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**THE ROLE OF SPORTS DIPLOMACY IN AFRICAN INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS: THE CASE OF KENYA**

BY

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R51/75516/2014

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**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT FOR THE
REQUIREMENTS OF DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN DIPLOMACY**

2016

DECLARATION

DECLARATION BY STUDENT

This project report is my original work and has not been presented for a degree award or any other award in any other university.

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DECLARATION BY SUPERVISOR

This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University of Nairobi Supervisor.

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DEDICATION

To my family, the Milimu family, for the support and encouragement they accorded me. To my father, for the constant attention and generous words of wisdom. To my mother, for her knowing concern and emotional support throughout the course. To my siblings, for constantly picking me up when I was down and being part of my greatest support system.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I thank the almighty God for His grace and guidance throughout this study period. I would also take this opportunity to thank the supervisor of this study and my mentor, Prof. Maria Nzomo, who spared her valuable time, wealth of knowledge and experience and offered guidance whenever needed. I am especially thankful to my parents, Dr. D.M Bulinda & Mrs. Milimu and my siblings Albert, Stewart and Dorothea for their steadfast support and encouragement throughout. Last but not least, I wish to acknowledge the cooperation I received from University of Nairobi MA students at IDIS and officials at the ministry of Foreign Affairs, who responded to the instruments of the study.

ABSTRACT

African states have yet to master fully how to apply sport to achieve their interest and to build their political power and influence globally. When sport goes beyond national boundaries it becomes an intimate companion of diplomacy. Sports Diplomacy is an increasingly important aspect of diplomatic practice and growing part of the global sports industry. The main purpose of the study was to establish the role of sports diplomacy in the pursuit of Africa's and Kenya's national interest in particular. The study sought to examine and analyze the role of sports diplomacy in advancing Africa's regional interests, in attaining Kenya's national interest in foreign relations and in Kenya's foreign economic relations. This study was using cross sectional surveys and Purposive sampling to select those to be interviewed to help get the right information. The theory being used in the study is the liberal theory that proposes the cooperation of states and non-state actors and the important role of international institutions in international relations. The hypothesis formed were sports diplomacy can be utilized to advance Africa's interests as a region, sports diplomacy can attain Kenya's national interest in foreign relations and sports can positively influence Kenya's foreign economic relations. They were used in the formation of the questionnaire. The study established that sports diplomacy could be used in the pursuit of national interest and that sports diplomacy could be seen as part of identity building for a state, in which case the concept of sports ambassadors was identified. The study also found out that image building was an effective strategy aimed to attract investors that are in early stages of decision – making while at the same time position Kenya as a regional leader. The study recommends that the government needs to further embark on an active campaign for Kenya to utilize sports diplomacy in the pursuit of national interest in Africa and globally.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

| | | |
|--------|---|---|
| CECAFA | – | East and Central African Championship |
| FIFA | – | Fédération Internationale de Football Association |
| FDI | – | Foreign Direct Investment |
| IAAF | – | International Olympic Committee |
| IDIS | – | Institute of Diplomacy and Foreign Studies |
| IOC | – | International Olympic Committee |
| UN | – | United Nations |

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

In the highly globalized world there are various actors in the international arena but states continue to play a key role in the struggle to attain power and prestige. Hard power is no longer considered the main method of attaining legitimate power, soft power is considered just as important as hard power. According to Wilson, “soft power is the capacity to persuade others to do what one wants”.¹ Nye adds on that, “Persuasive power is based on attraction and emulation and associated with intangible power resources such as culture, ideology, and institutions.”² “Emphasis is however put on legitimacy for the concept of soft power to work.”³

Since the United Nations goal of maintaining international peace and security, states looked for other ways to legitimize their superiority peacefully and the use of sports as a tool of soft power is one. It is for this reason that sports can be considered as one of the most exciting modern phenomena—modern because, in its current form, it was born no longer than 150 years ago, exciting because it wins the interest of millions of people.⁴

International community uses international organizations to engage states in multilateral relations; sports too have international sporting organizations for various sports but the International Olympic Committee (IOC) is the only organization that brings together all

¹ Wilson, E. J. *Hard Power, Soft Power, Smart Power*. ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Issue 616, p. 114. 2008

² Nye, J. S. *Understanding International Conflicts*. 7. ed. New York: Pearson. p. 63. 2009.

³ Cooper, R. *Hard Power, Soft Power and the Goals of Diplomacy*. In: D. Held & M. Koenig-Archibugi, eds. *American Power in the 21st Century*. Cambridge: Polity Press, p. 173. 2004

⁴ Kobierecki, M. M. *Sport In International Relations Expectations, Possibilities And Effects*. INTERDISCIPLINARY POLITICAL AND CULTURAL JOURNAL, Vol. 15, No. 1/2013. P.49

professional sports and states in one venue at one point. It is for this reason that the IOC is the most competitive in international arena for states to acquire prestige and build their image. “Moreover, the Olympic Charter concedes that at the heart of the modern Olympic movement is a desire to contribute” “to building a peaceful and better world.”⁵ Sports have become an instrument of identity for countries.⁶

Sport is a political and diplomatic arena where politics parodies sport and vice versa.⁷ This means that sports as diplomacy can be used as a tool to heighten confrontation when relations between two nations are poor, or, if relations start to improve, sport can also create and accelerate diplomatic momentum.⁸ The “first boycott in sports was organized by Allied states after the Great War, so sport spirit was betrayed since this event and athletes became toys of international politics. The fact that sport was non-political could not be true anymore”. Arnaud argued that:

‘Sport, even Olympic sport, would not be able to avoid political arbitration [...] It was at this time that sport became an instrument of propaganda and a means of exerting diplomatic pressure. It is no surprise that, a few years later, the totalitarian states would remember the lesson that the democratic states had taught them?’.⁹

“The concept of national interest is a very useful one which policy makers should never forget. It helps to place foreign as well as domestic policy on the framework of a national policy, and it is

⁵ Houlihan, B. *Sport and International Politics*. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf. pp. 110-111. 1994

⁶ MacClancy, J. *Sport, Identity and Ethnicity*, Berg, Oxford. 1996.

⁷ Qingming, Z. *Sports Diplomacy: The Chinese Experience and Perspective*. The Hague Journal of Diplomacy 8 (2013) 211-233. Martinus Publishers. p. 211

⁸ Ibid

⁹ Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. 1998, *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon, London pp.131-132

a much needed antidote to political shortsightedness and partisanship.”¹⁰ “The concept of Kenyan national interest in the diplomatic field centers on security and development on three levels, namely: the East African sub-region, Africa and the World.”¹¹ “In the increasingly smaller global community, ‘national interests’ do not necessarily mean that they are good for the international community; they should be good to serve the state itself in relation to other states and non-state actors.”¹² Neuchterlein says a country's foreign policy, “consists of self-interest strategies chosen by the state to safeguard its national interests and to achieve goals within its international relations milieu.”¹³

1.2. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Sport as a tool of diplomacy is the problem that this project sets out to investigate. The study proceeds on the assumption that sports play an important role in promoting national interest in Africa. However, to date the evidence available indicates that African countries have not fully exploited sports to achieve their interest and to build their political power and influence globally. With emergence of new issues and actors in 21st century international, the complexity of global environment of advancing national interest requires factoring in sports. In particular sports can and has been a useful tool of diplomacy that if well utilized can contribute to national prestige and image building of states. It is for this reason therefore that this study examines and analyses the extent to which sports has been used as soft power in Africa. It will be used to provide data on the role of sports in contributing to tangible outcomes in advancing national interest.

¹⁰ Nuechterlein, D. E. *National Interest and Foreign Policy: A Conceptual Framework for Analysis and Decision Making*, British Journal of International Studies, Page 246 - 266

¹¹ Ibid

¹² Michael G. Roskin, *National Interest: From Abstraction to Strategy*, May 20 1994

¹³ Nuechterlein, D. E. *National Interest and Foreign Policy: A Conceptual Framework for Analysis and Decision Making*, British Journal of International Studies, Page 246 - 266

1.3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The specific question is: What is the role of sports diplomacy in Africa and in the advancing of national interests?

