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THE ROLE OF SPORTS DIPLOMACY IN PROMOTING KENYA’S FOREIGN

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SPRING 2019
DECLARATION

I, undersigned, declare that this is my original work, and has not been submitted to any other institution, college or university other than United States International University-Africa for academic credit.

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This thesis has been presented for examination with my approval as the appointed supervisor.

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ABSTRACT

Kenya’s foreign policy anchors towards its interlinking pillars, with the cultural diplomacy pillar seeking to promote sports diplomacy by recognizing the role of athletes. Kenya therefore seeks to pursue its national interests in its relations with other countries through sports diplomacy to meet its foreign policy objectives. These foreign policy goals include integration, projection of Kenya’s image and prestige, regional peace and security, multilateralism, economic prosperity of Kenya and its people and protection of Kenya’s sovereignty and territory integrity.

The study examines the significance of sports diplomacy in promoting Kenya’s foreign policy goals. The study seeks to answer how sports diplomacy promote Kenya’s political image, the impact of sports diplomacy on Kenya’s economic development and the role of sports diplomacy in promoting peaceful interactions between Kenya and her neighbors. These objectives guide the findings and are transcribed via narrative text, using content from both primary and secondary data.

Kenya has a remarkable international sporting pedigree and is internationally recognized as a consistent, high-performing sporting nation. Kenya therefore has potential to capitalize further in its full suite of sport diplomacy by engaging with other countries and achieving public diplomacy outcomes regionally and internationally. Kenya is yet to master a sports strategy to help it in pursuing its national goals through its foreign policy.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to thank God for His grace and His goodwill, to be able to make it thus far.

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I would like to thank my parents for their patience and endless financial and moral support throughout my academic history, they are my blessing.
DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my parents. Their endless support inspired me to work towards achieving and finalizing my masters program.
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AFCON</td>
<td>Africa Cup of Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADAK</td>
<td>Anti-Doping Agency of Kenya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BRICS</td>
<td>Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CECAFA</td>
<td>The Council for East and Central Africa Football Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EAC</td>
<td>East Africa Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F1</td>
<td>Formula One</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIFA</td>
<td>Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA)</td>
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<tr>
<td>IAAF</td>
<td>International Association of Athletics Federations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IOC</td>
<td>International Olympic Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>ISOs</td>
<td>International Sports Organizations</td>
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<td>ITTF</td>
<td>International Table Tennis Federation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAS</td>
<td>Kenya Academy of Sports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KDF</td>
<td>Kenya Defence Forces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KES</td>
<td>Kenya Shillings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>NSF</td>
<td>National Sports Fund</td>
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<td>SK</td>
<td>Sports Kenya</td>
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<tr>
<td>UEFA</td>
<td>The Union of European Football Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>United Nations Children’s Fund</td>
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<td>UNOSDP</td>
<td>United Nations Office on Sport for Development and Peace</td>
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US - United States of America
USSR - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WADA - World Anti-Doping Agency
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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

Sports diplomacy is a strategy used in relating with other countries through the power of attraction, to influence the spread of a state’s values, identity and culture. It is a way of establishing people-to-people ties through interaction, integration, cohesion and community based programs. Sports diplomacy involves sports, state and non-state actors, in the process of establishing political, social and economic ties.

Kenya uses sports as an instrument of foreign policy to achieve its national goals and objectives for a globally competitive, peaceful and prosperous country. Sources informing Kenya’s foreign policy include sessional papers, manifestos of the ruling parties, Kenya Vision 2030, executive pronouncements and seculars. Kenya Foreign Policy (2014) states that Kenya’s foreign policy objectives that pursue the state’s national objectives include;

1. Promoting regional and sub-regional cooperation and integration
2. Advancing the economic prosperity of Kenya’s and her people
3. Enhancing regional and global peace and security
4. Projecting Kenya’s image and prestige
5. Protecting Kenya’s territorial integrity and sovereignty
6. Promoting multilateralism and international cooperation
7. Protecting and promoting the interests of Kenyans in diaspora
8. Enhancing partnership with Kenya’s descendants and Kenyan diaspora

Sports diplomacy can be used to promote the above foreign policy goals in Kenya’s relations at the international, continental or regional level. Kenya’s Cultural Diplomacy Strategy 2018-
2022 (2017) argues that sports is part of Kenya’s cultural diplomacy pillar, recognized by Kenya’s constitution, Kenya’s Vision 2030 and Kenya’s development blueprint, to boost Kenya’s political, socio-economic and cultural development. Sports diplomacy is thus a strategy to inform the Ministry of Sports, Culture and Heritage and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in their bid to promote Kenya’s foreign policy goals.

Sports diplomacy promotes Kenya’s political image, economic prosperity and stimulates Kenya’s peaceful relations with its neighbors. Promotion of a country’s political image entails soft power, international relations and nation branding. Promotion of economic prosperity involves sports tourism, investments and development projects. Sports diplomacy leads to interaction with state’s neighbors and beyond, through sports that nurtures exchange, interaction, cohesion and coexistence.

1.1 Background of the study

Sports diplomacy is the use of sports to achieve foreign policy goals. It involves improving the public opinion of countries, spread of culture and values, promoting countries’ political influence, as well as fostering the peace. Sports, with its ability to appeal to people across borders, is a valuable tool for governments to promote their foreign policy goals and objectives.

The history of the link between politics and sports dates back in ancient Greece, where King Lycurgus of Sparta, King Cleosthenes of Pisa and King Iphitos of Elis, signed the international treaty back in the 9th century BC, (Padhi, 2011). The treaty guaranteed immunity to sportspeople at Olympia, and was ratified by other Greek cities. This meant that athletes
from hostile zones were guaranteed a secure passage from their regions, to take part in the Olympic Games.

Padhi (2011) further argues that sports diplomacy was thereafter ignored for centuries but revived by politics with the formation and growth of official governing bodies- the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) formed in 1894 and 1904 respectively. These governing bodies were formed to organize, conduct and promote global sports, with FIFA governing international football tournaments and the IOC controlling and managing modern Olympic Games. These sporting events thus became avenues for political leverage and national competition, where countries would assert their presence internationally and gain admiration from other countries.

Sports diplomacy evolved since it was revived, incorporating more aspects and sending global messages through sports events. Mabillard (2012) argues that male participation dominated the 1896 Olympic Games, held in Athens however, the second Olympics, held in Paris, was open to female participation but only in tennis and golf. The first Paralympic Games was held in Rome in 1960, the first television broadcast of the World Cup, in color, was in 1970 and the first Youth Olympic Games was in Singapore in 2010, (BBC, 2014). For the first time in history, refugee athletes competed in the Rio de Janeiro Olympics in 2016, (BBC, 2016). The Olympic Movement has however remained, still drawing people together to play sport in friendship and peace.

State actors involve governments that boost their relations bilaterally or multilaterally. The
media, digital technology, international sporting federations, national sporting bodies, multinational corporations, civil society organizations and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) are the non-state actors in sports diplomacy. After cold war, sports diplomacy involved state and non-state actors working in partnership or independently for diplomatic ends, using the power of soft power attraction.

International sports institutions such as the IOC, Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA), International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF), The Council of East and Central Africa Football Association (CECAFA) and the Union of European Football Association (UEFA) enhance cooperation among states through sports and illustrate institutionalization in sport diplomacy. In these international sports organizations, states are the main actors. They are represented by federations within the state, not governments, in a bid to minimize political influence in sports.

Electronic media and social media attention on live broadcasts make sports gain more popularity and attract a bigger audience locally and internationally. Social media has increased sports fan base with hashtags and trending topics capturing moments that could be overlooked during a sports season or during the game. In 2018, India’s professional footballer, Sunil Chhetri, made a video on twitter that went viral, a plea to have fans fill up the stadia in Mumbai for the Intercontinental Cup 2018. Thousands of fans thereafter rushed to watch India’s game against Kenya, united to support their home team with their presence in the sport stadium. Twitter India (2018) claimed that the video later became 2018’s most retweeted tweet from India, showing how sports diplomacy correlated with digital diplomacy.
Sports diplomacy as an instrument of foreign policy has been used by Kenya to maintain and strengthen alliances, increase national prestige and pursue her national interests abroad, to promote her foreign policy goals. These objectives can be met through sports diplomacy, which is articulated in the cultural diplomacy pillar of Kenya’s foreign policy. The state institution in charge of sports in Kenya is the Ministry of Sports, Arts and Heritage, under Cabinet Secretary, Amina Mohammed.

Ministry of Sports and Heritage (2018) states that the Ministry of Sports, Culture and Heritage comprises of the State Department of Heritage and the State Department for Sports Development. The State Department for Sports Development has two departments- The Office of the Registrar and The Sports Department which is also known as the Department of Sports. It also comprises of Semi- Autonomous Government Agencies (SAGAs) that are the Kenya Academy of Sports (KAS), Sports Kenya (SK), National Sports Fund (NSF), and the Anti-Doping Agency of Kenya (ADAK).

Ministry of Sports and Heritage (2018) states that on matters sports, the core functions of the Ministry of Sports, Culture and Heritage is to;

1. Promote, develop and preserve Kenya’s sports, arts and cultural heritage

2. Formulate policies on sports, arts and culture

3. Harmonize, facilitate and coordinate sports, arts and culture activities in Kenya

4. Maintain, promote and preserve diverse culture for national pride, national identity, cohesion and integration.
The Ministry of Sports, Culture and Heritage also has sub programs that involve sports training, sports competitions as well as development and management of sports facilities. These programs are harmonised within the ministry by the semi- autonomous government agencies as stipulated in Sports Act 2013. Sports Act 2013 is an act of parliament that was proposed and passed into law to promote sports development, harness sports for development and to encourage drug free sports and recreation, (Sports Act No. 25 of 2013, 2017). This is through the establishment of institutions, sports facilities, management and administration of sports in Kenya.

Sports corporate bodies established under the Sports Act No. 25 of 2013 include the National Sports Fund, Sports Registrar, Anti-Doping Agency of Kenya, Kenya Academy of Sports, Sports Kenya, Sports Disputes Tribunal. These bodies are incharge of fund raising, regulating sports organizations, anti- doping sensitization, professional sportspersons and sports bodies, sports training and solving disputes within the sports fraternity, all for sports development in Kenya.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Kenya is a sports powerhouse, internationally recognized for its sports excellence and sporting grounds. Despite a high international sporting pedigree, mismanagement of sports funds, failure to honor sportspeople and political interference in sports has led to the underutilization of Kenya’s sports potential. Scandals within Kenya’s sports fraternity has been a loophole affecting rebranding, development, cultural exchange and sports tourism to build sports networks and partnerships, growing the influence and value of Kenyan sport. Sports strategies have been maximized by the European Commission, France, Japan, Australia and the US in
pursuit of their national interests, highlighting their cultures, identity and national values. Kenya can emulate sports strategies by these states because of Kenya’s sports potential. Sports development, by paying more attention to the use of sports events, use of sportspeople as well as sports diplomacy with the aim of realizing diplomatic outcomes through the power of soft attraction is what this study seeks to investigate.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The overall objective of the study is to examine the role of sports diplomacy in promoting Kenya’s foreign policy goals.

Specific objectives include:

1. To examine the role of sports diplomacy in promoting Kenya’s political image.
2. To determine the impact of sports diplomacy on Kenya’s economic development.
3. To establish the role of sports diplomacy in promoting peaceful interactions between Kenya and her neighbors.

1.4 Research Questions

This study will be guided by the following research questions;

1. How does sports diplomacy promote Kenya’s political image?
2. What is the impact of sports diplomacy on Kenya’s economic development?
3. What is the role of sports diplomacy promoting peaceful interactions between Kenya and her neighbors?
1.5 Significance of the Study

This study will act as a guide in the advancements on foreign policy strategies in relation to sports diplomacy by getting findings useful for policy formulation and modification by the Government of Kenya through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, the Ministry of Sports, Culture and Heritage and sports institutions.

The contribution to academic research and knowledge will overcome the knowledge gap in promotion of Kenya’s foreign policy goals through sports diplomacy. This study is also of value to academic researchers who could use this research as a foundation for future academic research. The findings of the study will open up opportunities for researchers to carry out further studies on sports diplomacy and promotion of foreign policy goals.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The study investigates aspects of Kenya’s foreign policy that include: promoting Kenya’s political image, peaceful interactions between Kenya and her neighbors and promoting Kenya’s economic prosperity through sports diplomacy. The timeframe is 2002-2018 because Kenya’s foreign policy came out clearer during President Mwai Kibaki’s era and the blueprint was made during President Uhuru Kenyatta’s era.

1.7 Definition of Concepts

**Black Power Salute** refers to a non-violent protest by Tommie Smith and John Carlos symbolizing resistance, solidarity and defiance, in response to exploitation and racism of African Americans in the US.
**eSports** refers to sports competitions involving multiplayers using video games.

**Gambling** refers to wagering something of value or money on an event of uncertain outcome with the aim of winning monetary rewards.

**Foreign policy** refers to self-interest strategies chosen by the state to safeguard its national interests and to achieve goals within its international relations setting, using approaches that are strategically employed in relations with other countries.

**Multilateralism** refers to the practice of achieving diplomatic solutions to supranational problems involving more than two countries.

**Nation branding** refers to the strategic self-representation of a country with the aim of creating reputational capital through economic, political and social interest promotion both at home and abroad.

**Public Diplomacy** refers to activities directed abroad in the field of education, information and culture whose objective is to influence foreign governments by influencing its citizens.

**Soft power** refers to the ability of a country to attract others to obtain the outcomes it wants through attractions rather than coercion or payments and rests primarily on the country’s culture, political values and its foreign policies.
**Sportsperson** refers to an individual that is trained to be involved in sports and competes in sports activities.

**Sports betting** refers to the idea of predicting a sports outcome by placing a gamble on the result.

**Sports diplomacy** refers to the use of sports to achieve foreign policy goals.

**Sports mega-events** refers to short-term sports occasions with an international audience and importance, that have long-term effects on the host city.

**Sports tourism** refers to traveling to a foreign territory to participate in, or spectate a sports event.

**Team Kenya** refers to athletes that represent Kenya in sports events.
CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents literature relating sports and diplomacy, showing the link between sports diplomacy and its influence on foreign policy. It is organised based on the study objectives as outlined in chapter 1.

