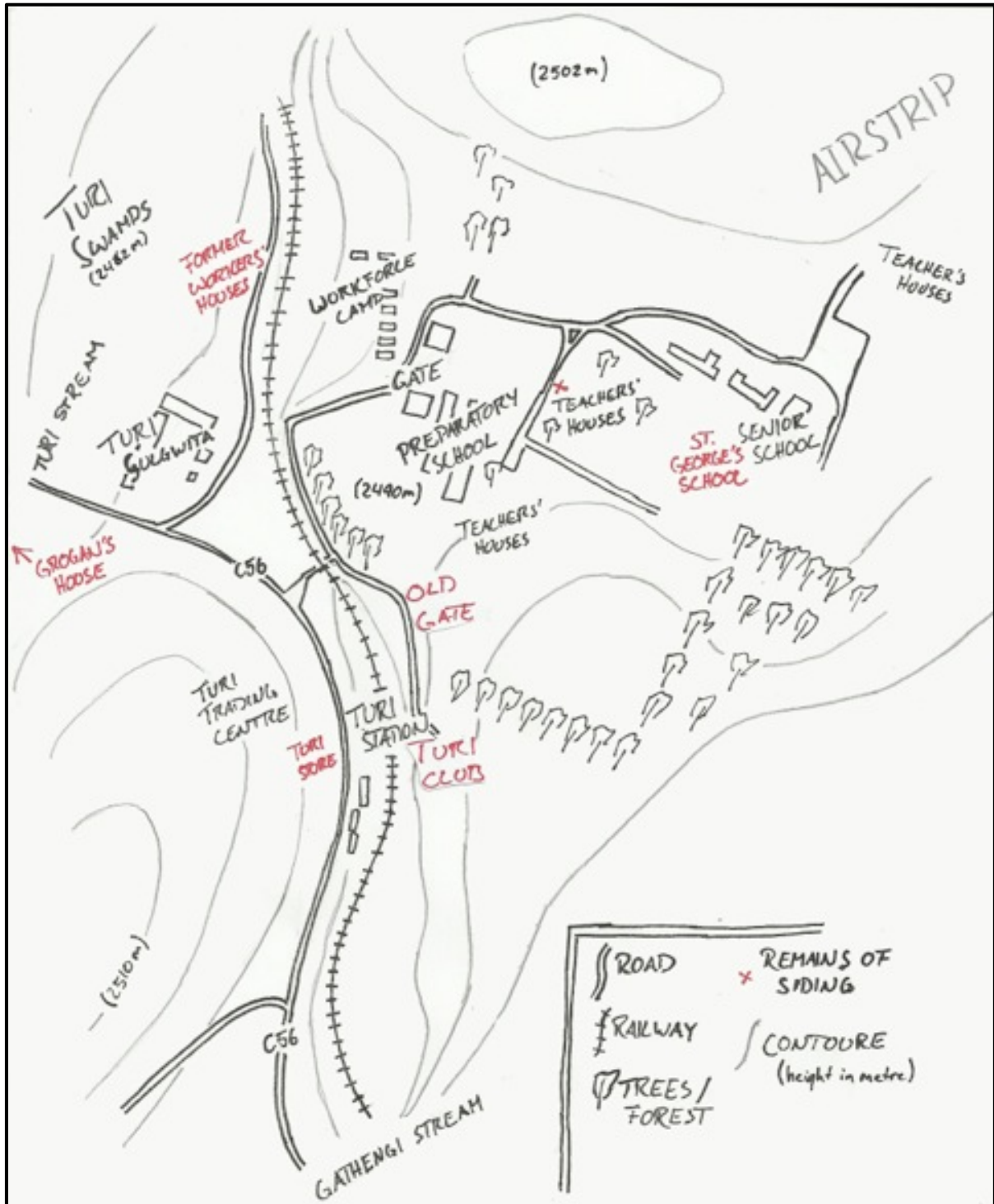
Figure 1: A simple map of Turi

St. Andrew's, Turi

Along road C56, which roughly follows the route of the 1901 Uganda Railway between Njoro and Mau Summit on the Western escarpment of the Rift Valley, Turi lies between Elburgon and Molo. If you come from the east, from Nairobi or Nakuru, the road does a right turn just after passing a stream, and then arches to the left around the lower part of Turi trading centre. The nearly fifty *dukas* (small stores) and numerous churches that constitute the trading centre are on a slope above the road. The trading centre is organized around a central square, Turi Market, where vendors sell local agricultural produce and other merchandise. Most of the buildings are unpainted single-story concrete constructions, but some have been painted in vivid colours and advertise for telecom companies, pen manufacturers and other corporations. Others are wooden constructions – one of these dates back to the early 1940s, when members of a Molo-based Indian family ran a general store in Turi. Most of the other buildings have been built since the late 1970s, and many only in the last two decades. Between the buildings are unpaved alleys, many of them dusty when it is dry, and muddy and almost impassable when it rains.

On the other side of the main road, and somewhat lower down, is the closed railway station. The main station building is not visible from the road, but the rooftop of the goods shed may be seen. Since the station was closed in 2003, this large hall has been taken in use as a church. The other buildings are used to store hand-tools for maintenance of the railway line and other equipment. A few shacks have been erected for private uses around the site, and livestock graze on the open spaces between the tracks.

Just a few hundred meters further along the main road, past the railway station and the *matatu*-stage with the faded Coca-Cola plastic sign that also says "Turi Market," is the turnoff to St. Andrew's School. This takes to you onto a dirt access road that crosses the railroad cutting on an old bridge about fifty meters from the main road. The turnoff is marked by an elegant carved and painted wooden sign, held up by a concrete structure and covered by a rooftop. To your right when you turn off is a small wooden building that is used as a kindergarten. Across the access road from the kindergarten is a simple flowerbed behind an improvised, white-painted wooden fence. On the other side of the

bridge from these, the road forks to take you along the fences of the school compound. The fences are partly covered by bushes and tall trees, but if you look carefully you can see that there are two parallel fences about a meter apart: the inner one is of barbed wire, the outer is electrical. The hedges do by no measure completely hinder insight, and I saw young children gazing through the hedge from the outside on several occasions. The contrasts between the two sides of this fence are stark: on the inside is a carefully kept park where large sports fields and flowerbeds are kept in impeccable order by a large team of gardeners. Outside, land is scarce and any available patch is put to productive use by planting vegetables or letting livestock graze. If you peeked through the fence near the bridge, you could turn around and find that vegetables have even been planted on the narrow strip of dirt between the access road and the edge of the railway cutting.

If, after the bridge, you turn right along the fence, you are taken to the old gate to the school compound and shortly after, to the railway station and then to the abandoned Turi Club. This building was being converted to a charity project for local children during my fieldwork. Had you turned left along the fence instead, the access road runs about two hundred meters between the fences and the railroad cutting before it turns sharply to the right and towards the gate. Turi Sulgwita, a government school, is situated across the railroad and on the slope leading down to Turi swamps. As it is positioned in the landscape, you can just see it from the access road. Besides the gate, beyond the main parts of the school compound, lies the workforce camp where some of the unskilled workers who are employed inside the school compound live. A hedge largely covers it from view, but the small wooden kiosk that sells cell phone airtime, fruits and sweets by its entrance can be seen. There is also a concrete community hall that has been built by the school and is used by its off-duty workers next to the guards' house.

This is where the access road stops at a red steel bar gate, the only entrance to the compound. If you have the right credentials and arrive by car, the guards open the gate for you and point you in the right direction. If you do not have a car and arrive on foot, as I usually did, you are let through a passageway between the gate and the guards' house instead. The open space you reach on the inside is in the shade of a large tree

most of the day, and this is a busy part of the school compound: to your right is the kitchen, the workshops, the cleaners and other service-functions of the school; the school vehicles are parked and cleaned to your left. As the school was originally designed, this was the back side, where the students, their parents and the teachers rarely ventured. Straight ahead, and once again behind some hedges, lies a light yellow, two-story concrete building. It has a red roof and elegant, classical lines akin to those of the main building of the preparatory school. The main building, built in the second half of the 1940s by Italian prisoners of war, lies across the service-areas from the gate. Both buildings face away from the current entrance and rather towards the old one.

The senior school and college, where my fieldwork was undertaken, is situated a few hundred meters further from the gate, across a large grass sports field and a neighbourhood of detached houses with gardens where many of the teachers live. Some of the oldest, but also the newest, teachers' houses are located between the preparatory school and the old entrance. Between these houses, the preparatory school and the senior school further houses can be found. At least one of these, a wooden house, predates the school, while others are concrete constructions that have been built over the last few decades. The senior school, on the other side of that lot of houses, was started in the late 1980s and the buildings are of grey stone and have green roofing. There are four boarding houses, classrooms in single-story detached buildings that are connected by paved pathways. The terrace between the dining hall and the two-storey building that contains the reception, the offices and the teachers' room is at the centre of everything that goes on at the senior school. In many ways, this was the most important place for my fieldwork, where all students and teachers passed by several times every day. Sitting on the wooden benches or by the outdoor table, or on the walls of a raised bed around an ornamental tree, I could observe and listen to everyday life as it unfolded during breaks. As my fieldwork progressed and as I got to know more students, this was also where gradually more students more frequently came up to me to talk about specific events of the day or simply to chat.

Fieldwork

I conducted fieldwork in Kenya for just over six months from early January until mid-July 2012. This corresponded to two terms at St. Andrew's and three holidays. During

the terms, I lived in a small house on a large farm about twenty kilometres from St. Andrew's and spent nearly all of my days at the school and with school's neighbours in Turi. I had originally wanted to stay at St. Andrew's, but there was no house available for me within the school compound and I was told that this farm would be the closest place to stay. I travelled back and forth by *matatu* (shared taxi) daily. The rides could be long and slow, with stopovers to fill up in Elburgon that sometimes lasted for as long as 45 minutes. On some trips, the cars broke down and on one trip we suffered a puncture. Most mornings, however, the journey took slightly less than an hour, door to door. On other mornings I got rides with my neighbours on the farm or other guests of the cottage- and campsite business there who were headed in the same direction. On Sundays, when there were much fewer *matatu* departures and my neighbours were also more stationary, I sometimes hitchhiked with lorries to make it to school in time for assemblies. Only for the last three weeks of my fieldwork did I have a rental car, a white Toyota sedan that provoked laughter amongst some of my friends and acquaintances outside the school compound. I gave some of them rides when we were going in the same direction. They told me that I had finally become a rich man. While these jokes were in good humour, they also indicate how my daily *matatu*-rides did affect their perception of me as trustworthy. As I show in Chapter 2, people who come and go in cars are sometimes associated with corruption and witchcraft.

Because the *matatus* did not run after dark and few people drove on the main road after dark at all, I left school between five and six in the afternoon most of the days. As I will return to in Chapter 2, this was a safety precaution, and it was also true after I got a car. My time in Turi was therefore limited and coincided largely with the times during the day when the students were in class. I participated in several classes during the first weeks, but I could not see how the data thus produced would illuminate my research interests. My interests concerned the interplay between the inside and the outside of the school compound, and I soon adapted a schedule where I spent much time outside the school compound or amongst the guards while the students were in class, and rather spent the extended lunch-break and weekends with the students. It was during these times that I often sat on the terrace in front of the dining hall. Whenever possible, I also participated on trips that took students out of the school compound, such as the excursion for geography-students in year 10 to Nakuru that I have already mentioned,

the outdoor expeditions for students who were enrolled in the President's Award Scheme[2] and the weekly trips to the Bible Club at the Molo Street Children's Project that I analyse in Chapter 4.

On a few instances, I slept in a guestroom in the school chaplain's house. This made it possible to attend evening-events such as International Night, which I describe in Chapter 3. These events revealed other aspects of school life than did participant observation during daytime: as on International Night, many of the events were based on the students entertaining each other. While I do not explicitly bring it up in this thesis, the way the students addressed certain themes in their sketches has allowed me insights into tropes and stereotypes that are relevant to ordering their shared experiences of the world. One of the sketches that is still vivid in my memory almost a year later was improvised to the title 'The Greatest Invention in the World.' In the sketch, two white students portrayed a young couple, soon to be parents. In haste, they find a *matatu* to take them to a hospital or birth clinic. The conductor cheats them by demanding a ridiculous price, which they accept uncritically. In pitting the sly conductor against the impatient driver and the naïve white couple, the sketch draws on stereotypes that the students (and I) recognize and find humorous. While I do not systematically analyse this or other sketches, they provided insights that has nevertheless guided my analyses in Chapter 3.

Most afternoons, I returned to my house on the farm. I first had supper and then typed fieldnotes on my laptop. I had packed for a tropical fieldwork, and the cold nights took me by surprise. As things turned out, I typed many of my notes in bed where I found warmth. The notes were typed from memory and scrap notes that I made during the day in a red hardcover book that I carried with me everywhere. I never wrote names in the book for fear of loosing it, and the files with fieldnotes on my laptop were all password-protected. When I conducted interviews, I wrote keywords on sheets of paper to aid my memory when I later transcribed them on my laptop. These notes were identified by initials with a separate list of corresponding names. I did not use a voice

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[2] Akin to the Duke of Eduburgh Award, the President's Award in Kenya is awarded to youth who have undertaken expeditions, voluntary work, pursuits or attainment of skills, and fitness. The expeditions I participated on made it possible for students at St. Andrew's to attain these awards. I return to the voluntary work in Chapter 4.

recorder. While I have, to the best of my knowledge, not recorded any information that can be sensitive, I have nevertheless been concerned to keep interviews and private conversations strictly private.

I have drawn largely on fieldnotes that are based on participant observation while writing Chapter 2 and Chapter 3. In Chapter 4, I supplement the data derived from participant observation with data from interviews. Having participated on a few trips to the Bible Club, I devised a set of questions to get the students talking about their experiences while volunteering and, specifically, their relationships (broadly understood) to the children at the project. These served as the basis for semi-structured interviews. I arranged to interview all the students who attended a trip one Saturday when unusually many attended, asking them to sign up for a time slot alone, in pairs or threes later that day or the next day. I interviewed all of them. In addition, I used many of the same questions in unstructured interviews with students who attended other trips.

While working with Chapter 1, I have also drawn on other resources than fieldnotes from participant observation. The data for the historical ethnography were obtained through spending much of the three school holidays during my fieldwork in the Kenyan National Archives in Nairobi, reading through most of the material in the St. Andrew's School Archives in Turi and attempting to access the Archives of the Department of Education in Nakuru and Molo. While much of what I found was of little interest, I took notes and made photocopies of many documents that I later organized chronologically to understand the passage of time in Turi. I refer to these documents in footnotes throughout Chapter 1.

"Bjørn is a white man studying you"
One of the first classes that I participated in at St. Andrew's was a college sociology class on research methods. The teacher, a middle-aged British woman who had taught at St. Andrew's for just over a year, had arranged the desks in the cool, white-painted room to form one long table. I was to learn that she liked to configure her classroom in untraditional ways and to redo it often. The teacher and I already sat on opposite ends when the students entered the classroom, and the students settled along the sides. Class

started when they had settled down: the teacher talked through a reading that had been assigned as prep earlier that week and stopped on a few occasions to ask questions that the students reluctantly answered. After one of her questions on positioning, which also I remember as particularly challenging, the silence lingered longer than before. To get a response, the teacher asked her students: "Well. Bjørn is a white man studying you. How does that affect his research?"

At least some of the admittedly not too many students looked at me. Many of the classes at the college are small – some have only one or two students – and while this class was larger, all the students were black. I do not recall what they replied, but this was the first of many instances during my fieldwork when I found my attention drawn to my own whiteness: for the rest of that class, I pondered what it would mean for my fieldwork amongst the mostly black students at the school and the black people who lived outside the school compound. In this section, I remark on for aspects of my positioning in the field that I believe to be of particular significance to this thesis.

The first of these concern what positions I could assume in Turi. In the previous section, I commented on how my use of *matatus* made it possible to meet people in Turi as equals in a way that might otherwise have been impossible. To make the most of this, I decided to adopt the position that I could learn something from everybody. Many children were excited and shouted "Howdoyoudo! Howdoyoudo! *Mzungu! Mzungu!*" when they first saw me – and many shook my hands until I lost my allure after a few weeks. Instead, I played pool and gossiped with some of the local teenage boys (who politely switched to talking English in my presence), went on excursions with the chief and some of the local politicians, and I was invited to houses in the centre and on the former cooperatives that surrounded it. As a guest, I was offered hot drinks and food. My whiteness made it possible to ask questions that might otherwise have been impolite, for example about tribes or family histories. That I neither know Kiswahili nor any of the vernaculars limited my access to many of the uneducated, older people.

Secondly, At St. Andrew's, my age and, perhaps, my educational attainments were more important than my skin colour in aligning me as a teacher rather than a student in the beginning of my fieldwork. I had access to the teachers' room, I ate with the teachers in

the dining hall and I was exempt from wearing a uniform. Reflecting this distance, many of the students addressed me as "Sir" and at least some of the teachers referred to me as "Mr. Bjørn" when they talked to the students. I told the students whom I got to know to address me as "Bjørn" in an attempt at creating informal relations that were apt for participant observation. I also took care to provide detailed answers whenever somebody asked about my research, and often asked them questions back. This was a useful way of checking the validity and relevance of observations I made and it may have helped to make my project more concrete and intelligible to the students. Gradually, both the students and I grew more comfortable with my position as neither teacher nor student. At least one student understood this through a prep reading on the importance of confidentiality to the sociologist's work, and he explained this to some of his fellow students. It was amongst those students who came to share such understandings of my presence at the school – whom I believe to be most by the end of my fieldwork – that I was able to listen to and participate in everyday conversations and activities.

The third aspect is that with regards to the parents, my whiteness was amplified by the fact that I stayed on a farm that was owned by a white family of British descent. During my fieldwork, three generations of the family stayed on the farm as well as a few other families. Some of my neighbours were students, teachers and one a member of the Board of Governors at St. Andrew's. Before and after school holidays, as well as during visiting weekends, other students and parents spent nights in the cottages and on the campsite as well. On some such occasions, I was invited for large dinners in the main house where I met and talked to the parents of these students – by the end of my fieldwork, I had somehow talked to the parents of nearly all the white students on such occasions, but only a few of the black students' parents at all.