1.3.1. SPECIFIC QUESTIONS

- i. How can sports be better utilized as a tool of diplomacy in Africa?
- ii. How can sports diplomacy be used to attain Kenya's national interest in foreign relations?
- iii. What role does sports play in Kenya's foreign economic relations?

1.4. OBJECTIVES

The main objective is to establish the role of sports diplomacy in the pursuit of Africa's and Kenya's national interest in particular.

1.4.1. SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES

- i. To examine and analyze the role of sports diplomacy in advancing Africa's regional interests.
- ii. To establish and analyze the role of sports diplomacy in attaining Kenya's national interests in foreign relations.
- iii. To establish and analyze the role of sports in Kenya's foreign economic relations.

1.5. JUSTIFICATION OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

1.5.1. ACADEMIC JUSTIFICATION

Kenya while protecting and projecting its national interest must utilize various tools that are at her disposal such as diplomacy. While traditional diplomacy has been used in state relations over time, and will continue to be essential in international relations, new formats of diplomacy have been established such as sports diplomacy.¹⁴ Sports diplomacy is soft power, which according to Nye it uses attractive values and positive attributes to shape preferences by generating admiration and setting examples others wish to follow.¹⁵ Sports play “an important role in foreign policy actions of states, by improving the communication between countries and by extension their international relations”.

“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.”¹⁶ As Levermore has pointed out, “International relations has barely had an impact on the study of sport in general and on the political use of sport in international relations by states in particular.”¹⁷ This study therefore will contribute to knowledge on the role of sports diplomacy in African foreign relations. Therefore the main benefits to this exploration are so as to address the gap in existing diplomatic studies literature. It will also “serve as a starting point for scholarship, discussion, and debate conducive to an enhanced application of sports-diplomacy”.¹⁸

¹⁴ Murray, S. (2011), *Sports-Diplomacy: A Hybrid of Two Halves*, International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy, Berlin.

¹⁵ Nye, J. S., (Jnr) (2004). *Soft Power. The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York: Public Affairs, 2

¹⁶ Eden, T. J, (2013), *Soccer and International Relations: Can Soccer Improve International Relations.* University of Ottawa

¹⁷ Levermore, R & Budd, A (eds.) (2004), *Sport and International Relations*. London: Routledge.

¹⁸ Stuart Murray (2012) The Two Halves of Sports-Diplomacy, *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 23:3, 576-592, pp. 577. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09592296.2012.706544>

1.5.2 POLICY JUSTIFICATION

“Often governments and politicians use success on the international stage to improve their own ‘brands’ among their citizenry in order to gain legitimacy.”¹⁹ “Sport functions as an element in the globalization of culture, as a foreign policy resource and as an arena in which international relations can take place”.²⁰ This is important in “the wider context because these concepts are important in how states perceive themselves domestically and how they are perceived abroad.”²¹

Therefore, “a picture of the modern diplomatic environment emerges by examining the benefits and controversies inherent to such partnerships of states, non-state actors and sports”.²² Therefore the findings of the study of the role of sports diplomacy in foreign relation is going to result to recommendations that can form the basis of improving or influence policies of Kenya and Africa as a region and can advise other states and inform their policies.

1.6 LITERATURE REVIEW

1.6.1 INTRODUCTION

“Sports diplomacy has been existence for decades however many states are hesitant to acknowledge its crucial function in foreign relations.”²³ Even as many states partake in international sports its influence has been growing very slowly. It came of age in the post-World War I world when it caught the attention of politicians and governments as a channel through

¹⁹ Nauright,.

²⁰ Houlihan, p. 52.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Stuart Murray (2012) The Two Halves of Sports-Diplomacy, *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 23:3, 576-592, pp. 577. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09592296.2012.706544>

²³ Ibid. p. 576

which to conduct international relations.²⁴ Pierre de Coubertin, the father of modern Olympic movement, the most recognized and legitimate international sport events, “foresaw the importance of sports in international relations.”²⁵ He promoted the Olympic Idea 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...”²⁶ 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...”²⁷

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. “Some events have threatened the security status of Kenya in the region forcing Kenya to retaliate using hard power through her military.”²⁸ Other states have threatened to sever ties with Kenya by dictating on her political situation. The relation of Kenya and other states is a matter of national interest as it results to allies in the international arena and attracts foreign investors. It is unadvisable for Kenya to go to war with many of these threatening external forces but it can use sports as soft power. Sports diplomacy is a valuable tool for the Kenyan government to use to build its identity profile and also maintain its dominance in East Africa and Africa.

²⁴ Arnaud, P. & James, R. (1998)., *‘Sport and International Politics.’* London; E & FN Spon,

²⁵ T. Olszański, (1976), *‘Olimpiady letnie’*. Wszystko o ..., Warszawa 1976, p. 5

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ B.J. Keys, (2006)., *‘Globalizing Sport. National Rivalry and International Community in the 1930s’*, Cambridge, p34

²⁸ Mc Evoy C, (2013), *‘shifting Priorities Kenya’s changing approach to peace building and Peace makin.’* NOREF Report.

Sports can therefore play a decisive factor in shaping a country's idea of identity locally, regionally and internationally. Harvey states that, "sport is one of the most significant molders of national unity and collective identity."²⁹ Eden emphasized this clearly when he states 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..."³⁰

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."³¹

1.6.2 THE CONCEPT OF SPORTS DIPLOMACY

"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,"³² according to Australian government. Sports itself, "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".³³ "The common values of sport are competition, teamwork and fair play,"³⁴ these

²⁹ Harvey, S. G. *'Globalizing Sport: How Organizations, Corporations, Media, and Politics Are Changing Sports.'* Boulder, CO: Paradigm, 2010

³⁰ Eden, T. J, (2013), *'Soccer and International Relations: Can Soccer Improve International Relations.'* University of Ottawa. p. 8

³¹ Riordan, James, and Krüger. A. *'The International Politics of Sport in the 20th Century.* London': E & FN Spon, 1999.

³² Australian Government (2015), *'Australian Sports Diplomacy Strategy.2015-18'*, CSIRO.

³³ Ibid.

values are accepted by all actors and for this reason help build trust among countries and bring people together. It is therefore “not a surprise that governments worldwide are using sports to improve international relations and promote peace and prosperity.”³⁵

Murray 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.”³⁶ 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.”³⁷

According to Pierre Arnaud³⁸, “...Sport is more than a simple hobby, it belongs to the State. Athletes or players are the ‘ambassadors’, the ‘official representatives’ of a ‘national culture’. There is an implicit cohesion and ‘solidarity between a people and its national sportsmen’...”³⁹ This is the main reason as to the increased participation of states in international sports since the athletes are important actors in sports diplomacy. In this case, “states use sportsmen influence to encourage national unity develop and embellish their external prestige: ‘and sport plays this role for a majority of great political powers.’”⁴⁰

³⁴ Ibid

³⁵ Australian Government, *The future of Australian sport: Megatrends shaping the sports sector over coming decades*. CSIRO. 2013 pp 16. www.csiro.au

³⁶ Murray, S. (2011), “*Sports-Diplomacy: A Hybrid of Two Halves*”, International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy, Berlin.

³⁷ Eden, T. J, (2013), ‘Soccer and International Relations: Can Soccer Improve International Relations.’ University of Ottawa. p. 8

³⁸ Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon, London pp 6-7.1998.

³⁹ Ibid

⁴⁰ Ibid.

