

**AN ANALYSIS OF THE EFFECTIVE USE OF SPORTS
DIPLOMACY IN ACHIEVING FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES:
THE CASE OF KENYA**

2014-2018

BY

SINDA DAVID NYABUSIBAI

UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY –AFRICA

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**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND
SOCIAL SCIENCES IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF MASTER OF ARTS
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UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY – AFRICA

FALL 2019

STUDENT DECLARATION

I declare that this is my original work and has not been presented to any other college, university or other institution of higher learning other than United States International University Africa

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

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ABSTRACT

Kenya has for decades not fully utilized the contribution of incorporating sports diplomacy to her benefits in regards to foreign policy. Such that Kenya's influence on the global arena can be advanced and certain interests achieved by integrating sports to its diplomacy. Diplomacy is vital for cooperation in the pursuit of non-aggression among nation states, and Kenya as a member of the global community should be able to sufficiently reap from the benefits of inculcating sports into its diplomacy. This study attempts to analyse the role sports can play in pursuit or advancement of key foreign policy objectives in Kenya. The study also analyses the impact of inter and multi-agency coordination for the use of sport for diplomacy and finally, to assess the impact of athletes and sports mega events on Kenya's sports diplomacy.

The study was conducted and analysed feedback from cross sectional surveys. The method of sampling was purposive sampling to achieve the desired data. The theories that were employed in the study are the liberalism and globalization theory that jointly seem to propose that due to the constant competition among nation states to achieve certain objectives, the integration of economies is consolidating a global economy and such is benchmarked through international institutions. Competition spreads through states and thus becomes a strategic companion to the popularity of global sporting events. The interdependencies created by the global economy has also intertwined modern sport to realise certain ends and have the potential to recalibrate state relations by use of state and non-state actors. The hypotheses established would be vital for the advancement of Kenya's image in the national, regional and international arena.

The hypotheses were utilized in the formation of the questionnaire whilst the study established that the bidding of sports mega events, participation by athletes and realisation of key national sports policies, could be beneficial in pursuant of key foreign policies. As a soft power tool, the use of sports diplomacy would strengthen Kenya's position on the continent and globally, and erect her as a pioneer in use of sports to pursue her diplomatic objectives. The study also found out that the application of soft power through the use of sports would project Kenya as a pioneer, not only on the African continent but globally. The study recommends a rigorous campaign in the reification of a comprehensive strategic framework through the utilization of sports in pursuit of Kenya's interests in foreign relations, and the recognition and documentation of athletes as agents of sports diplomacy.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my father, the late Dr. Peter Mahende Sinda, who passed away a month before the due date for the submission of the first proposal of this project report, and to my family for giving me the courage to pursue completion of this thesis at a very difficult period.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

STUDENT DECLARATION	i
COPY RIGHT	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
DEDICATION	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	v
ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS	viii
CHAPTER ONE	1
1.0 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background of the Study	1
1.2 Statement of the problem	5
1.3 Objectives of the Study	6
1.4 Research Questions	6
1.5 Justification of the Study.....	7
1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study	8
1.7 Significance of the study	9
1.8 Theoretical Framework	10
1.9 Chapter Summary.....	19
CHAPTER TWO	20
2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW	20
2.1 Introduction.....	20
2.2 The Globe and Sports Diplomacy	25
2.3 Africa and Sports Diplomacy.....	27
2.4 Kenya and Sports Diplomacy.....	31
2.5 Sports Diplomacy and Political Image.....	33
2.6 Sports Diplomacy and Economic impacts	34
2.7 Sports Diplomacy and Peace Building among States	35
2.8 Sports Diplomacy and Kenya’s National Interests.....	37
2.9 Inter-Agency Coordination for the Use of Sports for Diplomacy.....	38
2.10 Athletes and Sports Mega-Events for Kenya’s Sports Diplomacy.....	39
CHAPTER THREE	48
3.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	48
3.1 Introduction	48
3.2 Research Approach.....	48
3.3 Research Design.....	48
3.4 Population and Sample Size.....	49
3.5 Data Collection.....	49
3.6 Data Analysis.....	50
3.7 Ethical Considerations.....	50
3.8 Chapter Summary.....	51

CHAPTER FOUR.....	52
4.0 DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION	52
4.1 Introduction	52
4.2 Sports Diplomacy and Kenya’s National Interests.....	53
4.3 Sports as an instrument in Foreign Policy.....	59
4.4 Criteria for Evaluating Sports Diplomacy.....	63
4.5 Inter – Agency Coordination for the Conscious Use of Sports Diplomacy	69
4.6 Impact of Athletes and Sports Mega events on Kenya’s Image and Place Branding	71
4.7 Chapter Summary.....	74
CHAPTER FIVE	75
5.0 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS.....	75
5.1 Introduction	75
5.2 Summary of Findings	75
5.3 Policy Recommendations.....	76
5.4 Conclusion.....	78
REFERENCES.....	79

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ADAK	Anti-Doping Agency of Kenya
AK	Athletics Kenya
CAF	Confederation of African Football
EAPI	East African Parliamentary Institute
FIBA	Fédération Internationale de Basketball
FIFA	Fédération Internationale de Football Association
FKF	Federation of Kenya Football
IAAF	International Olympic Committee
IOC	International Olympic Committee
IRB	International Rugby Board
KNSC	Kenya National Sports Council
UEFA	Union of European Football Associations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
WADA	World Anti-Doping Agency

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

The primary actors in the international arena are states who are in constant pursuit of self-interests and power. These primary actors remain to be the sole beneficiaries to relations among equals in order to maintain cooperation and remain non-aggressive towards each other. How these relations are conducted is referred to as diplomacy, and as Bull (1977) points out, the conduct of how nations relate, official agents are appointed to pursue interests peacefully. In a globalized world, the conduct and practice of diplomacy has evolved to become highly complex, dynamic and interconnected.

As the world consolidates in an evolving global economy, the conduct of how states relates has also changed. The pursuit of soft power and utilization of non-traditional means to achieve self-interests has never been more rampant. The art of diplomatic persuasion is evolving and nation states have been in the pursuit of image building to coerce influence and attain power through legitimate ways. Persuasion rather than coercion has been described by Wilson (2008) as soft power. Nye (2009) pursues this fact by adding that soft power is often linked via certain powerful resources such as culture, ideology, and institutions.

Keech (2001) describes sports diplomacy as the whole range of international contacts and competitions that have implications for the overall relations between the nations concerned. Sport, politics and diplomacy have long been compatible. Sports is considered more useful in its functionality often when it is 'co-opted by politics' (Jackson and Haigh 2008). International sport provides creative avenues for governments and nation states to

demonstrate varied levels of power while spreading ideologies in relation to their prowess in sports and the system of a particular regime in power (Murray and Pigman, 2014).

In mapping out the relationship between international sport and diplomacy, Murray and Pigman attempt to analyse the multifold networks involved to realise the convergence of the two distinct categories of sports diplomacy. “The first is comprised of cases in which international sport is consciously employed by governments as an instrument of diplomacy. The second category – international-sport-as-diplomacy – concerns the diplomatic representation, communication and negotiation between non-state actors that take place as a result of ongoing international sporting competition” (2014). Murray goes on to indicate that the more familiar form of sports diplomacy is the category where sport is employed by governments as an instrument of diplomacy to achieve certain national interests.

Sports diplomacy is often put to use as a term to refer to governments that employ sports persons specifically for the purposes of amplifying diplomatic messages, or with states exploiting sporting events as opportunities to test public diplomacy or simply ease tensions, or even reinvigorating diplomatic relationships (Pigman, 2014).

While the term sports diplomacy is rather contemporary, the lexicon has evolved due to the increased engagement between traditional diplomats with sporting organisations and sports people (Murray, 2011). Modern diplomacy has been epitomized by a myriad of non-traditional non-state actors and they have played a key role in instances “where the state and its diplomats have found trouble, non-state actors have stepped in and proliferated, neatly filling the vacuum of responsibility left by the state”(Ibid).

In an attempt to explore on the definition of the term sports diplomacy, the debate whether diplomacy and sport should mix arises. Murray suggests that “an enhanced

theoretical understanding of sports diplomacy will lead to enhanced practical application and a sustainable, durable and permanent relationship between sports and diplomacy” (2011). Sports diplomacy therefore falls under the vast range of tactics and methods the diplomat has at their disposal (*Ibid*). However, “traditional diplomacy’s foundations – to promote and protect a nation’s core values and interests, for example – do not change” (*Ibid*).

Nuechterlein (1976) opines that policy makers at any level should not overlook the importance of national interests. They assist in leveraging internal policies onto the larger national policies and will more likely than not, be reflected on the foreign policies.

States have opted to come up with new ways of maintaining global peace and security by amalgamating sports to legitimize superiority and influence. According to Murray and Pigman (2013) the use of sports people and sporting events by state and non-state actors to engage, inform and create a favourable image among foreign publics and organisations to shape their perceptions in a way that is (more) conducive to the sending government’s foreign policy goals lays central in the exercise of sports diplomacy.

Sports is an entity that modern nation states are attracted to. Governments are attracted to sports due to various reasons. Considering its modernity, since in its present form, was not born more than 150 years ago, and exciting because it attracts the attention of millions of people (Kobierecki, n.d.). Sports are also capable of breaking down barriers, transcending acrimony, bringing people together, creating massive opportunities for public diplomacy and amplifying a reputation.

As diplomacy, the performance of sport has taken on a foreign aura. International sporting organizations engage in multilateralism through reputable institutions as at the (IOC) International Olympic Committee. It is a platform for nation states to dominate

engagement through the use of a common language, sports. The idea of the use of sport to create state's identities is clearly embraced in the holding of Olympic events every four years and the holding of global sporting events such as the World Cup every four years since its inaugural tournament in Uruguay in 1930 (Grix, 2018).

Sporting activities had already been established in precolonial Kenya and were coalesced as part and parcel of the cultural identity. They would also use such opportunities to assimilate ideas that informed their identity formation (Sifuna, 1990, Amusa & Toriola 2012) and as a tool to educate the children who imitated the elders actions. This cultural identity enhanced skills of adult existence and sport activities served as an instrument of socialisation, cultural preservation, and as recorders of changes occurring in societies (Chepyator-Thomson 2015).

Moreover, sports as a cultural identity as Alt argues, can be modelled as an inter-subjective moral culture. From a nationalistic point, according to Alt's views, participation and prowess of Kenyan athletes in the moral order of sports is a self-transformative act: it sublimates the self's inner nature, uniqueness and egoism into symbolic meaning and purpose with the accompanying justification for self-discipline; and it is a socially-bonding medium constructive of Interpersonal understanding and the necessary justification for the honouring of rights and obligations. Sport, in its dramatization of cultural values and norms, is both a cause and effect of the symbolic language of individual motivation and social justice (1983).

The currency involved with soft power domination is encapsulated under the Kenya Foreign Policy document and involves the promotion of sports by recognising the role of Kenyan athletes and other sportsmen and women. The implementation of this is heralded as a guide for future diplomatic engagements (Kenya Foreign Policy, 2014), and as a

means of leveraging Kenya's position on global issues and giving significant mileage around Kenya's best recognised soft power asset.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Evidently, the use of sports diplomacy has been regarded as the panacea of government, although largely unutilized, has potentially the ability to create and perpetuate relations, drastically reduce estrangement and present an amicable environment for dialogue and sustained development (McClory, 2011). Also, the deduction of sports diplomacy into other jurisdictions has not been fully researched and has had to take a clumsy outlook up until when states have begun to pursue soft power

Although a largely western theory, this theory has readily been researched with data from the African continent but applied to western nation states. Kenya's domination in the global mega events can be compared to as a states that has the potential to mine the benefits of sports diplomacy. Such a study would greatly benefit Kenya and the deductions carefully integrated to achieve positive outputs for her foreign policy. As governments' world over evolve in their conduct of diplomacy amid a hostile environment and an evolving international system, Kenya possesses a huge resource of untapped non-state actors who are prudent and relevant to the networks that characterise modern diplomacy.

This paper primarily analysed the potential in which sports diplomacy has on Kenya's national interests, the inter-agency coordination for the realisation of the conscious use of sports diplomacy and the impact and role of athletes in the participation and bidding of sports mega-events vis-à-vis Kenya's efforts to actualize the use of sports for diplomatic purposes.

The assessment on the effectiveness of sports diplomacy provided direction onto how sports can be used to advance national interests through economic prosperity of Kenya and her people, elevate Kenya's image and prestige through soft power and achieve international cooperation and multilateralism.

Under the Kenya Foreign Policy Documents of 2014, an analysis to determine the role under which certain government officials and athletes play in the realisation of foreign policy would provide a good start point in the quest for soft power domination.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The key objective of this study was to analyse how effective the use of sports diplomacy could be for Kenya, in her pursuit of certain interests in foreign relations.

1.3.1 Specific Objectives

The following specific objectives were utilized in conducting the study:

- i. To examine the role of the conscious use of sports in advancing Kenya's interests in foreign relations.
- ii. To analyse the inter-agency practice leading to sports diplomacy.
- iii. To assess the impact of athletes and sports mega events in Kenya's sports diplomacy.

1.4 Research Questions

This study was guided by the following questions:

- i. How has sports been used to examine the conscious use of sports in advancing Kenya's interest in foreign relations?
- ii. How do various agencies coordinate to utilize sports as a means of sports diplomacy?

- iii. How do athletes and their participation in sports mega events contribute to the practice of sports diplomacy?

1.5 Justification of the Study

Diplomacy in its traditional format remains relevant in the global arena, however, new ideologies have continued to recalibrate tools utilized for diplomacy such as sports diplomacy have recently been established. Sports diplomacy scholarship and practice has continued to grow and be applicable in the recent years and this is a true sign of the evolving conduct of traditional diplomacy. This is also a marker that diplomacy is changing and adapting to respond to the more complex world where nations and cities, individuals and sports people are hyper connected with each other and wielding influence like never before.