As a function of where and how I lived, in other words, I got a much better insight into the private lives of the families of white students than the families of black students whom I write more about through the thesis. On the one hand, this illustrates how social networks in Kenya remain racially quite distinct – perhaps a reflection of how the racial semi-separation of private schools that I portray as lingering several decades after national independence in Chapter 1 created racially separate social domains. On the

other hand, because I stayed on the farm as a guest who was conducting research on the school and never brought up the idea of using these dinners to generate data, I did not record them in my fieldnotes and do not refer to them in this thesis. I think we all shared a sense of these dinners as being away from the school compound and a time to relax amongst friends.

The forth aspect of my position in the field concerns my own background. In his book on a boarding school in Zambia, Anthony Simpson (2003, p. 11) asks of the his position as a white teacher: "which 'white man' is this? It's me, half-British, half-West Indian, descended from British working-class stock on my father's side and Carib, Portuguese plantation owners and African slave on my mother's side." While I have a more homogenous Scandinavian genealogy, I believe that the time I spent as an expatriate child in Luanda, Angola, ten years prior to writing this thesis is an important backdrop to my understanding of the students at St. Andrew's. My memories from this part of my life have forced me to question the general applicability of some anthropological concepts, especially the notion of "enclaving" and the often implicit bracketing of "elites," "whites" and "politicians" as somehow outside our scope of study. The way those years worked to form me as a subject also makes my account of the students' affective attachment to people and places that are not home partly my own.

1 Time in Turi

In the late 1980s, an anthropology of empire emerged that aimed at producing simultaneous analyses of metropole and colony, or colonizer and colonized (Cooper and Stoler, 1989; Stoler, 1995; Apter, 1999). It emphasized that colonialism and modernity were processes that took shape on colonial frontiers, not refined exports from the metropole (Stoler and Cooper, 1997; J. L. Comaroff and Comaroff, 1997; Geschiere, 2001); that privileged actors in the colonies had conflicting motives and interests (J. L. Comaroff, 1989); and that the boundaries of colonial privilege themselves were dynamic and problematic, not static and intuitive (Stoler, 1989b, 2002). Seminal works had already challenged ideas of "timeless traditions" and "tribes" of colonized peoples as colonial products (Fabian, 1983; Ranger, 1983). Inspired by these developments, I found my analytic attention drawn to the colonial delimitation of social categories and the lingering relevance of these categories in contemporary Kenya.

As such, this chapter serves two purposes. In the first three sections, I present a historical ethnography of colonial Turi – a chronology of relations that extends from about 1900 and into the post-colonial era. The first section describes the processes that led to stabilization of a colonial society on the glades in the dense forests of the colonial frontier. Here, "African" and "European" were becoming meaningful social categories through the first colonial ordinances, land purchases and migrations. In the ensuing two sections, I show how St. Andrew's was shaped by and engaged in reproducing the affective core of this mode of segregation in young Europeans, as well as how the implied differences were inscribed in organization of the landscape surrounding the school. My mode of presentation echoes John and Jean Comaroff's (1992, p. 25; for a critique, see Geschiere, 2001) scepticism of "the two fundamental tropes of Western historiography, the individual and the event" as meaningful in themselves. It is based instead on relationships between groups of people and the historical contexts that facilitated them. My presentation, like my data, is certainly "partial" in Richard Vokes' (2009, p. 29) sense: much is left out. However, like he did while writing *Ghosts of Kanungu*, I find that the partial data that I do have from situated accounts in archival

documents, stories told by actors involved with the area at various times and comparison with historiographies of other places, do assemble to tell a story.

This is not to suggest that colonialism and empire were never static or coherent systems, even in specific colonies or areas. Neither did the colonial influence on everyday life end with the attainment of national independence, in 1963 in Kenya. Stoler (2008, p. 193) proposes that we study "'imperial formations,' rather than empire per se, to register the ongoing quality of processes of decimation, displacement, and reclamation." In line with her proposal, the last sections of this chapter are focused on tendencies and processes in contemporary Turi that linger, even if in altered forms, from the colonial era. The processes of colonial formation that I portray in the first section of this chapter also reconfigured other sets of categories – tribes and social class among them – that were rendered meaningful in new ways after independence. Both David Anderson and Emma Lochery (2008), and Karuti Kanyinga (2009), for example, trace interlinkages between land rights, the Mau Mau-rebellion and the violence that followed the multi-party elections in 1992, 1997 and 2007. The last sections of this chapter draw on this literature, albeit briefly. Instead of arriving at a conclusion of its own, however, the chapter ends where the next one begins: in contemporary Turi, where the privileged and the less privileged are far removed from one another.

Frontier Lands and Colonial Stabilization

On the western escarpment of the Rift Valley lies the Mau forest complex, which once encompassed the area now known as Turi with dense forest. The earliest sources available to me – descriptions by British explorers and photos from the construction of the railroad between Mombasa and Lake Victoria,[3] which cut through the area – suggest that Turi and Molo were glades already then: open grass fields on the gently rolling hills that were surrounded by patches of forest. With ample rains, a swamp and several streams passing through, Turi is fertile because of good soils and a steady supply of water, but the area was not farmed to any significant extent before the colonial era. This led the European explorers on the colonial frontier to describe the areas on the Mau plateau as "uninhabited, and of great extent" and they declared it to be "the site upon which to attempt the experiment of European settlements" (Lugard, 1893, p. 419).

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[3] See, for example, Frederick Lugard (1893, pp. 419-420). The photos can be seen in the Resource Center at the Nairobi Railway Museum.

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Simultaneously, they also make references to the Okiek, a people that were sustained on hunting, gathering and beekeeping in the forest and who also traded and married with the Masaai and the Nandi[4] outside the forests (Huntingford, 1929). The Okiek did not practice agriculture. However, based on these interconnections between bands of the Okiek and different Masaai and Nandi groups, Michael Kenny (1981; see Gow, 1996 for a similar example) suggests that they are rather marginals or outcasts of these groups than a separate tribe or ethnic group on their own. More recent research supports this and scholars have emphasized the fluidity of ethnic identities in precolonial Kenya (Distefano, 1990; Cronk, 2002).

Colonial influence came to Turi with the Uganda Railroad. The first European houses in Turi were built shortly after it was opened in 1901 and The Crown Lands Ordinance of 1902 made land in the East African Protectorate available to European capital and settlers. Concessions were granted for logging in the forests, and in Turi, Dr. Atkinson and Mr. E. C. Atkinson started The Equator Sawmills in 1904. By 1906, the company had a concession of 20 000 acres that ran along the railway, "an engine of 100 i.h.p., a big breaking-down saw 5 feet 6 inches, a vertical frame saw 2 inches, two smaller circular saws, and planing machinery capable of turning out from 2,000 to 3,000 feet per day. Six Europeans are employed on the staff" (Somerset Playne and Holderness Gale, 1908-9, p. 332). The main mills were constructed by the company's railroad siding near where Turi station and St. Andrew's School would later be built.[5] Oxen were used to move logs from the forest to the mills, and produce was then transported to the "local" market by railroad. A few wooden houses were constructed near the mills, and at least some of the company's European staff resided here. Ewart Grogan stayed with his wife and children in a wooden house overlooking Turi swamps, a short walk from the sawmills (Paice, 2001), but other than the employees at the sawmills and the Grogans, European settlement in Turi remained scarce until the 1920s.

I have little data on how the Okiek in Turi fared in the colonial era. However, David Anderson's (1987) account of the conflicts between indigenous users, European

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[4] The Nandi-speaking peoples of Kenya adapted "Kalenjin" as an ethnic label during the colonial era.
[5] A map that is attached to letters dated 1932-3 in Kenya National Archive file AG/22/302 (Subdivisions Turi farm 531/7), shows two sidings in Turi, and I have not been able to confirm which belonged to The Equator Sawmills. They are nevertheless only about a kilometre apart.

commercial interests and European conservational interests in Ewart Grogan's concession area in the Lembus Forest some 40 kilometres from Turi during the early colonial era may provide an indicationn. His concession was granted in 1904, but native rights in the area were established only in 1923 and excluded a number of pre-colonial users. As I have already remarked on, ethnic identities were fluid in precolonial Africa and members of different ethnic groups ventured into the forests for shorter or longer time. Also after the tribal reserves had been gazetted, the forests remained places of refuge for many Africans, some at the margins of colonial law (Anderson, 1986, 1987).

While some of these groups did limit prospects of both commercial exploitation and scientific conservation of the forest (Anderson, 1987; see Scott, 1998, pp. 11-52), others were hired as labour. West of Molo, about 25 kilometres from Turi, Major Bertram F. Webb was the first European settler to employ the Okiek as workers on a farm he started in 1905. In 1907, this farm was incorporated into Keringet Farm, a joint venture by Edward Powys Cobb, Jack Hill-Williams and John M. Drury. Keringet represented colonial investment and experimentation on a large scale. They bred sheep and cattle, and also made the first attempts at industrialized farming in the area: a number of large, steam-driven machines were brought on the railroad to Molo station and transported by ox cart the roughly 20 kilometres to the farm. With the investments came a commitment to making the area home, and Somerset Playne and Holderness Gale (1908-9, p. 334) remarked that "Mr. J. H. Williams, who is now building his own house, has his wife and children with him, and all find the climate excellent."

Climate was important, and especially so when bringing European women and children to the colonies. Into the 1940s, European researchers were unsure whether permanent European settlement in tropical areas would be possible. Within the advancing field of tropical medicine, some feared the negative effects of heat and rays from the sun and discussed the possibilities of hereditary physical, mental and moral degradation of Europeans in the tropics (Kennedy, 1981, 1990). Situated on either side of 2500 meters above sea level, however, temperatures at Keringet and in Turi rarely peak 30°C and

freezing temperatures may be approached at night.[6] Tropical diseases such as malaria are absent. As I also touch upon in the next section, these and other features were sufficient for Turi to be deemed a healthy place for European colonials.

However, both Turi and Keringet were at the frontier of European settlement – dangerous land where elephants, rhinoceros and leopards were roaming free. With four "down trains" a week – trains towards Nakuru, Nairobi and the coast – and only a few dirt roads that decayed into mud when it rained, Turi remained remote even from Nairobi. Nevertheless, a small number of Europeans lived in Turi by the early 1920s. Served by a post office in the train station and a butchery outside Ewart Grogan's house, but dispersed over a large area and without a club, church, school or a store, this was rather an extension of the European community in Molo than a community of its own.[7] Some of the Europeans stayed temporarily on contracts for the government or the sawmills, but others bought land and established farms or businesses. Only a few of the early entries in Tim Hutchinson's (1996) list of people of European origin who have lived in Turi are of families, but there were a few European couples in Turi in the 1920s and a small number of European children who grew up there. According to Stoler (1989b), the arrival of European women and children in a colony generally occurred in conjunction with stabilizations of colonial rule, for example through rigidisation of racial categories and separation. In Kenya, moral panics of fear of sexualised violence erupted several times amongst European colonials during the early colonial era. David Anderson (2010; see also Kennedy, 1987; Stoler, 1989a) suggests that the "black perils" were related to settlers' anxieties over retaining control and racial purity while being surrounded by and dependent on African employees.

The aspect of racial purity was rendered more important because the presence of women and children in the colony was a prerequisite for a stable, permanently resident European community. If acquired gradually and over time, members of this community would come to consider Kenya as their home and affective attachments to Kenya as home were commonplace within a generation as expressed in the interest in such books

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[6] It is worth noting that also high altitude was thought to be harmful, even if not to the same extent. Regular trips to sea-level were recommended for Europeans who stayed in the Highlands (Kennedy, 1987, pp. 119-120)

[7] Cyril Sofer and Rhona Ross (1951) and L. Proudfoot and H.S. Wilson (1961) emphasize the importance of clubs to European colonial communities.

as *They Made it Their Home* (East African Women's League, 1962). In the next section, I address important traits of colonial raisings that worked on the production of such affects.

Writing of the colonial frontier, I need also mention that European settlement of the highlands was accompanied by another colonial migration: young Kikuyus in search of land and employment migrated from areas near Nairobi, southeast of the Rift Valley, and into the European areas of the Rift Valley. Many Kikuyus prospered here during the first decades of colonial settlement. The European properties were large and much of the land remained unused during the first decades of settlement. The Kikuyus variously stayed as tenant farmers and seasonal labourers, broke new lands and kept animals on the fringes of European properties (Kanogo, 1987, pp. 15-25). By the 1920s, however, more extensive exploitation of land for European agriculture led to conflicts between European landowners and Kikuyu squatters (Overton, 1988; Kanogo, 1987, pp. 35-67). By this time Kikuyu families were also tied to land in the area that they, their parents or their grandparents had broken, and where they had initiated the young and buried the dead (Lonsdale, 1990, p. 403, see n. 48). Different from the "customary rights" of the Okiek and the leases or concessions that European businessmen and settlers had, this was a third claim to land in Turi to be consolidated in the early colonial era.

Colonial Privilege and Managed Affects

One of the European couples who moved to Turi in the early 1920's was Will and Edith Levet who stayed in a wooden farmhouse at The Equator Sawmills. While they moved to Turi without children, they had their first son a few years later. Concerned to have a nearby school for their son and his younger siblings, they explored the possibilities of starting one as he was approaching schooling age in 1930. They owned a wooden building about two hundred meters from their house, across a railway siding that was no longer in use,[8] that could serve as a locale. Eventually they also succeeded in contracting the newlywed Peter and Jean Lavers to teach. Both Peter and Jean had backgrounds in education and they had wanted to start a school together for some time. Peter had been French and Games Master at a boys' boarding school in England, but had

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[8] This siding can be seen on the map attached with letters dated 1932-3 in Kenya National Archive file AG/22/302 (Subdivisions Turi farm 531/7). Remains were visible in at least one of the gardens in the school compound during my fieldwork.

managed plantations in Kenya and Tanganyika for some years since he arrived in East Africa. Jean, on the other hand, had taught at Limuru Girls' School about thirty kilometres northwest of Nairobi, from which she resigned to move to Turi.[9]

St. Andrew's School was opened on the 19th January 1931 with construction works still in progress. An inspector from the government visited the school on the 10th February[10] and described the school facilities favourably. "The school site is an excellent one at an altitude of over 8,000 feet and seems to be very healthy." In addition, there were electric lights and taps with both hot and cold water from a borehole. The inspector counted fifteen boarders and three day scholars, as well as eleven applicants who could not yet be accommodated. There were few boys, five in total between four and seven years old, while the thirteen girls were fairly evenly distributed between five and sixteen years.

Reports from an ensuing inspection in 1931 and a third one in 1934[11] refer to good food prepared from vegetables grown in school gardens and dairy products procured from nearby farmers. The water from the borehole tested favourably and needed neither filtering nor boiling. The reports refer to the continuous expansion of the school with new buildings constructed from wood: it was affordable and quick, but "the combustible nature of the building materials" concerned the inspectors. Peter Lavers assured them that "fire-drills are practiced constantly." By the inspection in 1934, the school served forty pupils with six teachers, a matron and her two assistants. These were all Europeans, and there is no mention of the African staff, to whom I turn in the next section. Amongst the students, boys and girls were in equal numbers. Forty students was about the average size of a private European school in Kenya at the time: of 1 794 European children who attended schools in Kenya in 1935, 673 were in sixteen private schools. The others were in government schools.[12]

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[9] Kenya National Archives file PC/RVP/2/9/18 (Molo House School) contains brief introductions of Peter and Jean Lavers, and a history of St. Andrew's that was compiled by Anthony Creery-Hill in 1981 is available in the St. Andrew's School Archives and provides further details on the Lavers.

[10] Kenya National Archives file PC/RVP/2/9/18 (Molo House School).

[11] Kenya National Archives file PC /RVP.6A/12/6 (General information on St. Andrew's School at Turi).

[12] These numbers are from a letter dated 27th March 1936 that was sent from the Education Department in Nairobi. It is accessible at the Kenya National Archives, file PC/RVP.6A/12/13 (Education General, European).

That more than one in three students attended private schools reflected the social background of settler parents who had often attended public schools themselves and were concerned to retain their class positions (Duder, 1993). C.J.D. Duder and C.P. Youé (1994, pp. 268-269) suggests that provenance in the English upper classes and owning land was more important than monetary wealth in defining privilege in colonial Kenya: "Landlessness was not acceptable to the district notables of Nanyuki: it 'blackened' more than the common labours of aristocrats." Their study of colonial Nanyuki, another remote settler district, presents a community of British settlers who remained distant from the wealth of the infamous Happy Valley-set; resentful of Lord Delamere, the informal leader of settler politics; but also sceptical of landless Dutch-speaking Afrikaners who stayed in the district as tenant farmers or wage-labourers. A letter from the Director of Education to the Colonial Secretary sent in 1935[13] notes that British settlers in Nanyuki sent their children to private schools out of the district to avoid the two local schools, attended mainly by Dutch-speaking children. "The British settlers dislike the idea of sending their children to [these schools] as they would be obliged to mix with Dutch children and the standard of accommodation is much below that of other Government schools." This suggests that the social class of other students was considered when Kenyan settlers sent their children to school. The ensuing description of the hotel at one of the Nanyuki schools also makes the racial connotations of poverty explicit: "... hostel conditions are extremely primitive. The floors are of mud, and the walls of reeds which let in the wind and the rain. The accommodation is much inferior to that provided in the majority of Government and Mission schools for Africans."