Sports is global phenomenon that is understood by all states which participate and compete for internal and external prestige and legitimacy. Dargin states that, “when international sport events occur they offer an arena for countries to compete with each other in a ‘global sporting arms race’ to gain international prestige by means other than military and economic power.”⁴¹ The liberal perspective is embodied through the use of sports as a form of soft power. Sports accentuate “international cooperation, implements international organizations for shaping state’s policy choices. Liberals believe that with the correct international institutions and increasing interdependence (including economic and cultural exchanges) states have the opportunity to reduce conflict.”⁴²

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 has a closer relationship with the United Nations (UN) and this is seen in the creation of the United Nations office on sport for development and peace in 2001, and in 2009 the General assembly granted the IOC permanent observer status at the UN.”⁴³ Ban Ki Moon at the Olympic congress in Copenhagen emphasized “this bond between UN and IOC by stating, “Olympic principles are United Nations principles”.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Dargin, J., 2009. Saudi Arabia, UAE promote energy from sun and wind. Oil and gas journal [online]. Available from:http://www.ogj.com/display_article/356840/7/ARTCL/none/none/1/Saudi-Arabia,-UAE-promote-energy-from-sun-and-wind/ [Accessed 1 April 2009].

⁴² Shiraev, E. B & Zubok, M. V, (2014), *‘International Relations.’* New York: Oxford University Press. P 88.

⁴³ IOC. *‘IOC Made UN Observer’*. Olympic Review: 2009.

⁴⁴ IOC (2009), *‘IOC becomes UN Observer’*, <https://www.olympic.org/news/ioc-becomes-un-observer> [Retrieved August 2016]

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 “illustrated how foreign policies of governments tried to interfere in international sporting events and organizations by sighting that in 1920, some politicians suggested about the possibility to change the IOC (International Olympic Committee) into a part of the League of the Nations.”⁴⁵ “They perceived that the two institutions subscribed the same value system: pacifism and internationalism.”⁴⁶ “This suggestion was unfavorable to a lot of politicians who agreed that political problems should be eliminated from international sports and discord between nations.”⁴⁷ For many states “their foreign policy on sport is that it should promote peace and friendship among all the nations and people.”⁴⁸

“The collaboration between diplomacy and sports should not come as a surprise, given the representative character they share.”⁴⁹ “...sport and diplomacy naturally gravitate toward one another: both institutions are staffed by patriots representing their state as a privilege of international duty and whether it is the roundtable or the running track, both sports people and diplomats want to win for their state. Therefore, there is an obvious symbiosis...”⁵⁰ The most common explanation in the literature on the “motives behind participation of states in international sports is to achieve national unity, identity, pride, and nation building.”⁵¹

⁴⁵ Arnaud, P. & Riordan J. (1998), *Sport and International Politics*, E & FN Spon. London pp.8-11.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Murray, S. (2011), *Sports-Diplomacy: A Hybrid of Two Halves*, International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy, Berlin.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Danyel R. (2014)., *Investing in sporting success as a domestic and foreign policy tool: the case of Qatar*. International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics. American University of Beirut, Beirut, Lebanon, 2014.

1.6.3 SPORTS AND NATIONAL INTEREST

National interest is what is best for a state in foreign affairs. “It has been used by statesmen and scholars since the founding of nation-states to describe the aspirations and goals of sovereign entities in the international arena.”⁵² States can use sports to describe their aspirations and goals in foreign affairs. “The case of Qatar shows that a wealthy country can successfully become a global sports hub from scratch and use it as a foreign policy tool to achieve its national interest.” Since Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) announced in December 2010 “that Qatar was to host the 2022 FIFA World Cup, international media outlets (driven by losing bidding countries) have been criticizing the decision.”⁵³ 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, the accusations “that arose during the Qatar nomination claimed that members of the FIFA executive committee might have been bribed to vote in favor of the small Middle Eastern country rather than for competitors like the US, England and Australia.”⁵⁴

“The use of sports diplomacy in the promotion of national interest is important today since the world of sport is changing in two ways.”⁵⁵ “The first way is that mega sport events are increasingly hosted in emerging countries, with the FIFA World Cup 2010 in South Africa being the first ever FIFA world cup in Africa, the Olympic Summer Games 2008 in China, the FIFA World Cup 2014 and the Olympic Summer Games 2016 in Brazil.”⁵⁶ In the past it was hosted by the developed states only. “The second way is that the number of countries winning medals at

⁵² Nuechterlein D. E., (1976). ‘*National interests and foreign policy: A conceptual framework for analysis and decision-making*’. British Journal of International Studies, 2, pp 246-266.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid

⁵⁵ Reiche D, *Investing in sporting success as a domestic and foreign policy tool: the case of Qatar*, International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics. American University of Beirut, Beirut, Lebanon, 2014.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

World Championships and the Olympic Games has increased significantly.”⁵⁷ This shows that many states to some extent understand the importance of participation in international sports. 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; (1) improve and refine the image of one’s country, (2) amplify friendship, boost peace, and share comradeship among nations, (3) promote trade and tourism, (4) encourage international development, (5) integrate minorities, and (6) most importantly to improve international relations.”⁵⁸

“Qatar had a different goal when they bid for the hosting of the 2022 FIFA world cup. It has less to do with competing with other nations via the sporting sector in a ‘global sporting arms race’, at least not on the global level but building prestige and profile at the regional GCC level.”⁵⁹ This was their national interest in hosting the FIFA world cup in regards to their policy of sports investment in the country. “The GCC was founded by Saudi-Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and Bahrain to counter Iranian influence.”⁶⁰ Even though “the key to Qatar’s sports investment is ‘improving relations between nations’, in reality it is more about Qatar’s relations with other nations.”⁶¹ According to Dorsey, “soft power is a key Qatari defense and security strategy based

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Bainvel, S. (2005)., *"Sport and Politics: A Study of the Relationship between International Politics and Football."* Master's Thesis. Linköping University.

⁵⁹ De Bosscher, V., et al. (2008), *'A global sporting arms race. An international comparison of the elite sport policies and climate in six nations'*. Aarhus: Vrije Universiteit Brussel.

⁶⁰ Danyel R. (2014)., *'Investing in sporting success as a domestic and foreign policy tool: the case of Qatar'*. International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics: American University of Beirut. Beirut: Lebanon.

⁶¹ Qatar Olympic Committee (2011)., *'Sports sector strategy 2011-2016'*. Doha: Qatar Olympic Committee.

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.”⁶²

1.6.4 SPORTS DIPLOMACY AND AFRICA

“In recent times developing countries have become more involved in hosting of sports-mega events as this is seen as the practice of public diplomacy by states to both demonstrate existing soft power capability as well as pursue its further enhancement.”⁶³ Africa’s inability to compete in military power beckons the need to acquire and use soft power such as sports to gain international prestige. “South Africa’s success in the bidding process to host the FIFA 2010 World Cup is a remarkable achievement in itself. It signaled their individual arrival as credible powers but also the new order of things not only in international sports but in the international system *per se*.”⁶⁴

African states have over time been using sports to promote their ideas and to express their displeasure over issues. Despite their strategic use of sports in international relations studies have shown that they did not use it as a diplomatic tool but it was purely coincidentally. Diplomacy is used to implement foreign policy of states. According to Murray, “Sports-diplomacy involves representative and diplomatic activities undertaken by sports people on behalf of and in conjunction with their governments.”⁶⁵

⁶² Dorsey, J., (2014). *Qatar’s sports-focused public diplomacy backfires. The Turbulent World of Middle East Soccer* [online]. Available from: <http://mideastsoccer.blogspot.com/2014/02/qatars-sportsfocused-public-diplomacy.html> [Accessed 7 January 2014].

⁶³ Grix J, & Lee D. *Soft Power, Sports Mega-events and Emerging States: The Lure of the Politics of Attraction*. http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13600826.2013.827632#.UupOufl_v68

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Murray, S. (2011), “Sports-Diplomacy: A Hybrid of Two Halves”, International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy, Berlin.