2.2 Theoretical review

Soft power as propagated by Joseph Nye, is the use of persuasion and attraction to achieve foreign policy objectives, making a state more attractive to the world. Soft power argues that agendas exist helping the primary actor build influence over the secondary actor by making the counterpart do as persuaded to do because the system is co-optive. Peace building and national branding can be achieved by sports diplomacy through integration, cohesion, building trust, reconciliation, image branding and dialogue. By hosting the 2010 World Cup, South Africa’s economic credibility, political image and national image improved by attracting other countries through inbound tourism, inward investment and trade.

Joseph Nye outlined culture, political values and foreign policy as basic principles of soft power. Through the power of soft attraction, these principles endorse states’ culture where it is attractive to the foreign public, political values when the countries stand by them both at home and abroad and their foreign policies where other countries see them as legitimate and having moral influence on their population. For Nye, the changing nature of international relations after the cold war lead to shift from hard power to soft power, with soft power having
strongholds in culture, ideologies and institutions (Nye, 2017). States thus seek to make more use of soft power.

Liberal theory as propagated by Robert Keohane states that liberalism reaffirms the attempts of institutionalists in understanding politics, to design institutions that promote human rights, cooperation and welfare. The UN, IOC and WADA are institutions that support sports diplomacy initiatives that agree with these liberal thoughts. Classical liberal theorists such as Immanuel Kant and Giuseppe Mazzini argued on the future creation of international institutions that would improve trust among states to promote peace and cooperation.

Sports diplomacy themes include peace building, building trust, cooperation and multilateralism supported by state and non-state actors. These actors include sportspeople, sports federations, sports ministries and corporate institutions that use sport as a tool for diplomacy. Liberalism also states that an increasingly interdependent and interconnected world contributes to state behavior, that the world is bound by economic, transnational, social, political and cultural ties. Sports diplomacy supports liberal thought, with agendas and strategies, that seeks to promote liberal objectives in bilateral and multilateral relations in a globalized world.

2.3 Sports diplomacy and foreign policy

Sports diplomacy seeks to achieve cultural, economic and political interests. The extent to which sports diplomacy promotes foreign policy objectives lies in its role as a formal avenue for diplomacy. South Korea used the 1988 Seoul Olympics to improve its relations with USSR and was successfully able to prevent USSR from boycotting the Olympics in support of North
Korea.

Padhi (2011) argues that sports diplomacy is attributed to bringing estranged leaders together. Turkey and Armenia did not have diplomatic ties however; football diplomacy soothed the animosity between the two states in 2008. By having the World Cup qualifier spectated by their respective presidents, Abdullah Gul and Serge Sarkisian despite the mistrust between the two countries, football created friendly ties and a diplomatic opportunity for the two countries to form peaceful relations.

Over history, international sports have provided a symbolic arena for cities, countries and regions to demonstrate power, from sport proficiency to the ideology of a particular system of state, as well as sharing their identities, brands and merits to the rest of the world. States use mega sports events to show their superiority. Despite Italy’s fascist dictatorship and violent Blackshirts, Benito Mussolini used the 1934 FIFA World Cup to show Italy’s superiority by hosting, winning and boosting propaganda for his totalitarian regime.

Russia also used the 2014 Winter Olympics to show its superiority. Trunkos and Heere (2017) argue that the triumphs of the US hockey team over the USSR’s team in the 1980 Winter Olympics and Bobby Fischer, an American chess grandmaster over Boris Spassky, USSR chess grandmaster in the 1972 World Chess Championship, demonstrated US hegemony during the cold war.

Sports diplomacy also interlinks with cultural diplomacy and digital diplomacy, which are soft
power means of achieving foreign policy goals. Stadia have kept up with the digital world, installing Wi-Fi connection in their venues. The wireless connectivity in stadia was initially intended to engage sport experience and engage fan engagement in the actual game day. This gives the fans to an opportunity to get minute-to-minute facts, opinion and analysis throughout, and about the game. Such stadia include Netherland’s Philips Stadion, CenturyLink Field and M & T Bank Stadium in United States of America (US). The ability to reach international publics through electronic media and the internet, has led to further developments in sports such as in eSports and sports betting. Sports diplomacy continues to thrive because sports is a universal language understood across borders, religion, race and gender.

eSports is gaining momentum globally with organizations taping into the ready market of online gaming. Call of Duty, League on Legends and the FIFA franchise have capitalized on eSports and have nurtured sports teams to build their brand through online gaming. Tournaments such as Intel Extreme Masters, tech companies such as Ben Q and Intel as well as sports inspired games such as the F1 eSports Series, FIFA eWorld Cup and NBA2K League to comical games such as Mortal Combat have joined in the eSports movement. eSports tournament viewership surpasses traditional sports broadcasting which is a marketing opportunity for governments, individuals and companies to engage, create and inform a favorable image among the younger demographic involved in eSports, (Birt & Murray, 2019).

Sports diplomacy has also been used to demonstrate how sport can be used to spread solidarity to the society and spread human values. Participation in sports as a human right is supported
by institutions such as the UN and sports organizations such as the IOC. (Levermore, 2008) argues that in 2002, Kofi Annan advocated the right to play, specifically for children, as a fundamental human right and further claimed that sports acts as a foundational experience that builds leadership skills, self-esteem, improves communities and breaks down inter-community barriers.

The spirit of sport, teamwork, competition and fair play help nurture trust bringing people together and being a unifier. ARI, EKÇİOĞLU, ÇETİN and TEMEL (2018) argue that sports diplomacy thrives to build consensus and trust, create dialogue, promote peace, bringing nations together and develops further using its tools that include the media, international organizations, the national brand, lobbying elements and sports ambassadors. Bilateral geopolitical relations were eased in 2011 between India and Pakistan through cricket diplomacy. Hockey diplomacy was also used to improve USSR – Canada relations during the cold war.

Gates and Nygård (2013) argue that sports diplomacy opens and reopens channels for cultural exchange and the establishment and re-establishment of relations between countries. Ping-pong diplomacy of 1971 between the US and China, was a symbolic use of sports diplomacy to open diplomatic relations between the two states. After the US table tennis team visited China in 1971, President Nixon lifted a 20-year trade embargo thus, initial sporting contacts between the US and China led to more formal discussions and negotiations, following a basketball competition between the two countries one year later, (Padhi, 2011).
The idea was to facilitate communication after a long freeze in relations between the two states, opening long-stalled diplomatic relations. Table tennis therefore became a stepping-stone for diplomatic relations between the two states with different political ideals. The 1986 Goodwill Games also reestablished formal relations between USSR and the US after the previous sports boycotts, with the US boycotting the 1980 Summer Olympics in protest of USSR invasion in Afghanistan and USSR boycotting the 1984 Summer Olympics in retaliation, (Levermore, 2008).

In analyzing the overall dimension of sports in political and diplomatic affairs, certain characteristics that make sports greatly appealing for maneuvering international relations come to play. Sports as a discipline relies on the principles of discipline, inclusion, respect for the opponent, fair play, team spirit, and tolerance. Petrushevska and Ushkovska (2015) argue that these traits contributed to the United Nations defining sports, as a mechanism for promotion of world peace that should be fostered and encouraged.

The UN’s viewpoint is that sports has the potential to transcend shortsighted ambitions for egocentric achievements and recognitions of states and individuals. Instead, it can play the role of a mobilizing, motivating and unifying force that builds bridges of international communication and peace. Trunkos and Heere (2017) argue that the 2016’s visit to Cuba by President Obama aimed at bridging political and ideological differences between the US and Cuba, through baseball, by creating an avenue for state leaders to reconnect diplomatically under a common interest of a sport.
India and Pakistan have used cricket diplomacy as a peaceful strategy towards relations. The prolonged conflict between India and Pakistan, aggravated by a series of terrorist attacks such as the 2008 attack in Mumbai, in effect created strained and confrontational political relations between the neighboring Asian countries, persistently hampering peace talks, (Grimsley, 2018). Indian and Pakistani leaders often engage in cricket diplomacy as a means of diffusing tensions over Kashmir, terrorist attacks, trade disputes and security dilemmas. However, in March 2011, India’s Prime Minister extended an invitation to Pakistan to both attend a game at the Cricket World Cup in India, where their teams competed against each other. This symbolic offer of was established strategically on the mutual passion for cricket as a unifying element, creating an opportunity for an alternative approach to the peace talks. In this kind of situation where classical diplomacy has failed, sports diplomacy initiation comes in handy in initiating meetings between top government officials.

Sports events have over history been used as a forum to send political messages internationally. Kass (1976) argues that Adolf Hitler’s anti-semitic programs caused international boycotts, German pledges and a movement that were aimed to block Germany from hosting the 1936 Olympics in Berlin. The goal was to force Germany to stop discriminating Jews. The movement however failed and the games were still held in Berlin.

Adolf Hitler used the 1936 Olympics as an avenue to promote Aryan racial superiority in Germany, (Padhi, 2011). This ideology was however challenged when Jesse Owens, a black American, won four gold medals in the games. Adolf Hitler did not congratulate the athlete as he did the other victors and thereafter, the athlete did not get an invitation by President
Franklin Roosevelt to the White House or offered a job ever since, (Lewis, 2011). Racial tension still went on in the US even after Jesse Owens paved way for the Civil Rights Movement and after World War II.

Sports diplomacy has a history of application in states’ power struggles. As racial superiority continued to be an ideology in the US and in other countries such as South Africa, the Olympic Project for Human Rights was formed in 1967 to support a black boycott in the 1968 Olympics in Mexico. Edwards (1979) states that the project’s aim was to uncover the historical international and national exploitation of African American athletes in sports events, to stage a global protest on the historic human rights abuse of African American people in the US, and to raise awareness to the African American community on the concealed dynamics and consequences of their sports participation.

Despite the boycott, John Carlos and Tommie Smith, African American athletes who were members of Olympic Project for Human Rights, still participated in the games. Both athletes won in the games, with Tommie Smith breaking a world record and John Carlos winning a bronze medal. In the awarding ceremony, both athletes used the medal stand in the awards ceremony to highlight racial injustice through symbolism. ESPN (2012) reported that both athletes wore black socks and were shoeless, representing poverty in the US and wore black gloves, one on each hand, raising their fists as the Star-Spangled Banner played, in solidarity to black unity.

Grimsley (2018) stated that individually, John Carlos dressed in beads around his neck as a
representation of black people lynching across the US under white racists and Tommie Smith put on a black scarf signifying black pride. Their solidarity to global human rights issues echoed internationally as sports diplomacy efforts used by athletes to spread a global message. However, Gates and Nygård (2013) argue that the athletes were later stripped off their medals by the IOC, in response to the Black Power Salute. In 2005, both athletes were honored by San Jose State University with a sculpture and an Arthur Ashe Award in 2008 for their boldness in the 1968 Olympics, (ESPN, 2012).

Padhi (2011) argues that Olympic Games have often been used as an arena of placing political pressure on other actors in the international arena. Examples include boycott on teams that did not condemn apartheid in South Africa, the US boycott in the 1980 Olympics in Moscow in protest against soviet troops entering Afghanistan and the 1984 retributive boycott in Los Angeles Olympics by USSR. Sports boycotts were effective measures for states to condemn actions in the international arena. In response to apartheid policies in South Africa, sports boycotts were imposed on South Africa in the 1970s and 1980s. The USSR’s 1979 invasion in Afghanistan lead to a boycott in the 1980 Olympics in Moscow.

Apartheid South Africa was exposed to many international boycotts from Olympic Games, Commonwealth Games, UN, IOC and even to athletes engaged in sports activities in the country. South Africa was suspended from the IAAF, 1979 Word Cup, FIFA in 1963, 1970 Chess Olympiad and the 1970 Davis Cup. The 1976 Montreal games had 29 countries, mostly African countries that include Kenya, boycotting the games as a result of IOC not banning New Zealand Rugby Union Team that had toured apartheid South Africa earlier that year in
defiance with the UN’s sport embargo.

The Register of Sports Contacts with South Africa, a list of sports officials and sports people who participated in sporting activities in South Africa, was compiled from the country’s newspaper reports in 1980 by the UN. The register was an effective instrument used to pressure the listed athletes not to compete in South Africa, (Levermore, 2008). In 1985, the UN General Assembly then adopted the International Convention against Apartheid in sports. The IOC also adopted a declaration against apartheid in sports in 1988.

After hosting sports mega-events, the sports structures are either maximized or underutilized. Abandoned structures take up valuable land, which could be otherwise maximized for social projects such as hospitals and schools. Such structures include the Athens Olympics 2004 venues that were mostly abandoned post the Olympics, (Zimbalist, 2010). These structures include the Olympic Sports Complex, the Schinias Centre, the training field at the Olympic village, the Faliro Olympic Beach Volleyball Centre, Hellinikon Olympic Complex and the Olympic Aquatic Centre.

Post mega events, some stadiums are reused to serve other state objectives. After the Beijing Summer Olympics, China transformed the National Aquatics Center into Happy Magic Water Cube, one of the largest indoor water parks in the country attracting tourists all year round. The Richmond Olympic Oval in Vancouver, Canada, was used before and after the Olympics for hockey games, speed skating, basketball, squash, community events and as an Olympic Museum. After constructing the Tennis Palace (Tennispalatsi) ahead of the 1940 Summer
Olympics, Finland reused the space as a basketball venue for the 1952 Summer Olympics. Currently, the arena serves as a tourist attraction, a cultural arena and a movie theatre.

2.4 Sports diplomacy and political image

Sports diplomacy is associated with governments employing sportspeople to augment a diplomatic message, to cool tensions in flagging diplomatic relationships. Sports events have also been used to cool tensions in waning diplomatic relationships or to test the ground for a possible policy change. For example, during the 2018 winter Olympics, North Korea and South Korea used it as an opportunity to unite under one flag, which reignited diplomatic relations between the two countries.

Sports diplomacy also involves states using sporting events to enhance their image among global publics, or to test the ground for a possible policy change. The practice is facilitated by diplomacy and uses sports people and sporting events to inform, engage and create a favorable image among foreign publics and organizations, and also to shape their perceptions in a way that is conducive to the sending government’s foreign policy goals. Sports diplomacy boosts a state’s political image through nation branding, soft power and multilateralism.