St. Andrew's was a domain of British settlers and a relatively elite institution within a few years of opening. The sections with 'News from former students' in school magazines from 1939, 1940 and 1941[14] contain the names of 70 students who attended the school during its first decade of operation. These were sons and daughters of farmers, sawmillers, businessmen and a Seventh Day Adventist missionary doctor, but also district officers in Kenya and Uganda, other types civil servants and the Governor of

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[13] Kenya National Archives file PC/RVP.6A/12/13 (Education General, European).
[14] St. Andrew's School Archives. *St. Andrew's School Magazine*, 1939, 1940 and 1941. The list may not be exhaustive of all former students and leaves out all students who were still at the school in 1941.

Kenya at the time.[15] The printed news suggest that at least fourteen of these students progressed to public schools in England and eighteen to fee-based schools in Kenya. The further education of the other 38 students cannot be discerned from this list, but a more complete picture emerges when the list is sorted by geographical references. 30 of the 70 students were or had been staying in England since they left St. Andrew's, seven in Scotland, three elsewhere outside the continent and three in South Africa. Nineteen students were listed as staying in Kenya without any indication that they had been abroad and eight were not accounted for in this way either.

These numbers suggest that St. Andrew's was integrated into a specific educational geography that was simultaneously colonial and class-based. Around 1850, Stoler (2004, pp. 16-17) notes, prolonged residence in the Netherlands was favoured to instil the "right" racial categories and sense of belonging in European children that were brought up in the Dutch East Indies. Writing of India around 1900, Dane Kennedy (1996, p. 141) remarks that one in three boys and one in six girls enrolled at the "hill schools" subsequently went to England for further education. The numbers for St. Andrew's indicated above are higher. The private schools in Kenya, like the hill school in India, were based in the preparatory- and public school tradition, and most of the colonial children who went to England attended the public schools. Fee-based and with restrictive admission policies, these have been domains of British privilege since before the Victorian era (Gathorne-Hardy, 1977). That colonial children were educated in these schools maintained the integration of colonial and metropolitan privilege that was already established with Kenyan parents (Duder, 1993).

Fee-based boarding schools also worked to separate privileged European children from the less privileged children who schooled and played elsewhere, and from domestic workers as nurturers. Stoler (2002, pp. 112-139) has shown how the presence of European children in the colonies depended on careful management of the many possible sources of physical, moral and affective contamination from both poor and

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[15] I compiled a complete list of the names from 'News from former students' in the school magazines from 1939, 1940 and 1941 and cross-referenced the names with the genealogy compiled by Tim Hutchinson (1996) and the 'Register of Voters' 1938) to establish fathers' line of work. I successfully traced the line of work of eight fathers, some of whom had several children in the school.

mixed-race Europeans as well as native servants.[16] At St. Andrew's, students were not allowed to talk to the African staff who, as I show in the next section, were rendered out of sight from the school to the extent possible.[17]

At the same time, rules and mandatory practices worked to instil the bodily dispositions of European privilege in the students: they were encouraged to walk with their shoulders straight and never with their hands in their pockets lest they had to lie on a wooden bench during rest time. Their uniforms were inspected before breakfast every day – including Sundays – and students were to shine their shoes after lunch. There was daily morning exercise in front of the school, and boys and girls were separated and practiced different sports in the afternoon. Their weights were monitored and meals were adjusted for children who were deemed over- or underweight.

When understood in light of the broader context of the boarding school, these rules and practices emerge as part of a more fundamental effort at shaping the students as subjects than the notion of *habitus* as bodily dispositions suggests (Mauss, 1973 [1935]; Bourdieu, 1977; see Faubion, 2001a, p. 101). The process of subject formation within boarding schools starts with the separation of children from parents at young age, a painful experience (Robertson, 1951) that was thought necessary to shaping young children into future leaders. Gathorne-Hardy (1977, pp. 436-437) suggests that repeated and prolonged separation from parents primarily worked to redirect children's loyalty from the family towards other social entities.[18] While European schools in the colonies allowed children to stay nearer their parents longer, the separation of children from parents remained a prominent feature of boarding school educations. At St. Andrew's, Jean Lavers advised parents to drop children off at lunch-time to make good-bye easier by diverting the children's attention from it.[19] When separated from their parents, the students were exposed to ideas of "sacrifice," "giving"

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[16] Stoler (2002, p. 267 n.259) remarks that Stallybrass and White (1986) describe similar fears from bourgeois upbringings in the European metropoles, and that these fears were not specifically colonial.

[17] This and the details in the following paragraph are from memories submitted to the St. Andrew's School Archive by former students. Because these memories are identified by the personal names of the students, I do not make references to individual memories here.

[18] Kennedy (1996) and Stoler (2002) both mention stories that circulated in the colonies about children who had been schooling in Europe and who no longer recognized their parents when they met again.

[19] St. Andrew's School Archives. 'Circular to All Parents'. Note by Jean Lavers. No date.

and "service to others" – echoes of the public schools ideals of "responsibility" and "service" (Gathorne-Hardy, 1977; Wakeford, 1969) – that all imply an orientation towards external others. Amongst other pieces evidence of this history to be found at the St. Andrew's School Archives is the entry "Our war afforts" [sic] in the school magazine from 1940:

> The Christmas Concert was our first effort to raise funds for the war and from the proceeds we gave half to the Red Cross and half to the Nakuru War Memorial Hospital, each cause receiving the sum on 256/50
>
> On Sports Day it was unanimously decided that we would do without prizes and so we handed over 175/- to the Kenya Welfare Fund.
>
> During the holidays many children set to work to earn small sums of money and were most original in their work … Even in Turi we know that willing sacrifice is demanded of us and we are training ourselves to give ourselves in small ways.[20]

Race, Gaze and Colonial Exclusion

In 1944, the main building at St. Andrew's burned to the ground in an accidental fire without human casualties. Teaching was resumed soon after in temporary locations on farms in the vicinity, while Italian prisoners of war were hired to construct a new stone building. Sir Philip Mitchell, the Governor of Kenya, opened the new school in 1948.[21] A few years later, in 1951, the Lavers bought and incorporated a large tract of neighbouring land into the school estate. Lying east of the school, the land included a part of Geoff and Mary Underwood's Juniper Farm with the building that Will and Edith Levet had stayed in three decades earlier. Another building had housed a girls' secondary school, St. George's School, during the Second World War. Unaffiliated with St. Andrew's, St. George's was closed when civilian passages to Europe became available again after the war. When these buildings became part of the St. Andrew's estate, they were taken in use as teacher accommodation. They were larger and more apt for married couples than those that were already in use. Some of the land was worked up as sports fields and some was planted with gum trees for *kuni* (firewood) and with pyrethrum for commercial sale. Part of the land was also allocated for African *shambas*

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[20] St. Andrew's School Archives. *St. Andrew's School Magazine,* 1940, p. 6-7. The newspaper article 'A British School in Mau Mau Land' 1954) notes that "They keynote of life at St. Andrew's is happiness and service to others."

[21] St. Andrew's School archives. Anthony Creery-Hill (1981) *St. Andrew's, Turi 1931-81* p. 15

(vegetable gardens), and Peter Lavers remarks that this was "a most satisfactory and happy move towards a permanently resident staff."[22]

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, African workers had stayed as squatters in the outskirts of settlers' lands and in nearby forests during the first decades of European settlement in the Highlands. They had been able to keep *shambas* and livestock on land they did not own due to slack regulation, and some had accumulated significant wealth. The houses that St. Andrew's allocated to African workers in the 1930s and 1940s, on the slope between the railway tracks and the swamps, came with little prospect of farming as the nearby fields had been planted with gum trees and pyrethrum. Kanogo (1987, p. 83) suggests that the establishment of pyrethrum fields in the late 1920s and early 1930s had been a source of conflicts between European land owners and African squatters in Turi. It had coincided with forced reductions in African livestock and African children had been taken from schools to pick pyrethrum. By this time, schooling for their children was of immense importance to squatters, if often not provided for (Kanogo, 1987, pp. 78-91).

I have no records of such conflicts at St. Andrew's, however. These may not have been recorded, the records may have been lost (as many have), or there may have been no significant conflict at St. Andrew's. Two things indicate the latter. Firstly, unregulated African farming was already largely abolished by the time that St. Andrew's employed a workforce in the early 1930s. Frederick Cooper (1988, p. 318) suggests that by this time, "a rationalized labour system" and "an official ideology oriented toward systematic social development consigned the squatters to categorical oblivion." Workers at St. Andrew's were allocated houses and, after 1951, land for *shambas*. They had not broken the land and there is nothing to indicate that they thought of their houses in Turi as home in the same way that some squatters did.

Secondly, my data suggests that St. Andrew's did facilitate education both for their African workers and their children. A note from 1937 mentions a night school for African workers that was run at St. Andrew's and taught by an untrained teacher

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[22] St. Andrew's School Archives. 'History of St. Andrew's Need for More Land – and its Acquisition'. Undated note signed S. Le Mesurier Lavers. What follows is based on that note where otherwise is not indicated.

employed a nearby farm school.[23] Later, when Juniper Farm was bought and amended to the school estate in 1951, it included a building that housed an African Inland Mission school. Older residents in the area that I interviewed told me that this was a school "for the children of the workers at St Andrew's" and they suggested that this school was moved to a wooden building with a dirt floor near the African workers' houses between the railway and the swamps in 1953. An archival document suggests that the Lavers oversaw the construction of a new school in the 1960s, possibly as a development of this school.[24]

Moving the African school in the 1950s consolidated a form of racial segregation on the school estate and in the nearby areas, designating the areas between the railway tracks and the swamp as a domain for African life: their houses and their school was here, and for those who worked in the forests or were picking pyrethrum, much their work was here. Their *shambas* may have been higher up on the slope. The site was not arbitrarily chosen. The African school and the African houses were behind the European school if approached from the architectural front as European students, parents and teachers did when arriving from the railway station or the main road through the gate. Not only did the African workers approach the school from the opposite side of the Europeans. Situated on a slope, their houses and school were also out of sight from the buildings and the sports fields in daily use by European teachers and students at St. Andrew's. From these places, the visible landscape was composed of European farms and fields, as well as a European railway.

Anthropological and critical theories of vision and power have largely been based on Michel Foucault's (1977) appropriation of Jeremy Bentham's panopticon and the possibility of seeing without being seen. However, the privileged colonial "gaze from the height" (Shaw, 1995, p. 181) was not a disciplining gaze intended to change the Africans – in this instance, it hardly saw Africans at all – but rather a gaze over landscapes that Europeans could own. It was a gaze of appropriation. By the 1950s, the landscape in

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[23] Kenya National Archives PC/RVP.6A/12/11 item 11. 'Report on a visit by Rev. R.G.M. Calderwood to schools above Nakuru which maintain a connection of some kind with the Church of Scotland Mission'. November 1937. Signed R.G.M. Calderwood. This is probably a different school from the one mentioned by Githieya (1997, p. 134), which was run by the African Inland Mission.

[24] St. Andrew's School Archives. CORAT (1975) *A Survey of the Organization and Administration of St. Andrew's School, Turi.* p. 33

Turi, as elsewhere in the Highlands, had been divided into properties that were owned by Europeans. By moving the African houses and school away from the European houses and the school buildings at St. Andrew's, they were excluded them from view and, by extension, consciousness (see Epperson, 1990 for a similar argument). It created a view of a European landscape. To the extent that Europeans regarded their African workers as "living in a separate, mysterious world of their own", as Duder and Youé (1994, p. 265) wrote of Nanyuki settlers three decades earlier, I therefore suggest that this was by design.

Emergency and Fortification

As a mode of exclusion, subtle and small-scale spatial segregation was out of date before it was consolidated at St. Andrew's. By the early 1950s, mounting violence at the beginning of the Mau Mau rebellion triggered new, physical modes of racial exclusion. A state of emergency was declared in October 1952, extending the colonial state's scope for using extrajural responses (Elkins, 2000). Africans of certain ethnicities – Kikuyu, Embu and Meru – were moved to detention camps and resettled to the reserves in large numbers (Anderson, 2005; Elkins, 2005). A newspaper article about St. Andrew's mentions that all Kikuyu workers were "sent away at the beginning of 1953" ('A British School in Mau Mau Land', 1954). In April 1953, Jean Lavers wrote to parents that: "It will take time to work up any team spirit amongst the new Africans or to get them to take any pride in their work. Years of training and achieved a great deal with the old staff, and now we must begin all over again."[25]

In addition, physical barriers were erected to turn the school compound in an effective fort: wire netting was mounted on all windows on the ground floor of the school building and a barbed wire fence was erected around the main grounds. Flood-lighting was installed, *askaris* (guards) and teachers carrying revolvers patrolled day and night, secret communication systems and sirens were maintained, and European staff were trained to launch distress rockets.[26] Echoing the focus on violence against women and children in British propaganda (Clough, 1998, pp. 155-156), the British illustrated

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[25] St. Andrew's School archives. 'Circular to All Parents'. Note dated April 1953, signed by Jean Lavers.
[26] St. Andrew's School archives. 'Circular to All Parents'. Note dated April 1953, signed by Jean Lavers. The article 'A British School in Mau Mau Land' (1954) also contains details on the school during the Mau Mau.

newspaper *The Sphere* wrote that "no risks are taken with these precious young lives" ('A British School in Mau Mau Land', 1954).

During my fieldwork, I produced little data on life during the Emergency (as the Mau Mau was denoted in the colonial bureaucracy) and the later colonial era in Turi and at St. Andrew's. Except for the fortification of the school and a renewed sense of fear amongst settlers,[27] the data I present on the first years after independence in the next sections, however, indicate that few major changes took place in Turi between the early 1950s and the mid-1960s (see also Nardocchio-Jones, 2006). As if symbolic, the barbed wire that had been erected at the beginning of the Emergency in 1952 still surrounded the school when Peter and Jean Lavers resigned in 1965. When he was appointed, Dick Drown, the new headmaster, had it removed. He wrote in his memoirs that:

> I wanted to remove the sense of isolation that the wire created and to announce that the School would in future take part in many activities outside and invite those outside to come in. [28]

The next two sections concern two related ways in which the school was opened in the post-colonial era: to the post-colonial nearby community and to African and Asian students.

"Those Good Times"

Before the better part of Juniper Farm was amended to the St. Andrew's estate in 1951, a 20 ½ acre plot had excised for building Turi Club. This plot lay between the railway station and the land acquired by St. Andrew's, neighbouring both. A wooden building was moved from the land that was purchased by St. Andrew's to become the main clubhouse with a kitchen and a bar. An ornamental garden was worked up and a squash hall was built at some stage, but most of the land remained unused. As in other colonial communities, the Club became a symbol of European unity and dominance in Turi, especially to the Africans who were excluded from membership (Proudfoot and Wilson, 1961). A long-time resident in the area and former Mau Mau fighter that I interviewed

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[27] Kenya National Archives file CS/8/22/30 (European Associations: Molo, Mau Summit and Turi Settler's Association) contains a letter dated 8th June, 1961, addressed to the Governor of Kenya. While this does not directly refer to violence, it does raise questions regarding the security of European property and investments in Kenya.

[28] St. Andrew's School archives. 'Dick Drown's memoirs'. Undated note by Dick Drown.

remarked that the Club was a place where "the Europeans could talk about how to suppress us Africans."

However, Turi Club also sheds light on some of the differences between Europeans in late colonial Turi. I have little data on the activities or membership at the club in the colonial era, but Dick Drown wrote that no teachers at St. Andrew's were members until after the Lavers' retirement in 1965.[29] On the one hand, the Lavers were unhappy with the Club from the beginning – they had wanted the tract of land for their school and may not have agreed with the establishment of a bar.[30] The teachers, on the other hand, may have avoided membership or been excluded on other accounts. Cyril and Rhona Sofer (1951, pp. 322-323) develop the term "clubbable" to describe an important status distinction within a white colonial community in East Africa. The distinguishing factors are income, occupation and "style of life." Many of the teachers at St. Andrew's before 1965 were lowly paid and unmarried women, and may not have been "clubbable." Others were retirees or wives of farmers on nearby farms, but it is not discernible from my data whether they were members or not.

When the majority of teachers did become involved with Turi Club in the mid-1960s, however, this was more or less simultaneously with the first African members. According to Norman Stewart Carey Jones (1965, p. 195), financially assisted settlement schemes were not employed in Molo because the area was ethnically indiscernible. Turi was much the same. Many farms remained with European owners, but some were sold to wealthier Africans and collectives were organized to buy others. At least some of these collectives, such as Turi Farmers, a collective of school teachers, were comprised of educated and working members. Still, amongst the long-time residents that I interviewed, only those who owned land outside the collectives talked about being members of Turi Club. Both former teachers whom I interviewed and these long-time residents in the area who had been members remembered each other by name and told

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[29] St. Andrew's School archives. 'Dick Drown's memoirs'. Undated note by Dick Drown.
[30] In the note 'History of St. Andrew's Need for More Land – and its Acquisition' (Undated note signed S. Le Mesurier Lavers. St. Andrew's School Archives), the excision of land for the Club is described as "a most annoying and unnecessary cut." This is one of a few instances in which the Lavers' explicitly express dissatisfaction with the Club. In *St. Andrew's, Turi 1931-81* (St. Andrew's School Archives. 1981. p. 21), Anthony Creery-Hill remarks that parties were "unheard of" during the Lavers' headmastership.

stories about each other when I interviewed them. Weekly dinners and pub-nights integrated the teachers at St. Andrew's and some of the school's neighbours in a sense of community, and one of the long-time residents told me spontaneously when I met him at the closed Turi Club that "we used to eat dinner with the teachers here every Wednesday. I wish that those good times will come again." More generally, the late 1960s and 70s are remembered by the long-time residents in Turi as a time of peace, openness and economic prosperity. "It was the era of development in Kenya," one told me while he showed me his nine-acre property and his *shamba*. Mains electricity was constructed in Turi in that era, the main road was tarmacked and the trading centre was built. Since the early 1940s, there had been only one store in Turi: a general store that was run by a Molo-based Indian family.[31]

At St. Andrew's, it was the era of racial desegregation. All government schools were racially desegregated shortly prior to independence or immediately after, and their curriculums were standardised to instil students with a sense of national unity and pride (Ominde, 1964; Olson, 1972). As a private school, St. Andrew's did not face the same requirements. Only when Dick Drown succeeded the Lavers as headmaster in 1965, were the first "Asian" and "African" students were admitted. The "Asian" students came from Kenyan families, but no "Kenyan Africans" were admitted before 1970.[32] In the imagination of the Board of Governors, the headmaster and the parents, St. Andrew's remained a European school. All teachers were of European descent.