Allison points out that “nation-states primarily use sport in foreign relations in two principal ways: firstly, to sell themselves and enhance their images and secondly to penalize international behavior of which they disapprove.”⁶⁶ Tanzania provides an excellent case to examine when “the newly liberated country used sport in policy implementation without realizing it was implementing sports diplomacy.”⁶⁷ Boycotting of African countries in international events was commonly used during the apartheid years in South Africa. African states used boycotts to express their displeasure at the level of discrimination in South Africa. “Many African states supported various liberation movements on the continent, and used economic sanctions, provided aid to liberation movements and even direct military involvement.”⁶⁸

This eventually extended to the use of sports in the liberation efforts of African countries. “Though Tanzania was a new participant on the world stage in 1964, they played a leading role in the protesting of South Africa in international sports participation.”⁶⁹ This was due to their racial discrimination in apartheid South Africa. “So when South Africa was allowed to participate at the 1968 Games in Mexico, Tanzania was against the International Olympic Committee’s (IOC) decision, and withdrew from the Olympics in protest.”⁷⁰ Once South Africa was barred Tanzania reapplied.

Tanzania showcased the potential of sports diplomacy as a tool of soft power even if this was not clearly expressed as sports diplomacy at the time. None of the African states had sports diplomacy outlined in their foreign policy document and it is for this reason that sports diplomacy is under used if used at all by these states. Lavery states that, “not only was Tanzania

⁶⁶ Allison, L. & Monnington. T. (2002), “Sport, Prestige and International Relations.” *Government and Opposition* 37.1p .107

⁶⁷ Lavery A.(2010), ‘*Sports Diplomacy and Apartheid South Africa*’. p 12.

⁶⁸ Majumdar B. and Hong F. (2007)., ‘*Modern Sport: The Global Obsession*’. London; Routledge, p 180.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid p. 180

effective in using sport as a negative diplomatic tool, it also used sport positively, to foster and promote African unity among the newly independent nations on the continent.”⁷¹

Even as sports diplomacy is not stated clearly used as a tool that can be used to promote regional and sub-regional integration in Africa, Africa has been unknowingly utilizing it resulting to it under-utilization. “Regional and continental competitions such as the East and Central Africa Challenge Cup(CECAFA), the All Africa Cup of Nations (AFCON), and the All Africa Games saw Tanzania as one of the most prominent supporters of these tournaments, and helped create the belief that these competitions brought Africans together in harmon”y.⁷²

1.6.5 SPORTS DIPLOMACY AND KENYA

Sports diplomacy is a form of innovative diplomacy which Kenya can use to achieve its foreign policy vision of, “*A peaceful, prosperous and globally competitive Kenya*”.⁷³ Although Kenya has not clearly outlined the importance of sports diplomacy in her foreign policy document, “sports has played a role in the promotion of the tourist industry in Kenya.”⁷⁴ The hosting of the 4th All-Africa Games in Nairobi in 1987, for instance, was a major milestone in attracting tourists and foreign investors to the country whose main aim has been to intermingle with the athletes heroes, compete alongside them and or learn from them. The process of hosting provided a chance Kenya to build its friendly relations with other African countries.

⁷¹ Laverty A., (2010), ‘*Sports Diplomacy and Apartheid South Africa*’. p 12.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Kenya Foreign Policy p. 19. 2014

⁷⁴ Ibid.

As observed by Mazrui, “sport has made an indelible mark as a tool of socialization and reflection of the culture of the people.”⁷⁵ International sport is recognized as a symbol of unity globally as it brings state actors together through peaceful competition. It can also be viewed as a tool of national unity. “Kenya has a total of 42 ethnic groups, as well as people of diverse religions and racial backgrounds; sport has rightly acted as a tool for integration and co-existence of the people.”⁷⁶

When Kenya hosts a regional sporting event or an international sporting event, it opens its borders to the world and this gives it a chance to be a prestigious nation. Recently, Kenya hosted East and Central African Championship (CECAFA) in 2013. This tournament is used to promote co-operation among countries in this region. However through soft power they were able to prove their dominance in the region by hosting it and winning it.

Indeed, arising from the numerous successes registered by Kenya's sportsmen and sport women since 1956, “when Kenya participated for the first time in the Olympic Games, the country has received a lot of recognition from other countries of the world.”⁷⁷ Kenya is the home of successful middle and long distance runners and for this is one of the positive images portrayed by Kenya to the rest of the world. She has been described “as a ‘Superpower’ in the sporting world based on her athletes' commendable performances in the middle and long distance races.”⁷⁸ This is one of the positive outcomes in international relations as this elite athleticism as it gives Kenya to showcase her culture and gives her a chance to legitimize her superiority to the world and challenge her critics through soft power.

⁷⁵ Mazrui, A.A (1986)., *The Africans. A Triple Heritage.* BBC Publications, London

⁷⁶ Njiru, L. and Nyaga, W. (1988): *Moi: Mindful of others.* Government Press, Nairobi

⁷⁷ Bhushan, N. (1988): *Cheza Kenya.* Newsprint International, Nairobi.

⁷⁸ Government of Kenya (2003). *The Draft National Sports Policy.* Department of Sports.

Kenya's sportsmen and women destined for international sports assignments have often been described as the country's "good ambassadors"⁷⁹ Mwisukha claims that "these athletes "tell" the world about their country through their participation and performance in the international tournaments. They have contributed immensely in selling, and providing publicity to the name of the country on the international scene."⁸⁰ These are the results of Kenya utilizing sports in international relations in an unplanned manner, and yet sports is not given the importance it deserves within the Kenya. Even as the foreign policy places sports under cultural pillar it has yet to clearly implement it through sports diplomacy.

1.6. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1.7.1. INTRODUCTION

In the literature of sports diplomacy and national interest, dependency, Nationalist and Liberal theories were applied. Dependency theory gives "the notion that resources flow from a "periphery" of poor and underdeveloped states to a "core" of wealthy states, enriching the latter at the expense of the former."⁸¹ The argument is that government is the main sponsor and patron of sporting activities in many developing countries and government rely on foreign aid to fund the sports resulting to 'muscle drain' of athletes. As for the nationalist theory it claims "that the process of nationalism induces nations to existence or self-determination, but extreme

⁷⁹ Mukora, C.N. (1998): Message from National Olympic Committee of Kenya (NOC-K) Chairman. In: The Kenya team at the XIV Commonwealth Games in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia September 11th - 21st 1998 pp. 5. National Olympic Committee of Kenya, Nairobi.

⁸⁰ Mwisukha A, Njorai W.W.S. & Onywera. V.O. (2003)., 'Contribution of Sport Toward National Development In Kenya'. East African Journal of Physical Education, Sports Science, Leisure and Recreation Management. Vol. 1 Issue 2, September, P. 73-81 .

⁸¹ Dos Santos, T. 1971. *The Structure of Dependence*, pp. 225-236. *Readings in U. S. Imperialism*. Boston: Extending Horizons, p. 227

nationalism can be a danger.”⁸² It involves national symbols such as flags and anthems and sports athletes are considered heroes who represent the country. In sports nationalism is important because it brings out a sense of patriotism in nations, and gives states a sense of identity internationally.

1.7.2. LIBERAL THEORY

Liberal theory best explains sports diplomacy in international relations and how it is applied for national interest. It focuses on cooperation of states. “The liberal image of international relations is a large, seemingly all inclusive tent—not just states, but also international and nongovernmental organizations and the often cross-cutting networks that connect them.”⁸³

Robert Keohane states that “liberalism reaffirms the attempt of institutionalists to seek to understand politics for the sake of designing institutions that will promote cooperation, welfare, and human rights.”⁸⁴

Classical liberal theorists such as Immanuel Kant, Jeremy Bentham, and Giuseppe Mazzini foresaw that the creation of international institutions would be beneficial for states to improve trust among them and promote cooperation and peace. International sports are possible due to international institutions which engage states as actors. Sports diplomacy may involve states coming together in their regions or globally under international organizations such as FIFA and IOC or by two states cooperating during a process of relations through sports.