Nation branding.

With globalization and interdependence, the brand of a nation, that is, the state and the people, needs to be created and boosted. Public diplomacy and nation branding while both having a domestic dimension, are predominantly directed towards foreign audiences and address the perceptions those audiences have on other countries. Building a country brand is a substantial element of foreign policy. National branding through sports diplomacy involves a wider and
more coordinated approach and is dependent on contributions of representatives of several social and professional sectors that involve sports.

National branding seeks to boost a country’s image, reputation and international recognition. Hosting a sports event is an avenue to gain global attractiveness by showing off and increasing prestige as well as gaining soft power of a state. For countries that do not get the chance to host sports events, they can build their national brands through sport excellence. With tourists flagging in to witness sports events and an international audience that spectate the games through digital media or television, some aspects of a nation cannot be disclosed. Trunkos & Heere (2017) argue that the economic inequality in South Africa, water pollution and home evictions in Brazil and poor human rights for the LGBT community in Russia could not be hidden due to media exposure of these elements during the World Cup season and Winter Olympics respectively.

Kobierecki (2017) states that through sports diplomacy, states send globally recognized athletes abroad to spread a country’s values and culture. The US uses this strategy through sports visitors, sports envoys, American Public Diplomacy Envoys and sports grants to promote and improve US’ brand and values abroad. U.S. State Department (2006) states that in 2006, Michelle Kwan, a US skater champion, was appointed to promote positive aspects of the American culture and promote cross-cultural dialogue with international youth in attempt to improve US’ image abroad. As an envoy, she was deployed to Russia, Japan, Singapore and Argentina on behalf of the State Department, for people-to-people engagement and to spread American ideas through her personal experiences in sports.
Sports ambassadors also aid in national branding in that their sporting accomplishments play a role in projecting values and culture of their country as well as making soft power attractive to other countries. They include athletes, sports managers, referees and coaches. Professional athletes have been used by their home countries to create awareness of their cultures abroad. Due to the global admiration and popularity of athletes, sportspeople such as Kathy Freeman from Australia, Vdale Divac from Yugoslavia, George Weah from Liberia have made their international fans gain more interest in their home nations, providing more understanding and knowledge about their culture, (Trunkos & Heere, 2017). Athletes who have chosen political careers also use their celebrity status to create new relations. Former athletes such as Manny Pacquiao and George Weah later became politicians in their home nations to shape their domestic and foreign policies after ending their sports careers.

Athletes are also mediators in creating understanding through joint programs with other countries. Some athletes also laisse with organizations, where many sportspeople have been ambassadors of an organization, (Ari et al.,2018). The UN Goodwill Ambassadors work in various UN agencies to portray UN messages due to their popularity. In 2010, Lionel Messi was appointed as UNICEF’s Goodwill Ambassador. He has since been an advocate for some of the world’s most vulnerable children and has visited Haiti, Costa Rica and Argentina to raise awareness and support the work of UNICEF and its partners. Messi has also been an advocate for Sustainable Development Programs (SDGs), since its launch in 2015, assisting the UN in promoting SDGs all over the world.

(Ham, 2002) argues that nation branding is an instrument of public diplomacy through which
foreign nations and people can be reached. The country’s role in communicating with foreign publics is vital as foreign policy priorities promote a country and its interests. A strategy of converting sports diplomacy resources to diplomatic outcomes is by use of vast media coverage. This strategy is considered if the sports diplomacy events are communicated globally through international media. Johnsen and Straume (2012) argues that a core approach of public diplomacy is to use the tools available through international media, radio, television, and internet. Vast media coverage has brought the excitement of sports to the world’s population and sports stars become household names.

Winning a bid process to host a sports mega event such as the World Cup, World Championships, European Football Championships and the Olympics is significant due to their popularity across the globe. Kobierecki (2017) argues that hosting minor sports events can also gain substantial diplomatic objectives as well as participating in sports events by countries that are yet to gain international recognition. South Korea used the 1988 Seoul Olympics to gain international popularity by hosting the games. By transitioning from a military dictatorship to a democracy, South Korea used the Olympics to reintroduce itself to the world.

(Reid, 1999) argues that sporting events are spaces for the symbolic dissemination of power. Sports articulate the nation and its narrative of triumph or failure. It is through sports diplomacy that the BRICS show their rise and economic might in hosting sports mega events. Winning a game is a symbol of sports excellence as in the number of medals and which country wins the cup. Sports events are also used by states for global acceptance and inclusion
in the international system. In the 1908 Games of the IV Olympiad, several Irish athletes declined to represent Britain in the London Summer Olympics. This was because Irish athletes had won in the previous Olympics but Britain took the victory, suppressing Irish nationalism as Britain did not recognize Ireland as a sovereign state. Infuriated by this, the Irish athletes chose refrain to from the 1908 Olympics, so as not win medals for Britain, yet again.

Countries are branded by sportspeople whose sports achievements give a country fame and an image of sports talent in the global arena. Serena Williams and Venus Williams symbolize female representation in US tennis. Kenyan sportspeople have joined international teams and some have changed citizenship to represent their countries in sports. Dennis Oliech and Victor Wanyama include Kenya’s professional athletes whose sporting success in international sports have brought fame to Kenya despite playing for foreign teams.

It is key to recognize and honor the contribution of sports legends who through their tremendous sporting success have put their continents, regions and countries on the map. Legendary sportspeople in Africa include Jack Johnson- the first African heavyweight boxing champion, Haile Gebrselassie- an Ethiopian long distant track legend, Maria Mutola-Mozambique athletic champion, Makhaya Ntini- South Africa’s cricket legend, Didier Drogba-Ivory Coast football legend, Kenenisa Bekele- Ethiopia’s long distant runner legend, Samuel Eto’o- Cameroon football legend and Kenya’s long distant legend Kipchoge Keino. African legends have been recognized internationally with titles such as Africa’s ever football export (George Wear), greatest female 800m athlete of all time (Maria Mutola) and greatest ever player (Didier Drogba).
Notable Africa’s sportspeople that have played for international sports teams include; Didier Drogba who was signed by Chelsea Football Club, Samuel Eto’o who has played for Real Madrid and FC Barcelona and Victor Wanyama who is a Tottenham midfielder. African players have represented their continent in the UEFA Cup, Premier League, Champions League, IAAF World Championships, IAAF World Indoor Championship, Summer Olympics, World Boxing Championships, the World Cup and the Winter Olympics.

Hosting of sports mega events is a platform to showcase a country’s culture, diversity, promote exchange and show off developmental advancements in technology and infrastructure. Hosting major sporting events fits the concept of public diplomacy since such events are modern state-centric affairs which provide unique opportunities for hosting countries to get attention of a global television audience. Opening ceremonies are the embodiment of this rendition of the purpose and content of public diplomacy, involving the celebration, construction, and mass communication of a positive account of the history and culture of the host nation to foreign publics.

China’s choice to host for the 2008 Olympic Games exemplifies a bold move on behalf of the IOC, an idea to extend and spread the Olympic and FIFA corporate brand to large and new markets. Beijing Games was more about bolstering domestic support than showcasing the nation to the wider world. China used the Olympics to promote its rise as an emerging power and aid its integration and agency in the international system. The Olympic project is an exercise in public diplomacy, hence China used the Beijing Games in search of the politics of attraction and the soft power that comes with it, (Johnsen and Straume, 2012). The example of
the Beijing Games is instructive in indicating the risks involved in hosting sports mega-events for, on the one hand, if a state suffers from a poor image based on the history, poor human rights or undemocratic governance, then a major sports event could be the best way to re-socialize publics towards a more positive image.

Johnsen and Straume (2012) argues that shortly after becoming a democracy in the post-apartheid era in 1994, South Africa hosted the 1995 Rugby World Cup along with symbolic and iconic photographs of Nelson Mandela sporting the victorious Springbok’s colors, the 1996 African Cup of Nations, the 1999 All-Africa Games and the 2003 Cricket World Cup. Like China, success in bidding for these events signaled the global credibility of this once-pariah state, providing an avenue for the exercise of the politics of attraction.

South Africa’s hosting of the World Cup was an exercise in post-apartheid state-building in which the state used the event for both internal state-building and external showcasing. South Africa also framed its bid and the event itself as Pan-African that is, it represented the African continent. This was the politics of African attraction by one of Africa’s leading powers.

Sports diplomacy is a strategy by states to make an impression in the global arena. (Shearer, 2014) argues that the collective hosting of 2002 world cup by South Korea and Japan was South Korea’s strategy to announce its arrival as a stern globalized country. The same motive was of China by hosting the 2008 Olympics when Beijing was changing its national image from Tiananmen Square to the Bird’s Nest Stadium. The narrative of the opening ceremonies was a constructed set of soft power images Chinese civilization, emphasizing its ancient
cultural achievements and stepping aside from its Maoist past.

Concerns have been raised on the use of supplements by athletes, citing accidental doping, efficiency of the products and potential health risks. Supplements may contain prohibited substances which may not necessarily cause immediate health difficulties but may also cause sanctions on a sportsperson if tested positive, regardless of the intention of ingesting them. This a major issue for professional sportspeople and countries that they represent. Sports careers have been frustrated with national and personal brands ruined due to doping and use of steroids to hence their performance during sports.

Over history sportspeople have been suspended, banned and stripped off medals due to doping. Alexander Zubkov and Olga Fatkulina were stripped off their medals after their 2014 Winter Olympics win and banned by the IOC due to doping. In December 2017, the IOC suspended the Russian Olympic Committee from the 2018 Winter Games in South Korea due to state-sponsored doping allegations. The cleared 160 Russian athletes were allowed to compete in Pyeongchang under the name, Olympic Athlete from Russia (OAR), their uniform bared OAR, under Olympic flag and the Olympic anthem was played in the ceremonies, (Panja & Ruiz, 2017).

Russia’s former Minister of Sports Vitaly Leontiyevich Mutko and his deputy, Yuri Nagornykh were said to be excluded from participation in future Olympic Games, as consequence to their alleged participation in the doping scandal. Griffiths (2018) reported that Anastasia Bryzgalova and Aleksandr Krushelnitckii were Russian athletes who had to
surrender their bronze medals to Norwegian couple Kristin Skaslien and Magnus Nedregotten because the later tested positive for a doping test in the Pyeongchang Olympics. The global audience captures the nationality of the players faster than that of the individual. This is why doping impacts nation branding.

**Soft Power.**

The US and Australia are among powers that have recognized the long-term effects of strategic sports diplomacy. These states have developed an institutional framework for strategic sports diplomacy as an expression of soft power. The U.S. Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, part of the U.S. Department of States, highlights sports diplomacy as one of the priorities for harnessing closer ties between the US and other states. Sports United is a unit devoted entirely to sports diplomacy, which makes the US leaders in institutionalizing sports diplomacy by assimilating it into official foreign policy strategies, (U.S. State Department, 2006). The purpose of this unit is the endorsement of American culture and sports to foreign publics through approving grants for the promotion of sport education of young people from select countries, creating youth exchanges and sending renowned athletes as sport envoys.

According to the Bureau’s official website, this initiative has encompassed thousands of participants from over a hundred countries around the world signifying levels of interest shown for the sport exchange programs, as an indicator of proper positioning of sports as a tool that opens lines of communication across ethnic and linguistic differences. Petrushevska and Ushkovska (2015) argues that the US authorities invest in these programs due to a recognized propaganda potential of sports diplomacy in exporting American culture.
In 2007, the US supported the travel of 20 American athletes and coaches from US Wrestling to compete in the Takhti Cup in Bandar Abbas, Iran. This was the first US government-supported exchange with Iran since 1979. Also, at the height of the Cold War, the US and the USSR began a series of track and field competitions- the first competition was held in Moscow in 1961 and in the following year, over 150,000 Americans attended the competition in Palo Alto, California (Pigman, 2014). The US-USSR track-and-field competition continued through 1979, alternating between the countries.

Gates and Nygård (2013) argue that despite the effectiveness of sports diplomacy as a soft power tool, sports events are also avenues for acrimony and violence. Land reforms in Honduras and demographic and immigration issues in El Salvador triggered the 1969 football war. In the quest of getting a slot in the 1970 World Cup, there were attacks between the football fans in the first qualifiers in Honduras and more violence in the second game in El Salvador. On the same day of the layoff in Mexico, El Salvador dissolved diplomatic ties with Honduras and followed with bombing Honduras, a war labelled La Guerra del Futball- the soccer war, (Trunkos & Heere, 2017).

**Multilateralism**

Ari et al., (2018) argues that sports diplomacy uses sports to establish links among states and is therefore a tool of both intra-national and international relations. Through its soft power, sports diplomacy reaches a global audience fast through the media broadcast on international sports events such as the World Cup, Olympics and continental games such as the Africa Cup and UEFA Cup. Such events have sportspeople from all over the world coming together under the spirit of sportsmanship, competition, fraternity, solidarity and in turn leads to exchange.
Due to public interest, sports attract the attention of international media organizations, state institutions and commercial institutions. Public opinion follow up on events such as Spain’s La Liga, English Premier League, the NBA, AFCON as well as sports events that happen frequently such as the Champions League, are of great significance in promoting a country. Sports sponsorships and advertisements are possible because of support from organizations.

International Sports Organizations (ISOs) are institutions that govern, oversee and regulate sporting activities involving medical, legal, media or any technical matters necessary for international sports. Peacock and Black (2013) argue that ISOs developed as a response to bureaucratizing forces that made transnational and international competition possible through centralized communications, calendar coordination, standardization, deliberations and mediation. Increased popularity of sports lead to the development of ISOs such as FIFA, IAAF, IOC, ITTF (International Table Tennis Federation) and FIG (Fédération Internationale de Gymnastique) with the aim of having these bureaucracies serve as diplomatic forums as well as help maintain international peace and tolerance through athletic exchange. The IOC for example, spearheads the Olympic movement and Olympism in world politics.