The inclusion of non-state actors to the corridors of power has completely changed the landscape of diplomacy. Sport is increasingly important in this landscape. Sports diplomacy is soft power, which according to Nye (2004), uses attractive values and positive attributes to shape preferences by generating admiration and setting examples others wish to follow.

Sports diplomacy which is a largely western theory, has not been adapted to African case studies and as Levemore (2004) indicates, to date there has been few studies conducted on sports diplomacy and most of the research done is about sports and international politics with little focus on Africa. The time is right to realising the potential on which sports can harness of national and foreign objectives. Therefore, this literature will serve as a starting point for scholarship, discussion, and debate conducive to an enhanced application of sports-diplomacy (Murray, 2012), as well as contribute to knowledge on the role of sports diplomacy in pursuit of Kenya's foreign policy objectives.

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study

Parameters have been set for this study. The nation state of Kenya, its diplomacy and their relationship to sport are the key referent objects for inquiry. The study covers Kenya's soft power trajectory through its utilization of sports to realize key foreign policy objectives from the national, regional and global level, characteristics of its multi-agency coordination units to achieve this, and its approach to athletes participation in sports mega events curated as avenues of attempting to realize diplomatic goals. The study remains focused on Kenya's quest towards developing a solid document that solely adopts the sporting agenda in line with her pursuit for soft power domination.

The study originated from primary and secondary data sources. Primary data was mainly comprised of selected representation of international relations scholars from United States University and Kenyatta University, USIU lecturers who were former diplomats and the frontline personnel at Ministry of Foreign Affairs officials (both past and present), USIU offers student who are active in sports and coaches who used to play and aware of sports diplomacy (both retired and active) who are currently or have had international exposure representing the country, and finally select members of the public, such as journalists, who have exhibited keen interest in local and international sports. However, the secondary sources included journals, published works, newspaper articles, webpages, government documents and reports that are related to this study

The study covers the period from the adoption of the foreign policy document in 2014 up to date and to enable the researcher to base it on actual situations that are ongoing and events that have only been concluded recently, or ongoing and their implications. The study had the time limitation factor for the mere fact that most suitable respondents were engaged in international assignments.

As a relatively new area, sports diplomacy has limited scholarship especially emanating from African scholar and authors limited interest in the field hence making it challenging to acquire African oriented literature. Moreover, the study required integration of observation to enhance the reliability of information without exposing the study to manipulation by participants. However, the expenses linked to travelling to accompany the various sports team was enormous thus opting for interview questionnaire as a major tool of data collection.

1.7 Significance of the study

The study findings will assist the policy formulators to come-up with a competent foreign policy strategies that support the principles governing Kenya's foreign policy and its relationship with other states at international platform. The improving or restructuring of the foreign policy and diplomatic approaches will assist policy implementers to easily have a clear picture in the process of investing in improving Kenya's interest nationally, regionally, and globally.

The higher learning institution will be in a position to benefit from the findings of the study and advance the foreign policy through engaging more research in the area of sport diplomacy. This will in return increase awareness on the importance of sports diplomacy in Kenya as well as provide knowledge on how other actors can use the function as a tool of improving the nation's image.

The international community will be in a position to integrate sports diplomacy in their effort to support the less and least developed nations interests by use of a globally understood discipline such as sport. By so doing, enhancements in relations between markets of various nations by use of athletes, will advance economies eventually and promote common market interests.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

The study of sports has generated a lot of theorists in a broad spectrum of studies. In International Relations, researchers have dominantly laid their interest and focus in the areas of peace, conflict and development but less attention has been geared towards the means of these exchanges and the conscious use of sport to realise diplomatic and foreign policy objectives through the soft power of attraction. For years, sports diplomacy has languished in the periphery of diplomatic studies and the research that was generated, largely focused on cliché narratives such as sporting boycotts and Ping-Pong diplomacy.

This study utilized two theories of international relations that relate to the subject of sports diplomacy. Those are the liberal theory and the globalization theory

1.8.1 Liberal Theory

According to Brown (2007) the liberal view became more popular after the Cold War because states started to adopt international laws, arms control, the roles of international organizations became much greater and the desire for democracy in a lot of states started taking place. Unlike classical realists, liberals believe human nature is good and capable of holding back the aggression and desires a peaceful environment. Their main assumption is that war is not inevitable and there is much more potential to cooperation if the anarchical conditions are reduced. Overall global change is possible (Brown, 2007).

Joseph Nye further presents foreign policy, political values and culture as a key principle upheld in soft power. The soft attraction power acts as a principle that supports states' culture in contexts that are of interests to the foreign public; where political values in states is upheld by the citizens both national and internationally through the country's foreign policy, especially in states that view them as legit and possessing moral influence on its citizens. Therefore, Nye believes that the evolving nature of international relations

in the post-cold war resulted to power shift from hard to soft, in which soft power was marked by institutions, ideologies and culture (Nye, 2017).

In this context, Robert Keohane, the proponent of Liberal theory indicates that liberalism attempts to re-affirm the institutionalist role in understanding the political arena while as well designing institutions that campaign for human rights, welfare and co-operation. These liberal thoughts are used by various national institutions such as Ministry of Sports and Culture, Kenya Football Federation (KFF), International Amateur Athletic Federations Kenya (IAAF), Kenya Rugby Union, and mega-events as scholarly work platforms that support Sports Diplomacy being an important tool in promoting Kenya's foreign policy at regional and international platform to enhance co-operation. Proponents such as Guseppe Mazzini Immanuel Kant, promoted the classical liberal theory indicating that the future development of international institution is aligned towards enhancing trust among countries with intention of promoting cooperation and peace.

Therefore, sport diplomacy as a foreign policy tool in international relations presents building trust, peace-building, multilateralism and co-operations as themes supported by non-state and state actors. The collaborative key actors range from corporate institutions, sports ministries, sport federations and sportsmen who utilizes sports as a device for foreign policy. The tenets upheld in sports principles are equally reflected in liberalism tenets which notes that there is an increasing interconnectedness and interdependent of the world that is attributed to the state's behavior, an indication that social, cultural, political, economic, and transnational ties are important element in diplomatic approaches consideration. In this context, sports diplomacy has always been in a position to support liberal ideas that presents agendas as well as strategies that intends to promote liberal goals in multilateral and bilateral relations in the international arena.

Liberal norms favour international cooperation, human rights, democracy and rule of law, limiting and checking political power. According to liberalists if the world were to create international organizations which promote peaceful change, disarmament and international laws, cooperation would be much easier to achieve. If necessary these international organizations can use enforcement on states. States which are bound by rules and norms created by the institutions will have no choice but to cooperate. In a globalized environment in which the international system is now tied in, actors like transnational corporations, non-governmental organizations as well as individuals will facilitate interdependence and integration between states which in turn will lead to peaceful international environment.

The liberal theory is the most favoured theoretical framework that applied to this study. This theory considers normative assumptions of recognising the primacy of societal actors and representation and state preferences. These assertions seek to modify the established notions and recognition of an anarchic international system, therefore, actions by actors are based on rationality. “The fundamental actors in international politics are individuals and private groups, who are on the average rational and risk-averse and who organize exchange and collective action to promote differentiated interests under constraints imposed by material scarcity, conflicting values, and variations in societal influence.” Moreover, “that state-society relations the relationship of states to the domestic and transnational social context in which they are embedded have a fundamental impact on state behaviour in world politics” (Moravcsik, 1997).

The representation and state preference assumption presupposes “that state leaders and their domestic supporters engage in foreign policy for the instrumental purpose of securing benefits provided by (or avoiding costs imposed by) actors outside of their borders, and in making such calculations, states seek to deploy the most cost-effective

means to achieve whatever their ends (preferences) may be.” (Moravcsik, 2008). Additionally, the choice to utilize liberal theory emanates from the scrutiny of important contemporary phenomena that have been overlooked by other theories, such as substantive content of foreign policy, historical change, and the distinctiveness of interstate relations among states (*Ibid*).

Most importantly, is that liberal theory approach is “more interested in states’ interaction during periods of peace” (Trunkos & Heere, 2017). While sports diplomacy can be a tool that can be used to ease tension between and among conflicting states, the liberal approach scholarship creates an arena of alternative tools to be considered especially during peacetime (*Ibid*). Moravcsik further points out that “liberals argue that the universal condition of world politics is globalization and that states are, and always have been, embedded in a domestic and transnational society, which creates incentives for economic, social and cultural interaction across borders” (1997).

As Meiser (2018) suggests, the order assumed after the Second World War was of a liberal world order that was “built on the same foundations as domestic liberal institutions and norms.” In providing account of the characteristics in which the liberal world order is made able to be dominant, Meiser cites Deudney and Ikenberry (1999), who describe those three interlocking factors.

Firstly, international organisations create a global system that is beyond that of just states by helping in the ratification of agreements in coherence to international law (Meiser, 2018). Such organisations like the United Nations, as our study shows, pools resources for common goals to enhance constant diplomacy “between enemies and friends alike and gives all member states a voice in the international community.” This factor allows us to understand the cooperation between the United Nations and the International Olympic Committee, an international organization with a total number of 203 national committees,

that is 11 more countries than there are members of the United Nations (Jackson, 2013). “This fact, in and of itself, demonstrates the significance and potential strategic value of sport as an instrument of international relations” (*Ibid*).

Secondly, the diversification and extrapolation of capitalism and spread of free trade through the use of international organisations would create an open international economic system whereby Kenya can largely gain from by use of its natural brand, sports (Meiser, 2018). This idea is supported by Jackson (2013), who cites Horne and Manzenreiter (2016) that, “global mediated events attract large audiences, making them powerful sites with respect to demonstrations of ideology and nationalism on the one hand, and a source of wealth generation on the other. ” Additionally, according to Jackson, “sport is one of the few examples of a career or a profession where people are actively recruited from one country to another and either rewarded with, or required to assume, a new or supplementary national identity.” It is within the free market economy that Jackson supports his claim of athletic mercenaries capitalizing on their sporting services to the highest bidder.

Now, more than ever, “nowhere has the diffusion and redistribution of political and economic power in our globalizing world been more visible to the general public and scholars alike than in international sport” (Allen Pigman & Simon Rofe, 2013). It is quite evident that “around the world on any given day, at almost any hour, sporting experiences that once were limited to thousands are now shared by millions. Now, the UEFA Champions League, the National Basketball Association, Formula One motorsports or Master’s Series tennis matches are experiences shared even by people with access to the most rudimentary technologies, particularly across the Global South”(*Ibid*)

Lastly, Meiser acknowledges the role of international norms that favour international cooperation despite there being a wide variation of contested values across the

international system in areas such as humanitarian assistance, peace-building, education, gender equality, environment and the fight against HIV/AIDS (Pigman, 2014). According to Trunkon and Heere (2017), one of the main contributions of sports diplomacy is that it creates a platform and “provides an unofficial reason and location for international actors to meet and begin dialogue.” Such that, strategies around sports mega events can be manifold and “serve as a general outreach to the international community or strengthen the relations between two specific countries.”

Arguably, participation of athletes in sports mega events can mediate conflicts through cooperation when “organized and delivered under the right circumstances” because these events double up as good venues for multilateral meetings, while enjoying competition, as seen during the Ping Pong diplomacy during the Cold War (*Ibid*). Moreover, sports can be used to create a platform for new international legislation or trade agreements, as witnessed most notably between FIFA and the IOC are provided with certain guarantees such as waiving of visa requirements of participants of mega events to the host country (*Ibid*).

Trunkon and Heere (2017) cite Axelrod and Keohane, 1985; Risse-Kappen, 1995, to fundamentally state that, “it has been noted in both international relations and sports diplomacy scholarship that international institutions can serve as vehicles for sharing norms among nations, which can facilitate cooperation.”

1.8.2 Globalization Theory

As modern sport is bound up in an intricate web of global interdependency, signified by global economic flows, the dynamics around the utilization of sports to certain ends has now, more than ever took various dimensions. Globalisation in the context of sports

diplomacy needs to be understood by viewing the emerging trends witnessed at present in the patterns of global sport.

According to Bylis and Smith (2012) globalization is usually interchangeably referred to as a means of describing the expansion and interconnectedness of communication, technology, and production across the globe. This spread integrates the interconnectedness of cultural and economic activity. In other occasion, globalization as well is used to refer to Bretton Woods Institutions (International Monetary Fund- IMF; the World Bank -WB, among others) to develop an international market for commodities and services.

Giulianotti & Robertson (2007) attempt to give a historic relationship account of the genesis of sports and global processes. Noting that in contemporary times “sport’s transnational status is most perspicuously revealed through the raw data and political conflicts generated by sporting ‘mega-events’ and their controlling bodies. The global dimension of sport is evident at the Olympic Games and the trans-nationality of sports was seen in the projected revenue returns for the Beijing 2008 event was at \$3 billion, according to Forbes, as indicated by Giulianotti & Robertson (2017). Additionally, the authors cite a research conducted by the International Olympic Committee, and according to USA Today, 12 October 2004, the 2004 the Olympics in Athens were watched, at least in part, by 3.9 billion of the world’s population, producing a cumulative global audience of around 40 billion for the 17 day event (*Ibid*).

In Antony (1990) description, globalization is ‘the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa’ (Antony, 1990: 64). This experience the way individuals at national level experience localness and culture different in different

context, an element that has been reflected in the sports diplomacy used as a foreign policy tool at international platform

It thus follows that such a global event, sometimes referred to as a movement, “has been a strong catalyst in advancing sport’s public status as a human right, and as a medium for development and humanitarian work among NGOs” (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2017).