While the liberal theory in sports diplomacy holds great sway in this study, there is a central criticism to the liberal perspective. Sports are naturally competitive and states use it as a form of

⁸² Bainvel, S. (2005)., *‘Sport and Politics: A study of the relationship between International Politics and Football’*. Master Thesis. <http://www.ep.liu.se/exjobb/eki/2005/impier/011> Linköping. p.2

⁸³ Viotti, P.R & Kauppi, V.M. (2012)., *‘International Relations Theory’*. 5th Edition (Glenview: Pearson), 129

⁸⁴ Keohane, R.O. (2002), *‘Power and Governance in a Partially Globalized World’* (London: Routledge), accessed March 20, 2015, <http://ir.nmu.org.ua/bitstream/handle/>

power since sports and politics are always linked. Even though the competition is considered soft power and states have used international sporting competitions for propaganda. Not only “totalitarian states but also democratic ones have been using sport for their propaganda to promote national strength.”⁸⁵ It has been like a trigger mechanism, everyone has understood how to use sport for diplomatic relations and it is a safer and harmless way than a war.”⁸⁶ In this way, liberalism is an important aspect of sports diplomacy practice in international relations and offers a base to theoretically explain sports diplomacy but not definitive explanation.

1.8. HYPOTHESES

- i. Sports diplomacy can be utilized to advance Africa’s interests as a region.
- ii. Sports diplomacy can attain Kenya’s national interest in foreign relations
- iii. Sports can positively influence Kenya’s foreign economic relations.

⁸⁵ Bainvel, S. (2005)., *‘Sport and Politics: A study of the relationship between International Politics and Football’*. Master Thesis. <http://www.ep.liu.se/exjobb/eki/2005/impier/011> Linköping. p.4

⁸⁶ Ibid.

1.9. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1.9.1. INTRODUCTION

This part contains the following sub headings; research design, population sample and sampling procedure, instrument, validity and reliability, data collection procedures and data analysis techniques.

1.9.2. RESEARCH DESIGN

This study was an in-depth analysis on sports as a diplomatic tool in Kenya and the potential it offered on promoting Kenya's foreign relations. This study employed both exploratory and descriptive designs. The use of exploratory design was appropriate to establish the state of sports diplomacy in Kenya, while descriptive research was used to determine the impact and visual on how things are between sports and Kenya's foreign relations.

1.9.3. POPULATION

The study was primary research and the population was from consisted of the officials from Ministry of Foreign Affairs and masters students from Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS), University of Nairobi.

Table 1: Target Population

| Description of potential respondent | Numbers |
|--|----------------|
| Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies | 30 |
| Ministry of foreign affairs | 10 |

Source: Author

1.9.4. SAMPLE AND SAMPLING PROCEDURE

A sample in research study refers to any group on which information is obtained.⁸⁷ The purpose of sampling is to establish the representativeness of what we are studying and, conversely, reduce bias.⁸⁸ Purposive sampling will be used to select those to be interviewed to help get the right information. It is based on previous knowledge of a population and the specific purpose of the research, and the study uses personal judgment to select a sample.⁸⁹ The sample displayed a good understanding of Kenya's foreign policies and Kenya's sports policies. The purposive sampling used was quota. In quota sampling the enumerator is instructed to continue sampling until the necessary "quota" has been obtained in each stratum.⁹⁰

Table 2: Sampling of the Study

| Description of potential respondent | Numbers | Sample |
|--|---------|--------|
| Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies | 30 | 20 |
| Ministry of foreign affairs | 10 | 5 |

Source: R.V Krejcie and D. Morgan, *"Determining Research size for Research Activities"*, Educational and Psychological Measurement, Vol 30. No. 3. 1970. p. 608

⁸⁷ Wallen E.N & Fraenkel R.J. *How to Design and Evaluate Research in Education*. 4th ed. New York: McGraw-Hill, 2000. p. 432

⁸⁸ Baker L.T. (1999)., *'Doing Social Research'*. 3rd ed. New York: McGraw-Hill. p 203

⁸⁹ Wallen E.N & Fraenkel R.J. *How to Design and Evaluate Research in Education*. 4th ed. New York: McGraw-Hill, 2000.

⁹⁰ Cochran G.W. (1977), *'Sampling Techniques'*. 3rd ed.

1.9.5. RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

The technique used under the instrument was a questionnaire. The instrument was written with a series of questions or statements to which respondents were to react either by writing out their answers or selecting from among proposed answers.⁹¹ It had both closed ended and open ended questions.

1.9.6. VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

The researcher got the supervisor's comments as expert opinion on the relevance and the usefulness of the questionnaire. Secondly the investigator proceeded to carry out a pilot study which involved 5 respondents who were randomly picked from among students at IDIS. The feedback piloted from instruments was utilized in adjusting the research instrument.

1.9.7. DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

The investigator got the proposal approved by the supervisor. Then got the proposal registered at the Board of Post-graduate Study. Thirdly the investigator then applied for and secured a research permit from National Council for Science and Technology and Innovation. Upon securing the permit, the researcher then carried out a pilot study. On conclusion of pilot study and correction of the questionnaire, the investigator then proceeded to book appointments with sampled respondents in order to hand out questionnaires and receive the answered ones from the respondents.

⁹¹ Brown, J. D.(2001)., '*Using Surveys in Language Programs*'. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

1.9.8. DATA ANALYSIS TECHNIQUES

The study used qualitative technique and quantitative techniques. The investigator analyzed statements according to responses received and as recorded. The data was reported by way of graphical tabulations, charts and explanations.

1.10. CHAPTER OUTLINE

The study is presented in the following six chapters.

Chapter One: Introduction

It introduces the topic of our research study and goes on to the background information, statement of the problem, objectives and research questions, literature review, justification and hypotheses of the study, theoretical review as well as the methodology of the study.

Chapter Two: Sports as a Strategic Tool of Diplomacy in Africa

It provides the role of sports diplomacy in advancing Africa's regional interests.

Chapter Three: Sports Diplomacy and Kenya's Foreign Relations

It provides the role of sports diplomacy in attaining Kenya's national interest in foreign relations.

Chapter Four: Sports and Kenya's Foreign Economic Relations

It discusses the role of sports in the promotion of Kenya's foreign economic relations.

Chapter Five: Data Presentation and Analysis

Analyses the data collected in the giving a summary of the findings in light of the hypotheses and theoretical framework already stated.

Chapter Six: Summary of Findings, Conclusion and Recommendations

It provides the conclusion and recommendations of the study. It also provides suggestions on areas for further study.

CHAPTER TWO

SPORTS AS A STRATEGIC TOOL OF DIPLOMACY IN AFRICA

2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents an in depth discussion and analysis on the state of diplomatic tools that African states have in the past and how to advance Africa's interest globally. It outlines how sports diplomacy is an underutilized commodity and unconsciously used in Africa and that perhaps if sport is wielded effectively and consciously it can be powerful tool. This is discussed under the sub headings of international sports, diplomacy and Africa. Africa and international sports and advancing Africa's interests through sports

2.2. INTERNATIONAL SPORTS

“At least since the era of the ancient Olympic Games, sporting competition has assisted human societies in mediating estrangements, resolving conflict and sublimating competitive urges. Through sports, states have willingly participated in the competitive events and showcase their superiority through their athletes.”⁹² This enables sports to play a vital role in the articulation and consolidation of power. According to MacClancy “these opposing sides – teams and the citizenry who support them – come to know one another, creating opportunities to build and sustain durable, ongoing and peaceful relationships.”⁹³

⁹² MacClancy, J. (1996), *Sport, Identity and Ethnicity*, Berg: Oxford, p. 12

⁹³ Ibid.