Olympic athletes are representatives of the Olympic movement meant to spread Olympic values that include glorification of national cultures. The nation state it addresses is evident in the parade of nations in each edition of the games as well as rituals in the opening and closing ceremonies. Nationalism is also evident in playing of the national anthem, raising national flags and athletes having a flag on their sports attire during sports events.
ITTF has over history been diplomatic instrumental in its agendas. It was responsible for ping-pong diplomacy that spearheaded Sino-Us relations. ITTF was the first ISO to dismiss the racially exclusive South African Table Tennis Union in favor of non-racial South African Table Tennis Board which it continued to recognize during the apartheid era. ITTF also recognized the Kosovo Athletic Federation in 2003 prior Kosovo’s independence declaration and when the Kosovo team encountered visa issues ahead of the 2007 European Championships in Belgrade, the ITTF retaliated by declining Serbia’s bid to host the 2011 World Table Tennis Championship, (Peacock and Black, 2013).

WADA comprises of global and government representatives involved in making decisions on matters related to doping in prosecution, discipline, legal substances and national legislation. It has initiatives such as observer missions at major sports events, athlete outreach, code compliance monitoring, education, science and medicine, all in an effort to develop a global clean sporting culture. Inter-governmental organizations such as the UN partner with and support sports organizations. The IOC has collaborated with specialized programmes, UN agencies and funds on matters of mutual interest as formal partnership agreements. The UN flag even flies in Olympic venues.

NGOS have also used sports for development. The World Bank for instance, distinguishes advocacy NGOs – those that engage in policy making from operational NGOs– those that create programs for development. (Levermore, 2008) argues that both categories of NGOs run under the field of sport in development, and can be further divided to include sport first, plus sport and sport plus NGOs.
(Levermore, 2008) distinguishes the categorized NGOs and elaborates that sport first organizations mainly stimulate contribution in sport, and developmental consequences are thereafter an unintentional end result. Plus sport NGOs on the other hand are mainstream development organizations that sometimes use sport to boost some of their agendas. Sport plus NGOs focuses predominantly on sport and the development of sport but regularly highlight that the approach has wider social benefits, such as using sport to allow people to interact with the aim of spreading messages relating to education, health or development.

2.5 Economic impact of sports diplomacy

Sports is a massive driver of profit for brands globally. Sports events offer an avenue to showcase brands on the billboards, sports channels, stadia and in television advertisements as a means for brands to gain visibility with high purchasing power and disposable income from the global audience. Brands also choose to sponsor sports events for more publicity, to boost brand loyalty to increase and acquire new customers.

The Observer Team (2018) argues that sports success in Africa is hugely attributed to sponsorship deals. International companies realise Africa’s sports potential and use partnerships and investments to capitalise on the sports. Sponsorship deals have enabled services both off and on the sports grounds, in enabling coaches, sportspeople, clubs and management to update sports infrastructure, acquire sports kits and training facilities and also help in sports and development. Betting companies such as the Betway Group, global airlines such as Emirates and multinational corporations such as Nike, CocaCola and British American Tobacco have invested on sports globally.
Hosting sports mega-events fuel local economic growth. This has become more relevant to the diplomatic strategies embraced by states in the Global South such as Brazil, China, and South Africa. Economic benefits on the hosting nation are the key motives of bidding and hosting. Gradually, developing nations have begun insisting on their right to host these competitions and thereby procure the monetary rewards. Hosting the Olympics and the World Cup brings significant costs and possibly large benefits in industrial relocation, tourism and inward investments. On the cost side, FIFA requires that the World Cup host country provide at least 8 and preferably 10 modern stadiums capable of seating 40,000 to 60,000 spectators (Lee & Grix, 2013). Sports diplomacy also aims for development and infrastructure goals through hosting of sports events as sports mega events justify local development.

Sports development aid programs have nurtured internationally in the wake of taking sports as a tool for development aid by multinational organizations such as Adidas and Nike, international organizations such as Red Cross and UNICEF and sports organizations such as FIFA and IOC. Johnsen and Straume (2012) argue that in 1973, the IOC initiated the Olympic Solidarity programme to African countries in attempts to make third world countries send athletes to Olympic Games through disbursing technical and financial aid to their national Olympic Committees. In an attempt to further recognize sports as a tool for development aid, 2005 was declared by the UN as the International Year of Sport and International Development. This heightened the importance of sports for development programs globally.

(Straume, 2012) states that in 1983, The Norwegian Confederation of Sport (NOC) initiated Sport for All, a sports development aid programme, in Tanzania, that lasted between 1983 to
1990. One of the objectives of the programme was to strengthen women sports participation in Dar es Salaam which was in line with Norway’s foreign policy goals. This was a cultural clash as the ideals of women representation in sports was not yet appreciated in Tanzania. However, during the period of the programme, approximately 12 million Norwegian Krone was granted by Norway, (Johnsen and Straume, 2012).

Olympic games attract a bigger audience because more officials, fans and participants are involved thus being a bigger sporting event than the Super Bowl, World Series or even the World Cup. The Olympics has a higher profile because it entails more infrastructure developments, attracting more tourists, generating more revenue. Infrastructure development may include renovation of public transport systems, airport and road construction and even advancements in transport systems.

In less developed countries, building modern telecommunication networks are a substantial investment. These developments create job opportunities and export opportunities as materials need to be purchased and transported. Upgrades in the transport infrastructure and media advertising of the host country have long term benefits. This creates avenues for business and foreign investments.

(Vasconcelos, 2012) argues that investment attraction, tourism promotion, exporting brands, foreign policy and culture determines the most competitive, most realistic and most compelling strategic vision for a country. Apart from giving spotlight to the hosting country, sports activities stimulate trade. The World Cup is a massive business opportunity for soccer
ball brands especially the likes of Nike and Adidas, that have large market power. CBS (2010) reported that in the 2006 World Cup, Adidas has a profit of 800 million USD. However, majority of soccer balls are made in Thailand, China, India and Pakistan. In the late 1990s, Pakistan was the largest producer of 75% hand stitched soccer balls in the world, with Thailand and China later being big producers in machine-stitched soccer balls, (International Labor Rights Fund, 1999).

The football mania was expected help to lift Thailand garment shipment in sportswear and garments. Despite hosting the Rugby World Cup in 1995 and Cricket World Cup in 2003, the world cup elevated South Africa due to global attention and large television audience. The game economically impacted South Africa’s telecommunications, energy, social infrastructure and transport as they were expanded and upgraded. In the midst of global recession, this contributed to economic development improving conditions for investments.

The 2014 Winter Olympics hosted by Russia produced 1.26 billion USD revenue from broadcasting rights, (IOC, 2014). The operational, sports related and non-sports-related estimated costs was 55 billion USD, funds spent on infrastructural development and catapulting Sochi into a league of winter resorts (Müller, 2014). The funds were spent to highlight Russia’s infrastructural and technological capabilities, promote Russia’s attractiveness to the outside world and to promote economic investment in Russia. Cost overrun and inflation characterized the Sochi Games, with the final budget being way more than the budgeted funds despite private and public sources of funding.
Gates and Nygård (2013) argue that the 1976 Montreal Summer Olympics incurred debt that took three decades to pay off. After the officials projected a cost of millions of USD, the city incurred a debt of billions in USD, the highest cost overrun on record for any Olympics. The 2012 London Olympics faced similar costs challenges to Britain as the preempted total costs in preparation of the games was said to 4 billion USD yet it turned out to be 19 billion USD or more, (Zimbalist, 2010). Moreover, the government was unsuccessful in finding a rugby or soccer team to be the stadium’s anchor tenants after the Olympics, which then lead to the result of taxpayer’s money maintaining the stadium.

Upgrading special nature competition venues such as for luge run, bicycle racing and bobsled are costly. Seating capacities for large sports events such are the Olympics need exceptionally large stadia especially those hosting opening and closing ceremonies. The Summer Olympic Games often require stadia that can capacitate 100,000 or more speculators. It takes time between bidding and actual hosting a sports event. At this phase, land rates and construction costs appreciate and competition between the bidders arise, with proponents under representing the actual costs of development to match competitor proposals when seeking public endorsement. When the cost supersedes the budget, the tax payer ends up paying to maintain the establishments.

Many NGOs in sports and development are run in a partnership, whereby an autonomous national government organization funds a scheme that is then run by an NGO that receives funding, advertising, technical support and networking assistance from governments, development agencies or sports federations. As a result, sports and these sport-in-development
initiatives are endorsed as being non-political and successful agendas and for bringing together opposing and disparate groups in developmental policy making. Mathare Youth Sports Association (MYSA), Right to Play and Streetfootballworld are examples of NGOs that are sports plus and sport first.

Stewart and Outram (2015) argue that the relationship between sport and good health has made sport a crucial point for both private and public investments in the form of sponsorships, grants, partnerships and advertising. Such investments are positive when it leads to higher levels of healthy food and drinks and also increased levels of exercise. Contrary to that, sports is sometimes a threat to development for the targeted beneficiaries. Corporate partners may sometimes use their agendas primarily to promote their own concerns whereby some multinational corporations have been accused of using their sport funding to raise their profile.

Levermore (2008) argues that tobacco companies continue to finance many sporting events around the world, especially in less developed countries which often have flexible rules on advertising and sponsorship and where smoking levels are higher as compared to developed countries. This has damaging effects to the population as many are driven towards consuming the product as opposed to acknowledging the sponsors that finance sports events.

These companies also sponsor international sports events globally. The association of sponsorships and sport can also help to propagate the popularity of unhealthy products, such as fast foods, tobacco, soft drinks, alcohol, supplements and also gambling. Soft drinks, beer and fast food company logos such as McDonalds and Coca-Cola were visible in mega sports
events such as in the 2012 London Olympics and Coca-Cola and Budweiser in the FIFA World Cup. The prominent display of trademarks in sports events are brands strategies to market themselves and a way of professing their proud sponsorship to an event.

Campaigns to remove or restrict tobacco sponsorship from sport, such as the European Union (EU) Legislation and reports by the World Health Organization (WHO) have been effective although not completely successful. The EU legislation makes it an offense for tobacco companies to sponsor sports events. The tobacco advertising ban started in the 1970s in Germany and has spread globally ever since despite it being still legitimate in Monaco and China.

Britton and Grant-Braham (2011) argue that the sponsorship of Formula 1 (F1) motor racing that is an indirect tobacco advertising strategy was prohibited by the 2005 European Union Tobacco Advertising Directive. With the exception of Scuderia Ferrari team, most F1 tobacco sponsorships have been ceased in the EU. The Malboro logo was replaced by a barcode sign in 2007 which was claimed by Ferrari as a livery of the car, as opposed to a Malboro advertisement.

2.6 Sports diplomacy and states’ peaceful interactions

State and non-state actors recognise sports diplomacy as a peaceful tool in international relations. It is a strategy used for domestic and international peace, aiding in nation building, peace building, building trust and reconciliation within and between countries. The Olympics is a leading example of using sport for diplomatic purposes, originally aimed to serve as a truce mechanism for nations to bond in order to foster world peace and understanding during
times of violence and war.

South Africa hosted the Rugby World Cup in 1995, after the fall of the Apartheid regime. Gates and Nygård (2013) argue that Nelson Mandela used the games to champion South Africa’s unity, transitioning Rugby from a predominantly white sport to sport for all. The games was a step towards South Africa’s integration and reconciliation post-Apartheid.

Gates and Nygård (2013) argue that to combat racism, discrimination and intolerance in football, sports clubs use sports events to show their stance on the course. UEFA has anti-racism campaigns designed to influence the actions and opinions of fans and create peaceful attitudes towards others. The UEFA champions League and UEFA Europa League matches have provided avenues to spread anti-racism messages. In 2009, giant screens featured United Against Racism Logo, announcements were made over PA systems at the matches and a 30 second clip on No to Racism was dispayed. Athletes such as Cristiano Ronaldo, Arda Turan, Thomas Buffel, Fraser Forster and Fernando Torres also got involved to convey an image of football that the players represent.

As part of the reconciliation process, Rwanda has used sports as a unifying factor after the 1994’s genocide. The Commonwealth (2017) states that Rwanda is using cricket as a reconciliation tool past the 1994 genocide. The Gahanga Cricket Stadium, the first cricket stadium in Rwanda, is constructed close to the genocide’s fields. The stadium’s objective is to boost cricket and be a unifying factor as the players are directly and indirectly victims of the genocide, (The Commonwealth, 2017). Cricket is thus an instrument of peace, uniting people
in the name of sports.

During 2013’s International Forum on Sport for Peace and Development, hosted in New York on June 2013, UN former Secretary General Ban Ki-moon stressed on the distinctive ability of sport to reach peace and development objectives that include health, education and gender equality. The Forum concluded with the recommendation of an International Day of Sport, which would aim to mainstream the contribution of sport to education, human development, healthy lifestyles, and a peaceful world. It was a great success that the General Assembly took up this recommendation and adopted a resolution in August 2013, proclaiming 6th April as the International Day of Sport for Development and Peace.

Security concerns in a host country’s sports event have been a challenge to sports diplomacy. During the 1996 World Cup, Australia and India refused to play in Sri Lanka due to a civil war that had occurred there citing security reasons to players. Britain also refused to play against Zimbabwe in the 2003 World cup as political crisis in Zimbabwe had deepened during that time. Pre-empting a terror attack in Nairobi, New Zealand Cricket Board pulled out of the cricket game in Kenya in 2003, prioritizing safety to players before the game.

Nichol, Halchin, Rollins, Tiersky and Woehrel (2014) argue that the human rights violations and terrorism in Russia ahead of the 2014 Paralympics and Olympic Winter Games were challenges anticipated on the risks on visitors and athletes that would participated in the games in Sochi. Concerns also arose on the US participation in the games due to tensions in the US-Russia relations. However, the games were successful with no security concerns.
With Taiwan’s exclusion from key international organisations as a result of the China factor, sports diplomacy acts as a creative strategy to project itself internationally by boosting dialogue and cooperation with foreign countries. The Global Taiwan Brief (2017) reported that President Tsai Ing-wen appointed seven ambassadors to promote Taiwan’s culture abroad, which included a former Olympic medalist to advocate for Taiwan’s sports culture.

Sports is a powerful tool in international development. With the inherent values of equal opportunities for boys and girls, teamwork and fair play and building self-esteem, sports can be a means of promoting peace. Campaigns showcasing the unifying power of sports seek to nurture community based programs, enhance integration, cohesion and exchange for peaceful relations in the society involved.