It was also decided that students at St. Andrew's would continue to take the Common Entrance for English public schools instead of the Kenyan Preliminary Examination "as the Nairobi schools now took very few European children."[33] This indicated that post-colonial St. Andrew's remained imagined within a geography that resembled the privileged colonial one, where youth and early adulthood were to be spent in public schools and universities in England. Such a raising was common amongst the first post-

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[31] My first record of a store in Turi is a complaint that was registered in 1943 in the Turi Station Logbook. This record is of The Molo Store, but later records refer to Turi Provision Store, which continued business into the mid-1960s. Both names are linked to the Patel family

[32] St. Andrew's School Archives. 'Dick Drown's memoirs'. Undated note by Dick Drown. See also CORAT (1975) *A Survey of the Organization and Administration of St. Andrew's School, Turi* at St. Andrew's School archives.

[33] St. Andrew's school Archives. 'Dick Drown's memoirs'. Undated note by Dick Drown. See Jerry B. Olson (1972, pp. 51-52) on demographic changes in former European secondary schools in Nairobi between 1961 and 1968.

colonial generation of European settlers, the first "white Kenyans" (Uusihakala, 1999). Former parents that I talked to during my fieldwork said that the white, British demographic profile of the student body had been important when they decided to send their children to St. Andrew's because it allowed them to obtain competence in "European culture." While I mainly talked to former white parents, this was also true of the few former black parents that I talked to: European education, as it was understood by both European and African parents, was as much about obtaining "culture" as about formal learning.

Table 1: Students' race and their fathers' line of work, 1981[34]

	European		Asian		African	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Business	27	20,1	8	72,7	24	32,4
Professional	18	13,4	-	-	14	18,9
Farmer	29	21,6	2	18,2	6	8,1
Academic	2	1,5	1	9,1	5	6,8
Civil servant	-	-	-	-	12	16,2
Mission/aid	49	36,6	-	-	9	12,2
Engineer	4	3,0	-	-	2	2,7
Teacher	4	3,0	-	-	-	-
Blank	1	0,7	-	-	2	2,7

By the early 1980s, however, the European settler population had declined dramatically. The number of European-owned farms in Turi and Molo had been reduced from a peak of 250 to three in 1981.[35] The school magazine from that same year contains a complete list of students with their parents' line of work (Table 1). This indicates that by this time, St. Andrew's was simultaneously serving the growing African urban middle class, European expatriates in various missionary- and aid interventions, as well as the shrinking European settler community. The racial composition, with two European students for each African or Asian student, may not have reflected the demand for this kind of education in the respective racial groups. Around this time, the Board of Governors set racial quotas for admissions to retain a European majority of students, but the quotas for European students were increasingly difficult to fill as the

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[34] Source: St. Andrew's School Archives. *The Phoenix: Annual magazine of St. Andrew's School* 5, 1981. I assigned specific job titles to the different employment categories. The racial classifications are not printed in the school magazine, but have been made from students' names and pictures. Three students were racially indiscernible and have been omitted from this table.
[35] St. Andrew's School Archives. Anthony Creery-Hill (1981) *St. Andrew's, Turi 1931-81* pp. 24-25

1980s progressed. The policy was repealed in the 1990s, after the senior school had been opened, and the proportion of African students increased quickly.

With the senior school, St. Andrew's took students to the age of 16. Of the 17 students who took the IGCSE in 1991, the first year it was offered at St. Andrew's, eight left for Britain afterwards, three remained in Kenya and the remaining six left for Canada, Reunion, Ethiopia, Denmark, Sri Lanka and Austria.[36] That almost half of the students left for Britain is continuous with the privileged colonial geography of education described earlier in this chapter – it simply represented a delay of a few years that many earlier spent in Nairobi – while the diversity of destinations amongst another significant portion of the students may indicate that some were the sons and daughters of expatriates on shorter term contracts in Kenya.

Post-Election Violence and Fortification

In Turi, many of the departing Europeans' farms were bought by collectives of Africans, given new names and, with time, split into smaller individual plots that were distributed amongst the shareholders. Some of these have been subdivided since, formally or informally, and have had more houses built on them to accommodate new generations (see Donovan, 2001 for a description of similar processes elsewhere). Near Turi trading centre, most of the houses are built of cement or wood and have roofs of corrugated steel. Higher up and further from the tarmacked road, into the forest areas, a larger portion of houses are built of clay and have straw roofs. These areas, amongst many others, have been sites of the violence that has erupted in the aftermath of the multi-party elections in 1992, 1997 and 2007. While much still eludes explanation, analyses have traced its source to the interplay between ethnicity and land rights, as well as social inequalities (Anderson, 2002; Kagwanja, 2003; Anderson and Lochery, 2008; Lonsdale, 2008; Jenkins, 2012). In the prevailing logic of "ethnic territoriality," Turi, Molo and other parts of Nakuru county are contested (Jenkins, 2012): the strong Kikuyu presence in Turi and Molo over the last century, lingering on today, dominates politics and landownership, while Turi and Molo are closer to the areas that were inhabited by the predecessors of the Kalenjin before European settlement.

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[36] St. Andrew's School Archives. Senior School. 'Headmaster's Report on Speech Day'. 1992

As with the Mau Mau, however, I produced little data on the incidences of violence. It suffices to note here that St. Andrew's has not been subject to the violence. According to the Headmaster's Report in 1992, the school remained "an island of calm" through the riots that year. However, Kikuyu workers had to leave their jobs, two houses in the workforce camp were burned, students were withdrawn early for the Easter holidays and the sounds from rioting caused fear amongst the students who remained: "Hockey sticks, rungus, cutlery, baseball bats, and tennis racquets were close at hand beside each bed."[37]

Like the Mau Mau, however, the incidences of post election violence coincided with and contributed to increased separation of St. Andrew's from the nearby community. A note from 1995 signed by the chairman of Turi Club explores the idea of moving the Club to a site within the school estate,[38] noting that this will resolve issues with land lease but render access by members who are not also teachers more difficult. A new era of fencing around the school compound had already begun. In the early 2000s, the Club was moved, leaving the old locale vacant and effectively making it a teachers' club (as many current students and teachers denote it today). A few years later, in 2007, the present electric fence was erected along the border of the school compound for the election. At the time of writing, it is the last amendment to gradually more secure fences erected around the school since the early 1990s.

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[37] St. Andrew's School Archives. Senior School. 'Headmaster's Report on Speech Day'. 1992
[38] St. Andrew's School Archives. Note dated 1995. Signed by John Eames

2 Inside and Outside

In a programmatic article that draws on recent research in social anthropology and -
geography, James Sidaway (2007, p. 332) suggests that "intensified processes and
patterns of uneven development are increasingly expressed in enclave spaces." He thus
suggests that we understand enclave space as the contemporary spatial manifestation
of uneven development, and that meta-geographical categories such as "developed" and
"Third World" describe an earlier spatial order. Enclaves, as Sidaway describes them,
are bounded spaces that are in some way different from their surroundings: one type of
enclave is described by James Ferguson (2006) as spaces rendered suitable for resource
extraction by multinational companies; another form is described by John and Jean
Comaroff (2006, p. 35) as "zones of civility joined by fragile corridors of safety in
environments otherwise presumed to be, literally, out of control"; and a strand of
research in urban anthropology and –geography has similarly portrayed the separation
of the upper- and middle classes from the poor and marginalized through the
construction of walls and gates, privatized security and restrictions on personal
movement in Los Angeles (Davis, 1992), São Paulo (Caldeira, 2000, 1996), San Antonio
and New York (Low, 2001, 2003) and Johannesburg (Murray, 2004, 2011). .

In this chapter, I will show that St. Andrew's may be understood as part of a geography
of privileged enclaves in Kenya. My analysis further shows how the process of enclaving
creates two separate social domains – the inside an the outside. I follow Fredrik Barth's
(1969) suggestion and focus my analytic attention on the boundaries and interfaces
between these domains. Like the analyses he proposes, my analysis is processual in
seeking to explain how social groups are upheld over time and relative in always
considering groups in relation to other groups. In the previous chapter, I scrutinized the
historical social processes that have led to a situation of varying and multi-layered
categories of difference in Turi. Through this, I showed that the delimitation of the
inside and the outside of the school compound is not primordially given, but has
changed through the school's history.

In the first sections of this chapter, I show how the current delimitation is constituted through a specific set of practices. When the inside and the outside appear as discontinuous opposites both socially and spatially, I suggest that is an effect of practices of security that are administered by the school's guards. I call these "security practices" and describe their most central functions through the procedures for entry and exit at the gate as they vary between different defined categories of people. In the second section, I give an account of the guards' handling and talk of a teenager from the outside who tried to steal a piece of wire from a school fence. Through this example I show both how the distinction between the inside and the outside is actively enforced and how it may seem less pertinent than other distinctions from perspectives from the outside. In the third and fourth sections of this chapter, I nevertheless return to the inside and the outside as experiential categories. I scrutinize the experiences of the inside and outside as Other to each other. I first analyse a Saturday afternoon conversation as an extended case to represent students' images of the outside, then a set of rumours to represent a generalized outside understanding of the inside. These analyses provide thicker descriptions of two ways of making sense of the categories outside and inside, corresponding to an inside and an outside perspective that each constructs itself in relation to the other. In the final section of this chapter, I touch briefly on a symbolic analysis of the demarcation of the inside and the outside to illustrate how that can explain the fears and mistrust that is chronicled in this chapter.

Security Practice

Like a cadastral map creates a system of land tenure "through its ability to give its categories the force of law" (Scott, 1998, p. 3, see Ch. 1), the process of enclaving produces two domains – an inside and an outside – whose separation is backed by the force of security guards. The inside and the outside are physically separated by the electric fence that encompasses the school compound, roughly two meters high and 3 ½ km in circumference. For part of the circumference, a barbed wire fence supplements the electric fence, running parallel to it a short distance on the inside. A hedge grows just behind the electric fence for the better part of the length visible when approaching the school by car, covering some of it completely and some of it partially. This softens the impression somewhat. Other parts of the fence stand freely, especially where

patches of forest grow between the school buildings and the fence, rendering it out of sight from both the access road and the inside of the compound.

The most important site for security practices is the gate. It is made of vertical steel bars about three meters high and ten centimetres apart, and painted bright red. The access road leading up to it from the outside is unpaved and quite rough in a small car, turning sharply to the right less than a hundred meters before the gate. No great speed can be obtained towards the gate and a floodlight is mounted near it, blinding any vehicle or person approaching in the dark and rendering them visible to the guards who are the subjects of security practice. The guards live on the outside of the compound and are hired through a private, regional company and rotated between locations biannually to ensure loyalty to their employer. At St. Andrew's, they supervise the gate and patrol the compound, conducting most of their work according to defined procedures. These procedures are designed to keep the inside and the outside separated through limiting access to the inside and searching people when they leave the compound.

Most of these searches are of the nearly 200 casual workers who live outside the compound and work within it. Most depart twice a day on weekdays: first when their lunch starts at one o'clock, and later when they finish work in the afternoon. On these occasions, the function of the gate as the only legitimate point of connection between the inside and the outside becomes visible. Most of the day, the workers are spread out all over the compound, but at one o'clock, groups of three, four or five workers, all wearing like-coloured uniforms – colleagues leaving together, the colour of the uniform reflecting their departmental affiliation and tasks – converge on the same main routes through the school compound that all lead towards the gate. Here, the workers line up in front of two guards to be searched before they leave their fingerprints on the electronic log and pass through the pedestrian passage between the automotive gate and the guards' house. Outside the gate, their paths disperse again as some turn right to the workforce camp, some head straight ahead across the railroad tracks and others turn left along the electric fence towards the trading centre and the *matatu* stage.

The workers are granted access to the inside only for defined temporal intervals – the working hours – and their inclusion and exclusion is administered through electronic

registration of their fingerprints on both arrival and departure and the mandatory search on every departure. Arrivals and departures of school vehicles are similarly registered on forms that are kept in the vehicles, the mileage controlled by a guard to limit their misuse for private purposes. Once the form has been filled out, the guards open the gate and let the vehicle pass. Parents and guests, too, are signed in and out at the gate. Teachers arriving at the gate from the outside, nearly always in their private cars, however, are either recognized by the guards who open the gate without approaching the vehicle or approached by a guard to establish whom it is. Their arrivals and departures are not similarly recorded. Relations between guards and teachers are friendly, and most teachers wave to the guards who greet them back, or stop to have a brief chat as they pass through the gate. While most of the guards speak some English, many teachers use this as a chance to practice their Kiswahili. Teachers can enter feely, but, as with guests, their vehicles are searched upon departing from the school compound.

The searches of both teachers' cars and workers' bodies are intended to uncover potential stolen items, and thus to prevent theft or scam. Both members of the estate management team and guards told me of finding small items ranging from food and stationary to mobile phones hidden in workers' pockets and under their clothes. A zero tolerance policy on theft was in effect during my fieldwork whereby workers who were caught with stolen property were reported to the estate management by the guards and lost their jobs. Because workers belong both to the inside and the outside at different times, they are ambiguous – or anomalous (Douglas, 1966) – within the categories of security practice. More fundamentally than preventing theft, therefore, the registration of fingerprints and the searches at the gate can be understood as means of maintain order through simple cleansing rituals at the point of connection between the domains. In addition to enforcing the demarcation between inside and outside, this also privileges the inside over the outside through restricting outbound material flows.

The relation of these gating procedures to the demarcation of the inside and outside domains is also evident when certain white teachers disapprove of having their vehicles searched. The searching of teachers' cars is intended to prevent theft of larger items, and small storage rooms, bags and the teachers' pockets are not searched. The teachers

allow the guards to open trunks and look through windows on their vehicles, but some of the white teachers told me while we were waiting that outbound vehicles have been searched only since scams by "African teachers" were unravelled. Some suggested that the scams involved theft of laptops and other expensive equipment.

Since I heard this from several teachers, but never saw evidence to substantiate the claims that also remained vague, I understand them as circulating stories and analyse them symbolically. Drawing on the historical categories "European" and "African," the story challenges the current demarcation between inside and outside domains. As shown in Chapter 1, the inside and the outside were racialised categories in the colonial era: the inside constituted by white Europeans and their property, and the outside by black Africans and whatever they had. In the story, these are retained as relevant demarcations and the project of demarcating people by occupation is implied to be false. African teachers, like African workers, are posed as classificatory ambiguous in working on the inside and having affiliations on the outside, and thereby also introduce ambiguity to the deracialized category "teacher." If this category includes both African and European teachers, it will be ambiguous and require searching at the gate. European teachers, by this logic, become collateral damage in attempts to control African teachers when policies can no longer differentiate by race.

My interpretation of this story pertains to an understanding of spatial organization that is inspired by the concept of boundaries proposed by Ingold (1993, p. 156). His contention that no physical feature is in itself a boundary without being recognized and used as such, can be taken to imply that the security practices at St. Andrew's produce the inside and the outside as categories in a very fundamental way: the fence as a boundary and the gate as appoint of connection between two domains are enforced by guards patrolling the perimeter of the fence, with dogs at night, and employing violence when necessary. This continuous process of enforcement upholds a particular boundary that is continuously challenged in two ways: on the one hand, the arbitrary demarcations are challenged and alternatives suggested, and on the other, the physical boundary is occasionally challenged. The existence of a peaceful inside, therefore, depends on the restriction of crime, violence and theft to the outside, at times to be enforced violently (Zizek, 2002).

Talk of Crime

One afternoon in February while I was talking to the security supervisor, a guard came walking towards the gate from the outside. He was pulling a resisting, local teenager with him by a firm grip on his upper arm. The boy's sneakers were worn out, his dirty pants a few sizes too large and his torn jacket grey from fading and dust. He stood out starkly in an area where people, albeit poor, dress well. Behind them, one of the school gardeners followed with approximately two meters of barbed wire that had been cut from one of the school's remote fences. The boy was brought to the security supervisor's office and told to sit on the ground in front of it while the estate manager and the police were contacted. Among the staff working nearby, mostly gardeners and carpenters, many caught glances of what was going on and smiled. Most remained at their activities, but some staff and two guards stood beside the boy, watching him, talking and joking amongst themselves. They told the boy that if he had been caught for something like this in earlier times, he would have been beaten senseless – and that probably he still will be if he is taken to jail. When the police officer came from the trading centre a few minutes later, the boy was searched and small wrap of tin foil with *bhang* (an illegal drug) was found in the right pocket of his jacket. He was questioned about this, the drugs held right in front of his face before they were thrown on the ground in front of him, but he muttered only a few words. After a brief consultation and about twenty minutes of waiting, it was decided between the police officer and the guards to have the boy clean the community hall besides the gate instead of bringing him to the police station. He was given, as they told me, "a second chance to prove himself."

Like workers who lose their jobs for stealing, the boy challenged the boundaries between the inside and outside domains when attempting to transplant property between them without the appropriate consent. The guards did use force, though through their consultation with the administration police, they acted as extensions of the state monopoly on violence, not alternatives to it. As such, the private security at St. Andrew's works differently from the private and often violent security described by a number of anthropologists writing on neoliberal Africa (Ferguson, 2005, 2006; J. L. Comaroff and Comaroff, 2006; Goldstein, 2010). Further, both the guards in their threats to the boy and the members of the estate management team whom I talked to

about the incidence later suggested that the way the guards handled the boy was less violent than the police would have been. To the extent that they implied a critique, that was not of police inaction, but of the too high level of violence prevailing in the police force.