Houlihan states that, “sports and politics are inextricably intertwined and often work to demonstrate social, economic, or political supremacy over another nation.”⁹⁴ Sports engagements with the simultaneously produce and reinforce each state and citizen’s own identity. “These bilateral and multilateral processes of representation and communication constitute a form of diplomacy which has until now been under explored.”⁹⁵

Throughout history “states have periodically found it useful to use sporting contacts to send both positive and negative diplomatic signals.”⁹⁶ Houlihan indicates that “the rapid internationalization of sports competition and the advances in media technology have combined to make sport an increasingly attractive diplomatic resource.”⁹⁷ For many governments “the development of international sporting contact has provided them with a ‘low-cost’, but ‘high-profile’ resource for publicizing their policy on international issues or towards specific states.”⁹⁸ However, “while some argue that sport provides a versatile and effective resource”⁹⁹, others would agree with Kanin, “that sport is peripheral to international relations and provides, at best, weak symbolism.”¹⁰⁰

Africa has often been misinterpreted in international community, with all its negative aspects highlighted and distributed by international media. They also do not have the power to have a significant voice in international affairs. The positive aspects of Africa have been undermined given little to no attention. Houlihan states that “sports diplomacy retains its attraction to

⁹⁴ Houlihan, B. (2000). Politics and Sport. In J. Coakley and E. Dunning (Eds.), *Handbook of Sports Studies*. London: Sage

⁹⁵ Ibid

⁹⁶ Ibid

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Houlihan, B. (1994). *Sport and International Politics*. London: Harvester-Wheatsheaf.

¹⁰⁰ Kanin, D. B. (1980). The Olympic Boycott in Diplomatic Context. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, Vol. 4, No. 1: 1–24.

governments, partly because international sport adds to the pursuit of foreign policy goals but also because of the subtlety and malleability of sports diplomacy.”¹⁰¹ Thus Africa can utilize Sports as a tool of diplomacy to gives it an opportunity play an important part in shaping what happens in international relations especially in regard to what happens to her. This has however not been the case, since Africa has no clear strategy that utilizes sports diplomacy strategically.

2.3. DIPLOMACY AND AFRICA

At often times diplomacy has been described as “a complex and often challenging practice of fostering relationships around the world in order to resolve issues and advance interests.”¹⁰²

Morgenthau argues that diplomacy has the widest meaning comprising of four main tasks;

“First diplomacy has to determine foreign policy objectives in light of the power available to a state; secondly, it must assess the objectives of other states foreign policies in light of their power to pursue those objectives. Third, it must determine the extent to which these different objectives are compatible with each other, and fourth, diplomacy must employ the means suited to the pursuit of its foreign policy objectives.”¹⁰³

“Africa has been peripheral in approaches to international relations that have tended to focus on so-called ‘great powers’ or the ‘states that make the most difference’.”¹⁰⁴ “The more recent popular ‘Africa rising’ narrative has changed this only superficially, and so far only South Africa and, to a lesser extent, Nigeria and Egypt have attracted the attention of scholars and analysts as

¹⁰¹ Houlihan, B. (2000). ‘*Politics and Sport*’ In J. Coakley and E. Dunning (Eds.), *Handbook of Sports Studies*. London: Sage

¹⁰² Discover Diplomacy, <http://diplomacy.state.gov/discoverdiplomacy/>. Accessed on 09 July 2015.

¹⁰³ Morgenthau H, (1967), *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, Alfred Knopf, New York

¹⁰⁴ K Waltz, (1979). *Theory of international politics*, New York: Random House, 73

potential middle or emerging powers.”¹⁰⁵ “Changes in the global distribution of power, however, will influence Africa’s ability to project power and its capacity for informal and formal alliance building – both continentally and globally.”¹⁰⁶

The African Union (AU), since its creation in 2002 as a successor to the OAU, has also been seeking to achieve greater unity and solidarity of African countries and be a people-centered institution by building partnerships between governments and all segments of society. This opens up the option of sports as a diplomatic tool which can be used to further Africa’s foreign policies in the international arena and its policies within Africa.

African countries have over time utilized different approaches of diplomacy to achieve their interests and build their foreign relations. “Botswana over time utilized silent diplomacy as a foreign policy tool, not wanting to cause any problems for their neighbours or in the region and thus existing peacefully.”¹⁰⁷ “After years of isolation from the rest of the African continent, Morocco has been trying to raise its profile in West Africa and the Sahel through the use of religious diplomacy.”¹⁰⁸ “Kenya’s traditional low-risk, non-interventionist approach to peacebuilding and peacemaking.”¹⁰⁹

2.4. AFRICA AND INTERNATIONAL SPORTS

In Africa, sports has been used rather hesitantly as a tool of diplomacy. In the past it has been used as an important tool to communicate Africa’s opinion on international issues. There are a

¹⁰⁵ Cilliers J., Schunemann J., & Moyer D. J., (2015), ‘*Power and influence in Africa: Algeria, Egypt, Ethiopia, Nigeria and South Africa*’. African Futures paper 14 | March. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Osei-Hwedie B.Z & Mokhawa G, (2014), ‘*Continuity And Change: The Influence Of The Presidents On Botswana’s Foreign Policy*’. Afro Asian Journal of Social Sciences Volume 5, No. 5.1 Quarter I: ISSN: 2229 – 5313

¹⁰⁸ Tadlaoui G, (2015), ‘*Morocco’s religious diplomacy in Africa*’, FRIDE Policy Brief.

¹⁰⁹ Mc Evoy C, (2013), ‘*shifting Priorities Kenya’s changing approach to peace building and Peace making.*’ NOREF Report.

few instances where Africa has used sports as a tool of soft power especially in exerting diplomatic pressure on South Africa to abolish apartheid in South Africa. Tanzania led African countries in protesting against South Africa participation in international sports in 1964 this led to FIFA expelling South Africa from playing “football due to the Apartheid and the non-representation of the black population in football.”¹¹⁰

This was also the case in 1976 Montreal Olympic Games, which were boycotted by 26 African countries because the New Zealand rugby squad had undertaken a 3-month tour of South Africa. Despite the 1964 protests, segregation still prevailed in South Africa under the apartheid regime.¹¹¹ Later this extended to other international sporting events. This expulsion was withdrawn in 1992 allowing South Africa to play again International competitions.

Not only can sports diplomacy been used in punishing other States in Africa, but it has also been used to enhance the African image and prestige. The promotion of African ideology of Pan-Africanism which encourages solidarity of Africans worldwide is further promoted through sports. The persistence of Africa in the South African segregation issue played a crucial role in alleviating apartheid. “True to its form sports can never start a process of alleviation but most of the time, it can only be part of a broader way to reach a final solution or just improve a situation.”¹¹² African states used sports for confrontational purposes and this fostered cooperation from the international community.

¹¹⁰ Nauright, J. Bhola Lethu: *Football in Urban South Africa* in Armstrong, G. & Giulianotti R. (1999), *Football Cultures and Identities*, Macmillan Press Ltd, London. pp.196-197.

¹¹¹ Sports Diplomacy: A Timeline: www.topendsports.com/events/summer/boycotts.htm [Retrieved May 2016]

¹¹² Ibid

2.5. ADVANCING AFRICA'S INTERESTS THROUGH SPORTS

African Union's vision to "build an integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, an Africa driven and managed by its own citizens and representing a dynamic force in the international arena"¹¹³ can be achieved through sports. After African countries gained their independence they struggled in finding their footing in international sporting events but some countries were able to send their athletes to the various Olympic Games after their independence. Over time participation of African countries has improved to constant and even stable in some African states even if the performance is not high.

In his public speech at the first Laureus World Sports Awards Ceremony in 2000, Nelson Mandela was quoted saying that, "*Sport has the power to change the world. It has the power to inspire. It has the power to unite people in a way that little else does. Sport can create hope where once there was only despair*".¹¹⁴

With the background South Africa has had by being banned from participating in international sporting events especially football, today it is using football and other sports to promote its interest in the promotion of Pan-Africanism while at the same time portraying their dominance in Africa. Nelson Mandela recognized the power of sport. "He remarkably bridged the racial divide after the collapse of the apartheid regime, by supporting all white South Africa's rugby team, by attending the 1995 world cup final."¹¹⁵ This was promptly followed by them hosting and winning the 1996 African Cup of Nations football tournament.