Maguire (1994) laments that the globalisation process “involving an increasing intensification of global interconnectedness are very long-term in nature but during the twentieth century the rate of change gathered momentum. Despite the 'unevenness' of these processes, it is more difficult to understand local or national experiences without reference to these global flows.”

Andreff (2008), asserts that sports and the economy dates back to the first antique Olympic Games when athletes were compensated in either goods or species and it was not until the early 20th century, when sports events were broadcasted on radio. The second appreciation of the sporting economy came in with the absorption of television broadcasting of global mega events, and this provided a basis for the significant rise in numbers of viewers of international sporting events. Finally, the emergence of new information and communication technologies through which images could be instantly transmitted, contributed to the economic significance for the rise of the sport economy.

Globalization can therefore readily explain the features that characterize the sports economy. The sports economy is leveraged on sports shows and sports mega-events and as Andreff (2008) notes, “globalization of sport events reaches its highest point with genuine global sport events such as the Olympic Games and football (soccer) World Cups.”Therefore, there exist various approaches used by the sportsmen, Bretton woods institutions, traders to prepare a platform through sport to support Kenya’s foreign policy.

Challenges experienced by using Kenya's sport diplomacy

According to the Kenya's sports Act 2013, the Secretary of sports was empowered to intervene as well as dissolve any sports body when there is substantial information on issues of dispute or mismanagement of resources (Sports Act No. 25 of 2013, 2017). However this power has been used as a gap that can be exploited, thus a section of FIFA's guidelines is aligned to noninterference on issues surrounding national sports bodies. Moreover, the Sports Act of 2013 mandates as well the National Sports Fund to be in a position to fund raise towards facilitating the development and growth of sports industry, where further training of sports personnel and supporting with monetary awards program for growing competitiveness among sports men in Kenya. Therefore, proper utility of the sport fund will be able to ensure that sufficient funding is available to the future representatives at local, regional and international sporting events.

The preparation to use sports as foreign policy tool to expose Kenya's image at internationally is being nurtured through local platform such as football, tennis, rugby, handball, hockey, martial arts, and with external influence such as champions League, La Liga, Premier League and Serie A, African Club Championships as well as African cup of nation, all prepares the country to engage at international platform. However, the foreign sports activities have received local support leading to emerging of most betting firms placing most of their prediction on foreign teams. This calls for the government and other institutions, such as Safaricom and Toyota Kenya to engage in supporting sports by using them as their ambassadors at international arena.

The Kenya politics interference in sports has hampered the image of the country in relations to using sports as diplomatic platform to present its interest globally. Therefore, the Kenyan Government should re-structure the Kenya Sports Act of 2013 to enhance Kenya's sports federation bodies be independence and avoiding risk of being negatively

listed at international sporting events such as FIFA. The sports federation independence enables the various approaches used to empower sports diplomacy to work better and be arranged as per their jurisdiction.

1.9 Chapter Summary

This project report has been organized in the following manner: Chapter One presents the background to the study, the statement of the problem, the research objectives the study is seeking to answer, the justification of the study, and the scope of the study. Chapter two of this thesis examines the available literature by different scholars for each of the research objectives, while at the same time, presents the theoretical framework that supported the analysis of the study. Chapter three presents the study methodology that was adopted, including research design, data analysis, and presentation. Chapter four provides an analysis of the data that was acquired from the instruments of data collection, and finally, chapter five provides the conclusion of this study while suggesting possible recommendations of this study.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter interrogates the relevant extant literature on the various subjects of inquiry which are; Sports Diplomacy and Kenya's National Interests, Kenya's National Interests in the East Africa Community, Inter-Agency Coordination for the Use of Sports for Diplomacy, Athletes and Sports Mega-Events for Kenya's Sports Diplomacy, Sports Diplomacy and Kenya's National Interest, Sports Diplomacy and Kenya's image building and branding.

The review of literature will facilitate a deeper understanding of the subjects under study. The literature review is conducted thematically to fulfil the research questions. The relevant literature is reviewed through the prisms of the theoretical framework of the study and the different scholarly approaches per theme.

Characteristics of sports diplomacy

The Australian government notes that, though there is a slow adoption of sports diplomatic approaches in International relations, the field is increasingly becoming an essential element of diplomatic activities that develops a section of the internal sports industry. Sports has been used as a global language that shared by everyone and pursues a unique role in showcasing and shaping a country's identity, culture and values. The common values used in sports are teamwork, competition as well as fair play, elements which are embraced by every actor hence building a trust among states and unit individuals from different background. Therefore, it is a usual practice of governments internationally using sports as tool to improve international relations while promoting the spirit of peace and prosperity.

In Murray's view. Sports diplomacy tend to be different from the conventional diplomacy due to the fact that " it is a proactive, original, and pioneering form of engagement that illustrates to the public at home and abroad that state's diplomacy is no longer elite, aloof, and out of date like traditional diplomacy" (Murray, 2012: 12). However, reforming the diplomatic conventional approaches to maximize the emerging sports diplomatic network opportunities in the twenty first century has been a key challenge in the modern world. In this context, international sport can be implements in areas where the state attempts to promote culture and as well used as an avenue to bring societies closer and demonstrate similarities while preparing a platform for final public policy changes at national and international level.

According to Pierre Arnaud advice, sports is beyond the simplistic hobby approach as it belongs to a government where the players and athletes are ambassadors and legit national culture representative at international platforms. This because there exist an implicit solidarity and cohesion between citizens of a nation and their national sportsmen who participates at major international competitive events. Therefore, this presents the major reason why there is increased participation by states in world sports activities since their athletes are an essential actor in the field of sports diplomacy. In this approach states utilizes sports influence as a means of encouraging development of national unity and embellish their external prestige, a role that most of major international great powers uses to present their interest at international platform.

Sports is global phenomenon that is understood by all states which participate and compete for internal and external prestige and legitimacy. In Dargin view, whenever international sporting events do occur, they present a platform where states compete with one another in an international sporting arms competition to gain prestige global prestige through a sporting mean that is different from the conventional economic and military

power. The liberal approaches are upheld via the use of sports as a kind of soft power. Therefore, sports act a means of putting more emphasis on international cooperation as well as assist in implementing international institutions objective on shaping the different state's policy choices. In liberal view, with existence of the right international institutions and expanding the level of interdependence, that involves cultural and economic exchange, states are in a position to exploit available opportunities towards reducing international conflicts (Arnaud & Riordan, 1998).

International sports institutions such as the International Olympic Committee (IOC), Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) and International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF) enhance cooperation among states through sports. In these international sports organizations, States are the main actors and members. They are represented by federations within the states and not the government in a bid to try to minimize the influence of politics in sports. The IOC over the years has had a mutual relationship with the United Nations (UN) an association visible in the creation of 'the United Nations office on sport for development and peace in 2001' and leading to the General assembly in 2009 permitting the IOC permanent observer status at the UN. Ban Ki Moon at the Olympic congress in Copenhagen emphasized noted that the sports diplomacy bond existing between IOC and UN as one of the key principles that are shared by Olympic and the United Nations.

This independent nature of sporting organizations has been threatened over time because states are unable to accept that they have no direct control over the organizations and subsequent federations that run these sports in states. Pierre Arnaud indicates further how foreign policy is effective in illustrating how governments' foreign policy attempts to interfere in world sporting events and institutions. Pierre sight 1920 as a period where some politicians made suggestion on the possibility of restructuring the International

Olympic Committee (IOC) into the League of the Nations agency. As per the politicians view the two institutions do share the same values system, that of internationalism and pacifism. However, Arnaud and Riordan (1998) notes that this suggestion was not appealing to most o politicians who conquered that political challenges ought to be removed from international sports as well as discord between nations. Many states foreign policy aligned to sports attempts to promote friendship and peace among all the people and nations (Arnaud & Riordan, 1998).

The association between sports and diplomacy ought not to be a surprise, given the character of representative they share (Murray, 2012). The composition of diplomacy and sports automatically supports one another as both institutions are equipped with patriots who represents their country as an international duty. This range from roundtable to the running track presents both diplomats and sports with vision to win the country's' trust. The presents a symbiotic relationship, an element reflecting the motive of states participation in international sports to achieve national identity, unity, pride as well as national building.

Murray (2011) states that sports-diplomacy differs from traditional diplomacy in that it is a proactive, original, and pioneering form of engagement that illustrates to the public at home and abroad that a state's diplomacy is no longer elite, aloof, and out-of-date like traditional diplomacy but reforming to maximize the new diplomatic network opportunities that the twenty-first century offers. International sports can be used by states to promote culture and can also be utilized as an avenue to demonstrate similarities and bring societies (and people) closer together, preparing the way for eventual public policy changes abroad and even at home. (Eden, 2013). Therefore, Kenya's application of sports diplomacy in this era would be regarded to as "timely and necessary" for certain reasons. Firstly, the lacks specific diffusion as well as re-distribution of economic and

political power in the globalized world that has been substantively acknowledged by scholars and general public alike as compared to international sports (Murray, 2012; Pigman & Rofe 2013).

Currently, the UEFA Champions League, the National Basketball Association, Formula One motorsports or Master's Series tennis matches are experiences shared even by people with access to the most rudimentary technologies, particularly across the Global South (Allen Pigman & Simon Rofe, 2013). Sports diplomacy is usually associated with authorities using sports personalities as a tool to amplify diplomatic message, or in other cases the state exploiting public diplomacy opportunity presented by sporting events with an aim of sustaining peace or as well test the perception for possible policy restructuring (Murray & Pigman, 2013).

Sports represents one of the most common aspects of human activity universally uniting people across the world, regardless of their social identity, for instance, gender, age or ethnic group. Initially, sports was regarded as mere physical exercise and competition. However, today, it has grown to become a multibillion industry bringing enormous profits to both state and non-state actors such as sporting goods manufacturing companies. Muzhikbaew (n.d) states that sports language has become "universal" and due to the attention it widely receives across the world, it is impossible to treat it as a stand-alone concept from matters of diplomacy and international relations. Arnaud and Riordan (2013) acknowledge the link between sports and diplomacy. They opine that "Sport is more than a simple hobby, it belongs to the State" (Arnaud & Riordan, 2013). Due to the close interaction between sports and matters of diplomacy, international relations experts invented the phenomenon of sports diplomacy.

Generally, no consensus exists about the universal definition of sports diplomacy. However, various researchers have attempted to define the term through literature.

According to Mabillard (2012), the concept can be defined using three main perspectives. First, it entails the use of sports as a device for gaining soft power whereby states can leverage on sporting activities and events to improve their image and prestige while having the ability to punish other states by putting some diplomatic pressure on them.

Soft power is built upon a country's resources such as its values and principles as regards public diplomacy (Nye, 2019). Primarily, public diplomacy entails collaboration between the state, the media and public opinion to influence policy actions and choices. Mabillard (2012) acknowledges that through sports can improve a country's soft power thus, enhancing its global standing.

Second, sports diplomacy entails bringing people together during sporting competitions. Third, sports diplomacy entails the use of diverse projects that accompany sporting activities to bring people together. In essence, Mabillard (2012) regards sport diplomacy as the practise of using sporting activities to influence social and political trends. Muzhikbaew (n.d) perceives sports diplomacy as a sub-culture of diplomacy whereby government and non-governmental actors take part in both formal and informal sporting initiatives to achieve foreign policy goals. However, despite the anticipated benefits of sports diplomacy on foreign relations, Pandhi (2011) points out that sports diplomacy can also worsen foreign relations.

2.2 The Globe and Sports Diplomacy

Over the years, the globe has greatly benefited from sports diplomacy. Jonathan Grix, a sports policy expert highlights some of the ways sports diplomacy has improved foreign global relations. On one hand, countries can host mega sports events which have global appeal. Through such events, nations get an opportunity to showcase themselves, thus gaining soft power that enhances their international prestige (Grix, 2018). For instance, a

projection by the International Olympics Committee for the 2016 Olympic Games was that at least 50% of the world's populace would watch the games. The estimated financial revenues from broadcasting the games in 2016 was valued at \$4.1 billion, a 7% increase from the amount in 2013 (Baker, 2016).

Literature documents how sporting activities can be used to enhance peace. Feizabadi (2015) observes that even though the activities in themselves cannot impose or create peace, they can be tools that inspire peace. For instance, the Olympic Games have a logo that comprises of five interconnected rings on a white background which symbolize the five continents. The symbol represents the universality of the Olympic Games for people across all the five continents. In today's diverse global society, sports become a tool for mutual understanding and creating a humanitarian scene regardless of the unique differences between individuals.

Internationally, states have also used elite sports success to drive diplomacy. Before the re-unification of West and East Germany, East Germany leveraged on superior sport performance to gain global recognition as a separate state from its Western counterpart. The state sought recognition for its existence as a state and to create formal diplomatic relations as required by international laws that concern such matters. When other regular channels failed, East Germany resorted to sports as a vehicle towards recognition. The state's athletes were labelled as "diplomats in tracksuits" (Grix, 2018). The sports strategy was successful since the East German gained national consciousness as an independent state, increased its military preparedness and increased productivity.

The use of sports diplomacy to gain recognition is evident in several other BRICS countries as well. For instance, most of them have resorted to hosting sporting mega-events so as to showcase their countries and gain soft power. Brazil has been a two-time host for major sporting events. In 2014, it hosted the World Cup and in 2016, it hosted the

Olympics. According to Cornelissen (2010), large events such as the World Cup are a viable tool for developing countries to demonstrate their social and economic strength, in case they lack other channels of international influence.

Upon hearing the news that Brazil would host the Olympics in Rio, the country's former President Luiz Inacio "Lula" released a statement that demonstrated the nation's renewed hope and excitement in hosting the games. He stated that through the games, Brazil would gain "its international citizenship" and a chance for the nation to join "the rank of first-world countries" (Brown University Library, n.d).