In 2012, the World Bank organized a football tournament, the Great Lakes Peace Cup, in Kampala with the aim of helping former youth combatants rebuild relationships with their neighboring countries and communities through football, (sportanddev.org, 2014). The Peace cup also aimed to break down barriers and prejudice left behind after years of conflict. The teams consisted of community members and former combatants. Other countries involved included Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo and Rwanda.

The tournament contributed to teamwork, understanding, and friendship among participating players, who may have not united peacefully without the game and at worst harbored resentment and enmity. The football tournament within the four African nations demonstrates that the stigma of having taken part in combat can be eradicated by humanizing ex-combatants.
and their host communities through collective social action that can begin to repair the social fabric torn apart by years of violent conflict.

Nelson Mandela stated that sport, has the power to unite in a way that little else does and that sport can create hope where there was once despair. With the help of the 1995 Rugby World Cup, Mandela unified a nation that was on the path to civil war. Nelson Mandela and South Africa stand as proof that sport is a vital means to help the healing of traumatized nations and its peoples.

Sport for Development’s concept is that sport is not just an end in itself, but also an effective tool to achieve goals in health, education, gender equality, HIV and AIDS and child protection. UNICEF recognizes that sport and play can be powerful tools for working with vulnerable and disadvantaged children. Regular physical activity is essential for the psychological, physical, and social development of children and teens. Sport is also acknowledged as an ideal entry point for community, child and youth programmes. In South Africa, UNICEF noted a dramatic decline in school violence in communities where schools participated in the Sport for Development program. UNICEF (2012) report stated that a number of schools registered an 80-percent drop in violent incidents since.

In health, international organizations rely on athletes to raise awareness through public interest campaigns. In November 2014, the World Bank partnered with FIFA and the World Health Organization (WHO) to organize an awareness-building campaign in the fight against Ebola in West Africa. The campaign brought together football players such as Cristiano Ronaldo and
Didier Drogba to promote preventive measures in the communities affected by the epidemic.

Nigeria, through FIFA’s Football for Hope initiative, has used football as a cohesive tool, to impact lives and tackle problems faced by people with intellectual disabilities such as discrimination, fear, social stigma, exploitation, prejudice and exclusion from family or social life, in a fun and interactive learning environment. Special Olympics Nigeria (2017) stated that the initiative was previously designed to focus on empowering and socially integrating people with intellectual disability through unified football training, skills acquisition and competition.

2.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter examined the role of sports diplomacy in foreign policy by examining sports and diplomacy, sports diplomacy and political image, the economic impact of sports diplomacy and sports diplomacy and peaceful relations. The next chapter will analyse the research methodology.
CHAPTER THREE

3.0 METHODOLOGY

This chapter outlines the overall research methodology that was used to carry out the study. This includes the research design, target population, sample size, data collection methods, research procedures, data analysis and presentation.

3.1 Research Design

This study used qualitative research design to answer the research questions and descriptive research design that involved a case study, for an in-depth study of a phenomenon. Twycross and Heale (2018) define a case study as a systematic investigation of a unit or complex phenomena in which a researcher increases understanding by exploring data using variables. This study uses Kenya as a case study. Qualitative research design involves a comprehensive analysis of published content and unpublished content showing how Kenya uses sports diplomacy in promoting the state’s foreign policy goals. The content in the study is derived from historical, comparative and current literature.

3.2 Target Population

Alvi (2016) defines target population as homogeneous or heterogeneous participants who meet a specified criterion in a research investigation. This study comprised of sportspeople and government officials from the Ministry of Sports, Culture and Heritage departments and agencies, whose roles and responsibilities fall within the realm of sports diplomacy and Kenya’s foreign policy. The sports agencies include Sports Kenya, National Sports Fund and Department of Sports.
3.3 Sampling size and design

Alvi (2016) defines sampling as the process of extracting a representative unit from the population. The sampling size of this study involved 40 participants that represented Kenya’s athletes in the study. The conclusions drawn were generalizable to the population. They comprised of sports officers, coaches, and sports people who were found through referrals from various sports bodies governing sports in Kenya and from fellow sportspeople. The sampling unit was based on sportspeople participating in athletics, as well as officials from the Ministry of Sports, Culture and Heritage Department of Sports, Sports Kenya and National Sports Fund.

The study employed two sampling techniques purposive sampling and snowballing techniques. Purposive sampling was used to select the state agency, Ministry of Sports, Culture and Heritage department- Department of Sports as well as sports state agencies, Sports Kenya (SK) and National Sports Fund (NSF) that directly and indirectly relate to sports diplomacy in Kenya. The criteria used in identifying participants revolved around policies, roles and sport activities vis-a-vis promotion of Kenya foreign policy goals through sports diplomacy. Snowballing was used to reach the sampling unit, which was not readily available to the researcher. The chain method involved the researcher approaching the first participant, who later referred the researcher to the next participant.

3.4 Data collection methods

This section outlines the data collection methods used by the researcher.
3.4.1 Instruments of Data Collection

The researcher conducted open ended, face to face interviews with Kenya’s sportspeople and officials from Ministry of Sports, Culture and Heritage department- Department of Sports, who provided reliable information on promotion of Kenya’s foreign policy through sports diplomacy. Focus group discussions with Kenya sportspeople provided perceived information on their exchange and experience during international sporting events. Observation was also used by the researcher to vet if the information disclosed by the participants was genuine, based from the body language expressions during the interactive process of interviews and focus group discussions. Tools of data collection included taking short notes by the researcher as well as recording via a mobile phone.

3.4.2 Data Sources

This study utilized both primary and secondary sources of data. The primary data involved data from interviews of key participants from the Ministry of Sports, Culture and Heritage, Department of Sports, NSF and SK, Kenya’s sportspeople as well as focus group discussions from Kenya sportspeople that are currently active in sports. The secondary data drew from published reports, Kenya’s Foreign Policy, electronic sources, books, journals and official websites, as reference materials used in the study.

3.5 Data Analysis

Content analysis was applied in analyzing Kenya’s sport diplomacy and foreign policy. The interviews and focus group discussions were transcribed, and then analyzed in descriptive and narrative text.
3.6 Ethical Considerations

The research involved human subjects and as such was the need for ethical consideration. The study factored the approval from USIU-A research office and a research permit from National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI). Informed consent was administered to all study participants before any information was collected from them. The researcher guaranteed full discretion of the information disclosed during the interview and assured the participants of using the data collected for only academic purposes. The study upheld privacy and confidentiality of all study participants besides ensuring safety of storage of data collected both in hard and soft copies. Informed consent ensured that respondents participated voluntarily.

3.7 De-limitations and Limitations of the study

Obtaining detailed information from Kenya sportspeople through focus group discussions was a challenge in that, they were hesitant in giving the full experience especially on matters doping. The researcher successfully located Kenya’s sportspeople on athletics as opposed to rugby, volleyball, hockey, football and cricket as initially proposed. However, interviews of key sportspeople and focus group discussions were successfully carried out in Kasarani Sports Complex, on athletics by getting participants from short distance running, sprint and javelin.

The researcher found difficulty in getting appointments from expert interviews from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade and Ministry of Sports, Culture and Heritage agencies such as Anti-Doping Agency of Kenya and Kenya Academy of Sports for a full detailed review on how these agencies work together with the Government of Kenya to promote Kenya’s foreign policy through sports diplomacy.
The researcher had earlier proposed 100 participants but managed to find 40, who represented the target population during collection of data. Time construct was a challenge in collecting enough data for the study as well as getting the maximum number of Kenya’s sportspeople from various sports that have been used by Kenya in its diplomatic relations with other countries.
CHAPTER 4

4.0 DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the study with respect to the three research questions. This chapter therefore examines the results of the study relating to the influence of sports diplomacy on Kenya’s political image, the economic impact of sports diplomacy on Kenya’s foreign policy and the extent to which sports diplomacy promotes peaceful interactions between Kenya and her neighbors.

4.2 Response and General Information

4.2.1 Response rate

The sample of the study was 40 participants from Team Kenya, consisting of representatives from Ministry of Sports, Culture and Heritage- Sports Department and also sportspeople. Six interviews from key participants, which included two interviews from the Ministry of Sports, Culture and Heritage representatives and four interviews of Kenya international sports people, as well as four focus group discussions from sportspeople helped with the findings. This represented 40 percent response rate. Other participants were not covered because of their unavailability and time constraint. All participants in both interviews and focus group discussions asked for anonymity in transcribing text, which was respected by the researcher.

4.2.2 General information

Participants from the Ministry of Sports, Culture and Heritage, Department of Sports, were key participants in the study. (Anonymous, 2019) stated that this department deals with
marketing and development of Kenya’s sports as a tool for national branding. Another interview was from Kenya’s former sprint player turned coach. She had represented Kenya in international sports events from 1999 to 2007 and is currently an athlete coach as from 2010.

Other participants were sportspeople who have represented Kenya internationally in Javelin and in 200-meter athletics and have won silver and bronze. The researcher chose to interview those specific sportspeople due to referrals, which was part of the snowballing technique. Focus group discussions involved a group of coaches, upcoming sportspeople and established sportspeople whose insight on the use of sportspeople as a pivotal sports diplomacy strategy aided the conclusions made by the researcher.

4.3 Kenya’s sports diplomacy

Kenya’s foreign policy elaborates a pre-empted direction towards realization of Kenyan aspirations as well as the evolution of international relations since independence, giving a critical role to foreign policy in achieving her national priorities. In pursuit of a more prosperous, peaceful and internationally competitive Kenya, innovative diplomacy is used to project, protect and promote Kenya’s image and interests globally contributing to a just and equitable global community as embodied in the constitution, the national anthem and Kenya’s vision 2030. To maximize benefits from diplomatic engagement, sports diplomacy is a vital tool in shaping Kenya’s engagement and interaction regionally and internationally.

In the process of upgrading and developing sports in Kenya, Sports Kenya has projects underway in the realization of some of Kenya vision 2030 flagship projects such as the
International Sports Academy and Regional Stadia. The International Sports Academy once effective, is said to have the capacity to serve as a talent identification and nurturing centre that will benefit mass sport and high performance sport, (Anonymous, 2019). Regional stadia preempted to be complete in 2019 are the Eldoret Kipchoge Keino stadium and the Mombasa Municipal Stadium. Operationalization and maximization of these stadia will increase Kenya’s potential to host more international games in the future that will help in nation branding, economic prosperity and cohesion, which are part of Kenya’s foreign policy goals, (Anonymous, 2019).

Kenya’s gaming industry is dynamic and has benefitted from technological advancements in short message services especially in prize competitions and lotteries. The gaming industry is licensed and controlled by the Betting Control and Licensing Board under the Betting Lotteries and Gaming Act, Chapter 131 of 2016. Lotteries and Gaming Act (2018) provides regulations on the control and licensing of betting and gaming options, for the authorizing of public lotteries, prize competitions and control of illegal gambling. Gambling in Kenya has taken several forms that include; sports betting, public lotteries, bookmaking, casino gambling and prize competitions.

International betting firms such as, Betway and Betin have established in Kenya tapping into the ready market. SportPesa, one of Kenya’s most profitable online sports betting companies, state huge profits and are proud sponsors of football teams and English Premierships in Everton and Hull City, (Cardovillis, 2018). SportPesa also support local and international partnerships in motorsports, football, rugby and boxing.
Sports academies have been key in developing sport prowess in Kenya, especially in soccer however, best trained players play for local teams and some opt to play for international teams. Kenya Sports Academies such as Liberty Sports Academy and JMJ Academy have nurtured sports talents with the likes of Michael Olunga and Victor Wanyama playing for Japanese Club Kashiwa Reysol and Tottenham respectively. Other Kenyan sports academies that have produced international soccer players include FISA Soccer Academy (Paul Were-Greece Football League) and Ligi Ndogo Soccer Club (Ayub Masika-Chinese Super League).

4.4 Role of sports diplomacy in promoting Kenya’s political image

Part of Kenya’s foreign policy objectives is to project Kenya’s image and prestige and promote multilateralism. Sports diplomacy through the power of soft attraction is a boost to achieving these foreign policy objectives through nation branding, integration and international relations. This is to increase Kenya’s visibility and appeal and promoting the Kenya brand making the world aware of Kenya’s positive aspects.

4.4.1 Nation branding

Kenya uses sports in shaping its public opinion and reputation thus its global brand. This is through initiatives that encompass its political system and ideologies, its diplomatic infrastructure, cultural output and its appeal to business. Agencies such as Brand Kenya and state leaders such as Ambassadors and Cabinet Secretaries as well as sportspeople therefore act towards promoting Kenya as a brand. This is through soft power, bearing in mind that a positive image can lead to more economic benefits in sports tourism and foreign investments.
Kenya being a developing country thrives for more visibility in the global community and better image because of socio-economic challenges and war on terror, thus need for nation branding.

National branding through sports diplomacy involves hosting, participating and organizing sports events where victories in sports is regarded with prestige and enhances international image. This is an opportunity for a city, a country or a region is able to show off and present its facilities to an international audience.

Track and field has put the Kenya on the map and boosted its athletic brand. This agrees with the works of Gates and Nygård (2013) who argue that good performance in international sports events enhance a state’s prestige, with domination in Olympics and world marathons. Kenya has racked up an impressive medal count in the Olympic Games thanks to its athletes like Eliud Kipchoge, Jemima Sumgong and Faith Kipyegon. Other sports such as cycling, touch rugby and ice hockey thrive in Kenya, however not so popular because of the less number of athletes as compared to athletics. James Mwaura made history in being the first African to be shortlisted for the 2018 Redbull Trans-Siberian Extreme, a bicycle cycling race, that was hosted in Russia. Such achievements promote Kenya’s brand as a sporting nation.

Kenya had its best Olympic performance in the 2016’s Rio Olympics in terms of medal count. Kenya was the best in Africa and second best in the world after the US. Kenya is also a strong power when it comes to long distance running with a roster of world record breakers including Kipchoge Keino, Catherine Ndereba, Samuel Wanjiru, Tegla Laroupe, and Paul Tergat. Kenya
is also known for Javelin, with Julius Yego being Africa’s and Kenya’s star in Javelin.