¹¹³ African Union, (2008)., '*Social Policy Framework for Africa*'. Windhoek, CAMSD/EXP/4(I). October 2008

¹¹⁴ Laureus History: <https://www.laureus.com/content/our-history-0> [Retrieved August 2016]

¹¹⁵ Gichoya F., '*Why Kenya should Embrace Sports Diplomacy*', Nairobi Confidential: <http://nc.co.ke/2016/04/28/why-kenya-should-embrace-sports-diplomacy/> [Retrieved August 2016]

In West Africa, Ivory Coast had been embroiled in civil war since 2002 and when the country's national football team qualified for the 2006 World Cup in Germany, the team took the opportunity to call for peace. The team captain who was an internationally recognized football player, Didier Drogba, implored Ivorians,

“Men and Women of Ivory Coast, from the North, South, Centre and West. We proved today that all Ivorians can coexist and play together, with a shared aim to qualify for the World Cup. We promised that the celebration would unite the people. Today, we beg you, on our knees; for-give, forgive, forgive. The one country in Africa with so many riches must not descend into war. Please lay down your weapons, hold elections and everything will be better.”¹¹⁶

That public plea prompted social harmony in Ivory Coast and achieved what African leaders in the region and experienced diplomats had failed to achieve.

Hosting the FIFA World Cup in 2010 was a greatest achievement for Africa in the international sport arena. It was a true symbol of prestige for Africa as a continent and South Africa as a state.¹¹⁷ Thabo Mbeki defined the “2010 FIFA World Cup which as an ‘African’ event to be shared with people of African descent. The country’s World Cup bid, included consultation with the African Union and other continental multilateral bodies, such as Southern African Development Community (SADC).”¹¹⁸ “This diplomatic approach was designed to strengthen the Pan-African identity of the event and showcase it to the rest of the world.”¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Nauright, J. & Bhola Lethu: *Football in Urban South Africa* in Armstrong, G. & Giulianotti R. 1999, *Football Cultures and Identities*, Macmillan Press Ltd, London pp.189-200

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

2.6. CONCLUSION

Sports diplomacy has been an effective in advancing Africa's interests in the past and it still continues to play this role today. Sports diplomacy was not used consciously by African countries to protest segregation in South Africa, to them they were boycotting international sporting events to put pressure on the international community. This played a crucial role in forcing other states and organizations in the international system to face and address the apartheid system of discrimination against the blacks of South Africa. When African countries emphasized on this issue it gave them a voice on an important issue, this cooperation it fostered within Africa is in line with the African Union vision of representing a dynamic force in the international arena.

The African Union objective, to promote peace, security, and stability on the continent can also be enhanced through sports diplomacy just like in Ivory Coast when social harmony was prompted by the football team qualifying for world cup. Hosting FIFA world cup in 2010 by South Africa showcased the Africa as the prestigious nation it is changing perspectives of many international actors. It also attracted sports tourists who came to attend the event but toured other African countries in that period and also resulted to the promotion of African culture.

CHAPTER THREE

SPORTS DIPLOMACY AND KENYA'S FOREIGN RELATIONS

3.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents an in depth discussion and analysis of how Kenya athletes have utilized sports diplomacy in promoting global agendas while on the other hand Kenya is not capitalizing on these opportunities to promote her interests globally. It argues that Sports diplomacy can be used to promote foreign relations between states when governments consciously employ it in international sports. This is discussed under the subheadings of National interest and foreign relations through sports, Sports diplomacy and Kenya's national interest and sports diplomacy and branding

3.2. NATIONAL INTEREST AND FOREIGN RELATIONS THROUGH SPORTS

The first, *The Idea of National Interest* by Charles A. Beard traces “the earliest claims made on behalf of the national interest back to sixteenth-century Italy and seventeenth-century England when ‘reasons of state’ (*raison d’état*), ‘dynastic interests’ and the ‘will of the sovereign’ began to lose their efficacy and were replaced by a term which more accurately reflected changes that were occurring in contemporary forms of political diplomacy.”¹²⁰

¹²⁰ Burchill S., (2005), *The National Interest in International Relations Theory*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan

“The term National Interest has been used by statesmen and scholars to describe the aspirations and goals of sovereign entities in the international arena.”¹²¹ Morgenthau defines the “meaning of national interest as the survival—the protection of physical, political and cultural identity against encroachments by other nation-states.”¹²² On the other hand Foreign Policy is “more or less a set of principles that guide a state’s pursuit of its objectives in the international environment within the confines of its interactions with other international actors.”¹²³ The objectives in this case are the national interests.

Foreign relations are therefore based on national interests of a state and the policy that guides it to attain these relations. “Foreign policies of countries have varying rates of change and scopes of intent, which can be affected by factors that change the perceived national interests or even affect the stability of the country itself.”¹²⁴ “The foreign policy of one country can have a profound and lasting impact on many other countries and on the course of international relations as a whole.”¹²⁵

Sports participation by Kenya is part of its foreign relations with other states. When Kenyan athletes and national team move beyond the borders for invites to friendlies or for international sporting events they embark in building relations for Kenya and the inviting state. In some instances a state representatives is sent along with the athletes to strengthen the relation that will be forged by participation of the athletes.

¹²¹ Nuechterlein, D. E. (1976)., ‘*National Interest and Foreign Policy: A Conceptual Framework for Analysis and Decision Making*’, British Journal of International Studies, Page 246 - 266

¹²² Hans J. Morgenthau, (1952)., “*Another ‘Great Debate’: The National Interest of the United States,*” The American Political Science. Review , XLVI

¹²³ Ritchie H. N.(1963) *Diplomacy*, London, Oxford University Press

¹²⁴ Nguru M., ‘*National Interest and Foreign Policy*’. (Unpublished) p.1

¹²⁵ Ibid p.1

Although in some cases in an effort to strengthen foreign relations between states the leaders of different states or regions engage in sports diplomacy amongst themselves. This was the case when “the African Diplomatic Corps in Ankara formed a football club to engage local Turkish teams in friendly matches as a way to promote friendship and enhance relations between Africa and Turkey.”¹²⁶ In its first match on 9th October 2013, “the team played the Turkish Parliamentary Football Club comprised of Members of Parliament of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey.”¹²⁷

3.3. SPORTS DIPLOMACY AND KENYA’S NATIONAL INTEREST

“Sports diplomacy is a powerful force for reaching individuals in every corner of the globe.”¹²⁸

“Sports transcend borders, increase dialogue, and expose foreign participants to different culture. Outside of official channels, sports diplomacy connects people on a personal level through our common interests, values, and passions. We can start conversations and build lasting connections that inspire and inform our government-to-government relationships.”¹²⁹ It is for this reason that when sports diplomacy is done right, it can be more effective than political outreach.

“For millennia, there has been a close relationship between politics and international sport.”¹³⁰

Recently, “sport has been used as a punitive tool (as was the case with apartheid South Africa), a vehicle to conflate diplomatic relationships (the United States 1980 boycott of the Moscow

¹²⁶ *Promoting African Sports Diplomacy Through Football:*

<https://www.kenyaembassy.org.tr/en/blog/2013/african-sports-diplomacy/> [Retrieved August 2016]

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Stone D., ‘Does Sport Diplomacy Work?’, National Geographic., [Retrieved August 2016]

<http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2013/09/130912-north-korea-diplomacy-kim-jong-un-basketball-rodman/>

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Murray S., (2013), ‘Sports Diplomacy In The Australian Context: A Case Study Of The Department Of Foreign Affairs And Trade’. Sports Law eJournal,, : ISSN 1836-1129

Olympics, followed by a similar refusal to compete by Russia and 13 satellite states four years later at the Los Angeles Games) or as a means of bringing old enemies together (the Japan/South Korea 2006 World Cup).”¹³¹ “Like it or loathe it, sport plays a significant role in the relations between states.”¹³²

International sport also provides a metaphorical arena for governments to demonstrate various types of superiority, from their athletic prowess to the ideology of a particular system of state. “Consequently, international sport has ‘always provided a useful mechanism for reminding people and nations precisely where they stand in relation to one another’.”¹³³ More commonly, sporting exchanges offer an alternate channel to conflate diplomatic relationships, cool tensions in acrimonious political situations, or consolidate positive relations.