Two days after the incident at the gate, another officer of the police arrested the boy for smoking *bhang* in the trading centre and had him brought to the police station in Molo, the nearest one. It was one of the guards who first told me this, speaking in his usual vivid style and acting out how the policeman has smelled the smoke, peeked around a corner and found the boy. Laughing as he told me this, the guard proceeded to explain that the boy was a menace known both to the guards at St. Andrew's, the police officers and in the local community: he had dropped out of school and even his parents had given up on him. He had been seen stealing wire from the school fence before, and the guards had been waiting to catch him. It was well known that the boy used drugs and that the wire he had stolen was sold as scrap metal to buy these drugs.

Overall, the guard focused on the problems that the boy caused without considering the social conditions and personal problems that might motivate him. In portraying a dope fiend who is effectively without family, education or a will to improve, the guard was portraying something less than human towards whom protection is needed. This is typical of what Caldeira (2000) calls "talk of crime": a response to fear and violence, it creates essentialized and caricatured categories of people as either good or bad, and silences understanding of social conditions and desperation. As such, it contributes to the legitimation of violent security practices. Throughout my fieldwork, this was most explicit among guards, though also other educated, working or land-owning, often longer-term residents of Turi emphasized the derogatory effects recent arrivals and "idlers" have had on the area. "You cannot trust these people," I was told on several occasions as a warning against associating with the young men waiting by the roadside or playing pool in the early afternoon, "they are idlers – always up to no good."

Like the boy who was caught stealing wire, these "idlers" are usually unemployed youth whose families cannot afford further education for them. Violent outbreaks in 1992, 1997 and 2008 destroyed farms and necessitated resettlement from family plots to

townships for many families for security reasons. The closure of most of the sawmills in the area over roughly the same timespan due to deforestation, and a growing population, has eroded opportunities for wage-employment. A number of the "idlers" are therefore looking for reliable sources of income, but find none and are forced into casual labour, crime or alcoholism. Some refer to themselves as "truck-loaders," waiting by the roadside for any kind of day job such as loading agricultural produce onto trucks. The 'Turi Truck Loaders' wooden stall with seats and a dirt floor that has been erected near the *matatu* stage usually seats slightly older people in similar situations. St. Andrew's hires some of them on short contracts for specific tasks, and others associated me with the school and questioned me about the prospects of employment.

The condemnation of this group by guards and others who are employed or owning land may reflect the classificatory principle that the closest categories are the ones that most emphatically must be distanced and condemned (Caldeira, 2000, p. 31; see also Douglas, 1966). By this logic, the slightly better-off neighbours retain their identities and pride as "good" by emphasizing differences to those below them as "bad." However, some of the better-off neighbours also took care to emphasize their closeness to the social scene at St. Andrew's, for example through referring to teachers or other staff as personal friends when I talked to them. In the previous chapter, I also mentioned that some of the school's neighbours talked nostalgically of former teachers. Others were expressing understanding for the withdrawal of the school from the community. In a moment representative of such an effort, one of the local pastors told me as we were walking along the school's electric fence that "the school had to take measures to protect itself" because people had been breaking into it during the post-election violence in 2008. (From what others told me, this did not happen). I had just asked him about the fence, as I often did to outside residents who tend to ignore it. Like others, he did not dwell on his own exclusion, but rather talked about his engagement with a charity project that is run by the school. This implicitly aligns him and the other more privileged neighbours of the school with those on the inside of the school compound as "good" people in relation to "idlers" as "bad" people against whom the security at St. Andrew's is directed.

"Good" and "bad" as an alternative set of categories to "inside" and "outside" reflects one of the essential differences between the inside and the outside of the school compound: while the fence is largely absent in many outsiders' imaginations, the sense of security and captivity it creates figure in the imaginations of insiders. In St. Andrew's, a discourse is manifested in stories told and retold by teachers, students and parents about muggings, car jackings and home assaults that emphasizes very real dangers of everyday life. At least two hijackings occurred during my fieldwork – both shortly after dark, near St. Andrew's and concerning people affiliated with the school – and were talked about among teachers and parents. I return to these fears in the last section of this chapter, after I have scrutinized inside and outside experiences of the school compound in the next two sections.

Inside: "A prison" or "a bubble"

One sunny Saturday afternoon in February, a group of girls from the college and the last year of the senior school were sitting on the grass in front of a boarding house. When I approached them, they were discussing recently watched episodes of *Gossip Girl*, an American TV series about privileged youth in New York whose lives and relations are exposed on a website. Not long after I sat down, the conversation drifted towards concerning their own lives in St. Andrew's and gossip about their co-students and sex. Physical intimacy is forbidden by the school rules and the gossip becomes shared secrets to be kept from teachers and parents. While the girls did assume very different positions with regards to this topic – one establishing authority through employing jargon the others did not understand, another distancing herself from the topic through refusing to provide any details even when prompted – they all shared the same secrets. This worked to integrate them, as well as most of the other students who knew the same stories, into a "community of secrets" that was based on maintaining each others' secrets, but not a shared longing for what was excluded from that community (see Abu-Lughod, 1985).

At St. Andrew's, many students experience the school rules, the fence and the remote location of the school as denying them freedoms they would otherwise have had. Like students at St. Anthony in Zambia, of whom Simpson (1999, 2003) has written, they experience their school as separated and distant from the nearby community. At St.

Anthony, however, boys were nevertheless engaged in drinking in nearby bars and in sexual relations with girls in the community. At St. Andrew's, sneaking out to the pubs in the trading centre or the youth there are non-issues that the students never brought up and wavered off as implausible when I brought these up with them. If students do drink alcohol during term, it is brought from home after holidays and trips, or pilfered from the teachers' club and consumed within the school compound. Similarly, the stories about boyfriends and girlfriends shared by the girls this Saturday concerned students and locations in school, but nobody from the outside.

Back to the lawn that Saturday afternoon, the girls emphasized how remote and little fun the school was. They were among the first I heard explicitly likening the school to "a prison, with barbed wire and dogs patrolling." In his study of a classic British public school, Wakeford (1969) finds that this simile is common. He understands it as related to the "relative deprivation" of students who find their usual material comforts and personal liberties reduced by the school. When the girls used the simile, they were rather concerned with how there was no way of getting outside the gates and that if they did, there was nowhere to go. They went on to talk about possible ways of escaping the compound, but concluded that "Turi [trading centre] isn't even a town. It's more like a village." They would need money for public transportation to get to Nakuru, one said. Another questioned whether such transport exists, and it was pointed out that it does, but that they couldn't use it because all their cash is locked up upon arrival to the school. The conversation died out as if to emphasize the pessimism of the moment. The ensuing silence was broken only when one of the college boys came past and the girls got on to talking about which boys in the school were attractive.

This account represents nothing unique, but rather a common type progression of conversations that I heard at St. Andrew's. Saturday and Sunday after lunch are among the times of the week that students themselves dispose of. They are not allowed outside the school compound unaccompanied by either a teacher or their parents, and most of their free time is spent chatting with friends, playing cards, catching up on work or sleep, reading books or going for a run in the forest within the school compound. Many also play games and watch TV-series or films on their laptops. Episodes of American shows like *Gossip Girl* are downloaded over holidays, swapped between students on

USB memory sticks and talked about. Slow internet speeds in school makes it almost impossible to download such files during term, and swapping files is an important means of ensuring access to media. Because almost no new files can be obtained during term, students complain that they are not up-to-date on the latest media when they return home for holidays.

It is notable that East African productions are rarely included in this media economy. Students often ridicule the low quality of Kenyan and Ugandan TV and film productions[39] and download American and European TV series and films from the Internet instead. There is also satellite TVs in the dormitories, giving them access to international entertainment, sports and news. This integrates them into different circuits of information from other Kenyans and Africans, for whom radios (and often local broadcasts) is the most important electronic mass-medium (Fardon and Furniss, 2000; Gunner, Ligaga, and Moyo, 2011).

In a now classic article, Akhil Gupta (1992, p. 66) specifically mentions the importance of control over news media and information flows in creating shared identities within the Nonaligned Movement, the group of former colonies who were simultaneously breaking their dependence on former colonial powers and the Cold War superpowers. Through internet connections in dorms, even if slow; iPods, laptops, Blackberries and other high-end consumer electronics; TVs that are tuned to MTV, international series, sports or news during weekends; and the American popular music that can sometimes be heard through open windows in the dormitories or from small groups of students sitting outside during weekends, students are largely excluded from these influences. Instead, these elements combine to constitute a soundscape at St. Andrew's that resembles that of a Western suburb more than the African countryside that surrounds the school compound.

At least some of the students were concerned about these forms of separation from other Kenyans, and a few of them spoke of the school compound as a "bubble" when I interviewed them. The metaphor often came up when students described themselves

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[39] A notable exception is *Shuga*, a Kenyan production that follows a group of urban students and problematizes issues of love and sex.

and their co-students as "spoiled" or "brats." The bubble-metaphor implies that the students are secluded from the outside of the compound, or from "the real Kenya" as some called it. In emphasizing the social and spatial discontinuities, the bubble-metaphor echoes James Ferguson's (2006, p. 38) critique of the flow-metaphor that has been used in theories of globalization. He suggests that rather than flow, capital and other entities "hop" between places in the globalized world, "neatly skipping over most of what lies in between." The clothes, electronics and media used at St. Andrew's are acquired on trips to urban centres in Kenyan cities or abroad, but never on the nearby *mitumbas* from where they can be carried home. The places where most students live their lives – the suburban malls, suburban houses and the school compound – are experienced as separated by dangerous space that is only to be navigated in private cars and chartered busses.

Outside: "… They Buy Bigger Cars"
With few exceptions, teachers, students and parents all arrive at and depart from St. Andrew's by car. Many parents drive large, new SUVs, and while other parents and most of the teachers drive smaller or older models, the SUVs are stand more out on the roads outside the school compound because they are larger, shined to perfection and keep speeds that other vehicles cannot do on the rough tarmac. Residents near the school noticed the increased traffic and asked me what was going on at St. Andrew's on occasions when columns of SUVs passed by. One Monday, a teacher at the neighbouring public school, Turi Sulgwita, smiled and asked me whether this had been a visiting weekend: "We notice these things." Other acquaintances who frequented the road as drivers or small-scale businessmen related the large vehicles differently, often telling versions of the same joke: "Our politicians don't repair our roads – they buy bigger cars."

Like the rumours about students arriving by airlift and taps pouring sparkling water in St. Andrew's mentioned in the introduction, the joke was told less as political critique than as a revelation. Like the metaphor of a bubble, it suggests that St. Andrew's is completely disentangled from its outside and that Kenyan politicians are more apt to solve their own private problems than collective problems: the 'big cars' flashing by are implicitly opposed to the old *matatus* and trucks carrying those outside slowly along the

same, deteriorating roads. The story about students arriving by airlift is a further exaggeration of the same tendency, suggesting that the "politicians" circumvent the public infrastructure altogether.

The rumours may be understood as related to existing social, political and economic realities, which would suggest that "these aspects are present in a very real, often material, form, but at the same time without any real or sustainable connection to place or location" (de Boeck, 2011, pp. 278-279). While most students do not fly to and from St. Andrew's, and many arrive in mundane cars, the school *is* connected to other enclaves, other similar places, by private cars and chartered buses, not public means of transport; and while taps in the school compound do not pour sparkling water, the water does originate from a private borehole (and, indeed, the same source as a national brand of bottled water) and not from a public network. As such, the rumours are best understood as being about what Filip de Boeck (2011), following Foucault (1986), labels a "heterotopia": a microcosmical conception of the world where, in intersection of reality and imagination, understatement and exaggeration, incompatible and contradictory fragments of truth are juxtaposed into a coherent otherness. In its most extreme form, this is a qualitatively different "other" that cannot be accessed by normal means of transport (you have to fly) and where another kind of water (sparkling water) is drunk.

Like witchcraft for Jean and John Comaroff (1999), this form of heterotopia is a way of making sense of the processes that exclude the majority of Kenyans from the wealth available to a few but visible to most. In Western systems of knowledge, these processes are associated with abstractions such as "the market" or "the economy" – or the foul manipulation of these as "corruption" – while notions of witchcraft can explain similar phenomena in other systems of knowledge (Smith, 2005, p. 147; Blunt, 2004; Gluckman, 1963). In the case of an heterotopia as referred to here, the processes that generate wealth remain unnamed, but are known to be hidden from view of normal people by exclusive compounds and big cars, the invisibility of those inside conjuring speculations of foul play. The joke is a case point, relating big cars, an obvious manifestation of great wealth, to the trope of corrupt Kenyan politicians. The dual meaning is revealing – of the cars as related to St. Andrew's or to the class of corrupt politicians.

Connections: "We Never Stop …"

From the inside, too, cars are experienced as extensions of the comfort and security of the school compound and other enclaves: an SUV in motion upholds distance between the inside and the outside through its size and tinted windows; comfort through air condition and leather seats; and security through its mass and speed (D. Mitchell, 2005; Campbell, 2005). I have already mentioned that at least two hijackings occurred to people affiliated with the school during my fieldwork and there were fatal accidents nearby on the main road. Even a large car is vulnerable to these things, and teachers, students and parents experience driving as an activity that makes them vulnerable. The fear of violent crime wedges mistrust even between close acquaintances and members of the same family, as the advice that a parent gave me when I got a car illustrates:

> As a precaution, we never stop if we see somebody who's broken down. Even if we know them. They may have been hijacked and part of a set-up. Suddenly you find yourself stranded, too.

A warning of a threat that was real enough, this can also be understood symbolically. Like cleanliness for Mary Douglas (1966), enclave security depends on the separation of two domains – the inside and the outside. Neither domain is problematic in itself, but entities become problematic when out of place. In the above warning, it is the person of the inside who is standing along the road on the outside; in the case of a hijacking, it is the person of the outside who enters the car; and at the school gate, it is the workers who live on the outside and work on the inside who need to be controlled as ambiguous entities.

Such an approach to security also facilitates another line of thought. In *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*, Peter Stallybrass and Allon White (1986) show how that which is excluded as other to constitute privileged identities also becomes a subject of fantasy and fascination. They write that "the exclusion necessary to the formation of social identity at [one level] is simultaneously a production at the level of the Imaginary, and a production, what is more, of a complex hybrid fantasy emerging out of the very attempt to demarcate boundaries, to unite and purify the social collectivity" (Stallybrass and White, 1986, p. 193).

At St. Andrew's, students told me a small number of stories about unexpected connections between the inside and the outside. One of these stories concerns former students who acquired alcoholic beverages and even drugs through workers in the school and networks in Turi. Another story is of a former student whose grandparents lived in Turi and who used to walk from school to his grandparents' house for weekends and holidays. Both stories were set in a recent but unspecified past and remained vague. A third instance was the Saturday afternoon conversation described earlier in this chapter. One of the girls mentioned that they could use public transportation as a way of escaping the school. Hearing that I travelled this way daily for months, however, students more typically replied that they had never been on a *matatu* and others admitted that they had done so only as adventures during a holiday. *Matatus* are seen as dangerous for their reckless driving and, to a certain extent, the heightened chances of robberies on crowded vehicles or stages.

The idea of escaping St. Andrew's by *matatu*, like the other two stories, is therefore better understood as a fantasy of transgressing the distinctions between the inside and the outside than as reflecting a probable course of events. Whether the trip took place or not, whether the students in the stories existed or not, the fantasies do challenge the inside : outside dichotomy by merging St. Andrew's and rural Kenya in the students' fantasies.

3 Geographies of Belonging

While describing the separation of students and teachers from the Kenyan countryside that surrounds St. Andrew's, the previous chapter did not address their attachments to other places in Kenya and elsewhere. In classical anthropology, delimitations of place, ethnicity and culture were assumed to coincide (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992; Augé, 1995). The abrupt separation between St. Andrew's and the nearby area, and the connections opened between St. Andrew's and other similar, but faraway, places at the end of every term, illustrates that the relations are more complex in contemporary Kenya. The connections are manifested in a large number of cars and chartered busses that arrive at and depart from St. Andrew's to shift students to their families' suburban residencies and farms, or to international hotels and the international airport in Nairobi and elsewhere. In this chapter, however, I am less concerned with portraying the places that students depart for at the end of terms than with analysing their subjective senses of belonging.

The first section starts with an ethnographic account from International Night, an annual event at the senior school and college. This account raises more questions than it answers, and illustrates a main problematic of the chapter: by considering what is said and done, as well as what is not, I show that students use the celebration of the multitude of nationalities represented at St. Andrew's to express affiliations that are not related to their nationalities. I pay particular attention to the Indian students as members of a diasporic community and the white students as a racial minority. Notably absent are also the black students' expressions of ethnic identities – senses of belonging to the Kenyan tribes. Ethnic identities, tied to ancestral homelands in or near former Native Reserves (that roughly modelled precolonial homelands) and the use of vernacular languages, figure centrally in the everyday lives of most Kenyans. The second section of this chapter specifically concerns the black Kenyan students' experience of these constructs. I show that the black Kenyan students at St. Andrew's feel distant from such modes of identification. When I asked a group of the younger students in the senior school whether ethnic affiliations were important to whom they

make friends with them, one of the girls told me: "We know tribes, but we don't act on them."

The third and forth sections approach this effective abandonment of ethnic identities, at least while at St. Andrew's, as part of a more general sense amongst students of representing something new in Kenya that they expressed in different ways. My analyses take two instances – both of them minor and everyday – as points of departure to explore interlinkages between ideas of "traditions," privilege and race as they are conceptualized at St. Andrew's. These analyses form the backdrop of my analysis in the final section of senses of belonging amongst all the students as members of an urbanite African middle class. Throughout this thesis, I understand the middle class in terms of ways of life rather than in the Marxian sense of specific relationship to the means of production.

International Night

The dining hall had been decorated extensively for International Night: lanterns had been made by placing candles in brown paper bags along the paths leading towards the building; the tables had been rearranged and white tablecloth had been laid on them; the fireplace was lit and freshly cut flowers had been placed on the mantelpiece; *kangas* and other patterned pieces of fabric borrowed from teachers decorated the white walls; and flags representing the various nationalities of the students had been hung up. Teachers and students all agreed – the committee, led by two girls from the college, had done an impressive job.