The President of the Republic of Kenya hands over the national flag to teams or individual athletes travelling abroad to represent Kenya in international sports competitions. Handing over the Kenyan flag to sports people by the President is a motive of nation branding in host. Branding sports gear with Kenya’s Flag, raising the flag at international events and playing of the National Anthem during award ceremonies in sports events is also Kenya’s national branding strategy.

Participating in events like the Olympic Games, Rugby World Cup, FIFA World Cup, Africa Games and East Africa Games gives Kenya the opportunity to display its national flag and have its representatives march during the opening and closing ceremonies, alongside more powerful states. Such presence is recognized globally, with the help of the internet in streaming live through channels such as FirstRowSports or through international television broadcasts such as Supersport. This is vital to states, whose international presence is contested by other actors, such as Kosovo or Taiwan or developing countries such as Kenya.

Breaking of world records has put Kenya on the map making the country more popular with sportspeople like Eliud Kipchoge in the Berlin 2018 world marathon (men’s marathon world record), Beatrice Chepkoech in the 2018- 10th IAAF Diamond League (world steeplechase world record) and Mary Keitany in the 2017 London Marathon (women’s- only world record). Other Kenyan sportspeople that have broken world records include David Rudisha, Peres Jepchirchi, Patrick Makau, Dennis Kimetto, Wilson Kipsang and Florence Kiplagat. In 2004,
Kenya won 7 medals (gold, silver and bronze) in the Olympics, all medals from athletics, (IAAF, 2005).

The nature of sports and its ability to focus attention on the individual, the sportsperson, and the nation represented has lent far reaching implications on diplomacy. The media attention and national pride gives sportspeople a platform to be prominent spokespeople for public agendas and endorse commercial products for global markets. Paul Tergat, a five-time world cross-country champion was one of the ambassadors for the 35th IAAF World Cross Country Championships. He is a Kenyan long distance runner legend who through his legacy, has been recognized internationally- in 2004, the UN named him a World Food Program Ambassador Against Hunger, and in 2010, he won NYRR’s Abebe Bikila Award, given annually to athletes who have made spectacular contributions to sports distant running.

Sports development in venturing into diverse sports also boosts a country’s image as it is a new venue to represent the country. Kenya had not participated in the Winter Olympics since 2006 however, Sabrina Simader, an alpine skier represented Kenya in the 2018 Winter Olympics in Pyeongchang, (Ondieki, 2018). Philip Boit and Sabrina Simader are the only Kenyans that have represented Kenya in the Winter Olympics.

Building a strong national sports team is another strategy to nation branding. Kenya’s national football team, Harambee stars, has been failing qualifiers for international football tournaments in the recent past. In 2018, Harambee stars qualified in the African Cup of Nations for the first time in 15 years. For morale to the national team, Kenya’s Deputy
President, Dr. William Ruto pledged 50 Million Kenya Shillings (KES) to the team, if they qualified for the 2019 AFCON however, it was not a formal obligation by the Government of Kenya. However, in 2019, Ministry of Sports, Culture and Heritage Cabinet Secretary, Amina Mohammed confirmed that the 50 Million was inclusive of the 244 Million KES submitted to Kenya Football Federation for organizing 2019 AFCON, (Olilo, 2019).

Kenya has realized that it is losing sport potential in international games with Kenyan athletes being suspended from participating in athletic competitions such as the Olympics. Kenya, by virtue of being in category A on countries where doping is predominant as of 2018, was under IAAF jury, therefore strong emphasis on anti-doping and not allowing dopers to represent the Kenya in World Championships and the Olympics is stressed upon by Athletics Kenya, a governing body that clears and sends Kenyan athletes and teams to international championships, (Anonymous, 2019).

National organizations such as Athletics Kenya, in partnership with ADAK pull resources to mobilize Kenyan athletes to denounce cheating in sports to stop cheating cases in sports competitions through awareness and educational campaigns across Kenya. Athletics Kenya in 2018 had a campaign themed, Expose Dopers Save Sport, that was meant to educate the youth on the negative effects of doping that also involved taking vows on denouncing doping and embracing the value of saying no to doping and running clean. Anti-doping is also inline with WADA’s regulations that Kenya has to follow to be allowed to participate in the Olympics.

4.4.2 Soft power

Sport exchange has been Kenya’s strategy towards gaining its sports interests in its relations
with other states, which is a form of cultural exchange. Japan Information & Culture Centre (JICC) (2010) states that the Embassy of Japan in Nairobi offers martial arts classes for free at the Japan Information and Cultural Centre as part of sports corporation with Kenya. Such classes include judo, karate and aikido, Other martial arts classes such as muaythai, aikido, taekwondo and kempo are also practiced in Kenya having been introduced by foreigners.

Wandiga (2016) argues that aikido was introduced in Kenya in 2009 by Sensei Matteusz, which is a branch of Birankai Poland, a mode of training and teaching that follows a Birankai Aikido System. The Japan Embassy has since hosted the aikido group, with trainings and teachings twice a week. In pursuit to further develop aikido in Kenya, another group, the East Africa Aikido Aikaikai established itself in Nairobi and has since opened an aikido academy- Sagana Aikido Academy.

Wandiga (2016) further argues that Kenya-Japan relations lead to the formation of Kenya Aikido Federation (KAF) under the regulations of the International Aikido Federation (IAF) and the World Aikido Headquaters in Tokyo, Japan. Kenya aikido organizations collaborate with the Aiki Mundus Project to organize international aikido seminars for educational and social motives. One was the 2016 Aikido Seminar workshop that was hosted at the Embassy of Japan in Nairobi.

With an effort to promote closer cooperation in Kenya-Thailand relations through sports and culture, diplomatic discussions were made in January 2019 between the former sports Cabinet Secretary Rashid Echesa and Thailand’s Ambassador- H.E. Mr. Cherdkiat Atthakor. The
Royal Thai Embassy in Nairobi in collaboration with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Thailand organized a muaythai roadshow in Kenya, South Africa and Mozambique in February 2019 that aimed to use muaythai as a development and cultural tool to promote people to people contact between African countries and Thailand as well as promote peace among the youth, (Anonymous, 2019).

Bilateral sports contacts help in the development of sports. Kenya has used sports diplomacy as a strategy to promote exchange of sports experts through negotiation and sports cooperation agreements such as Memorandum of Understandings, with interested countries. Through joint commissions, Kenya boosts diplomatic engagements with other countries through sports. This agrees with (Kobierecki, 2017) who stated that sports diplomacy through bilateral sports agreements help in development of sports.

Kenya - Cuba diplomatic relations have been maintained over decades however in 2018, the two states signed a sports exchange memorandum of understanding meant for coaches, physicians and managers to benefit from Cuban experts on areas such as development of coaches, sports medicine, academic exchange on anti-doping, community sports, equipment and training, Esipisu, (2018). The partnership agreement was signed in Cuba by Kenya’s former Cabinet Secretary of Sports, Arts and Heritage, Rashid Echesa and the President of the Cuban Institute of Sports, Physical Education and Recreation (INDER), Antonio Eduardo Becali Garrido.

Kenya can benefit from sport development, training of coaches and specialists in various
sports. Cuba is a powerhouse in triple jump, long jump and high jump as well as boxing whereas Kenya dominates athletics. Former Sports Cabinet Secretary, Rashid Echesa, (Esipisu, 2018).

Esipisu (2018) reported that the Kenya- Cuba sports exchange targeted Cuba in offering Kenya training in volleyball, track and field events and boxing. Kenya would then offer Cuban coaches and athletes opportunities to train at high altitude training facilities in Kenya. Multilaterally, President Uhuru Kenyatta was expected to support Cuba in its campaign for a complete removal of economic sanctions by the US meanwhile, Cuba would support Kenya’s candidature in the UN Security Council non-permanent seat for the timeline 2021-2022, (Anonymous, 2019).

Kenya - China relations have also been boosted through sports. Wandera (2018) reported that in July 2018, Kenya Table Tennis Association (KTTA) sent 25 players to train in China ahead of 2019’s tennis international tournaments. Players and officials from the Oshwal Sports Complex Table Tennis Club trained in the Zhengding International Table Tennis Training Centre for a one month training in the Chinese national team training grounds. The junior players between 8 to 17 years were trained and updated on the latest playing technics, with the effort of developing tennis stars, making Kenya a tennis powerhouse in Africa. This was a step towards improving the player’s skills and giving Kenya’s tennis players international exposure in an attempt to raise the sport’s profile.

4.4.3 International relations

Kenya has participated in continental and international games showing its friendly relations in
sport exchange as athletes negotiate, communicate and represent the country on and off the field. Kenya has participated in the Summer and Winter Olympic Games, German Championships, World Cup Africa qualifiers, the International Cricket Council (ICC) Cricket World Cup, All-Africa Games, African Games, IAAF World Relays, Rugby Sevens Championships, Zone 4.2 Individual Chess Championships, World Rally Championships, Africa Motorcross, Paralympics, Deaflympics, East Africa Hockey 5s, and among other sports events.

An Austria-Kenya cooperation project, ACAKORO Community Based Organization (CBO), is a football project based in Korogocho slum in Nairobi. Formed in 2013, it targets the children of the area, the ACAKORO children, and provides training facilities, provides school fees and school uniforms for them. The project aims to use football for the development of the ACAKORO children. The football team has participated in football events in Germany and Austria and some team players have attended football training with coaches from FC Southampton in Kenya in 2016.

In 2012, Kenya, among other Subsaharan countries and palestinian territories was invited by UNOSDP to participate in the second UNOSDP Youth Leadership Camp in Germany. The International Paralympic Committee report (2012), stated that the event was a transformative learning experience that enhanced the skills of the participants on how to use sports to social change, development and peace.

Galway Kenya Run, organized by the Local Irish Authority, the Kenya Community in County
Galway and the Kenya mission in Dublin expresses Kenya-Ireland relations via sports diplomacy. The 2013 run involved visits to schools where Kenya’s 800m World Record Recorder, David Rudisha, gave talks to Irish students and competed in a series of events. This was aimed to raise funds for charities that include Self Help Africa. Self Help Africa (2013) reported that the Galway Kenya Run, 2013, was an avenue to celebrate Kenya at 50 celebrations, showcase Kenya’s athletic talent and to encourage the Irish youth to embrace athletics.

4.5 Economic role of sports diplomacy on Kenya’s foreign policy

Kenya’s sports diplomacy has made possible development projects, job creation, infrastructure development, sports sponsorships, investments and sports tourism. Funds generated from hosting international events, transfer fees, entry fees, taxes, training fees, sports tourism, tenders and sports equipment procurement, all lead to economic growth of Kenya’s economy.

4.5.1 Hosting international events

Hosting of international events benefits the locals in that, food, accommodation, medical cover, ticketing and training grounds are provided by the host city. This helps grow a city in that it costs to acquire service provisions such as food, hotels, tickets and transport. The Government of Kenya through the Ministry of Sports Culture and Heritage has at times fully sponsored national teams or individual sportspeople representing Kenya in international events. The Government of Kenya has had its challenges in fund allocation and distribution but has also had its successes in supporting sportspeople through fully funded sports events.

Nairobi Club hosted the Davis Cup Africa Zone Group III Tennis Championship in June 2018.
This event attracted players from Cameroon, Rwanda, Uganda, Namibia, Algeria, Nigeria and Mozambique. Sponsorships from Magic Kenya and the Ministry of Sports, Culture and Heritage helped support Tennis Kenya in the event, (Ayodi, 2018). Kenya also hosts friendly matches in its national stadiums so as to improve the player’s competitiveness in high profile games. Such tournaments include the November 2018 Kenya Basketball Federation’s (KBF) Playoffs in Nyayo National Stadium, a basketball friendly match with Uganda and Cameroon.

In the process of upgrading and developing its activities, Sports Kenya has projects underway in the realization of some of Kenya vision 2030 flagship projects such as the International Sports Academy and Regional Stadia. The International Sports Academy once effective, is said to have the capacity to serve as a talent identification and nurturing centre that will benefit mass sport and high performance sport. Regional stadia targeted in 2019 are the Eldoret Kipchoge Keino stadium and the Mombasa Municipal Stadium. Operationalization and competence of these stadia will increase Kenya’s potential to host more international games in the future that will help in nation branding, economic prosperity and cohesion, which are part of Kenya’s foreign policy goals.

4.5.2 Sports tourism

Sports tourism is an aspect countries have embraced by hosting games, building stadia and taking advantage of their recognized sports people to create revenue for the country. Commercialization of sports has been maximized to generate revenue from natural existing sports platforms. Kenya is a sports destination providing high altitude training camps, rugby action at the Safari Sevens Rugby tournament, golfing on the courses and diving in the tropical waters of the coast. Kenya is home to world class athletic champions, safari rally
enthusiasts, rugby sevens team but football is the most popular spectator sport such as the English Premier League, (Cardovillis, 2018).

Vasconcelos (2012) argues that in hosting sports events, there is additional publicity in spreading the nation’s culture. This agrees with the sentiments of the Lamu population, in hosting annual festivals that highlight their culture to the rest of the world. The Lamu Cultural Festival is a community-based festival aimed to promote the Swahili culture, to promote the uniqueness of the people and the beauty of the Island. Sports competitions that stem from the Lamu people such as donkey and dhow races, characterized the 2018 Lamu Cultural Festival, (Williams, 2018). Tourists and locals were part of the cultural event cheering and betting on the sport. Cultural exchanges during the festival are soft power tools of sports diplomacy.

Sports tourism thrives from marketing a country’s brand internationally. Kenya has sports heroes that have defected to play for foreign teams and this boosts sports tourism. This inspires foreigners to consider visiting home countries of Kenyan stars playing internationally such Victor Wanyama, Kenyan Record Holder javelin champion- Mr. Youtube, Julius Yego, World Record Holders such as David Rudisha - 800 meters and Super Bantamweight Champion, Fatuma Zarika. Kenya sportspeople that also win in international championships and tournaments, making and breaking world records also help in sports tourism as they attract an international fan base that might want to trace the roots of their star.