However, despite acknowledging the opportunity to gain international recognition through sporting activities, in Brazil, hosting games has not always resulted in diplomatic power (Rocha & Grix, 2017). Even though Brazil has gained prominence due to the sporting activities, the negative aspects of the nation such as environmental degradation have also come to light in the process of hosting the sporting events.

2.3 Africa and Sports Diplomacy

Literature documents the two-fold impact of sports diplomacy across African countries as well. On one hand, the countries have used sports as a tool towards gaining prestige and increased visibility in the international arena. For a long time, African states have used sports to express their discontentment with issues. For instance, African nations such as Tanzania have used sports to demonstrate their protest and activism about race-based issues and apartheid. Tanzania began to participate in the Olympics in 1964 as a self-governing state. In 1967, the country's ruling political party, Tanzania African National Union (TANU) released a statement that revealed the country's position about South African participation in the 1968 games. The statement declared South African participation as a "pollution to the Olympics atmosphere" (Ndee, 2005). The country

withdrew its application to participate in the games until the year 1968 when the International Olympics Committee decided to exclude South Africa from the games. Tanzania continued to reinforce its position about South Africa's apartheid policies leading other African countries who joined the boycott in the Olympic Games of later years. Through sports, Tanzania fostered African unity and made a political point both in the regional and the international arena.

Scholars acknowledge the link between South African's effective hosting of the World Cup in 2010 and the nation's prestige and soft power. Due to its apartheid policies from the 1940s to its eventual abolishment in 1994, South Africa had been isolated from other countries that demonstrated discontentment about the country's legalization of racial discrimination. In its post-apartheid period, South Africa sought to re-establish its credibility, security, independence, social standing and prestige among other nations. Its foreign policies reflected its determination to demonstrate its transition to democracy through values such as; promoting human rights, justice and international law.

In 2009, South Africa presented its bid to host the FIFA World Cup. Domestically, the games would enhance unity and reconciliation among its citizens. Johnny Moloto, one of the nation's diplomats at its embassy in the United States at the time explained that "sports is lever for reconciliation, economic development and social cohesion" (Castro, 2013). The sporting activity would enhance understanding among South Africans as well as other nations as the event would transcend across all races and other areas of social identity. Internationally, the event would enhance the country's soft power enhancing its ability to influence international dialogues without coercion. Through the bidding process, the nation emphasised that it was an African bid which reinforced unity among African nations and the desire of the country to lead other countries towards peace and reconciliation. Thabo Mbeki (2004) expressed that it was "an African journey of hope"

that the continent would eventually achieve its goals of peace, security and unity. Besides, the event would boost the country's infrastructure, economy and development.

On the other hand, critics have argued that sports diplomacy has not had positive outcomes for the African continent. In some cases, it enhanced the existing power relations and brought to light underdevelopment and the least progressive aspects about Africa (Castro, 2013). For some critics, the finances spent on organizing an event as expensive as the World Cup could have been placed to better use, for projects that directly benefitted the welfare of the nation's citizens. Also, in some cases, sports diplomacy ignited interstate conflicts and rivalry that went against international diplomacy goals. Ideally, sporting activities are intended to bring about diversity, inclusion, dialogue, team work and leadership. However, Walters (2007) identifies that the reality of sporting activities is different. Sports are associated with extreme rivalry, animosity and war which are significantly anti-diplomatic outlooks. For instance, as South Africa perceived the World Cup as an "African" notion, the attitude promoted hegemony of the nation and continent as the dominant social group over others. In light of these negative outcomes as regards diplomacy, Murray and Pigman (2014) advocate for effective usage of sports so as to realize the full potential of sports diplomacy.

Nonetheless, African nations have not explicitly stated their use of sports diplomacy for local and international benefits. Most countries leave sports out of their foreign policy plans while others include sports in a fragmented and uncoordinated manner. For instance, Mwisukha and Mabagala (2011) highlights that even though Tanzania has a written sports policy, it remains unimplemented. Thus, sports diplomacy remains under-utilized and therefore, an untapped resource that would otherwise drive the continent towards social and economic development.

The evolution of sports has also made it possible for Kenya to have sportsmen from various disciplines. "There are several sports in Kenya but the most common as of today are athletics, cricket, motor sports, rugby, volleyball, basketball, swimming among others. (Korir, 2015). Despite the presence of various disciplines, Kenya has regularly produced Olympic and Commonwealth Games champions in various distance events, especially in 800 m, 1,500 m, 3,000 m steeplechase, 5,000 m, 10,000 m and the marathons. Arguably, Kenya can and should position herself as the running capital of the world.

The formation of the Kenya Olympic Association in 1954 was another way that the colonial government used sports as a form of international legitimacy of colonialism at a time of resistance against foreign rule and as a way to defuse the internal tensions during the state of emergency. The policy of African exclusion in some sports – golf, cricket and rugby – indicated the depth of racial discrimination or segregation in Kenya (Kipchumba & Chepyator-Thomson, 2015).

In the area of sport, responsibility rested within the Ministries of Education and Culture and Social Services, with the Ministry of Education being held responsible for school sports programmes while the Culture and Social Services counterpart took control of out-of-school sports participation. Essentially, the government was the major catalyst for sports administration and development of sport in Kenya. The out-of-school sports activities were run on a voluntary basis, and the government coordinated sports development and administration through the Kenya National Sports Council (KNSC) (Godia, 1989).

KNSC is the governing body of sports and was formed in 1966 under the Society's Act (cap 108) of the Laws of Kenya. The Council served as an umbrella body whose function was to coordinate and harmonise sports organisations' activities in the country and to

serve as the organ of coordination between sports organisation and the government (Ministry of Gender, Sport, Culture and Social Services Handbook, 2005).

Youth sports are organised as co-curricular under the Ministry of Education with different sport activities organised from the school level to national competitions during different school terms (Kipchumba and Chepyator, 2015). On the other hand, out-of-school sports are organised by national sports organisations under the directive of the Ministry of Sport Culture and Arts. When it comes to funding, the sports federations submit their budget 'estimates and calendar of events for every financial year to enable the council to prepare budget in advance so as to avoid a last minute rush and financial complications.

2.4 Kenya and Sports Diplomacy

Like other African countries, Kenya does not explicitly mention the vitality of sport diplomacy in its foreign-policy document. Nonetheless, while explaining the context of the nation's foreign policy, the outstanding sports performance of Kenyan athletes is mentioned as one of the country's positive attributes. Among the country's foreign policy pillars is the cultural diplomacy pillar. With close inter-linkages with other diplomacy pillars, the cultural pillar enlists sporting activities as a means for enhancing the Kenya's international recognition, development and dialogue. According to the Republic of Kenya (2014), the nation intends to "promote sports and art diplomacy by recognizing the role of Kenyan artist, athletes and other sportsmen and women."

Kenya has prominently featured in the sporting world with superior performance especially in athletics. The country prides itself in athletes such as Eliud Kipchoge and Tegla Lorupe who have represented the country in various capacities in international sport events. Domestically, the athletes have fuelled nationalism among Kenyans. Seppel (2017) explains that "sports activate ideas and memories of who we are as citizens of a

country.” Sports have become a symbol of national unity with the ability to bring together Kenyans who hail from 42 different tribes (Mwisukha, Njororai & Onywera, 2003). In doing so, sports become a tool for peaceful coexistence and integration.

Internationally, Kenya’s renowned athletes have conveyed an enhanced image of the country among other countries. For instance, Eliud Kipchoge recently broke the world record in the marathon dubbed the INEOS 1:59 challenge and put the country on the global stage (World Athletics, n.d). His victory was celebrated by leaders in various fields across the world. Former U.S President Barack Obama congratulated the athlete’s performance through a message on his twitter account that commended the staggering achievements of Kipchoge alongside other Kenyan athletes.

As observed by scholars, the nation has also greatly benefited from sports hosting events over the years. In 1987, the 4th All-African Games were hosted in Nairobi, Kenya. Through the events, other countries have had the chance to tour Kenya, either as participants or spectators. The country hopes to capitalize on its global reputation as an “athletic superpower” to get the opportunity to host other sporting events, thus increasing development prospects for its citizens (International Business Publications, 2011). Besides the economic benefits of hosting sporting mega events, Kenya anticipates social and political development as a result of the events held in Kenya. Feizabadi et al., (2015) explain the diplomatic value of such events; hosting sporting events is crucial in the international sphere since it provides an avenue that puts a country on the global map. Through the enhanced attention, a nation is able to articulate a desirable image of itself among other nations.

2.5 Sports Diplomacy and Political Image

In the international arena, sports diplomacy provides opportunities for states to advance their political image. This may be done through nation branding, multilateralism, and other tools of soft power. When it comes to nation branding, Kanji (2016) observed that sports diplomacy provides a strategic approach within which countries may improve their national brand. On the foreign policy table, a country's brand increases recognition, prestige, and general global attractiveness. As such, it becomes a vital foreign policy tool. Countries with sporting excellence improve their national brands, and as such, gain the accompanying benefits. Sport ambassadors, including athletes, managers, ministers, and coaches use sports to export their countries' cultures and values. For instance, according to Kanji (2016) the 2010 FIFA world cup in South Africa provided an opportunity for the world to appreciate the cultural values and heritage of the host country.

In the same vein, Smith, Cahn and Ford (2009) argued that sporting events may provide opportunities for countries to establish political links between states. Mega sport events like the World Cup and the Olympics, through wide media coverage, allow sportsmen, as well as the general public to come together. International Sports Organizations (ISOs), meant to govern and regulate international sports, also allow for many countries to cooperate. These forums, as Smith et al. (2009) observed, serve as diplomatic platforms. ISOs such as the Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) and the International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF) are important avenues within which countries cooperate and make formal partnerships in the sporting arena. In turn, these partnerships may culminate into useful political alliances.

However Busolo (2016) noted that African states are yet to master how to explore the sporting avenue to achieve political influence. While much literature has explored the importance of sports in diplomacy, it must be noted that many explore other regions other

than Africa. Busolo (2016) made this observation, noting that it is time for African governments, to pursue sports diplomacy as a favourable channel to advance their interests. Busolo (2016) also encouraged the cooperation of state and non-state actors, as well as international institutions of African countries in the pursuit of such goals. As another recommendation, Busolo (2016) proposed that Kenya use its sporting advantage to attract investors and establish itself as a regional leader politically.

2.6 Sports Diplomacy and Economic impacts

Sports provide significant opportunities for economic gains. Sporting events allow multinational corporations and brands to expand their coverage through advertisement and sponsorships. While countries and cities often compete for major sporting events to showcase their sporting ability on the international stage, much of the incentive is usually economic (Preuss, 2013). Over the years, the sports industry has expanded into a multibillion industry, and Preuss (2013) notes that the key stakeholders (governments, event organizers, participants, sponsors, sports associations and the public) spend billions every year to facilitate sporting events.

Burgan and Mules (1992) explored the economic impacts of major sporting events. Amongst other benefits, Burgan and Mules observed that hosting mega events can fuel economic growth. Many Global South countries including Brazil and South Africa have taken advantage of sporting events to improve their economic standing. In addition, these sporting events have allowed these countries to enhance diplomatic ties with other states. Consequently, these diplomatic ties may facilitate positive future economic and trade ties between states. In the same vein, Burgan and Mules (1992) point to sports development aid programs by multinational corporations such as Coca-Cola and Nike as drivers of the above mentioned economic benefits.

In Kenya, the 2017 IAAF under 18 World Championship brought with it major economic benefits. The international athletics event brought together lovers of the sport, but also raised considerable economic benefits through sponsorship, investments and tourism. The event also allowed international players in the sporting industry to visit and provide various types of aid such as training facilities (Muiruri, Atieno and Viera, 2017). Improved infrastructure, urban development, community visibility, image enhancement, and knowledge are some of the associated positive impacts that Muiruri et al. (2017) established. However, some of the problems that hinder effective international sporting events in Kenya, as Muiruri observed, include traffic problems, insecurity concerns, environmental concerns, and corruption.

2.7 Sports Diplomacy and Peace Building among States

Sports diplomacy is a useful tool in building peace among conflicting or warring states. Mogleiv (2013) explored soft power, sport diplomacy and peace building. Mogleiv (2013) opined that peace building at home and abroad may be pursued through various aspects of sports diplomacy: image building, integration, and reconciliation and anti-racism campaigns. One of the most notable examples of sport diplomacy as a tool for the pursuit of peace was in 1995, after the fall of the apartheid regime in South Africa, then President Mandela used to the rugby world cup to unite South Africans. Similarly, in 1971 the visit by the United States table tennis team to China paved the way for President Nixon to visit China, to build peace between when there were tensions between the United States and China.

Sports diplomacy can be used to build trust, and in the process, enhance peace building efforts. An Israeli team played against a Palestinian team in the Norway Cup in 1995, despite growing tensions between the two countries. Besides, sport diplomacy may be used to enhance peace through anti-racism campaigns. FIFA suspended various countries

in 1963, including South Africa, and reinstated it after the end of Apartheid, allowing it to host the World Cup Of 2010, in what was a peaceful, largely successful competition (Mokleiv, 2013).

Similarly, the Olympics was created in efforts to bond nations and foster world peace (Murray and Pigman, 2014). Murray and Pigman (2014) acknowledged that sports provide a platform for cultural interaction, which in turn builds relations between states. In an ethnically diverse world, sports diplomacy is an effective foreign policy tool in the pursuit for peace. Murray and Pigman (2014) noted that sports diplomacy has undergone an evolution, culminating in a process that facilitates infrastructural aid. In similar efforts to pursue peace, the Australian government released the Australian sports Diplomacy Strategy, a program aimed at fostering links and partnerships between states in the region. Such efforts improve the relationship between states.