The dinner had been announced for 7:10 pm – a short time after dark on this clear, somewhat chilly night – but by that time only a few students had showed up. An almost full selection of Coca Cola-produced soft drinks had been delicately placed on a table by the entrance – two for each person in attendance – and the food was getting ready while those who had showed up were waiting outside. Most of the girls wore colourful, patterned cocktail dresses; the boys mostly jeans and shirts, a few in *kaftans*, *sherwanis* and other folk costumes; and one in cotton pants, a white t-shirt and a yellow reflective vest as a parody of a Chinese construction worker. As gradually more students were arriving from the boarding houses, we watched the simultaneous, rhythmic blinking of

lights all over the senior school. The stereo that was supposed to be inviting students with music came on and off with the lights, and an effort was made to turn it off. Other than that, the obvious problems with the mains electricity passed unremarked upon except, perhaps, for an occasional joke. Within a few minutes, it had been stabilized and International Night could progress.

Soft drinks were served by one of the workers who lives in the trading centre as students entered the dining hall, and most proceeded to sit down by a table with their friends. The room was loud with enthusiastc talk and laughter. Seating was free, but a table had been reserved for teachers on duty near the doorway. A black Kenyan teacher and houseparent walked onto the stage that had been organized across the room from the teachers' table, on the slightly elevated floor usually reserved for teachers' tables, to lead grace. The students quickly quieted down, and his short prayer emphasized "the blessing of having so many nationalities represented in the school." It was emphatically all the nationalities, not all the racial groups, ethnic backgrounds or mother tongues that were a blessing to celebrated at International Night, though the ensuing events were to cast that in relief.

After the prayer, the students were called to serve themselves at the buffet where most of the dishes were East African ones: *ugali*, *pialu*, *sukuma wiki*, mashed banana and peanut sauce, a spiced chicken dish and vegetable kebabs. Many students had healthy helpings of the food, which they deemed to be better cooked than on other occasions. There was also a dessert of cut fruits and ice cream in bowls from which students were to serve themselves, and also these were finished.

After dessert, the tables in one half of the room were pushed towards the walls to make some space in front of the stage. Some of the students had prepared entertainment. The other students, as well as the teachers on duty and the anthropologist, were standing between the stage and the doorway. On stage, a Tanzanian college girl read a poem that she had written herself, 'The East-African Lady'. It drew on landscape imagery to situate as simultaneously frail and vulnerable the trope of the strong, hard-working and graceful maternal figure who withstands many burdens to keep her household together. During a quick change of scene, one of the boys introduced 'Three Sexy Ugandan Ladies'

who would dance to a compilation of electronic beats. After that performance, one of the Nigerian boys read two poems he had written about corruption and African politics. He wore a *kaftan* and introduced himself as "the Nigerian prodigy" with his usual humorous smile. His poems were different from the one read earlier, combining puns and irony with the serious and pessimistic message that mismanagement by past and current "politrixians" was causing decay across the continent. He read the poems loudly and rhythmically, at times as if rapping them, and his performance was particularly well received with extensive applause from the audience. When he finished, a school band came on stage and was introduced by a band member mimicking a Jamaican accent: "Tonight we'll take you back to a time before … a time that was happier." There was some laughter in the audience, indicating that they recognized the parody of nostalgia for an earlier post-colonial era that many attribute to their parents and grandparents. The band played reggae, a style of music that is often to be heard in Kenyan pubs and nightclubs, as well as at St. Andrew's, to a cheering audience.

The final performance on stage was a Bollywood dance performed by a group of boys, all of the Indian diaspora in Kenya. The act was introduced with a dialogue in which one was confronted with wearing a white t-shirt and not a *sherwani* like the others. The other boys confronted him, suggesting that if he was Indian, he had to wear a *sherwani* on an occasion such as International Night. He replied by asking "What makes me Indian? Is it what I wear or is it that I feel like an Indian?" This position came across as well formulated and sympathetic as it was explained through the dialogue. The opposing position was ridiculed, even while all the boys in the performance had worn *sherwanis* during the dinner. As such, it was not the idea of a folk costume itself that was ridiculed, but the idea that these were an essential expression of identity. Many students at St. Andrew's have complex roots that cannot always be summarized in single symbols – neither passports nor folk costumes. Through their performance, the boys were claiming space for identities that do not neatly fit into to what Liisa Malkki (1992, p. 25) calls "the national order of things." As part of an Indian diaspora – with their identities as Indians geographically rooted elsewhere than their Kenyan nationalities – their lived experience is otherwise configured.

The white students, also a minority, were notably absent from the stage. None of them made any effort towards claiming space for any type of European music, national costumes or cuisine as their roots; neither did they refer to the pioneering- and settler history that largely defines white Kenyan identity (Uusihakala, 1999). Instead, one of the white boys wore a patterned suit akin to an *abacost* that was distinctively "African" in student parlance. Perhaps a joke, and certainly shown off to chuckles, it can also be understood as an expression of belonging. Signe Howell (2003) describes the importance of the national costume to kinning in Norway, a process whereby transnationally adopted children are brought into relationships with Norwegian people and the Norwegian state that in turn shape their paths of subjectivation. Many of the white students at St. Andrew's similarly board amongst people who look different from themselves, but whose experiences they share to a large extent. In interviews and informal conversation with me, some took care to let me know that they considered themselves to be "white Africans" and one described in vivid and poetic terms how the scents, colours, and sounds of the African wilderness made him feel at home. The patterned suit offered another way of expressing such a sense of belonging – of being "African" but neither "traditional" or "authentic".[40] The cocktail dresses that most of the girls wore can be understood along the same lines.

The tension between being "African" and being "traditional" runs through this chapter as a key to understanding the students' sense of who they are. In the next section, I turn to the notion of "home" as it figures amongst black Kenyan students at St. Andrew's. By showing how they engage with the idea of being rooted in rural "homes" that are both remote and distant from their everyday lives, I begin to describe what I, following one of the students, call "the new in Kenya." I elaborate explicitly on this concept in the third section of this chapter.

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[40] I would like to point out two other garments that express senses of belonging without being "authentic." The first is the *abacost* as it was designed by President Mobuto of Zaïre as part of 'the recourse to authenticity' – Mobuto's policy of celebrating selected elements of the African past but rejecting tribalism to emphasize unity of his African nation (Adelman, 1975). In such terms, the *abacost* is African without being traditional. The second parallel is the point Howell (2003) makes about a new design of the Norwegian national costume that was launched in 2000 that could legitimately be worn by immigrants without claims to Norwegian roots. Again, a variation of folk costume facilitates participation in the nation without laying claims to traditions.

"Home" and "House"

59 percent of parents' addresses listed in the student files at St. Andrew's are in the East African capital cities, and many more in other large cities. For a variety of reasons, many of these locations are not "home" to the students whose families live in them. Students who come from black urban middle class families find that the urban properties at these addresses contain "houses" rather than "homes," and that "home" is on rural farmland rather than in urban houses (see Cohen and Odhiambo, 1992, pp. 40-42; Jenkins, 2012). This distinction was revealed to me one afternoon when I observed ten black African students who had volunteered to fill out a pilot version of a questionnaire I had designed. I had written "Hometown" on one of the fields, and five of students asked me whether I meant their parents' place of residence or their "ancestral home."

The notion of home – of owning, working and developing land – lies at the core of personal fulfilment in the "moral ethnicity" of several Kenyan, including the Kikuyu and the Luo (Berman and Lonsdale, 1992, pp. 466-467; Droz, 2011; Geissler and Prince, 2010). Also amongst peole who are in urban employ, ties to rural kin and places remain important (Jenkins, 2012; Lonsdale, 2001; Cohen and Odhiambo, 1992; Sofer and Sofer, 1955). However, in her recent ethnography of young, urban professionals, Rachel Spronk (2012, pp. 67-72) portrays how these sentiments are changing amongst younger urban Kenyans. Black African students at St. Andrew's generally call the rural areas to which their families have ties "ancestral home" or "the village." When I spoke to students at St. Andrew's about these practices, many emphasized that the villages are far away – remote as well as distant. Telling me of her Easter holiday, a girl said that it had been a long drive and then a long walk "across two hills. So after descending from the first one, we had to climb again and then we came to my grandmother's place." A Kenyan boy from the college remarked of Nyahururu, the town that his maternal grandmother stays in the outskirts of, that it "is about as far from Nairobi as Turi is, but psychologically, it feels more than twice as far." His parents live in Karen, a posh Nairobi suburb, where they employ a maid and a gardener. Driving from his parents house in Karen to his grandparents' farms for Christmas and Easter implies driving to a much simpler standard of life, but also driving to a place that is differently oriented to time. Electronic communication- and entertainment devices did not figure in his account of these visits, but grilled meat and oral history did:

> When we go there, we stay with my grandparents for a few days and we spend all the time in communion with the family. When we are there, my parents tell us about the family history and we meet the extended family. They often slaughter animals and we eat grilled meat and hear stories until late at night. We're always really full when we leave there.

To many parents, the villages are "places of memory" where the past becomes vivid and relevant as a condition of identity (Nora, 1989). Different from the trope of "anthropological place" where life is bound in traditions and a predefined history, places of memory allows subjects to see where they have come from and how they have changed (Augé, 1995, pp. 42-74). Anthropological places bind people to history, while places of memory facilitate articulation of it by allowing actors to step outside of history and create it instead. When parents orate family histories during annual or bi-annual visits to the villages, it both transmits knowledge about a trajectory in time that students are part of and allows students to identify differences between themselves and "traditional" Africans. To the extent that kinship can be regarded as fixing a path of subjectivation (Faubion, 2001a; Howell, 2003), so, too, can such orations of family history be understood as conditioning the process of subjectivation. To the students at St. Andrew's, I suggest, this often works through revealing where they have come from and what they no longer are.

In this regard, the above account from Nyahururu cannot be assumed to be representative of the students' experiences in the villages. It is by a student who is fluent both in Kikuyu and in Kiswahili, and a questionnaire which I had distributed to all year ten students indicate that only a minority of students at St. Andrew's do speak a vernacular and that only about half speak any Kiswahili. The questionnaire asked which languages the students were "fluent in," had "some knowledge of" and could "understand when [they] heard, but not speak." I got 51 forms back. 24 students wrote that they were fluent in or had some knowledge of Kiswahili, eight of Kinyarwanda or Luganda (the official languages in Rwanda and Uganda), five of African vernaculars and four of Indian languages. 28 students, more than half, had written only European languages under "fluent."

All but one of the students that returned the questionnaire reported that they spoke English with their parents and 27 reported that they spoke only English with their

parents. Seven also spoke Kiswahili, five spoke Kinyarwanda or Luganda, three spoke vernaculars and three spoke Indian languages with their parents. To the extent that vernaculars are most commonly used in the former reserve areas, where many of the villages that students visit are located, this creates a distance between the students and their rural relatives. Many of the students are simply unable to talk to their grandparents, uncles and family friends. One of the students remarked while we talked that he was unsure who in the village were his uncles and who were family friends. Similarly, Spronk (2012, pp. 68-69) describes how some young urban professionals stop visiting rural relatives when they are old enough not to go with their parents, among other reasons because they do not share any languages with their rural relatives. Not only does this make communication and social interaction difficult, but some find that it provokes judgement and teasing.

The parents address their children in English at least partly because it is the language of instruction in both national and international education. It is thought to be advantageous to their education, future careers and it signifies prestige and progress. The use of English is also typical of interethnic families. Parents from different ethnic backgrounds may not share the same vernaculars and communicate only in English or Kiswahili. While I have no quantifiable data on this, it is my impression that such marriages are more common amongst the parents of the students than amongst their grandparents. They have also been more common amongst members of the urban middle classes, who rather marry each other, than they have been amongst poorer and often rural families who often marry other members of their etnic communities (Gordon, 1995, p. 892 cites relevant literature). The student who spoke of his grandmother in Nyahururu told me that "There is a difference between the old and the new in Kenya, where tribalism represents the old and religion represents the new." Tribalism, in this context, refers to giving preferential treatment to people who share your ethnic affiliation, whether in business, politics or in social interaction. His parents had married within their ethnic group. "The way I see it," he continued, "my parents don't say it, but they always secretly prefer Kikuyus." Still, like several other students that I talked to, he thought that his parents would prefer his future wife to be a Christian, but that her ethnicity would be less important.

The way I understand his assertion, he sees himself as part of a black African middle class that has graduated from the endogamous tribes of his grandparents, but that has become another endogamous entity. What he calls "the new in Kenya" has been reoriented from constituting personhood through practices in rural homesteads to seeking personal fulfilment in urban domains; from living in history to making it; from being "traditional" to being modern.

"Traditional" or "the New in Kenya"?

Many of the Kenyan students expressed similar sentiments of representing something new in Kenya. They did this through critical remarks on the racist and "tribalist" attitudes of their parents or on the corruption that prevails both to their fellow students and to me. The sketch on 'The Greatest Invention in the World' that I mentioned in the Introduction was such an instance; as were the introduction of the reggae band and the Nigerian boy's poems on International Night.

I appropriate the phrase "the new in Kenya" from the previous section to describe what I interpret as a general sensation amongst students of representing something new and different. When the students articulated the visions of the future that I describe in this section, the forms and contents varied. The new in Kenya, therefore, must be understood not as a shared vision, but rather as a set of contested ideas. During my fieldwork, one of these contestations became explicit one afternoon just after lunch. I was sitting alone in a classroom while waiting for a student whom I had arranged to interview. Amongst the usual sounds from the outside, I heard some raised voices that soon enough drew closer and became distinct. It was a small group of boys and girls from the college who had gotten into an argument about the organization of domestic work in families. Earlier that day, the teachers had announced that the girls would cook and serve dinner for the boys that weekend, which some of the girls disapproved of as self-styled "feminists."[41] One of the girls had stated that she would "never cook for a man," which the boys repented. They said that she would cook for the boys already that weekend, and asked her how she could marry without cooking for her future husband. The girl said that she wanted her future husband and herself to cook on alternate days, and the boys laughed and contended that, on the one hand, this arrangement would

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[41] The boys later served dinner for the girls, but either that had not yet been announced or the students had ignored it.

have her cooking for her husband every second day, and that, on the other hand, "African men don't cook." As they moved away from the classroom, she replied that if they cooked on alternating days no one was cooking for the other. Besides, she noted, she could always hire a cook so neither her future husband nor herself would have to cook at all. When she said this, the students had already passed the classroom and audibility of their argument was fading from where I sat. I could not make out what the boys replied.

Table 2: Parents' line of work, 2012[42]

	Fathers		Mothers	
	#	%	#	%
Business	127	44,4	100	35,0
Professional	51	17,8	42	14,7
Farmer	3	1,0	2	0,7
Academic	14	4,9	18	6,3
Civil servant	15	5,2	16	5,6
Mission/aid	35	12,2	20	7,0
Engineer	12	4,2	6	2,1
Teacher	7	2,4	16	5,6
Secretary	-	-	4	1,4
Housewife	-	-	39	13,6
Blank	22	7,7	23	8,0

Later that same afternoon, one of girls whose voice I had recognized in the argument came up to me while I was sitting on an outdoor bench in front of the dining hall. I could tell from her quick stride and her sigh when she approached me that she was frustrated. I asked her why, and she replied: "African men! They think they are so modern, but actually they're not. They are very traditional." Her outburst serves as a reminder that sensations of the new in Kenya are gendered: as future educated and working women, the girls at St. Andrew's face different challenges from the boys as future working men. African women have been excluded from urban professional life through much of Kenya's history – expected instead to care for children and *shambas* in "homes" in rural reserves, both in the colonial era (Lonsdale, 2001; White, 1990) and early post-colonial era (Stamp, 1986). When a black urban middle class evolved, women were often housewives and did not participate in professional life (Cohen and Odhiambo, 1992).

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[42] Source: Cover sheets that are filled out by parents in the admission process and kept in the student files. I assigned the same categories as in Table 1.

This continues to be an ideal – in the student files at St. Andrew's, 13,6 percent of mothers are listed as housewives and another eight percent are not listed with an occupation (Table 2). While many students told me about parents who both worked long hours – usually in business, as doctors, lawyers, accountants or in other professions – others told me that their mothers had become housewives when the family could afford it.

Secondly, the argument and the girl's outburst afterwards reflects two tropes between which the new in Kenya is defined: the "African" and the "traditional." Being part of the new in Kenya implies abandoning practices such as tribalism that are deemed to be "traditional," while retaining certain practices that are deemed to be "African." Throughout my fieldwork, I encountered numerous situations and remarks in which the latter concern was made explicit. One such remark was made when a boy in the senior school had called the Dining Hall a "canteen." As they passed me, his classmate replied: "It's called a dining hall in Africa, man. Don't let anybody tell you otherwise." Similarly, the college students' argument portrayed above concerns how a specific practice – men not cooking – fits between the categories "African" and "traditional." While the boys defended not cooking as a practice of a specifically African masculinity, the girl who came up to me later that day suggested that this was a "traditional" sentiment. With the suggestion from the argument earlier that day that the problems of organizing domestic work in a "modern" family can be addressed by hiring help, a cook in this instance, in mind, this also shows that the new in Kenya is a privileged perspective. The ways of life that some of the students imagine for themselves is dependent on others living differently. Taking this further, I analyse another instance in which the juxtaposition of "traditions," poverty and rural life is evident in the next section.

Shambas and Flower Gardens

One Friday afternoon not very long after I had started my fieldwork, one of the black Kenyan students came up to me on her way from class. I had participated in a few of her classes over the preceding weeks, and she told me that I should have come to some of her classes that week as well. She sat down beside me on the bench in the shade when I asked her why. One of her white teachers, she said, had been "even more racist than ever before." The teacher, she went on, had talked about how some of the black Kenyan

teachers were "traditional" because they kept vegetable gardens on rural properties. As she told me this, two of her friends stopped by and one remarked "but it is the white teachers who are traditional and keep little *shambas* in school!" The word *shamba* was emphasized and some laughter ensued between the girls as they mentioned a number of white teachers by name. In some sense, the girls were right: the teachers they mentioned as well as other teachers, white as well as black, keep vegetable gardens in school. These typically span a few square meters in a part of the private garden attached to their house.