Construction of stadia has given Kenya a upper hand in future bidding to host bigger and more international sports events. Renovations of overused stadia is a step closer towards
maintaining stadia that can be used to host regional and international sport events. Reconstruction of the Gusii, Machakos and Moi Kinoru stadium demonstrates Kenya’s role in development of sports. Tennis Kenya Training Centre (TKTC), a host of the International Tennis Federation (ITF), is proposed to be constructed in Kasarani Sports Complex, (Anonymous, 2019). With 10 acres already set aside for the training center, a second of its kind in Africa after Morocco’s, the center is aimed to put Kenya on the map in regards to international tennis, (Anonymous, 2019). When it hosts tennis events, the center is aimed to be a tennis hub for Eastern and Southern Africa and will thus generate revenue through sports tourism.

The construction of five stadia as proposed by the 2013 Jubilee administration development plan was not successful at the end of the first term however, future sports development is preempted with plans developed and approved. The upgrade and rehabilitation of stadia such as the Mombasa Municipal Stadium, Kisumu Moi stadium and Uasin Gishu Kipchoge Keino stadium was completed with plans to rehabilitate Chuka, Marsabit, Wote, Kamariny, Karatu Ndarugu and Rirungu stadia in progress as of 2019. This proves that the Jubilee government is keen in its delivery in sports development to achieve sports diplomacy objectives through hosting of sports events in these stadia.

Kenya has lost bids to host sports events due to lack of proper facilities that are up to FIFA and IAAF standards of sport federations and this has been a loss for the country. In 2017, Kenya’s bid to host the African Nations Championship (CHAN), was dismissed because the Confederation of African Football deemed Kenya’s sport facilities unimpressive due to poor
sports infrastructure, (Andiva, 2018). National leagues such as the National Super League and the Kenya Premiere league also struggled because of unavailability of stadia during the same year due to refurbishment of the Nyayo and Kasarani stadia with remaining facilities being subjected to overuse, (Anonymous, 2019).

To address shortage of recreational facilities and to encourage further development of sports, Kenya is to construct four new state of the art stadia as per FIFA standards, reported to be located in Dandora, Kariorkor, Jacaranda grounds and Kihumbini, (Andiva, 2018). Public swimming pools and cricket, football and basketball stadia are also planned to be constructed in Nairobi County.

Kenya has used safari rally to attract sports enthusiasts and competitors to the East African Safari Classic rally. In 2019, Kenya will host the 9th edition of the rally which will transverse between Kenya and Tanzania. To sponsor the event, the Kenya Wildlife Service, Safaricom and Sarova Hotels will capitalize by facilitating the event, (Andiva, 2018). The safari rally started in 1953 as the East African Coronation Safari, a celebration of the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II. It first happened with three starts between Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania

Kenya has a great landscape for high altitude training, canoeing, golf, and kayaking. Adventure camps have capitalized on these experiences and do provide services to help tourists navigate through the landscape. Kayaking sessions are provided by institutions such as Savage Wilderness and Tudor Creek that offer kayaking sessions to beginners, intermediate and advanced learners.
Rafting is also done in the Kenyan waters of Tana River, Athi River and Mathioya River. Such activities attract tourists to venture in the sporting activities. Rapids Camp Sagana hosted the 2008 Africa Olympic Qualifier Kayaking Games and provides kayaking services at the Sagana River. The high altitude areas of Iten and Eldoret provide good grounds for athlete training and an opportunity to train with Kenyan athletic champions. With temperate weather to nourish gold courses, Kenya is has a great golf escape and hosts a PGA-approved gold course, Vipingo Ridge Baobab Course. Kenya is also a proud recipient of the Best Undiscovered Golf Destination 2009, (IGTWA, 2008) an IAGTO award, that represents Kenya’s international recognition as a sports destination.

4.5.3 Investments

Sports betting has been embraced by Kenyans over the years and is even more marketable because of the ease of making a bet. Traditionally, placing a bet would have one walking to a betting shop but currently, online betting sites have made it easier and convenient to place a bet via a mobile phone or a computer desktop. International betting sites such as Betin, IXBET Kenya and Betway Kenya have established in Kenya and offer betting options from local to international games as well as banking options such as web wallets, bank transfers, Mpesa and Airtel Money. Making deposits and withdrawals to these betting sites shows circulation of money in the economy. These are investments to the Kenyan market tapping into the economic potential in establishing their brand in Kenya.

Sportspeople attract investments in that, the media attention and national pride that they attract allows them to endorse commercial products for the global market. Also, investments by sportspeople in their home towns help in the economic growth of towns through tapping into
ready markets. Eldoret town has sprout due to the investments made by Kenya athletes in real estate. These athletes have made a fortune by winning international sports athletics, breaking world records and winning World Marathon Major Series. Real estate investments by Kenya sportspeople include Winstar Hotel, Grandpri Hotel, Johannesburg Plaza and Rotterdam Centre.

(Gichane, 2012) reported that Kenya launched a campaign to market Kenya in the 2012 London Olympics. The board secured a four storey building dubbed, Kenya House, to showcase Kenya as an investment, trade and tourism destination in Africa. The campaign leveraged Kenya athletes to attract investors and foreign journalists to showcase investments projects that Kenya was unveiling in tourism, hospitality, energy and infrastructure.

With the introduction of broadband internet in 2009, digital infrastructure developed in Kenya, paving way for digital sports avenues such as eSports. Esports is popular in Kenya, tapping into the ready market of online gaming, with gaming cafes and gaming companies coming up in Kenya, and hosting international gaming competitions. By the end of 2013, Kenya’s gaming industry was worth 44 million USD as per the estimates of PricewaterhouseCoopers, (Kahongeh, 2018).

Corporate sponsorships from companies such as the Asus, NRG Radio, Liquid Telecom Group, have helped in growth of eSports in Kenya, providing high speed internet connections and technological expertise during gaming competitions in Nairobi. Gaming organizing companies such as Vivid Gold, Tekken 254 and Pro Series Gaming have come up with
tournaments that have brought together gamers from the East Africa region due to esports.

The Pro Series Gaming had a tournament in Nairobi, Mortal Kombat XL brought together 39 gamers from East Africa, with a winning cash price 1 million KES, the highest in the region as of 2018. Silvia Gathoni Wahome was the first Kenyan pro gamer to be signed to a eSports club, XiT Woundz, after participating in Tekken 254 tournament in Nairobi (Nyabera, 2018). Her international exposure promotes Kenya and opens up opportunities for eSports in Kenya through investments. Kenya is set to launch a national eSports league in July 2019.

Tours and travel agencies help market Kenya, using their platforms to showcase Kenya’s pride and prestige, to attract domestic and foreign tourists. Victoria Safaris organizes sports related excursions for groups and individuals in high altitude training areas of Iten. Bountiful Safaris create packages such as Dubai Sevens for fans to travel abroad to cheer on Kenyan teams.

4.5.4 Development projects

Kenya has used sports to generate funds for development courses. Initiatives such as the Lewa Marathon and the Beyond Zero Marathon are annual marathons aimed to support their intended course, attracting and involving foreigners to participate in the events. Beyond Zero Half Marathon is an initiative by Kenya’s First Lady Margaret Kenyatta. It is aimed to raise funds to increase access to healthcare for mothers and babies as well as creating awareness on challenges of infant and maternal health in Kenya. Ethiopia’s former Prime Minister, Hailemariam Desalegn, was in attendance at the March 2019 Marathon that kicked off in Nyayo National Stadium in Nairobi. The marathon consisted of a Paralympic race, a marathon, as well as walking race. The First Lady works with the UN and continues to do so
through conveyance of policy and partnerships towards universal health coverage.

The Lewa Marathon is an initiative of the Lewa Wildlife Conservancy and Tusk Trust in partnership with Safaricom. It is an internationally acclaimed annual marathon that started in 2000 and will host its 20th edition in June 2019 in the Lewa Wildlife Conservancy in Kenya. Lewa Wildlife Conservancy (2019) stated that the 2019 marathon’s aim is to raise KES 100 Million, which is twenty times the raised amount in 2000, to support its various projects. Grants have been previously disbursed to other community conservancies and projects in Kenya’s Coastal, Riftvalley and Northern Kenya regions resulting to the sustained growth of endangered species such as the mountain bongo, grevy’s zebra, green turtle, the white and black rhino. Raised funds support wildlife conservation, education programs and community development.

4.6 Role of Sports diplomacy in promoting peaceful interactions between Kenya and her neighbors

To project the values and aspirations of Kenya’s people, Kenya has used sports events to project Kenya’s celebration of diversity, peace and stability as well as unity and prestige via peaceful coexistence with her neighbors and peaceful resolution of conflicts by peaceful means.

4.6.1 Integration

The EAC Military Games and Cultural Event is an annual event geared towards cooperation and solidarity through culture and military sports among EAC countries. The joint event is intended to nurture espirit de corps and confidence among EAC defence forces. The Kenya
Ministry of Defence (2016) stated that Kenya was represented by the former Vice Chief of Defence Forces Lieutenant General Joseph Kasaon in the opening of the 10th EAC Military Games hosted in Kigali and the Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) as players in the competitive games.

The Kenya Ministry of Defence (2016) further reported that the game sought to boost a permanent bond anchored on the sport’s theme, one people one destiny. The competitive sports included handball, netball, basketball, athletics and football. Kenya has previously hosted the EAC Military games in 2013 and hosted again in 2017. In the 2017 games, Kenya Defence Forces represented Kenya in cross country, netball, football, basketball and handball in the 11th Military Games and Cultural Event in Bujumbura, all in effort for sports diplomacy within EAC.

Corporate brands in Kenya have also contributed to sports diplomacy in the East Africa region. KCB Bank has a professional club that organises tournaments in chess, football, autocross, rally, golf and volleyball, incorporating players from South Sudan, Uganda and Tanzania and Rwanda. In 2018, the club hosted the KCB Chess Open Championship with participants from Kenya, Somalia, Uganda and Sudan (Capital FM Sports, 2018).

KCB Bank also has a safari rally which is part of the Africa Rally Challenge circuit that is hosted in Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Rwanda, Zambia, Tanzania, Uganda and South Africa. In 2009, the KCB East Africa Rally challenge incorporated Kenya’s KCB Safari Rally, Rwanda’s KCB Mountain Gorilla Rally and Uganda’s KCB Pearl of Africa Rally, (Sambu,
2009). Between 2003 and 2013, the rally series took place across Kenya, showing togetherness in the East African Community through sports diplomacy.

4.6.2 Interaction with neighbors

The Tegla Loroupe Peace Foundation uses peace races, for peace objectives, within the Karamajong cluster region of Kenya, Ethiopia, North Eastern Uganda and South Sudan. Established in 2013, the organization’s goal is to support and further agendas that promote poverty reduction, peacebuilding and conflict resolution that flourish from civil strife and conflict, (IAAF, 2005). This is done through initiatives, meant to improve the resilience and livelihood of the victims in the Horn of Africa through sports. (Rotich, 2018) reported that the 15th edition of the Tegla Loroupe’s Peace Race involved 200 reformed warriors participating in the 10 kilometer race. Participation of reformed warriors in the run is therefore proof that the peace objectives are met by the Peace Race.

The Tegla Loroupe Peace Academy Centre, is an academy that offers education, vocational training and sports opportunities to orphan children and children from poor families from Eastern Uganda, South Sudan and Northern Kenya, (Wärtsilä Corporation, 2014). The children come from communities with cross-border cattle rustling raids. Despite being a learning institution, the children are encouraged to play sports such as running. Located in Kapenguria, Eastern Kenya, the school’s goal is to educate and nurture the children to be future peace ambassadors in their regions.

Conflict and instability in the East African region inspired an international organization, Streetfootballworld, to join forces with organizations from Kenya, Uganda, Burundi,
Tanzania, South Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo and Ethiopia aiming for peace objectives through football. According to the Streetfootballworld Annual Report 2012, Streetfootballworld seeks to create a peaceful society where all young people have access to empowerment, good health, opportunities and education by permanently strengthening and interconnecting organizations active in football.

The Bujumbura Marathon Organizing Committee (BUMOC) comprised of the Burundi National Tourism Office, Wright Tours and Travel Agency, the Green Belt Action for the Environment (ACVE), the Sports Gym, Burundi National Olympic Committee, and the Embassy of the Republic of Kenya in Burundi, in collaboration, to come up with the Bujumbura Marathon in 31st August 2014. Kenya’s Cultural Diplomacy Strategy 2018-2022 (2017) reported that the Bujumbura Marathon aimed to; celebrate Kenya and Burundi’s close relations especially during Kenya’s jubilee year, nurture and identify Burundi’s marathon talent from the grassroots and to raise funds to aid Northern Bujumbura’s population that was affected by the February 2014’s mudslides and floods.

Athletes from Kenya, Burundi and Congo as well as spectators and sponsors from Burundi and Kenya, merged to participate in the marathon, (Utilisateur, 2014). Kenya’s professional athletes such as Simon Chebon, Wilfred Bungei and Wilson Kipsang conducted a marathon clinic prior the marathon date, to educate the athletes on ways to improve competitiveness and tips to nurture their individual talent to attain athletic professionalism. The Bujumbura Marathon was thus an avenue to promote interaction between Kenya and Burundi through athletics.
In support of South Sudan, Tusker FC represented Kenya in the Peace and Unity event in commemoration of South Sudan’s independence in 2011, (Gachihi, 2015). The soccer match was hosted in South Sudan’s Juba Stadium as South Sudan’s first national sports event. The games were pivotal, showing South Sudan presence in the international system and a victory of its independence from Sudan. Kenya-Sudan relations are also peaceful, using sports for coexistence. Kenya has playoffs and hosts friendly matches playing against Sudan’s team, Al Merreikh, in football matches proving diplomatic ties between the two states.

The first edition of the Lighthouse Machakos Open Chess Tournament was held in 2018, hosted at Machakos School. Players were representatives from South Sudan, Uganda, Somalia and Kenya. (Michieka, 2018) reported that the top boards were broadcasted live on television with the use of DGT e-boards, modern technology that enabled global spectators follow the board game move by move as the players battled it out for victory.