After the genocide in Rwanda, one of the avenues that the country is using to reconcile and build bridges is sport (Collison et al., 2016). Collison et al. insist that sport is an important tool in the Sport for Development and Peace (2016). According to their analysis, sport in Rwanda remains an integral and strategic tool if any efforts and progress are to be made with regard to the reconciliation process. Both domestic and international sporting events are encouraged by the Rwandese governments, in what Collison et al. refer to “transnational partnerships” that promote peace in Rwanda. The Gahanga stadium, for example, is a stadium that exemplifies the unification efforts that the Rwandese government has put in place to pursue peace and reconciliation.

2.8 Sports Diplomacy and Kenya's National Interests

To understand national interests, there are “vital interests which are centred on security of an independent nation, and the protection of its institutions, people and values, and are therefore those interests that have direct consequences for the practical survival of the state. In terms of government this is based on the military, defence, security and economic policy of the state” and “secondary interests that are essentially everything which pertains to the wealth, prosperity and progression of the state. They are merely concerned with development of the state (Essays, 2018).

2.8.1 Kenya's National Interests in the East Africa Community

The inclusion of sports in the Kenya Foreign Policy Document, under the cultural pillar, emphasizes the need of its “exploitation for development of the country while recognizing and promoting the role of the Kenyan sportsmen and women (Kenya Foreign Policy, 2014). The inclusion of sports into the critical foreign policy document, can be traced to the realisation that various indigenous traditional sports have prevailed in Kenya as elements of culture and a way of life since the history of mankind (Wanderi, 2006).

Korir (2015) points out that the origin of modern sports in Kenya “owe credit to arrival of the British colonization in Kenya essentially because initial sports in Kenya were a pastime event but situations have changed and many are moving toward career sports. Even so, competition that takes place between competitors representing different political jurisdictions or entities, has existed since ancient times. Eden (2013) emphasizes that sport in modern societies is a means by which nation-states socialize their citizens, transmitting symbolic codes of the dominant culture and inducing citizens towards conformity with beliefs and values that prevail in the wider society.

Despite the slow acceptance of sports in international relations, sports diplomacy is an increasingly important aspect of diplomatic practice and growing part of the global sports industry” according to the Australian government. Sports is a universal language that is understood by all and plays a unique role in shaping and showcasing a state’s identity, values and culture (Australian Sports Diplomacy Strategy, 2015).

2.9 Inter-Agency Coordination for the Use of Sports for Diplomacy

Despite the presence of various disciplines, Kenya has regularly produced Olympic and Commonwealth Games champions in various distance events, especially in 800 m, 1,500 m, 3,000 m steeplechase, 5,000 m, 10,000 m and the marathons. Arguably, Kenya can and should position herself as the running capital of the world.

The formation of the Kenya Olympic Association in 1954 was another way that the colonial government used sports as a form of international legitimacy of colonialism at a time of resistance against foreign rule and as a way to defuse the internal tensions during the state of emergency. The policy of African exclusion in some sports – golf, cricket and rugby indicated the depth of racial discrimination or segregation in Kenya (Kipchumba & Chepyator-Thomson, 2015).

In the area of sport, responsibility rested within the Ministries of Education and Culture and Social Services, with the Ministry of Education being held responsible for school sports programmes while the Culture and Social Services counterpart took control of out-of-school sports participation.

Essentially, the government became the catalyst for sports administration and sport for development in Kenya. The out-of-school sports activities were run on a voluntary basis, and the government coordinated sports development and administration through the Kenya National Sports Council (KNSC) (Godia, 1989).

KNSC is the governing body of sports and was formed in 1966 under the Society's Act (cap 108) of the Laws of Kenya. The Council served as an umbrella body whose function was to coordinate and harmonise sports organisations' activities in the country and to serve as the organ of coordination between sports organisation and the government (Ministry of Gender, Sport, Culture and Social Services Handbook, 2005).

Youth sports are organised as co-curricular under the Ministry of Education with different sport activities organised from the school level to national competitions during different school terms (Kipchumba and Chepyator, 2015).

When it comes to funding, the sports federations submit their budget 'estimates and calendar of events for every financial year to enable the council to prepare budget in advance so as to avoid a last minute rush and financial complications.

2.10 Athletes and Sports Mega-Events for Kenya's Sports Diplomacy

Sport mega-events have received much criticism of late. As Giulianotti *et al.* (2015) acknowledge, that beyond the "spectacular sport and starry headlines", a plethora of social conflicts, problems and criticisms may exist. The current global scandals surrounding FIFA, as well as other controversies linked with certain Olympic sporting codes combined with allegations of corruption and over-spending by recent FIFA and Olympic Games hosts, has resulted in a lack of popular support for recent bids by a number of cities for future mega-events. Murray (2012) was of similar opinion. In his analysis, Murray bemoaned the "two halves" of Sports diplomacy and mega events, warning that there are dangers when sports and diplomacy are mixed.

This was evidenced most recently by the city of Hamburg's decision to withdraw from the 2024 Olympic Games bidding process. There is also a groundswell of opinion within the destination management literature that advocates a portfolio of events or the

consideration of smaller, home-grown or non-sport events rather than continuing with a mega-event focus (Brown et al., 2004; Chalip and Costa, 2005; Westerbeek and Linley, 2012).

For South Africa, the 2010 FIFA World Cup provided a unique opportunity for national branding. As Knott, Fyall and Jones (2015) noted, the mega-event provided an opportunity for the country to sell its national agenda as a “global middle power” to the world. With the event, South Africa cemented its place as one of the most developed countries in Africa. Although the country at the time had its fair share of problems such as high crime and HIV infection rates, Knott *et al.* (2015) opined that the event was a huge success for South Africa.

Alongside the abovementioned benefits, Donos (2012) pointed out that sport mega-events carry with them cultural, social and economic benefits. Sport mega-events carry the potential to advance the host-country’s soft power resources, such as values policies and influence. Furthermore, host countries stand to gain international reputation and prestige. However, these events, as Donos noted, may bring negative effects if they are not handled well. In an example, Donos (2012) assessed the case of the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympics, an event that, despite initial optimism among the media and general public, proved to be marred by various challenges, including soaring costs and environmental issues. These negative reports dented Canada’s international credibility, and the international media now doubts the country’s ability to deliver secure and efficient international sporting events (Donos, 2012).

Locally, the domination of Kenyan talent in the international mega sporting events such as the Olympics has made it difficult to ignore the potential economic impact it carries with it. For instance, Muiruri (2017) noted that for Kenya, sports could provide a valuable avenue for strengthening regional ties, besides the associated socio-economic benefits.

Many aspects of sport and economics are interconnected. Sports are becoming more influential in economics, but economic theories have a place in sport as well (Hunt, 2018).

With the realisation of an expansive sports economy, the Sports, Culture and the Arts sector contributes to the overall national development through promotion and exploitation of Kenya's development agenda and promotion of sports for a vibrant sporting industry (Korir, 2015).

2.10.1 Sports Diplomacy and Kenya's National Interests

While the concept of "national interests" dates back centuries ago, Niccolo Machiavelli is credited to be one of the first thinkers to bring the concept into scholarly attention (Minogue, 2018). National interest may be seen as the protection of physical, political and cultural identity against intrusions by other states (Alden and Aran, 2016). A country's foreign relations, therefore, are part of its national interests.

Sports is now widely seen as a diplomatic and foreign policy tool. While sports are part of the cultures of many countries, defining their identity, the usage of sport to advance national interests is a relatively new practice. Sport, according to Reiche (2015), may be identified as a soft power tool. Sport can highlight a country's influence, values, and culture, and therefore, may be used to advance political and national interests. According to Reiche (2015), states can raise awareness and bring attention to various national issues through sport. In addition, Reiche (2015) observed that sports may be used to attract "white collar expats" from other countries. Sports may also be used to build relations with other countries, a move that boost national security, an important aspect of national interest.

Consequently, international sport has been providing an important platform for reminding citizens and the nations precisely with national interest which is for the better interest of the state affairs. The international sports mechanism has been utilized by scholars and statesmen since country's independence to inspire sovereign entities achieve the goals at international arena. Moreover, states are in a position to use sports to pursue their aspirations and goals in foreign affairs. This element of state exploitative approach by the state is visible in Qatar case that indicates the state as wealthy and successfully towards transforming into an international sports hub from scratch, and utilize the opportunity as a foreign policy tool that assist it to achieve its national interest.

In 2010 December, the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) announced that "Qatar was to host the 2022 FIFA World Cup" leading to international media outlets, supported by losing bidding states, criticizing the international institutions decision (Reiche, 2014). The need to host international sports by states is often viewed as an opportunity for states to promote itself globally, this therefore creates a huge discourse and accusations among states during the voting period. According to Danyel (2014), the accusations that were directed toward FIFA in Qatar nomination to host international sports claimed that FIFA executive committee members might have received bribed to compromise on their vote in support of the Qatar rather than for competitors such as the Australia, US, and England.

The exploitation of sports diplomacy promoting the national interest is essential in transforming the contemporary world of sports in two aspects; the first approach is that mega sports events are considerably increasing being hosted in emerging states, with the 2010 FFA World Cup being conducted in South Africa, as the first ever world cup to take place in African continent. Consecutively, in 2008 China as well hosted the Olympic Summer Games while Brazil in 2014 and 2016 hosted FIFA World Cup and the Olympic

Summer Games consecutively. The notable transition is that in the past the mega events was hosted by the advanced economies only. Secondly, the countries that win medal at the World Championship as well as the Olympic Games has consistently increased significantly. This is a clear indication that many countries to some extent are aware of importance of engaging in international sporting activities.

This participation does not necessarily mean that many states realize they are utilizing sports diplomacy since it is not acknowledged in their foreign policy document. For a state that is looking to promote its national interest sports diplomacy is therefore a modern and good way to showcase its might and power. Bainvel claims that “sports diplomacy can be used to do the following; improve and refine the image of one’s country, amplify friendship, boost peace, and share comradeship among nations, promote trade and tourism, encourage international development, integrate minorities, and most importantly to improve international relations” (Bainvel, n.d; 6)

Qatar had a different interest in their bid to host the 2022 FIFA world cup. Danyel (2014) analysis indicates that the country vision was not aligned to competing with other states through the sporting mega events at a “global arms race’ but rather building prestige as well as its profile at the regional GCC level. This approach informed its bid to host the FIFA world cup competition in relation to their sports investment policy in the country. The GCC was formulated by Arab States such as Bahrain, Saudia Arabia, and the United Arabic Emirates as counter mechanism towards Iranian influence in the region (Danyel, 2014).

Despite that fact that the major aim for Qatar’s investment in sports was to boost its relations between nations, the major aim is to enhance and stabilize its relations with other nations. This view is affirmed by Dorsey who notes that, “soft power is a key Qatari defence and security strategy based on the realization that it will never have the military

strength to defend itself irrespective of what hardware it acquires or the number of foreigners it recruits to populate its armed forces” in relations to what they stand for in relation to one another (Murray., 2013).

Regionally, Kenya actively takes part in the East African Community’s parliamentary games to strengthen ties with its neighbours. The EAC Inter-Parliamentary Games tournament is a key aspect of building relations between the East African Legislative Assembly (EALA) and the National Assemblies in the EAC region in line with Article 49(2) (a) of the Treaty for the establishment of the East African Community. (EAC Press, 2019). As part of the founding members of the EAC, it is a moment of building harmony especially the bonding session in the pre-conference.

Kenya has also thrived to advance its national interests using sports at the international arena. The most remarkable event Kenya successfully secured its bid was the IAAF under 18 championship hosted in Kasarani sports arena. According to local news sources the event was a good starter for international events and boosting Kenya’s image among other competing nations. Advancing Kenya’s national interests through sports is a result of the national sports act (2012) that led to the establishment of the Kenya Academy of Sports (KAS) whose main mandate is to identify, nurture and develop talent among the youth of Kenya as well as train sports technical personnel who later represent Kenya in international championships and also as sports diplomats.

According to Otieno (2019), Kenya’s dominance in the world of sports provides valuable avenues for the country to pursue sports diplomacy. As he wrote, Kenya’s bid for a non-permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) where top Kenyan athletes were strategically including in the delegation, provides an example of how Kenya could exploit its strength in sports diplomacy. Putting top Kenyan athletes at the forefront

of such a delegation means, according to Otieno (2019) that Kenya seeks to show the world the contributions of Kenyans.

Otieno (2019) opined that top Kenyan athletes such as Paul Tergat, Eliud Kipchoge and Tegla Loroupe put Kenya at a favourable position within the global stage of sports. As such, these sporting icons could help improve Kenya' foreign public diplomacy through three ways: as status symbols, identity makers, and interest promoters. Globally, Kenya is appreciated as unique sporting destination, especially in the world of athletics. As such, these athletes could serve as visual tools to enhance Kenya's position in international affairs. As Otieno (2019) noted, the inclusion of sporting icons in Kenya's delegation to the UNSC means the country is ready to explore this less exploited branch of foreign policy to improve its international standing and stature.

Kenya hopes to use the World under 18 Athletics Championships to be held starting July 12th, 2020 to expand and promote the country's position as a sporting destination. Hosting more than 2000 athletes and international media, the event promises to be an opportunity for Kenya to advance and market the country as a tourist and sporting destination (Otieno, 2019). While international media will focus on the sporting event, Kenya's leadership hopes to open up other economic and development opportunities alongside the sporting event.