Why did the students point this out? I cannot affirm what the teacher said, but my analysis of circulating stories in the previous chapter indicates that racialised connotations to colonial categories do linger at St. Andrew's. It is likely that the teacher did remark on differences between practices of the black and the white teachers. To the extent that black Kenyan teachers own and farm on rural properties, she may also have suggested that these are "traditional" or "homes" in the sense elaborated on earlier in this chapter. To the girls, on the other hand, suggesting that black teachers' vegetable gardens were "traditional" while white teachers' vegetable gardens were not was racist because it implies judging white and black teachers' practices by different standards. To the girls, instead, vegetable gardens are "traditional" regardless of who owns them or where they are located, and implicitly opposed to ornamental gardens as the "modern" use of the same space. In a mutation of what Webb Keane (2007, pp. 47-51) denotes "the moral narrative of 'modernity'," they pit the figure of the toiling, tradition-bound and rural farmer against the figure of the liberated, modern and urban subject.

In anthropology, however, this distinction and the distinction between ornamental and productive horticulture have been problematic at least since the publication of Bronislaw Malinowski's (1935) *Coral Gardens and Their Magic.* The opposition between vegetable gardens and ornamental gardens may instead be better understood in terms of 'taste' as Pierre Bourdieu (1984) uses it. For him:

> … taste is the practical operator of the transmutation of things into distinct and distinctive signs, of continuous distributions into discontinuous oppositions; it raises the differences inscribed in the physical order of bodies to the symbolic order of significant distinctions (Bourdieu, 1984, pp. 174-175).

The opposition between vegetable gardens and ornamental gardens should thus be analysed as symbolic, where the different types of gardens symbolise different parts of the social space and different positions within the sociology of power. In a study of texts on colonial Kenya, Carolyn Shaw (1995, pp. 180-185) shows that the cultivation of flowers gardens "represented the attainment of high culture" to Kenyan colonialists. European settlers expended much resources and time on the cultivation of flower gardens, and Shaw also remarks that the absence of a lawn and ornamental flowers was thought to reflect negatively on the owners of a property. The girls' remark at the beginning of this section may be understood as an echo of these ideals, much like the landscaping inside the school compound – dense with flowers and ornamental trees, some marked with metal plates stating the name of the species and its continent or country of origin – has continuities with them. However, if it is the keeping of vegetable gardens *per se* and not the absence of such ornamental gardens that is associated with the less privileged in contemporary Kenya, a significant shift of meaning has occurred: respectable European farmers in colonial Kenya did keep vegetable gardens and St. Andrew's was self-supplied with certain types of vegetables in the 1930s (see Duder and Youé, 1994, and my Chapter 1). Importantly, however, such gardens were to be tended by paid African workers (Kennedy, 1987, p. 153), thus integrating them into a highly stratified social system.

In Kenya and elsewhere in Arica, horticulture and its relation to the sociology of power was radically changed in the colonial encounter. According to Jack Goody (1993, pp. 11-24), ornamental flowers were hardly cultivated in pre-colonial Africa because such practices depend on social stratification and a surplus of production that the largely agrarian pre-colonial economies could not facilitate. A "culture of flowers" was appropriated into African communities, he suggests, when the modes of production were changed in the colonial encounter. Goody (1993, p. 415) and Louis Leakey (1936, p. 13) both describe prominent, mission-educated Africans who kept flower gardens in the colonial era. In postcolonial Ndaraweta in western Kenya, Michael Donovan (2001) remarks that the farms of better-off families have flower gardens that draw explicitly on colonial European aesthetics. He suggests that the gardens are part of a complex of new relations and forms of production that are based on paid labour and ideas of being

"modern" and of "development." In Turi, flowers and ornamental trees are abound at St. Andrew's, and I noticed ornamental flowers in gardens outside the houses of the better-off families who own larger plots near the main road and the trading centre. Typically, one or more of the members of these families are educated and working as skilled labour or employing workers themselves. Often, members of these families have siblings that work in Nairobi or abroad and some of these gardens are tended by hired workers.

Many of the teachers at St. Andrew's also hire gardeners, if only on part-time. Others do not. The gardeners do work on both ornamental gardens and in vegetable gardens. Both amongst teachers who hire gardeners and amongst those who do not, however, the vegetable gardens come up as topics of conversation: teachers may seek advice from other teachers if their crops fail or try to exchange crops with them when an abundance ripens at once.[43] On a few occasions, I heard teachers talking amongst each other about arranging a marketplace to exchange crops on a Sunday. This was proposed "as a fun thing to do," but did not happen during my fieldwork. Even talking of it, however, works to integrate the teachers into a community that is distinct from "the community outside the gate" where their gardeners live and keep *shambas* to supplement their wages. Many of the workers who are employed at St. Andrew's invest their wages in education for their children or in businesses, such as a radio-repair shop opened in Turi centre by one of the gardeners, but also in tools, seeds and fertilizers for their *shambas*. The trading centre has several *agrovets* to serve this market. These stores sell seeds for carrots, cabbages and other vegetables that grow well in the area. Some of the teachers, however, brought seeds from Europe, unknowing of these stores. When I told one of them about this, she responded in a puzzled tone and asked me whether they also sold seeds for vegetables that are used in European cuisine.

Her immediate assumption that only vegetable unfit for her own consumption were grown on *shambas* outside the school compound reflects her experience that there were vast differences between the inside and the outside of the school compound. Especially a number of the white teachers spoke about these differences as "cultural differences" rather than socioeconomic differences, and many suggested that the students and their

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43 Both black and white teachers did this, but my data does not allow for comparison along these lines.

parents had been "Westernized" or were "somewhere between being Europeans and being Africans." In the instance cited at the beginning of this chapter, when the three girls were offended by what they perceived as an instance of racism, there had likely been a slippage from the white teachers' notion of tradition as the essence of "cultural differences" to the notion that is more preeminent amongst students of traditions as hindrances to becoming modern subjects. In this section and the previous, I have illustrated how students understand traditions in terms of the practices of the less privileged, predominantly black African practices.[44] In the next section, I address the anthropological significance of these notions to situate the students in a specific geography of belonging.

Concluding Remarks

Some of the first anthropological studies of social change and urban populations in Africa were conducted on the Copperbelt in Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) at the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute in the 1940s and 1950s (e.g. J. C. Mitchell, 1956; J. C. Mitchell and Epstein, 1959; Epstein, 1981; a short overview in Ferguson, 2002). These studies emphasized how urban Africans in Northern Rhodesia adapted European modes of behaviour and patterns of consumption that signified prestige amongst urban Africans:

> At the top of the scale [of African prestige] are the lower professional and white-collar workers and successful traders, who are meticulously dressed, have European furniture in their houses, speak English to one another, read the local newspapers printed for the European public, eat European type foods, prefer Western to traditional music, choose bottled beer in preference to traditionally brewed beer. At the bottom of the scale are the unskilled labourers of all types, whose standards of living differ but little from that of rural villagers, who have no furniture, eat traditional foods, know no English, and are uneducated (J. C. Mitchell, 1956, p. 14).

Simultaneously, they also showed how social forms unlike the colonial European ones prevailed amongst the urban Africans: Clyde J. C. Mitchell (1956), for example, showed that tribal classifications did not cease to exist in the urban domain, but acquired new functions as categories of interaction rather than as political and social systems and A.L.

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[44] I heard students refer to "English traditions" only once during my fieldwork. Two of the younger girls that I interviewed made use of the concept to suggest that certain practices enforced through the dress code at St. Andrew's were foreign to them as Africans. They did not bring the concept into a discussion of social inequalities, race or racism.

Epstein (1981, p. 232) suggested that rather than becoming more centred on the nuclear family, the urban Africans "not only had active links with a wide range of kin, but also carried a heavy burden of responsibility towards them."

Drawing on David Parkin's (1978) study of Luos who stay in Nairobi, Epstein (1981, pp. 194; 348-349) suggests that because the traditional societies in Zambia were not based on segmentary lineage or permanent landownership and villages, "home" and kin were more fluent categories in Zambia than in Kenya. To an African on the Copperbelt, "home was not a particular village in the rural areas to which he would think of eventually returning; it was rather, as Godfrey Wilson one perceptively commented 'wherever relatives are'" (Epstein, 1981, p. 199). On the other hand, the case over S.M. Otieno's burial in 1986-87 showed how highly educated, urban Kenyans were expected to retain their sense of belonging to their rural "home" villages (Cohen and Odhiambo, 1992; Gordon, 1995).

Belonging to the same generation as Otieno's grandchildren, I have showed how the black students at St. Andrew's distance themselves from the poor, rural and "traditional." While many of their parents are entangled in family networks that demand regular visits "home" and through which they provide financial support to parents, siblings, nephews, nieces and other kin, few of the students similarly identify with their ethnic group and rural kin. Instead, the students "belong" amongst other members of the English-speaking middle classes in suburban houses and shopping malls.

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In the first chapter of this thesis, I showed how European settlers transformed land at the colonial frontier in Turi into places that they could consider their homes. Similar stories can be told of most places in the former White Highlands – the places that students at St. Andrew's came from. Seeking freedom and adventure, settlers broke new lands or had them broken; they established farms; built houses; brought wives and, indeed, had children. They settled, and in that process, stabilized the colonial frontier and formed a colonial society. In this way, the freedom they had come for slipped away and the colony became something entirely else. For Katja Uusihakala (1999, p. 37),

"settlerism is essentially oxymoronic, the freedom and the committal to making homes mutually exclusive."[45] The sentiments of Kenyan farms as home to settlers were also at odds with the very idea of *European* settlement in Africa, and the first chapter of this thesis concerned how much effort was expended to make European subjects of the children of European settlers. By the 1990s, Uusihakala (1999, p. 39) suggests, their children and grandchildren were a diaspora from colonial Kenya living in postcolonial Kenya. Her postcolonial white Kenyans fix their identities through genealogies to the colonial frontier and personal ties to land they farmed, gardened and protected.

At St. Andrew's I encountered another, possibly supplementary, mode of subjectivation for white Kenyans. Echoing the idea of the first black parents who sent their children to St. Andrew's – they had wanted their children to obtain competence in European culture, as I mentioned in Chapter 1 – a few of the contemporary white parents told me that schooling at St. Andrew's allowed their children to obtain competence in African culture and thus prepared them better for a future in Africa than schooling with other white students would. Other schools are now "what St. Andrew's was thirty years ago," as one white parent told me. At St. Andrew's, white children become African subjects schooling with black African children.

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Stoler (2004, p. 18) writes that "[c]olonialism remains viable as long as the longings are for a European elsewhere, if colonial pleasures were seen as the hardship allowance but never a home." In important ways, however, the privileged in contemporary Kenya – including the students who are currently schooling at St. Andrew's – occupy the places that were built for the privileged of the colonial era. The suburbs of the large East African cities, the main houses on large farms, the clubs where they play golf and St. Andrew's School are all such places. Given the distance that black African students feel to the rural areas where their parents and grandparents feel that *they* are rooted, or the sense of belonging in Kenya that white Kenyan students and their parents express, it seems that the students belong to these historic places of privilege and the more recent amendments to them.

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[45] Also other commentators have portrayed European settlers in Kenya as losing what they came for. See, for example, Thomas Knipp (1990).

4 A Third Mode of Engagement

In the previous chapters, I have outlined the contours of a contradiction that is inherent in the process of enclaving at St. Andrew's and elsewhere. On the one hand, I have shown how the students and teachers at St. Andrew's imagine themselves as separated and distant from those who live outside the school compound and the geography of privileged places of which it is part. At St. Andrew's, the people outside the compound are excluded by fencing and security practices that are administered by the guards (who themselves live on the outside), but also through discursive practises such as "talk of crime" and "traditions" that constructs them as different others. Writing generally of the process of enclaving, Martin Murray (2004, p. 140) remarks:

> ... this new kind of social space operates on the principle of separateness, and assumes that social groups should live, work, and spend their leisure time in homogenous enclaves, physically isolated from those persons perceived (and stigmatised) as different, threatening and unwanted.

In the anthropological literature on enclaving, some of which I cited at the beginning of Chapter 2, the retreat of privileged classes to fortified enclaves is understood as closely related to processes that break with important modernist ideals such as the human rights, participatory democratic communities and public space (Caldeira, 2000; Low, 2003). On the other hand, I have also remarked on how the ways of life inside enclaves are dependent on low-paid and unskilled workers who live on the outside. I mentioned in Chapter 2 that St. Andrew's employs nearly 200 workers who daily move between the inside and the outside of the school compound. In Mary Douglas' (1966) terminology for symbolic analysis, they are anomalous in belonging fully neither to the inside nor to the outside. They are also subject to measures of control, such as registration of fingerprints and a body search whenever leaving.

The contradiction I propose is between these two modes of engagement with the outside: firstly, the constitution of the inside through the exclusion of the outside and, secondly, the partial inclusion of people from the outside as workers on the inside. The contradiction arises because the two domains cannot be fully separate and time interdependent at the same. In this chapter, I describe volunteering as a third mode of

engaging with the people on the outside that neither resembles their exclusion as other nor their inclusion as workers. I present and analyse an ethnographic account of student volunteers at a weekly Bible Club for children from impoverished families, and I argue that volunteering at the Bible Club reconfigures, but also enforces, the separateness of the students who belong on the inside of the school compound and the people who belong on the outside. On the one hand, this form of volunteering can be understood as motivated by a compassionate disposition to give to those who have less. On the other hand, compassion as the basis for a public also has exclusionary effects because it is based on the students' compassion for the children rather than their equal juridical rights.

Volunteering at the Bible Club occurs at the intersection of two different forms of voluntary work at St. Andrew's. The first of these, service, is any unpaid work done to fulfil the requirements of the Building Leaders-programme[46] that the college students participate in or the President's Award-scheme that also enrols many students. Most of the students do their service within the school compound, for example by reading with the younger students at the preparatory school or participating in the Charity Committee that arranges fundraisers, but the students who attend the trips to the Bible Club are encouraged to record it in their logs.

The second form of voluntary work, charity, comprises activities undertaken to benefit "those in need of help" or specifically "the people outside the gate." Generally, the students whom I interviewed understand charity as selfless giving, as giving "out of the goodness of your heart" and without expecting anything in return. For some, this makes it impossible for voluntary work to be charity and service simultaneously: two of the students who regularly participated on trips to the Bible Club told me during interviews that they had initially not wanted to log the trips to the Bible Club towards their service requirements. When I asked why, one of them told me that it made the trips feel like they were mandatory and not like "you are helping people out of the goodness of your heart." The other simply told me that "It just doesn't feel right."

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[46] Building Leaders is a programme comprising weekly seminars or lectures on practical skills such as managing time or giving critique, as well as mandatory unpaid work as "service."

The teachers did not experience the same contradiction, and both the students had been advised to log their trips to the Bible Club as service. Many of the teachers told me that trips to the Bible Club was "exactly what the students need," regardless of their motivations to go, as it allows them insights into the everyday problems that the people who live "in the real Kenya" face. Amongst the teachers, therefore, the trips to the Bible Club were ideals against which other types of service were measured. I will show in this chapter that the students, on the other hand, tend rather to understand voluntary work at the Bible Club in terms of the personal relationships they build to individual children.

Planning

At St. Andrew's, the hour after lunch is one of the slots during the day that students dispose themselves, and most spend this time catching up on work, socializing with friends or relaxing in the dormitories. On most Fridays, an open meeting is held at this time in one of the classrooms. All students from year nine to year thirteen are welcome to attend it, but attendance usually varies from two to fifteen students. A few of the students are regulars and show up almost every time, while others show up only once or twice. Most of the students who show up are black, but some of the Indian students are regulars. At the meeting, however, one or two teachers give some information about the Molo Street Children's Project, the Bible Club it runs and the specifics of this week's trip for volunteers from the school. Most students already know about the Molo Street Children's Project, which was started by two teachers at the school and has received donations from school fundraisers. It sponsors local children through school, provides lunches for some and sleeps a few, while most of the students associate it primarily with the Bible Club.

If there are students in attendance who have not volunteered at the project before, a brief outline of the schedule is given. The teachers explain that the time at the project is split between two activities – the first half is set off for playing with the children outdoors, and the second half for Bible studies in the classrooms. The teachers tell the students what biblical story will be in focus, that the students are free to present the story in a creative manner if they wish, and they show what materials will be available to the students that week. During the first term of my fieldwork, the stories were all on Jesus' miracles and materials varied from ideas for activities to materials for simple

crafts. The teachers also explain that the activities are intended to make the children think through the biblical story to better understand it and how it relates to them.

All the students at the meeting sign up, writing their names on a sheet that is passed around, while they are told to prepare for teaching during the Bible studies. Usually, the teachers make an effort at splitting the students into three groups, corresponding to three age groups for the children at the project, and at distributing Swahili-speakers evenly between these groups. This is a concern because many children at the project speak no English and, as I showed in the previous chapter, many students have limited if any knowledge of Kiswahili and vernacular languages. The students are dismissed after about twenty minutes and sometimes get together in their groups to plan ahead, but usually they split up for what is left of their midday break.

Leaving the Inside

The students meet again on one of the parking lots at 9:15, after an early breakfast on Saturday morning. They are taken to the Bible Club in a purpose-built Land Cruiser or Hiace minivan, both painted bright white with the school logo on both sides. In the vehicle, the teacher sits in the front seat and the students in the back. Before departure, the teachers turns around to make sure that everybody wears their seatbelts.