4.6.3 Coexistence

The East Africa Peace Festival by the East Africa Streetfootballworld network gears towards coexistence among East African citizens. The festival is a six-day international football event that brings together girls and boys between 14 to 17 years from organizations in Kenya, Burundi, South Sudan, DRC, Rwanda, Uganda, Ethiopia and Tanzania as well as other regional sports for development organizations, (sportanddev.org, 2014). The festival’s aim is to promote peace between the people, their environment and their culture. The interaction involves a football tournament, leadership advocacy sessions on peace and cultural exchange. In 2014, the festival was held in Kilifi labelled the East Africa Peace Festival 2014, an avenue for cultural exchange to achieve sport diplomacy objectives.
Violent conflicts between pastoral communities in the Uganda, South Sudan and the Kenya border recur. The Cross-Border Peace and Sports Program by International Sports Alliance (ISA) occasionally prevents and resolves these conflicts through football by involving the youth in peacebuilding. Frequent cross border and intercommunity tournaments have been successful in bringing together youth warriors from different communities. (International Sports Alliance (2015) states that peace facilitators trained by ISA play a role in creating a safe environment for players as well as merging peace discussions with sports activities to analyze the conflict situation and cause of conflict in their community. The sports program trains as well as lets conflicting parties analyze and articulate their conflict situation through dialogue.

4.7 Challenges facing Kenya’s sports diplomacy

Kenya’s Sports Act 2013 gave the Secretary of Sport power to intervene and dissolve a sports body incase of mismanagement or disputes, (Sports Act No. 25 of 2013, 2017). This power is a loophole in that, part of FIFA’s regulations is non intereference of national sports bodies. The Act also mandates the National Sports Fund to raise funds to facilitate the growth and development of the sports industry, to train sports personnel and to support the cash awards scheme for enhancing competitiveness among Kenya’s sportspeople. Proper utilization of the sports funds would ensure sufficient funds in Kenya’s future representation in international and local sports events.

With a range of live matches on sports betting sites every other day ranging from football, rugby, tennis, handball, basketball, ice hockey and more, with odds in La Liga, Champions
League, Serie A and Premier League, African Club Championships and Africa Cup of Nations, Kenyans are fascinated by the bets, opting to place bets on foreign teams as opposed to local teams. This is because Kenya’s sports do not perform as well and a sure bet is placed on foreign teams.

Kenyan fan base choose to support international teams and neglect local teams because of disappointments in Kenya’s sports performance. Through the fan base frustrations, Kenya sportspeople loose motivation to excel in their sports performance because of strained support from the locals. This leads to sportspeople opting for use enhancement drugs to boost their sports performance to make the nation proud.

Political interference in Kenya’s sports has affected Kenya’s image in regards to sports diplomacy. The Government of Kenya needs to revise the Sports Act 2013 to let sports federations be independent bodies to avoid risk of being banned from international sports events as per the FIFA regulations. Independence in the sports federations allow these units to operate better and be organized within their jurisdiction. Countries that have been banned before by FIFA because of political interference in their national federations include Ethiopia, Nigeria, Peru and Greece. Kenya being a developing country needs to tap into areas where it can excel to be recognized more in the international community, to promote international cooperation and multilateralism.

Promised funds and allowances for Kenya’s sportspeople through the Ministry of Sports, Culture and Heritage pend overtime and it discourages the livelihood, nutrition and
performance of Kenya’s sportspeople, (Anonymous, 2019. Defections to foreign teams has been the easier route for Kenya sportspeople to seek greener pastures abroad. This leads to Kenya losing its sports personalities. Local and regional games are also poorly remunerating discouraging sportspeople from participating in local sports events and instead sportspeople target participation in international events such as the Diamond League which are more lucrative, (Anonymous, 2019). Unless sportspeople are well remunerated, sports performance and achievements cannot be guaranteed.

Kenya’s sports funds has over the years been mismanaged by the specialized agencies, frustrating sportspeople, national sports federations and national teams. This has demotivated team spirit and pride to represent Kenya in international sports events. Despite the establishment of the National Sports Fund as per the Sports Act 2013, fund allocation remains strained with misallocation and embezzlement of funds being part of the scandals facing sport agencies.

Kenyans have been hesitant to watch live sport matches at the local stadia stating reservations for paying entry fees and lack of transportation to the sports venue. In 2018, in attempt to make Kenyans cheer on Harambee stars as they played against Ethiopia in the first leg of the 2019 AFCON qualifier, Nairobi’s Governor, Mike Sonko and Senator Milicent Omanga offered free transport to the fans to watch the match live at the Moi International Sports Stadium, Kasarani. The former Ministry of Sports, Culture and Heritage Cabinet Secretary Rashid Echesa also publicized free charge on entry to the stadium to make Kenyans attend the game. Luring locals to support athletes proves that the locals have lost faith in their
sportspeople which is a challenge in Kenya’s sports.

Despite honoring Kenya sportspeople during Mashujaa Day or through awards, Kenya’s sportspeople like Nyandika Maiyoro and John Mayaka died in neglect after branding the country in international sports events bringing honor to the nation, (Anonymous, 2019). It is discouraging that some sportspeople are not given the honor they deserve, no welfare provision by the Government of Kenya, and end up with long-term struggles because of injuries or no recognition at all. Most sportspeople end up financing their welfare treatments and end up retiring in sports because of lack of access to fast and adequate medical attention.

...lack of facilities has contributed to Kenya’s poor performance in international tournaments; poor facilities hinder growth. Kenya has talent that when nurtured, can be a basketball giant.- Ariel Okall, (Mburugu, 2018).

Public sports facilities have been lacking, to nurture sports such as basketball and tennis in Kenya. Private tennis courts and clubs such as the Karen Country Club and Nairobi Club, are currently available, hosting international tennis events and offering training and coaching at a fee however, not all Kenyans can access or afford them. Despite tennis talent in Kenya, little effort has been made to make tennis open to the Kenyan people, as a public sport. Collaboration of the Government of Kenya with the private sector is yet to be attained, to raise tennis to the next level, nurturing the sport and Kenya’s tennis proficiency in the regional and international level.
5.0 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a summary, draws conclusions and makes recommendations for further improvement based on the findings of the study. The chapter also provides areas of further research, that future studies could be conducted.

5.2 Summary of the findings

Sports diplomacy has been defined by the researcher as the use of sports, sportspeople and sports events to promote foreign policy goals. The purpose of the study was to examine the role of sports diplomacy in promoting Kenya’s foreign policy goals. The study was guided by three objectives that include; to examine the role of sports diplomacy in promoting Kenya’s political image, to determine the impact of sports diplomacy on Kenya’s economic development and to establish the extent to which sports diplomacy promotes peaceful interactions between Kenya and her neighbors.

Kenya uses sports as a diplomatic tool in its bilateral and multilateral engagements involving state and non-state actors to represent the state in these relations. These engagements include strategies that explore the role of sports diplomacy in promoting Kenya’s foreign policy goals such as national branding, multilateralism, soft power, international relations, investments, sports tourism, development projects, coexistence, interaction with neighbors and integration. These strategies thus create avenues for sports diplomacy in promoting Kenya’s political image, economic prosperity and peaceful relations with Kenya’s neighbors.
Both primary and secondary data were used in the study where primary sources involved interviews with key informants and focus group discussions with sportspeople. Secondary data involved obtaining and analyzing data from reports, books, journals and official websites. Results were thereafter transcribed in narrative text. After exploring and examining data, the researcher concludes that Kenya’s sports diplomacy is strained because of local challenges such as mismanagement of sports funds, doping in sports, failure to honor athletes and political interference in sports. Kenya’s sports strategies thus hinder the maximum utilization of sports diplomacy in promotion of Kenya’s foreign policy goals.

Findings from the role of sports diplomacy in promoting Kenya’s political image revealed that Kenya has marketed its national brand internationally through sports, sports events and through sportspeople. Sports exchanges and international relations through the soft power of sports diplomacy has helped Kenya in promoting its political image. Findings from the role of sports diplomacy in promoting Kenya’s economic prosperity revealed that Kenya has used sports to grow its economy through sports tourism, investments, job creation and raising funds for development projects. In the role of sports diplomacy in promoting Kenya’s peaceful relations with her neighbors, the study revealed that the government, corporate brands and sports organizations have stepped in to encourage peace through cohesion, integration and interaction between Kenya and her neighbors.

The study revealed that Kenya’s sports policy formulation, implementation and modification has been challenged because of corruption, underutilization of sportspeople, mismanagement of sports funds, lack of coordination within sports federations and recurring scandals within
the Ministry of Sports, Culture and Heritage. National policies and sports scandals affect Kenya’s promotion of foreign policy goals through sports diplomacy.

5.3 Conclusion

Sports diplomacy in promotion of Kenya’s foreign policy goals has been previously used to promote Kenya’s political image, to advance economic prosperity of Kenya and her people and to enhance peaceful relations with Kenya and her neighbors. This is in line with Kenya’s foreign policy under the cultural diplomacy pillar. Despite Kenya’s achievements in sports and sports exchanges that are a base of sports diplomacy, so much potential is yet to be tapped because of the shortcomings within the Ministry of Sports, Culture and Heritage, within Kenya sports federations, within sportspeople and in sports events.

Scandals within the Ministry of Sports, Culture and Heritage in areas such as mismanagement of sports funds, embezzlement of funds meant for sportspeople, corruption, and strained relations between the Government of Kenya and the sportspeople are challenges in sports leadership that affect performance of the stakeholders. These shortcomings are challenges in thriving sports in Kenya, for a more robust outlook on how sports diplomacy promotes Kenya’s foreign policy.

Communication between the Ministry of Sports, Culture and Heritage and the sportspeople directly or through agencies, clubs and federations is strained but there is room for improvement. Unpaid allowances, strained support from the Government of Kenya through the Sports Ministry, inadequate training equipment and strained efforts by the government to acknowledge upcoming and retired sportspeople are shortcomings yet to be solved to
acknowledge the value of sportspeople in promoting Kenya’s foreign policy goals.

National sports leadership need to be revised for a positive environment to nurture sports, acknowledge the value of sportspeople and recognize the significance of sports events in promoting Kenya foreign policy goals. There is sports potential in Kenya therefore improving challenged strategies, in practice rather than only in theory, would open up new horizons for sports diplomacy as a diplomatic strategy in promoting Kenya’s national objectives.

5.4 Recommendations

The Government of Kenya needs to recognize all upcoming, active and retired sportspeople. These sportspeople are an asset as they represent Kenya’s brand abroad. Their presence in international sports events represent Kenya’s values, culture and beliefs thus valuable in nation branding and rebranding. Sports as a diplomatic tool needs collaboration from athletes. Sports performance boost national image thus all sportspeople need to be nurtured into the spirit of sport and feel supported by their home governments, their sports agencies and their people to encourage better sport performance and retain them in their home countries.

Nationalization of high altitude training camps will enable the government to be more involved in sports and capitalize on the natural landscapes. Kenya is known internationally for its high altitude training camps, the likes of Iten, Eldoret and Kaptagat. Taking control of these training camps will ensure that they are well maintained with no risk of been closed down, giving athletes ample space and conditions to train.

The spirit of fair play needs to be promoted by the public and the private sector. The media,
schools, sports agencies, corporate organizations and community-based programs need to spread and instill the idea of fair play to the public. The general public needs to be educated on the need to play clean, not just for athletes but for the all, to nurture the society into the positive aspects of sports. Doping tarnishes national image and questions the credibility of sports in a country and the credibility of athletes. The government needs to provide training equipment in stadia for athlete training, pay athletes adequately and on time and provide welfare programs to athletes, to motivate and boost their performance as doping embarrasses the state and has a negative impact on the Kenyan brand.

There should be thorough accountability of sports funds to prevent mismanagement of funds from National Sports Fund to the designated agencies. Plunder of sports funds through corruption and embezzlement has raised scandals that have frustrated development of sports from the grassroots and mar Team Kenya in international sports events. The government also needs to impeach sports officials found guilty of corruption and siphoning funds meant for athletes to help fight corruption in sports, boost sports performance and encourage the development of sport in Kenya.

5.5 Areas of future research

Future researchers should consider further research on Kenya’s sports diplomacy and foreign policy on areas such as multilateralism, digital diplomacy and diaspora relations. Future researchers need to also examine the impact of Sports Act 2013 on Kenya’s sports diplomacy.
APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Letter of Introduction.

Dear Respondent

RE: COLLECTION OF DATA

My name is Mary Mutisya, a graduate student in USIU-A. As part of my course requirements, I am expected to conduct a research and present it as a thesis. My topic is on *The role of sports diplomacy in promoting Kenya’s foreign policy goals*. Any information you provide will be treated with utmost confidentiality. All the information provided will be used for academic exercise only.

Please note that any information you give will be treated with extreme confidentiality and at no instance will it be used for any other purpose other than for this thesis. Your assistance will be highly appreciated. I look forward to your prompt response.

Yours faithfully,

Mary Mutisya

Student- USIU-A.
Appendix 2: Interview Guide.

Below are the interview questions intended to answer the research questions on the role of sports diplomacy in promoting Kenya’s foreign policy goals. Open ended questions in the interview were carried out by the researcher targeting focus groups; officials from the Ministry of Sports, Culture and Heritage- Department of Sports, Sports Kenya, National Sports Fund and Kenya’s sportspeople. The interview questions were guided by objectives aiming to get first-hand information from credible sources.

Interview questions.

Section A. The role of sports diplomacy in promoting Kenya’s political image.

1. How does the Kenya maximize sports diplomacy in nation branding?
2. How does Kenya promote regional integration through sports diplomacy?
3. How does Kenya promote peace in the East African region through sports diplomacy?
4. How does Kenya promote cohesion through sports diplomacy?
5. How does the Government of Kenya intend to solve funding in the sports fraternity?

Section B. The role of Sports Diplomacy in promoting good relations between Kenya and her neighbors.

1. How does Kenya promote exchange through sports diplomacy?
2. What procedures has Kenya put in place to harness Kenya’s sport potential?
3. What measures does Kenya have in promoting regional sports?
4. How does Kenya enhance coexistence through Sports Diplomacy?
5. What measures does Kenya have to nurture young athletes through sports diplomacy?

Section C. The role of sports diplomacy in promoting Kenya’s economic prosperity.

1. What measures has Kenya put in place to attract sports tourism?
2. What platforms does Kenya use to advertise its sports potential?
3. What measures does Kenya have in hosting sports events?
4. How well does the Government of Kenya through this Ministry compensate Kenya’s sports personalities?
5. What measures has Kenya put in place to enhance investment through sports diplomacy?
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