2.10.2 Sports Diplomacy and Place Branding

Sports Diplomacy has been inexistence for several decades; however, many countries are reluctant to acknowledge its essential role in foreign relations. Despite, many countries participating in international sports, its influence on shaping states foreign interest has been growing at a very slow phase. However, sports diplomacy as a tool emerged to take a key role in states foreign policy during post-World War One when governments and

politicians gaining interested in using the platform as a channel to conduct international affairs. Pierre de Coubertin, the father of modern Olympic movement, who is considered as one of the most recognized and legitimate international sport events proponents had predicted the growth of sports diplomacy relevance in international relations and thus led to him promoting the Olympic concept when he stated:

“...sport competitions should substitute wars, and the youth from around the world instead of fighting against each other in the wars should compete on the sports stadiums...” He also claimed, that “...wars break out because nations do not understand each other and that there will be no peace unless prejudices between different races pass away...” (Pierre: 13)

Recent international political events surrounding Kenya such as the international criminal cases against political leaders have not been favourable to her image globally and in the region. However, there are some of events which Kenya has perceived as threat to their interest in the region hence forcing the country to retaliate by opting for hard power via military intervention. Other states have threatened to savour ties with Kenya by dictating on her political situation.

Sports can therefore play a decisive factor in shaping a country’s idea of identity locally, regionally and internationally. Harvey states further emphasizes that sport is among the most significant nurture and moulder of collective identity and national unity in the world. In addition, Eden elaborated his argument clearly by indicating that;

“...Sport in modern societies is a means by which nation-states socialize their citizens, transmitting symbolic codes of the dominant culture and inducing citizens towards conformity with beliefs and values that prevail in the wider society...” (Eden, 2003)

Sports creates a platform for states to come together peacefully yet at the same time presents an opportunity for sports to peacefully challenge each other fairly. Nauright argues that “in this increasingly unified yet divided world, sports mega-events, particularly the Olympic Games and the FIFA Soccer World Cup, have become high demand focal points that have symbolic value well beyond the results on the fields of sporting competition.

Across the border, Tegla played a great role as a peace envoy in the Darfur conflict and among the Karamojongs in Uganda.” This led to her appointment as the UN Ambassador of Sport in 2006 by Kofi Annan, the former UN Secretary General (Gichoya.2016). She is a highly decorated and celebrated athlete who has utilised the power of sport to benefit communities in the Northern Frontier Districts in Kenya.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodology employed in conducting the research. The chapter details the research approach, research design, and how was data collected, analysed and presented, ethical considerations observed during the research.

3.2 Research Approach

This study was guided by qualitative research approach. According to Mugenda (2003) qualitative research approach involves emerging questions and procedure, data analysis inductively building from particulars to general themes and the researcher making interpretations of the meaning of the data. The qualitative research approach was used to assess the effectiveness of Sports Diplomacy under Kenya's Foreign Policy Document of 2014. This approach was found suitable because it allowed the researcher to conduct an in depth investigation on the contribution of sports diplomacy in realising Kenya's foreign policy objectives.

3.3 Research Design

Research design, as per Kothari (2014), referred to the overall strategy used to incorporate the diverse mechanisms of the study in a rational and articulate manner that promoted and ensured effective presentation and analysis of the research problem.

The cross-sectional analysis used in the study considered the economic contribution and promotion of Kenya's image abroad through the use of sports diplomacy by Kenya was the main subject of analysis. Further, the design was used because it enabled the conducting of in-depth research in this study and helped in investigating the topic extensively across different disciplines.

3.4 Population and Sample Size

3.4.1 Study population

The population which was be represented in this study are international relations scholars, Ministry of Foreign Affairs officials (both past and present), athletes (both retired and active) who are currently or have had international exposure representing the country, and finally select members of the public, such as journalists, who have exhibited keen interest in local and international sports.

3.4.2 Sample size

The sample size was represented by 5 international relations scholars, 6 ambassadors, 5 governments agencies officials, 6 athletes, 4 national teams' coaches and 4 members of the public perceived to have exhibited keen interest in both local and international sports. This made a total of 30 respondents. The study was conducted in Nairobi County, in 3 major institutions; United States International University – Africa, Ministry of Sports, as well as Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

3.5 Data Collection

The qualitative data was collected through secondary sources (articles, journals and reports), and primary data was collected through interview questionnaires. The interview questionnaire was subjected to a pilot test where two participants from the three targeted areas (USIU-A; Ministry of Sports and Foreign Affairs Ministry), where each institution produced 2 participants, and were engaged to ascertain the time to be spent and the validity of the questions. The two participants drawn from all the major targeted institutions increased the reliability of the interview questionnaire as a tool of data collection and increase acquisition of the right information for the study. Apart from focus group interviews, the process engaged participants who were readily available in

one location, such as USIU- Africa, direct phone interviews and face-to-face interviews were engaged in retrieving information from senior personnel.

3.6 Data Analysis

Data analysis method is the systematic examination of raw or secondary data for emerging themes, facts, observations that are used to answer research questions. (Saunders & Thornhill, 2009). Data collected was examined qualitatively and by content analysis. This was achieved by grouping secondary data into homogenous themes (national and regional interests, inter- agency coordination and sports mega events in Kenya's image building) in the format of paragraphs and subsections or sub themes in order to enhance the flow of the analysis process which then could be used to arrive at summary, conclusions, and recommendations as per findings of the study. The analysis of secondary data was utilized to review the acquired data from secondary literature sources. The selection criteria for data were based on the relevance to the topic of contribution of sports diplomacy to Kenya's foreign policy goals. The questionnaire interview was divided into the four themes which guided the interview.

3.7 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations began from the initial design of the study, the researcher exercised high level of professionalism, reliability, confidentiality and honesty which ensured that the information given was only used for its purposes. To avoid plagiarism, the researcher cited all relevant materials from the secondary sources.

A letter was acquired from the USIU research office, and the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation, NACOSTI that gave permission for the distribution of research instruments and collation of data. Primary sources of data were also kept confidential through use of coding to secure participants identity.

3.8 Chapter Summary

The research methodology has been presented in this chapter. A qualitative study design has been presented highlighting how each approach helped realize the objectives of this study.

This covered the targeted population, data collection and data analysis methods. Moreover, research ethics were considered during the conducting of interviews, and coding to ensure confidentiality of data from the respondents.

This was further supported by acquisition of relevant permits from NACOSTI and the United States International University- Africa Research Office, which assisted in the distribution of research instruments and collation of the required data.

Data collection tools have been presented as well. Finally, research methods, data analysis methods, and ethical considerations have been submitted.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter analyzes the effectiveness of the conscious use of sports diplomacy in the region and globally, to assess the inter-agency coordination practice leading to leveraging or utilizing sports for diplomatic purposes and to assess the impact of Kenya's athletes' participation and performance in global mega events leading to the practice of sports diplomacy.

The study was subdivided into 3 major themes and sub-topic; examining the role of conscious use of sports in advancing Kenya's interest in foreign relations; analysis of the inter-agency operations relevance to sport diplomacy; and the impact of mega events at international arena to propel Kenya's sports diplomacy. The findings of these study will be coded and subjected to triangulation to assess the validity of the information acquired through discussion.

Analysis approach

Therefore, the study assessed Kenya's sports diplomacy, Kenya's national interests in regard to sports diplomacy at the global, regional and national level, inter-agency coordination for the conscious use of sports diplomacy and the impact of athletes' participation in global mega events.

The findings were acquired from focus group discussions and individual interviews. The respondents were clustered into 4 groups to achieve the desired outcomes. Each cluster consisted of a varied number of participants ranging between 4 to 6 respondents to form a total of 30 participants.

The first cluster was composed of international relations scholars and diplomats, and this target group was identified as (GA); the second cluster was annotated as GB and comprised of coaches and athletes who have participated in international mega events; third group is denoted as GC and comprised of government officials and finally, the fourth cluster was indicated as GD and comprised of the general public, but who were regarded to be aware of Kenya's participation in international mega events of various sporting disciplines. The feedback was transcribed from the recorded responses in line with the study objectives

4.2 Sports Diplomacy and Kenya's National Interests

Kenya's national interests since independence have been primarily promoted through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs pushing towards promoting peaceful co-existence with other nations and neighboring states; resolving conflict through peaceful approaches; protecting Kenya's prestige and image, promoting multilateralism and international co-operation, protecting and promoting interests of Kenyans abroad through the diaspora pillar, promoting respect for Kenya's sovereignty, equality, and the states territorial integrity.

According to Kenya Foreign Policy 2014 document, Kenya intends to achieve and maintain its interests through following national aspirations and values of Kenyan citizens, locally and abroad, as entrenched in the Kenyan Constitution; "Unity in Diversity; honor and patriotism; peace and liberty; justice and equity; quest for prosperity; and the Harambee spirit" (GoK, 2014:19, 20).

The various participants were engaged in interviews in the perspective of the interest to be gained through sports diplomacy; the relevance of sports diplomacy and impact of soft power approach; and sports diplomacy as a critical instrument in formulating the nation's foreign policy. The Kenya Foreign Policy 2014 document acknowledges Kenya as

enjoying a strategic international profile emerging from its sustained stability, strategic location, strong political institutions, dynamic strategic environment, economic policies, highly skilled and educated human resources.

In addition, the document acknowledges the outstanding Kenya's sports individual's performance as well as the increasing engagement of the diaspora in the promotion of national development. In line with cultural diplomacy pillar, sports diplomacy is in a position to promote cultural heritage in Kenya hence, the document purposely utilizes sports as a means to enhance cultural recognition as well as understanding as the foundation for dialogue (GoK, 2014).

The objective entrenched in cultural diplomacy pillar is interlinked in sports diplomacy by promoting cultural partnerships and exchanges; international intercultural dialogues, as well as promotion of the Swahili language, not only at the continental level but also globally:

GD and GB: Kenyan teams have been training using Swahili as the main language of communication which enables the giving and receiving of instructions in and off the field. The vast and readily use of the Swahili language within the East Africa community has provided Kenya with an opportunity to uplift the nations and the East African regions culture through language. Cultural uplifting through language enhances the visibility of other cultural attributes such as foods, dressing and way of life. Notably, the adoption of Kenyan athletes' names by individuals of western cultures has been documented and is still on the rise.

The feedback from these two groups of respondents highlight the importance of the use of sports in promoting cultural attributes such as Swahili to be a universal language. In this context, the element of pan-African is presented through embracing the local languages at

the national and international level while decolonizing the mind off of languages inherited by the colonies such as Arabic, English, French, among others in the East Africa region.

GA and GC: Kenya has developed international structures that promote sporting activities to promote development, expound national language, economic, and sports tourism within the country. The engagement of native's symbols in the architectural design in the development of sports center has promoted the local experts as equally competent in designing and developing modern reliable international standard infrastructures.

In an attempt to achieve international required standards in construction of international sporting centers, the Kenya expertise and institutions are recognized as competent and reliable. This further opens up avenues to increase employment rate at national and international levels hence increasing the national revenues in the country through the diaspora sending money back to support their families while pursuing sports or other specialized job opportunities.

GC: Though Swahili has been used for ages as the national mode of communication in the country by players, coaches, public, and management, the nation's athletes at international levels try to respond to interview in foreign language which they might not be conversant with. This undermines the use of Swahili as a main communication tool embraced by Kenyan athletes. These athletes should respond to interviews in Swahili like their counterparts from other western countries who use their languages, such as German, Spanish, French, and Portuguese among other to respond to interviews.

Attempt by national team athletes to try to use a foreign language to respond to interviews in foreign language is a clear indication of the need to promote Swahili language as a

main communication platform for the locals. Therefore, boosting the athlete's confidence should start right from the lower education level where local languages like Swahili should be given preference in day to day communication. The Kenya Foreign Policy 2014, the first of its kind in Kenya's diplomatic quest, outlines the need to promote sports as a means to recognize the nation's cultural heritage and diversity while at the same time promoting international intercultural dialogue through recognition of Swahili as an international and national language (GoK, 2014).

Therefore, the national sportsmen ought to ensure that Kiswahili stand out at the national, continental, and international sporting platform that will lead to foreigners engaging interpreters or enrolling in classes to learn the language.

4.2.1 Sports Diplomacy and gains in Kenya interest

That sports diplomacy presents specific interests in which Kenya is likely to benefit from at the national, regional, and international platforms. The respondent's feedback varied in relations to their level of awareness or familiarity to the impact of sports on Kenya interest at various level of analysis.

4.2.2 Global level

According to responded GA on their participation on the sports diplomacy and how it shapes Kenya's interest at international platform.

GA: Athletics Kenya, Brand Kenya and Ministry of Tourism have been at the forefront in propelling Kenya's image at international arena for decades by use of key athletes holding and breaking various world records in different races for decades. This has promoted Kenya's image as a sports tourism destination with areas like Eldoret having gained popularity as areas of focus when it comes to international athletes training camps. Consequently, this has boosted the region's

economy and level of international recognition as a town of champions. Moreover, some of international organizations like Global Sports Communication and other sports marketing agencies work closely with excelled athletes to ensure that they have a long lasting and beneficial career.

Traditional tourism has been termed as one of the key drivers of Kenya's economy. According to Kenya's 'Tourism sector performance report-2018' through the Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife via Cabinet Minister, Honorable Najib Balala, supports the respondents GA view by noting that the tourism sector in 2017-2018 increased with 37.33% where international visitor's arrival in 2017 and 2018 were respectively 1,474, 671 and 2,025,206.

In the report segmentation where holiday (73.9%), relatives and friends' visitors (6.7%), Conference and Business (13.3%), and other purposes such as sports (6.4%). The foreign trend arrival in the in the country has been varying from 2007, 2011, 2015, 2017 and 2018 represented by 1,816,800; 1,822,885; 1,180,500; 1,474, 671; and 2,025, 206 respectively.

The 2018 period saw substantial improvement in terms of tourism arrival compared to 2017 factors which could be attributed to relative political stability; improved security context; withdrawal of travel advisories; increase in direct flights to Nairobi and Mombasa; and more so the excellent Kenya athlete's performance at the international sporting mega events.

GA and GC: Kenya has internationally played a part in promoting refugee's participation in sports activities at international competition. Kenya has not only become the major actor in ensuring continuity of peace at the neighboring state, such as Somalia, but has as well acted as safe haven for refugees.