The vehicle leaves the school through the main gate, and turns right towards Molo at the end of the access road. The students are usually quiet, some listening to music on their iPods or reading books brought from school, and some stare blankly through the windows. The first part of the drive is decidedly rural – donkey carts and livestock mingling on the road with the occasional tractor, lorry, *matatu* or old sedan. The gently rolling hills are scattered with *shambas*, unpainted brick houses, a sawmill and a bottled water plant. After less than ten minutes, the outskirts of Molo become visible from a hilltop. The south-eastern outskirts of town are densely scattered with recent brick houses, but the buildings are older and painted nearer the town centre. On Saturday mornings, this part of town is bustling with activity as vendors and customers flock to the roadside market between the *mitumba* (used clothes market) and the railroad station. All kinds of consumer items are sold along the road: used clothing, pirated DVDs and local agricultural produce. The road is tarmacked, but very rough.

Past this, on a road that was being retarmacked for the better part of my fieldwork, the vehicle turns left by the black metal gate on the far end of the Molo Street Children's Project's brick wall. The gate is of the kind that is welded in workshops along the roads the area. It is inscribed with a biblical reference to Matt. 25:40: "Truly I tell you, whatever you did for one of the least of these brothers and sisters of mine, you did for me." The car stops for a while, for there is no guard at the gate and the children open it themselves when they hear the vehicle. When the gate is opened, some of the students engage with the children from inside the vehicle – waving and smiling through the windows – while others are still concerned with their music or books when the vehicle comes to a halt under a large tree. This tree is at the centre of activity at the project, where workers are busy by the kitchen, the roofed eating terrace and the temporary classrooms of corrugated iron.

When the car has come to a stop, the students take some time to leave their clothing, books and electronics in the vehicle before they disembark. Because it keeps the students separate from the outside and allows them to carry many of the comforts from the inside of the school compound, the vehicle functions as an enclosed extension of the inside of the compound. In this sense, it is when the students disembark from the vehicle at the project site and meet the children that they leave the inside for the outside.

Playing and Teaching

Having disembarked from the vehicle, the students stand together in front of it and those of the children who have aborted their playing stand a few meters away gazing at them. The children are younger than the students and most are smaller by growth. Many of them wear clothing that is torn and some are barefoot. The students remain standing in front of the car for some time, looking at each other or the children as if unsure what to do. Most of the students wear jeans and dark blue polo shirts stitched with the school logo. Those of the students who have visited the project before are quicker to greet the children, shaking their hands or exchanging brief phrases in Kiswahili. As more students do this, the children also get braver until the youngest ones, a few years old, finally walk up to the last remaining students for their attention, pulling

their trousers or hands if they have to. Among the students, the girls usually entertain all the youngest children, holding some and taking extra care to include others, but otherwise the games tend to be split into single-gendered groups, the boys playing football on the sloped field after the sheep are moved, and the girls skipping rope or playing other games. The students sometimes initiate this, the children following them, and sometimes the teacher or the project staff engages them by distributing balls, skipping ropes and other simple toys. Only on one trip, however, did the teacher take an active part in the games as they had got going.

During the time spent playing, it is usually rather the students who organize games. One of the male students who participated on several trips arranged boys in line to take penalty kicks. Although he does speak Kiswahili quite well, also this student interacted with the children through gestures rather than spoken language. Similarly, a female student gently pushed one of the older boys away and smiled to one of the younger girls who then took his place while we were swinging a skipping rope together: when students intervene in games to ensure the inclusion of the younger and shyer children, it is often through gestures rather than spoken commands. The children, in turn, accept the students' authority and abide. While some are rowdy when playing with other children, most are respectful of the students. To the children, the students may seem like the international volunteers who occasionally visit the project and who do play with them from time to time.

After an hour of playing, the children are called by the project staff to line up for *uji*: a thick, nutritious drink made from fermented flours and water. For many children, this is the first and sometimes only meal that day. The students do not line up and are not offered *uji*, but some join the children to the eating terrace while they eat. Others stay together in small groups a short distance away. In my ensuing interviews, a few of the students suggested that staying with the children when they eat strengthened the personal bonds formed between children and students. Some spoke of this as a matter of personal engagement, seeing students who do not accompany children to the eating terrace as less concerned with the children than those who do. Another student emphasized that she would have liked to sit with the children for their meal, but that

she found it difficult to engage with them because she only spoke English. She chose to stay with the other students, away from the children.

After the meal, students and children proceed to the classrooms – small rooms of corrugated steel with concrete floors that smell drily of dust, the walls covered by posters with English phrases and illustrations, information on dental hygiene, work from earlier Saturday trips and other decorations. Each classroom has a small blackboard and they are furnished with wooden desks, benches and chairs. There are shelves with a few donated books, writing utensils, chalk and other equipment in all the rooms. The children sit down and most of the students remain standing. The students are responsible for the lessons, while the accompanying teacher from St. Andrew's walks between classes, watching them from the doorway and sometimes taking photos that are used for a variety of purposes within the school.

In the older age groups, where children may be up to ten years old, the first focus of the lesson is the biblical story. On one occasion, the story of Jesus turning water to wine at a wedding was acted out while being read a sentence at a time in English and Kiswahili by one of the students. The translation from English to Kiswahili was spontaneous, helped by comments from a project worker who was standing in the doorway. On other trips, however, the story was simply read aloud and the children were taught a memory verse in English. The memory verse is one verse related to the story that is emphasized as key to remembering it. It is read aloud by a student and sometimes written on the board, and then recited by the children until it assumes a rhythm in their collective voice. Recitation is a mode of teaching that is common in Kenyan schools, but that is rarely used in St. Andrew's. It is also often criticized in national media and popular discourse for making students unable to think for themselves and too dependent on authorities. In individual interviews after the trips, several students expressed doubt as to whether the children understand and remember memory verses, or whether they hear, remember an repeat them as rhythms.

When the students nevertheless take on this mode of teaching, it is because many of them do not speak the same languages as the children and they have problems with communicating effectively, as I return to in the next section. Simultaneously, it

contributes to highlighting the differences between the students as teachers and the children as learners.

'Jesus Provides What We Need'

On one trip, the lesson was titled 'Jesus Provides What We Need.' The students read and acted out the miracle of the five loaves and two fish (John 6:5-15) wherein Jesus feeds a large crowd of people with very little food. Involving the children as the crowd to be fed, the students acted out the story several times. Instructions and explanations were given in Kiswahili by one of the girls who also narrated the story. When the students distributed imaginary food to the children as the crowd, the children eagerly held out their hands and many shrieked with joy and laughed when students acted out the distribution of food. The students took care to touch each child's hand on every round of distribution.

The memory verse was from John 6:35: "I am the bread of life." After the last enactment, it was read out by one of the students and recited by the children collectively three times. It was then to be recited individually by each child. On this occasion, one of the students had bought sweets in a store in Molo and they gave each child a sweet for their recitations until, finally, everyone had done so. There were about fifteen children in the room. The first few stood up and recited the verse loudly, clearly and in full. Some of the boys shouted it as loudly as they could. The last few, on the other hand, were helped along by the students and hardly muttered the words. Each was awarded with a sweet.

After the recitations, the students supervised children colouring and making small paper boxes, on which they were supposed to write their "needs". The idea was for this to relate to the story about Jesus providing what people need. The instructions, however, got skewed as they were translated into Kiswahili, and most of the children simply collared the boxes and had students help to assemble them. A few drew their needs – or what they liked, as one of the Kiswahili-speakers among the students remarked – on the outside of the boxes: one a fish, another a named friend. The students complimented these choices, but did not encourage use of the activity for further reflection by asking the children *why* they drew what they drew.

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In general, talk between students and children lost out because the students were very busy helping the children and because many shared no languages. It was impossible for most of the students to converse with the children, even when they wanted to. On this occasion and many others, I heard students wondering amongst themselves why the children draw what they draw. Discussing with each other, students were interpreting their drawings. This, however, was rather a matter of trying to understand the children than of trying to encourage reflection on the biblical stories. Generally, the students had no pedagogic goals, but rather wanted to build relationships with the children. When I asked one of the younger students, a girl who speaks Kiswahili whom I interviewed shortly after another trip, how the time spent drawing contributed to this, she provided two examples:

> Like if a kid colours everything black, you know he's in a really dark place. And there is this little girl who is so careful to always colour within the lines. She's really neat. And when I asked her about it, she told me that she just wants it to look pretty.

After they had made the boxes, the children and the students all left the classroom. One boy held his box up in front of one of the students and crushed it on his way out. He then ran out, laughing. Another boy came up to the student who had bought sweets and begged her for more on his way out. He did not get any, but the student later told me that this had forced her to question whether the children appreciated the "time and love" that she was giving them. Like other misunderstandings described in this ethnographic account, the student's disappointment may be understood as a result of how the children, the students and the teachers think differently about the project. While the teachers who introduce the project every Friday emphasize the Christian outreach and talked to me about how this allowed students to meet and learn about life as it is lives outside the school compound, most of the students whom I interviewed were much more concerned with building personal relationships to the children. While some of the children do get to know individual students, my impression is that they rather come for the food, the fun of playing with each other and with the students more generally.

Listening

Once outside the classrooms, a few of the students get back to playing with the children as before, while the others gather near the kitchen. The project workers, local women employed by the project and a few youths who have themselves been helped by the project, serve tea and coffee for them. Only occasionally do a few of the students have any. While not accepting tea or food prepared by the hosts would be considered offensive in most Kenyan households, this is not observed at the project. The project workers are used to receiving international volunteers who do not share this mode of expression, and both the students and St. Andrew's are associated with the urban middle classes that are considered by many Kenyans to be out of touch with "African culture."

By the kitchen, the students often chat with the project manager who is also a teacher at St. Andrew's. She tells the students about the children's personal stories: some are orphaned, some look much less than their age because under nutrition has stunted their physical development, and others have walked for more than an hour to get to the project. These are stories that the children may not (be able to) articulate themselves. They emphasize how vulnerable the children at the project and other children are to lack of care. In important ways, the stories serve the opposite function of the "talk of crime" that I described in Chapter 2 in showing how the children and their families are led into petty crime, drugs and prostitution by their desperate situations.

Returning to the Inside

Before leaving, the students gather by the vehicle and count over the things they have brought to the project to make sure that nothing is left behind. While their personal possessions have been left inside the vehicle, they have made use of colouring pencils and other stationary that has been brought from St. Andrew's. This needs to be brought back. When all the boxes are inside the vehicle, most of the students look through the windows and wave to the children as the vehicle departs – engaging with them in a way that many did not when they arrived. Through the activities at the Bible Club – playing, interpreting drawings and listening to stories – the students have begun to see the children as individuals instead of an undifferentiated group. For first-time volunteers,

only a few children may stand out, but students who have volunteered at the Bible Club a few times may know many by name.

The students are quiet during the drive back to school, and at least some of the students reflect on their experiences at the Bible Club. "Arriving at the project made me happy because the children are so innocent and happy, but hearing their stories made me sad," one of the younger students told me in an interview shortly after her first trip to volunteer. This tension, between enjoying the time spent with the children and being troubled by their stories, ran through most of the interviews. Some regretted not being able to do more for the children, such as one student who told me in detail about a girl with a wound on her heel that she had been unable to care for.

With one exception, all the students told me that the children were much like themselves and many dwelt on the arbitrariness of the distribution of wealth and the effects it had on the children's and their own lives. Many spoke of the project as a haven where children can be "normal kids" and emphasized the need for children to be dependent upon others in stable relationships. One of the younger students said that she volunteered because "I want them to feel like they're loved and like they still matter." Many of the students who kept returning to the project understood their role at the project as providing "love" and "stability" for the children. The students who had volunteered at the Bible Club a few times told me that their initial motivation for volunteering had been to satisfy their curiosity or simply to leave the school compound for a while. Other students told me that they had volunteered to fulfil requirements for community service, to which I turn in the next section. Many emphasized that their motivation had gradually changed to doing "something good" for others or that, as they got to know individual children, they felt that regular attendance was important not to "let the children down." As they formed personal relationships with the children, in other words, a change took place from understanding volunteering as an activity that would accommodate their own needs and desires to understanding volunteering in terms of personal relationships and responsibilities towards the children.

Forming Subjects and a Public

In opposition to the talk of themselves as spoilt brats who are living in a bubble that I commented on in Chapter 2, the students talked about themselves as responsible, compassionate and giving when I interviewed them about the trips to volunteer at the Bible Club. While some of the students who volunteered regularly told me that they also volunteered at similar projects with their parents, they also emphasized that voluntary work had changed them in important ways. The reflections in the previous section indicate that the students feel that voluntary work at the Bible Club makes them into compassionate subjects who understand and act on the children's deficits by giving of their own "time and love." As compassionate subjects, they are concerned about the well-being of the children, very real others. One of the boys who frequently participated on the trips told me in our interview that voluntary work provides him with a different perspective: "When I am at school, everything is always about me. At the project, it's more about the children."

The concern for the children is based on affects that motivate further volunteering, such as the sadness some of the students said that they felt when they heard the children's stories and the desire some expressed to do more than they were already doing. Amongst the students who volunteered at the Bible Club, many shared a sense that it was a morally good thing to do. One of the older students who had volunteered at the Bible Club several times came up to me a few hours after she had returned from a trip to the project and said:

> When I asked my housemates to come along [to the Bible Club] today, they just laughed and said that when they get rich they will donate a lot of money to street children. You see – that's what my friends are like.

In drawing on the notion of "being the kind of person who volunteers" (Holden, 1997, p. 128), the student addresses how voluntary work reflects the ethical selves of those who refuse to volunteer as well as those who do volunteer. Echoing what other students who had volunteered at the Bible Club told me in interviews, her remark also suggests that volunteering and meeting the children was different from and morally better than donating money. Voluntary work – the giving of "time and love" – both creates and requires relationships and affects that contribute to the formation of the students as compassionate and giving ethical subjects.

However, these relationships are based on compassion and inherently unequal because compassion is, as Didier Fassin (2012, p. 3) writes, "a moral sentiment with no possible reciprocity." Jonathan Parry (1986, p. 467) writes in a similar vein that gifts with no reciprocal expectation that he call "pure gifts" do not have the same social integrative function as Marcel Mauss' (2002 [1950]) reciprocal gift does. While gifts with reciprocal bonds bind together equal partners in social constellations, pure gifts instil an inequality between the partners. Recent anthropological studies have also shown how compassion integrates publics that are unequal and volatile. Didier Fassin (2005) shows how compassion has overtaken rights as the most important medium to access for asylum-seekers in France and how this works as much to exclude undesired others as to include desired ones. In an extension of his argument and based on ethnography from Italy, Andrea Muehlebach (2011) shows how compassion integrates people into publics in which they are fundamentally unequal because the well-being of some depend on the affective dispositions of others.

This inequality is one of two factors that may explain why some of the same students who volunteer at the Bible Club do not similarly enjoy visits to rural and less privileged kin and friends, as I showed in Chapter 3. Unlike the visits to the Bible Club, visits to family are based on a logic of being the same: both the family histories that are told and the food that is shared emphasize sameness. On the other hand, when students are offered tea and coffee like guests, rather than food like equals; and when the students *teach* at the Bible Club and the children are taught, this emphasizes a difference that is also reflected in the respect the children show for the students' authority. The ethnographic account in this chapter has also revealed students' efforts at treating all the children the same when organizing games that ensure the participation of the youngest children, by giving each imaginary food or a sweet for reciting the memory verse. In these situations, the students assume privileged roles to ensure equality between the children. Volunteering at the Bible Club, as such, provides the students with a model for the responsible exercise of privilege.

Concluding Remarks

As I wrote in the introduction, this thesis is about the formation of the students at St. Andrew's as particular kinds of subjects in relation to a particular Kenyan public. In Chapter 1, I traced the imperial origins of different social categories that linger in contemporary Turi and Kenya more generally. I showed that St. Andrew's has been a domain of privilege since the colonial era, but that the delimitation of privilege and the forms of separation of the privileged and the less privileged have changed over time. In Chapter 2, I presented and analysed the contemporary, spatial form of separation. This spilled into Chapter 3, which addressed the students' articulations of senses of belonging and not belonging on different geographical scales. The main concern of both Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 was the formation of the students as subjects through affective attachments, to places in Chapter 3 and to other people in Chapter 4.

Read in that order, my four ethnographic chapters show how the students at St. Andrew's are physically and socially removed from the Kenyan national public. Through practices such as volunteering, they are incorporated rather into a partial and hierarchical public, in which they can assume privileged positions and from which they can (and do) retreat to exclusive enclaves. While this is a characteristic of St. Andrew's, it is not a characteristic that is peculiar to St. Andrew's: both houses behind walls and voluntary work are typical of privileged Kenyan lifestyles in general and, as some of my references have indicated, of contemporary privilege elsewhere.

What makes St. Andrew's special, then, is not its relation to other places, but to time. My point pertains to the concept of "ruins" that has gained some prominence in post-colonial ethnography. Both Navaro-Yashin (2009) and Stoler (2008) write about ruins as that which lingers from earlier imperial formations and make the point that ruins produce affects. Navaro-Yashin (2009, pp. 14-15) emphasizes that neither ruins nor people are affectionate in their own right, but that affects are produced when people interpret and understand ruins through historical knowledge, memories and imagination. Stoler (2008) expands on the concept of ruins and suggests that they may be social processes as well as material structures. As such, ruins of imperial formations linger at St. Andrew's not only in built structures and in the landscape, but also in ways

of life, in relationships between people and in relationships between people and things: in the careful management of the workforce; in the location of Turi Sulgwita, the neighbouring government school on a slope facing away from St. Andrew's; in the students' sense of belonging to recently created places (whether they are on colonial farms or in the suburban sprawl); and even, as I showed in Chapter 3, in the stigma attached to certain forms of gardening.

When St. Andrew's shapes subjects and affects for future privilege, the process is contingent on these ruins and the students' understanding of them. I showed in Chapter 3 that many of the students, a second post-colonial generation, are critical of their parents' and grandparents' identities and history as they tell it. To the extent that the students bring their alternative visions of the new in Kenya to engage with the ruins around them, the subjects and affects of the future grow out of remains of the past, but always in new and unpredictable ways.

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