This view was further reiterated by GC by noting that:

Through sports diplomacy Kenya can increase the it's country profile at a time when many of our shortcomings (corruption, mediocre leadership, lack of infrastructure etc.) are focused on as opposed to our strengths. Through a common passion and interest in sports we can find a point of mutual interest with other nations and build on that interest to improve overall relations with the corresponding and respective nations.

The role of Kenya in presenting and promoting a positive image at the international arena led it to assent the international convention that ensures host states protect refugees within their territorial integrity. According to UNHCR-Kenya (2017) affirms the role of Kenya in international engagement by noting that Kenya's refugees went to London to participate in the International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF) World Championship games in August 14th, 2017. This move alluded to a remarkable gesture for refugees' participation at such a global platform for the first time in 34 years of the competition since its inception.

The participation of refugees at international games did not only acted to cement Kenya's relations with its neighbors but also improved its image at international arena and reframed the regions identity. The representative from Kenya Refugees camp were Kadar Omar, Anjelina Lohalith, and Rose Lokonyen, Bashir Farah opening more doors for refugees not only to participate in London but as well in Rio, Bahamas, Rwanda, and Uganda with the help of Kenyan coach John Anzara.

GB: Our sportsmen have enabled our country to be recognized by other international institutions such as the Laureus Award under the auspices of the IAAF awarded to Eliud Kipchoge for the Male Athlete of the Year 2019. Global

platforms have as well provided our experts an opportunity to work and collaborate with other international organizations in various disciplines such as the media. For former world record breakers to be invited to talk to global news houses like BBC, Aljazeera and the continental Kwese Sports among others where they offer their expertise as sports anchors.

The country's sports men and women have been in a position to provide the local expertise in different fields such as even health and to be recognized in the world through their efforts to market sports and act as a proxy to enlighten the international actors on Kenya's culture, sports, and history. Notably, is the appointment of former world champion marathon runner Paul Tergat as the World Food Programme Ambassador for Hunger in 2012 (World Food Programme, 2012).

Therefore, Kenya uses sports diplomacy to project its soft power capability not only at regional level but also at the international platform. GC notes that:

Sports Diplomacy is critical in projecting Kenya's soft power. Looking at Eliud Kichoge's achievements as an example, by running a sub 2 marathon, he has arguably become a global influencer. The extent to which Kenya could leverage on the partnership of branding that was used on Eliud Kipchoge, then Kenya stands miles ahead of other countries in its use of soft power influence to achieve what it would never by use of hard power.

4.3 Sports as an instrument in Foreign Policy

Kenya's use of sports for diplomatic purposes has not been exhaustively leveraged to assist the nation achieve its foreign interests. The use of athletics particularly has yet to reflect on the potential benefits onto which Kenya's prowess lies in. The lack of a strategy around what Kenya is globally known for, puts the nation at a precarious position of not

achieving its potential. Iconic Kenyan athletes have well established the country as a goldmine of soft power assets, and thus the nation needs to exhibit reciprocity for the efforts of these athletes abroad.

International firms such as Isuzu Kenya has been sponsoring Kipchoge to carry its brand abroad and rewarding him in every record he breaks at international platform carrying the company's image in Kenya and internationally. Respondents in GC cluster noted that:

Sports may not be the main instrument of wielding diplomacy, but it is certainly a tool that can be leveraged on due to the high level of success Kenya has in the area of athletics. Since many of our athletes are considered icons internationally, their participation in global sports mega events can be utilized as informal avenues of exercising or initiating Kenya's agendas. By offering these athletes better national incentives due to their prowess, it exemplifies a support system towards these athletes who will perform better in subsequent mega events raising the chances of visibility of the country, and offering numerous other events that Kenya could utilize for diplomatic purposes.

The respondents GC questioned the relevance of Kenya not partnering and forming strategic mutual partnerships with iconic athletes and their sponsors to elevate the brand image of Kenya. This has led to other international corporations like Nike, Isuzu Kenya and of late, Ineos, to be the athlete's main sponsors leaving out the country at the global sporting mega events. This view highlights the lack of a comprehensive strategy revolving around what the nation state of Kenya is best known for and good at.

4.3.1 Regional level

At regional level Kenya plays an important role in the African Union integration measures through working with various sub regional bodies such as East African Community (EAC) in ensuring that peace and development is realized in accordance with the pan-African view. According to East African Community website, it indicates that the EAC Inter-Parliamentary Games competition is a key contributor of building association between the East African Legislative Assembly (EALA) as well as the National Assemblies within the EAC region in accordance with Article 49 Section 2(a) of the Treaty that established East African Community (EAC, n.d).

Kenya as a member of EAC was supported to host the East African Parliamentary Institute (EAPI) through their bid forwarded by National Assembly speaker Honorable Justine Muturi and Senate speaker, Honorable Kenneth Lusaka. These events of 2011 September improved significantly Kenya's economy via direct job creation and injection of foreign exchange. The EAPI targeted at supporting the beneficiaries to better appreciate their place and role in the general parliamentary system environment, which resulted to informed articulation of policies in line to Parliamentary affairs.

GA and GC: Kenya has participated greatly in the regional games through engaging in the Annual Inter-Parliamentary Games and as well as engaged in East Africa Community military games. These sporting activities have assisted Kenya in using the platform to economically and militarily segment its influence in the region and maintain its hegemonic position in supporting major sports events in the region.

The EAC 2019 report termed as "12th EAC military games and cultural event Kenya military has different wings", notes the Kenya's military diversity and capability in the

region's military in comparison to the other member states such as: Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi among other. This view is further affirmed through Kenya's President Uhuru Kenyatta's presidential press release in 23 August 2019, noting that EAC military games have become a key foundation of the regional integration and Kenya military participating in these activities. The military games widened and deepened cooperation among member states an element that is in line with Kenya's aim to build bridges of fraternity and unity within the EAC region (Presidential Press, 2019).

Participants GA, GB, and GC exemplified extensive levels of knowledge on the benefits of sports diplomacy as a fundamental instrument of foreign policy. However, the GD cluster had limited knowledge on how the sporting activities conducted in Moi International Sports Centre- Kasarani in 2019 August contributed towards Kenya's foreign policy or what impact they contributed in solidarity with the regions stability mandate. The GD participant only thought of hegemony as being presented in terms of awards and the medals won by various member states in the various levels.

Therefore, it is evident that the level of awareness at regional and national level on the relevance of sport diplomacy in foreign policy is relatively low, hence used as a platform for entertainment purposes mainly by the public.

Sports activities at the regional level are used as a tool for Kenya to maintain its hegemonic position and as a peace hub for enhancing cohesion among member states. This increases Kenya's sport and tourism scope as well as their bargaining power at the international arena as they offer a large market scope and military capability.

4.4 Criteria for Evaluating Sports Diplomacy

The channels, actors, and networks where international sport and diplomacy interlink to form two unique elements of sports diplomacy is evident where international sports is consciously employed by governments as a diplomatic instrument while international sports-as- diplomacy is evident where diplomatic representation, negotiations and communication between non-state actors occur due to existing global sporting competition. However, the respondents' views affirmed that there is not special criteria used by Kenya's sports diplomacy to assess its effectiveness. In GA and GC view:

The area of sports diplomacy has not been explored adequately in order to enable Kenya leverage on the same for its diplomatic ends. Therefore, to be able to create a rubric for measuring sports diplomacy becomes impossible as no criteria has been established as of yet. The criteria is more or less rudimentary with the obvious participation and prowess of Kenyan athletes at sports mega events being the basis of this unendorsed criteria.

According to participants in the GA cluster, Kenya has barely exploited sports especially in the area where it excels beyond the rest, such as athletics. This shows that Kenya has clearly not engaged athletics as a leverage in supporting diplomatic strategy while engaging with other nations. In addition, the respondents in the GA group largely feel that the decision to use Eliud Kipchoge in bid for Kenya's position in UNSC candidature to serve as a Non-Permanent Member of the United Nations Security Council for the period 2021-2022, was rather a knee jack reaction by the government. In this context, there was misplaced approach in diplomatic roles.

As GA indicates;

“In pursuing sports for diplomatic purposes, Kenya does not need to get its

athletes directly involved in its diplomacy, rather the events around the global athletics mega events should be what is utilized to gain mileage for diplomatic purposes.”

Such that, as another respondent in the GA clusters alleges:

“If Kenya was serious about what is happening at the UNSC, Kenya should be providing leadership at both the regional and continental level, and working with the AU, championing for significant changes that Koffi Annan advocated for during his tenure.”

In the context where sport is used by the government as a diplomatic instrument, this is usually the much common factor of sports diplomacy. In this conventional platform, diplomacy is mapped as the “dialogue between states,” however, sports diplomacy is usually linked with “authorities employing sportspeople to diplomatic message, or with states exploiting sporting events for public diplomacy opportunities, to cool tension in flagging diplomatic associations or to simply test the ground for a possible policy change” (Murray and Pigman, 2014).

In a different context, international sport as diplomacy too is composed of the impacts of both global sports on diplomacy as well as the specialization of international sport diplomacy through diplomatic events that exists to ensure international sporting competition is realized.

Murray and Pigman (2014) as well, not that, this is usually visible in the contemporary plural diplomatic platforms, non-state actors like the International Olympic Committee (IOC) as well as ‘the Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA)’ can be termed as a distinct practice kind of diplomacy. The individuals and institutions consistently engage in negotiation and representation with governments, the regional and

national institutions sports bodies, large international companies that support competitions, international media companies and international civil society organizations (CSOs).

In relations to this view of international sport diplomacy and sports diplomacy for Kenya, the country's contribution has been acknowledged by FIFA by being ranked 108 out of 209 member nations globally in terms of football quality (FIFA, October 2019), and the country has been participating in Olympic Games that consists of various other sporting disciplines.

GA/GB/GC: Kenya's sports has employed several personnel directly and indirectly through offering positions as officials at the various national federations, coaches of respective teams, provided platforms for journalists in various media houses as sports researchers and game analysts. The sporting fraternity also creates a chance for various clubs to employ young talent who compete in various sports and are the main drivers of sports diplomacy for Kenya, and these athletes are the face of Kenya when they represent the country in international events.

GC/GD: The performance of national teams in the international arena provides a good basis of support from the public locally. Whereas some teams have performed dismally in certain international rankings, as was the case of the National football team – Harambee Stars in the last couple of years, some sports have maintained their international prowess. Rugby has been used as a vehicle for showcasing brand Kenya at the international events, through endorsements of multinational companies such as Kenya Breweries Limited, Safaricom and Kenya Airways. This has helped to boost Kenya's image abroad and this has been

accentuated by endorsements of governmental agencies such as the Kenya Tourism Board, Ministry of Tourism, Brand Kenya and various other ministries.

These views affirm the role sports diplomacy has been playing in providing employment at the national and international level by the officials directly or indirectly engaging with the teams. Therefore, whenever the teams perform dismally at internal or regional levels, the personnel in the sporting team are likely to be replaced or urged to work harder to improve the image of the country at international and regional level.

In situations where the teams have been performing exemplary beyond expectation, it results to local multinational companies as well as brand Kenya using the team as their platform to market Kenya's interest abroad, economically and politically.

Institutions such as "Diaso Sports Management Limited (DSML)" is an important sport management that market and consultancy firm located in Kenya and Germany. This institution has been led by Moses Otieno for above ten years cumulative sports as well as facilities management that assist in supporting local institutions to achieve the expected results.

The cumulative growth in Kenya sports competitiveness at international arena has become as an important marketing platform at the international arena. Moreover, the use of the country's national anthem as a sign of respect to the sports efforts during mega events helps in promoting Kenya's foreign policy through sports diplomacy.

4.4.1 Kenya's National Interests in the East African Community Region

Polo (2015) notes that sport as a diplomatic device is usually conceptualized and implemented by the existing political authorities. Sports therefore has the ability to neutralize the political competition as well as rivalry existing between neighboring or different nations.

4.4.1.1 EAC military games impact on Kenya's visibility in the region.

The involvement of Kenya in hosting and participating in East African Community military games led to the region identifying Kenya as a reliable partner in the region. This is because through the main government officials such as the President taking a key role in acknowledging Kenya's' important to the regionals bilateral relations.

In Polo (2015) view, through emphasizing the symbolic importance of specific games and appealing to the populace goodwill for reconciliation via sports, political leaders are in a position to display their capability to overcome political impasse. In this context, the state forms the major actors while a sport becomes a device for unlocking challenging situations, or as well, functions as the means of enhancing bilateral interstate association. This can be seen in not only the military games but also the East Africa's parliamentary games.

4.4.1.2 Reshaping the region's identity.

Kenya's participation at international platforms improves the country's image not only at national but also at international arena as the member states prefer Kenya to host most of the sporting activities especially due to the presence of modern improved international facilities.

Moreover, the Kenya Revenue Authority shifted focus to prominent athletes to tax their reward from participation in major global competitions (Wahome & Ayieko, October 18, 2017). However, this approach was met with mixed reaction by both the athletes and the participants as different individuals' views KRA's step as not promoting reward for the athletes hard work but rather use them to achieve their taxation goals.

Therefore, Kenya has resulted to reward its outstanding athletes and at the same time send its key government officials to their competitions to boost their morale during

participation in the global world. In addition, Kenya through permitting dual citizenship as indicated in the Constitution of Kenya, Article 14(1), (2) and (5) has improved the Kenya role in in diplomatic relations with Kenya's key individuals voluntarily getting involved in participating in sporting events. This has enabled Kenya to benefit from skills which are not sufficient or competitively available in some sporting activities within the country.

4.4.1.3 Sports as a tool to foster peace and unity among its EAC counterparts

The process of engaging in regional military and parliamentary games increases the bonding between countries by ensuring that the hostility which might have existed through other elements are cemented in social activities such as sports.

Kenya's President through the presidential press, acknowledges the role played by Kenya in engaging in competitive sports activities with its neighboring states, adding that hosting the games in Kenya has provided the country with an opportunity to benefit from the income generated directly and indirectly from these activities.

Moreover, Kenya's sports tourism industry though not very well established has been growing at the international arena bring in more tourist to support their competing teams or as well open sports academies that improves on the country's' image at international and regional level.

4.4.2 Constrains in regional integration

Kenya's national interest has in fact acted as a platform for other neighbouring countries with low capacity to hold such activities to be in a position to exploit the opportunities presenting in Kenya hosting the regional and some international games. The element of reduced costs is associated by the neighbouring states spending less to participate in regional member states while at the same time having an opportunity to market self to the

international players with an aim of improving their image.

However, in terms of competition in major events such as athletics, the neighbouring countries have used Kenya as a measure to excel in the sports and uplift their image. Uganda, Eritrea, and Ethiopia athletes have always been using Kenyan athletes to gauge their prowess in the athletics especially marathons, leading to their countries greatly rewarding their outstanding athletes who manage to win major events at international platforms against Kenyans. The neighbouring states however stand to lose out in bidding to host major international events to Kenya due to their lack of capacity and enough infrastructure or required peace stability to host such events.

4.5 Inter – Agency Coordination for the Conscious Use of Sports Diplomacy

4.5.1 Comprehensive Framework

This inter-agency coordination involves the actual collaboration of various state and non-state actors to realize the practice of sports diplomacy. While the Ministry of Foreign Affairs plays an instrumental role in promotion of foreign policy, the evolution of diplomacy has brought in various other actors from a myriad of sectors including advertising, branding and even ministries such as the Interior Ministry. Regionally, there are organizations such as the EAC and the AU that provide frameworks with ambitions in achieving solidarity and cohesion among the African and regional nations.

GA and GC: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Sports and Culture are the most pronounced actors in the attempt to use sports for diplomatic purposes. They are the main governmental ministries under whose directions, various agencies assist in the push for sports to meet certain diplomatic ends. Under these ministries, there are agencies that guide the practice of sports diplomacy, albeit, without a solid framework. The Anti-

Doping Agency of Kenya (ADAK), sanctioned under the global governing body WADA (World Anti-Doping Agency), and the Athletics Kenya are some of the agencies that implement sports diplomacy. The lack of a framework limits regular and strategic discussions for an inter-agency collaborative effort to collectively and consciously use sports for diplomatic purposes.

GC: NOCK under the Ministry of Sports, Heritage and Culture would be and has been the main government agency that would lead the quest for Kenya's sports diplomacy when it came to athletics, the nation's best performing event.

4.5.2 Resource Allocation and Sharing

These views affirm the lack of an inter-agency collective effort and most critically, the lack of a framework to allocate resources to pursuant to this ambitious effort. Most conspicuously, is the lack of an annual budget to help implement the realization of sports diplomacy by Kenya. Whereas there is an ambitious plan, it cannot be implemented without the allocation of resources to help develop such a framework. Some instances have been witnessed whereby the Kenyan national teams are stranded in foreign airports due to the lack of funds, and while this directly confers to the responsibility under the Ministry of Sports and Culture, particularly the Sports Fund, the image it creates to foreign publics shortchanges the gains of the ambitious sports diplomacy plans envisioned under the Kenya Foreign Policy Document of 2014 (Citizen, 2018).

Respondents under the group GA argue that:

According to GA view, though the diplomatic push emanates from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the athletes belong under the auspices of the Ministry of Sports, Culture and the Arts and thus the Kenya team being stranded in foreign country, such as Lagos, or counseling journey should not happen if the relevant

ministry co-operates. Therefore, it is incumbent on both ministries to initiate an inter-agency framework to guide the realization of the use of sports for diplomatic purposes by supporting the various sports teams in the country.

4.5.3 External Influences

While the sports that mostly played in Kenya are the athletics, soccer and rugby, it is noted that influence from certain international bodies help in aligning national federations to meet international standards.

GB and GD: The IOC, IAAF, FIFA, CAF, IRB, FIBA, FIBA, WADA are the most notable international sporting organizations that assist to streamline national federations.

These agencies assist in the realization of athletes to participate in various global events and provide a global framework for individual nation states to streamline their respective federations to have a uniform system that is globally understood and adopted.

In particular, the World Anti-Doping Agency is responsible for all agencies to restrict the use of performance drugs whereby, some athletes in Kenya have been found to have violated some of these restrictions and faced sanctions against those violations.

4.6 Impact of Athletes and Sports Mega events on Kenya's Image and Place Branding

4.6.1 Sports Mega Events

Knotts finding as he researched on the South African World cup case realized three findings that were deemed by stakeholders to be unique in creating nation branding opportunities, namely: the scale of the event that created opportunities for transformational development; the global appeal, connection and attachment of the event;

and iii) the symbolic status of the event that was leveraged for internal brand building and public diplomacy (2017).

Sports mega events has been of benefit to the hosting states where deliberate policies are formulated by many nations especially the emerging nations such as Kenya. Kenya has stated explicitly in its nation building interests through their quest to host major events such as IAAF competition and looking forward to host FIFA World cup in future.

The capability of Kenya hosting IAAF was perceived by stakeholders to be special platform to create an opportunity for nation branding through; the scope of event creating a platform for transformational development;

In GA and GC view: Kenya should use what its best known for; that is the middle- and long-distance marathon races such as the global marathon circuits in Chicago, New York, Boston and London. More recently Kenya should have leveraged immensely on the historic sub- two hour marathon ran by Eliud Kipchoge in Vienna. The Kenyan government, through the agencies concerned, should have approached this historic event with a comprehensive strategy and worked closely with the main sponsors to increase Kenya's prominence.

In this context, respondents allay their fears that Kenya missed a golden opportunity to gain significant mileage in improving its international image and lacked a strategy of engaging the main sponsors of the event. Therefore, the mega-events have not been fully exhausted by the Kenyan state towards strategically aligning its diplomatic scavenging at international sports mega events environments. Moreover, with the correct strategy, as viewed by majority of the respondents were of the view that:

Kenya with the right amount of strategy going into the historic race could have lay claim that it enabled create a suitable environment that made it possible for

Eliud Kipchoge to do something that no one in the history of mankind has done, to run a sub-2 hour marathon.

Such statements boost a country's image to foreign publics and enables the Kenyan state to sell its incredible product and natural brand, its athletes. The exploitation of such a mega event to Kenya's benefits was not as it should have if it had a strategy going in.

4.6.2 Kenya's Image

The country is in a position to presents its value and originality at international level. A country is used a brand presenting a multifaceted approach where the national branding identity is reflected through language, history, literature, architecture, food and beverage, and political regime, and communicated to targeted audience via different means such as branded sports; cultural artifacts, sporting achievement; prominent personalities; and tourism experience that leads in the development of the shared subjective image by the consumers (either external or domestic consumers, media, governments, or investors firms about a specific nation. Kenya has used its outstanding athletes to presents its image abroad flying the national flag and the rugby team has been at the forefront to presents the Kenya national emblems and flags in their attire designs while as well representing the sponsors such as Kenya Airways and Safaricom image at international standards.

GA/GB/GC/GD: Kenya has been performing exemplary well in its athletics platform for many years holding various records at international platform. This put Kenya at the world map as the center for athletes in the world where renowned world record holders come from. As a result, other games such as Rugby have been used by major firms in Kenya to boost their image abroad. This approach boost the confidence of investors to invest in the country.

4.6.3 Athletes Performance on Kenya's Place Branding

Although only a focus on tangible impacts have been focused on, the idea of national image and state branding has been on the periphery. There need to be long term focus to create legacy impacts as the remnants of participating, bidding or hosting of mega events.

Respondents from GD:

The performance of Kenyan athletes and teams abroad brings joy to its citizens and enhances the feeling of nationhood. It is with great honor for Kenyans to have their national anthem played in foreign countries as a sign of prowess in a certain discipline. It is good for marketing as is the case for the South African Rugby world cup team or the Brazilian football team. Exemplary performance definitely implies visibility of that sport at the national level and elicits interests from possible sponsors such as betting companies and private investors.

4.7 Chapter Summary

The findings of this study ascertain to the numerous potential the nation state of Kenya holds in strategizing foreign policy around sports mega events as a means of enabling the exercise of sports diplomacy. The idea to use athletes as sports diplomats in pursuant of diplomatic objectives may miss the noble idea behind use of sports to arrive at diplomatic ends and thus established, that sports mega events offer informal avenues through which bureaucratic and athletes action on the track and field are fairly distinguished but towards a common goal.

Furthermore, the findings of this study point to the grim reality of Kenya's lack of a comprehensive framework around what its globally best known for.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This study has been an analysis of the effective use of sports diplomacy in pursuit of Kenya's interest in foreign relations. The journey towards the realization of Kenya's practice of sports diplomacy is captured from the gazettelement of the 2013 Sports Act, to the recognition of the outstanding performance by Kenya's athletes in the country's premier Foreign Policy Document of 2014 and the participation of Kenyan athletes in global mega events. The period immediately after the inception of Kenya's first foreign policy document was central in this study.

5.2 Summary of Findings

In the objective the examination of the role of conscious use of sports in propelling Kenya's foreign interest at the international platform. The study identified that the sport diplomacy could be used to advanced Kenya's global footprint, interest and influence. There are attempt, however, far weak and fickle on to how sports are leveraged to produce positive results for the interests of Kenya.

The study findings further assessed the inter-agency capacity to sports as diplomatic tool in propelling Kenya's interest. The study found out that there is no comprehensive framework between inter-agencies to assist in realization of a fruitful co-ordination of the implementation mechanisms to use sports for diplomatic purposes.

In addition, the study further assessed the impact of athlete's participation in global sporting mega events for the execution of sports diplomacy. The findings indicated that

athletes and their participation in the global sports mega events are a valuable tool or agents that could be utilized for sports diplomacy.

5.3 Policy Recommendations

With the evolving conduct of diplomacy, the use of non-conventional modes of engagement between states and international organisations. As states remain the primary beneficiaries to the practice of diplomacy, Kenya sits on a goldmine of soft power assets that, if studied, and applied correctly could lead to positive outputs for Kenyan foreign policy and its sports industry. The intangible power resources that the athletes bear, could be better channelled towards achieving certain interests that align with national policies that could further be mirrored in the region and the international arena. Sports diplomacy works just as well in domestic, intra-state contexts as it does in inter-national environments. The Australian government, for example, uses sport to overcome systemic estrangement with the indigenous First Australians, the Papua New Guinean female Rugby League team are powerful ambassadors for women's rights within one of the most patriarchal societies on the planet. Therefore, Kenya can lead the globe in championing of health issues such as obesity, diabetes and lifestyle diseases by using its prowess and athletes to campaign for healthier living habits.

An inter-agency framework for the full realisation of sports diplomacy needs to be developed via the various agencies involved. Whereas, there are solid national policies that guide the implementation of grassroots sports diplomacy, Kenya certainly needs to develop a formidable sports diplomacy policy framework aimed at achieving certain foreign policy objectives such as enhancement of regional and global peace and security. Such a framework would help coordinate various inter-agency information exchange, hold strategic discussions geared towards the systematic realization of the practice of sports diplomacy and most importantly, allocate resources specifically channelled to

Kenya's conscious use of sports for diplomatic purposes. The government also needs to ensure a working group composed of theorists, practitioners and experts from both the realms of sport and government is formed.

With the conscious use of sports for diplomatic purposes, and the realization of a framework towards sports diplomacy, the idea of sports diplomats can be achieved. Athletes who are well trained to champion global issues around global mega events. A rich and passionate repository of expertise, funding, experience and partnership is to be found in the non-state sporting sector. Strive for reciprocity: governments get access to extant sporting networks, while non-state sporting actors gain a legitimacy and credibility as a state-partner.

Sports diplomacy has largely been captured by western authors, is yet to be explored by many African scholars and has yet to be adapted to any African case study. The time is right for Kenya to adapt and employ this framework under sports diplomacy as a source and practice to inform its foreign policy, with it bringing immense soft power influence, and thus a continental hegemon in the practice of sports diplomacy.

5.4 Conclusion

This study has made various findings about the effectiveness of Kenya's use of sports diplomacy. Firstly, the nation state of Kenya has yet to fully exploit and reap the benefits of sports diplomacy in achieving its interests and global influence. The diversification and multi-faceted approach towards sports as a discipline, has also closely interlinked diplomacy due to the globalisation and interdependency of economies. Therefore, modern sport is bound up in a global network of interdependency chains that are marked by global flows and uneven power relations within the state and non-state actors. With the practice of sports diplomacy, Kenya stands in a position to attract investors in the sports industry and places Kenya as a global frontier and a continental leader.

Secondly, the study established that athletes and sports mega events could be a valuable tool in the pursuance of Kenya's foreign interests and image building. As seen by Kenya's participation in the East Africa Community Military games provides a chance in deepening and widening cooperation among militaries of partner states, which resonates well with Kenya's efforts to build bridges of unity and fraternity within the region. With non-military mega events, including the EAC inter-parliamentary games, Kenya's prowess in long distance marathons, participation in the Olympics and other major events, leads to the image building of Kenya and reshaping the regions identities. This in turn creates prestige and boosts Kenya's image through the use of sports and multilateralism.

Thirdly, the quest for Kenya in achieving its foreign policy objectives has its efforts geared towards soft power dominance as envisioned in the Kenya Foreign Policy Document 2014. With the realisation of soft power dominance in the region, continent and also globally by use of sports as a major instrument in the pursuit of power, it heralds a guide for Kenya's future diplomatic engagements.

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