“Sport is consciously employed by governments to illustrate that while nations may be politically separate people, they share a common human bond through the pursuit of sport.”¹³⁴ The athletes in international events represent the state and their success is translated to state glory and superiority that is underlined by the playing of their national anthem. Kenyan sports men and women are the country’s ambassadors abroad. They can play an imperative role in reconciling communities if the competition is happening in a tense environment, since they are highly esteemed by the public.

Tegla Leroupe, is a celebrated Kenyan athlete who has effectively carried out sports diplomacy in Northern Kenya and for Kenya. Her ‘Tegla Leroupe Peace Foundation,’ organizes peace

¹³¹ Murray S., (2013), *‘Sports Diplomacy In The Australian Context: A Case Study Of The Department Of Foreign Affairs And Trade’*. Sports Law eJournal,, : ISSN 1836-1129

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Jackson J. S. & Haigh S., (2008) *‘Between and Beyond Politics: Sport and foreign policy in a globalizing world’*. 11(4) *Sport in Society* 354.

¹³⁴

marathons that bring together professional athletes and warriors from the warring Turkana and Pokot community. “Typically, a diplomatic service can employ well-known sports-people to represent a particular policy issue or amplify a diplomatic message, they are then referred to as goodwill ambassadors. Across the border, Tegla played a great role as a peace envoy in the Darfur conflict and among the Karamojongs in Uganda.”¹³⁵ This led to her appointment as the UN Ambassador of Sport in 2006 by Kofi Annan, the former UN Secretary General.

A recent use of sports as a tool for diplomacy for Kenya was when “she used football as a tool of diplomacy in South Sudan. Kenya’s enormous input towards South Sudan’s independence through the tortuous negotiations that were held, Harambee Stars were invited to become the country’s inaugural international opponents to celebrate freedom on July 10, 2011.”¹³⁶ The national team was not able to attend but Tusker FC a Kenyan Football team in the local league went in their place and even though they defeated hosts 3-1 at Juba Stadium, it was a momentous moment for the new country. “This match showcased the conclusion to a long negotiation process that led to the birth of South Sudan and emphasized Kenya’s role in the region as a leader.”¹³⁷

3.4. SPORTS DIPLOMACY AND BRANDING

“The necessity to create a recognizable country brand represents a response to the rising emphasis on national identities, challenged by the trends of globalization and homogenization of

¹³⁵ Gichoya F.,(2016) *‘Why Kenya should Embrace Sports Diplomacy’*, Nairobi Confidential: <http://nc.co.ke/2016/04/28/why-kenya-should-embrace-sports-diplomacy/> [Retrieved August 2016]

¹³⁶ Gachuhi R., (2016) *‘Despite shadow of war, hope springs eternal for sport in South Sudan’*. Daily Nation: <http://www.nation.co.ke/sports/TalkUp/Hope-springs-eternal-for-sport-in-South-Sudan/-/441392/2927524/-/view/printVersion/-/2k8vny/-/index.html> [Retrieved August 2016]

¹³⁷ Ibid.

international relations.”¹³⁸ Globalization brings states together and in an effort to states to be unique, they need to adapt various strategies. “It also brings open communication channels giving people the option of where and what to focus their leisure activities on.”¹³⁹ The ability to view live sports in different countries from anywhere in the world makes sports a very powerful tool in international relations.

It is for this reason sports is one of the strategies that are being employed by states in a bid to build their identity and prove superiority. “Governments have recognized the political importance of athletic success as well as the value of promoting the health and well-being of its citizenry.”¹⁴⁰ “The power of attraction on the international stage is also used by governments and politicians to enhance their own “brands” among the citizenry and internationally in order to gain or sustain legitimacy.”¹⁴¹ “Accordingly, sports have become a diplomatic tool, as governments have used boycotts, sports propagandizing, denial of visas, sports assistance, hosting of Olympics, and sports exchanges to further political aims.”¹⁴²

“In the plural, modern and dynamic diplomatic environment, sports diplomacy offers people and nations a chance to showcase their best in ways other than politics, warfare and global oneness.”¹⁴³ “Since antiquity, international sports have provided a symbolic arena for polities to demonstrate various types of superiority from athletic prowess to the ideology of a particular

¹³⁸ Nauright J., (2013) ‘*Selling Nations to the World through sports: Mega-Events and Nation Branding as Global Diplomacy*’, PD Magazine p. 23

¹³⁹ Ibid. p. 23

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid (2013) p. 23

¹⁴² Goldberg J., (2000) *Sporting diplomacy: Boosting the size of the diplomatic corps*, The Washington Quarterly, 23:4, p. 64 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1162/016366000561358>

¹⁴³ Murray S., (2013) ‘*Moving beyond the Ping-Pong table: sports diplomacy in the modern diplomatic environment*’, PD Magazine, p. 15.

system of state.”¹⁴⁴ “Major sporting competitions and tournaments are regarded as ‘events’ to be ‘marketed’ and ‘managed’ since they attract media interest to the host nation which is hoped to translate into tourism and investment.”¹⁴⁵

“The Olympic Games provide a prime example of complexities in utilizing mega-sporting events as economic development strategies to promote host states attractiveness and legitimate superiority for the other competing states.”¹⁴⁶ With the modern Olympic Games, we see states counting their number of medals won by their athletes. The country with more medals is considered capable and superior to the others. States are successful in various sports during the Olympics and over time these sports are linked to the states. Governments use the successful sports to promote their brands and identity, such as how Kenya is viewed as the home of long distance and middle distance runners and Europe perhaps is known for football

3.5. CONCLUSION

Kenya’s national interest of being a regional leader in East Africa and Africa is based on the foreign policy of promotion of regional integration and resolution of conflicts by peaceful means. Kenya has unconsciously enhanced its foreign relations internationally and within the region through sports diplomacy. There is no documentation of this strategy as one that can be utilized to achieve the maximum impact of Kenya using sports diplomacy to enhance foreign relations. Despite the fact that Kenyan individual athletes have the capacity to promote Kenya’s national interest especially when they are selected to serve as sports ambassadors to the United Nations,

¹⁴⁴ Ibid (2013) p. 12.

¹⁴⁵ Nauright J., (2013) ‘*Selling Nations to the World through sports: Mega-Events and Nation Branding as Global Diplomacy*’, PD Magazine p. 23

¹⁴⁶ Ibid (2013) p. 24

this is however not the case because there are no guideline of how they can achieve this. This confirms my hypothesis that Sports diplomacy can attain Kenya's national interest in foreign relations, if implemented strategically.

CHAPTER FOUR

SPORTS AND KENYA'S FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS

4.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents an in depth discussion and analysis of how sports can be utilized in enhancing foreign economic relations of states. It outlines how sports diplomacy is rarely utilized by states especially in Africa when states are negotiating economic agreements or even as a tool in the promotion of economic relations between states. This is discussed under the sub heading of sports and economics, Mega sport events, football and Multi-National Corporations and sports and Kenya's reputation abroad.

4.2. SPORTS AND ECONOMICS

Sports, with its ability to appeal to people across borders, have become a valuable tool for governments of many countries to economic interests. It is for this reason among others that sports is a rapidly growing industry worldwide. "The global sports industry is vast and comprises of a range of associated businesses such as sports manufacturing, retail, tourism, sports medicine, venues & infrastructure, media & hospitality and merchandising."¹⁴⁷ "The global sports sector is estimated to be worth USD 480–620 billion."¹⁴⁸

Majority of governments' involvement in sport is due to its resulting support from foreign investors that translates to economic development in states. It is for this reason that many states

¹⁴⁷ Confederation of Indian Sports, (2014), *'The Business of sports: Shaping a Successful Innings for the Indian Sports Industry'*, kpmg.com/in

¹⁴⁸ Kearney, A.T., (2011), *'The Sports Market'*.

are build and promote specific sports that will make them stand out giving them a unique identity that encourages foreign economic relations. Examples of this includes professional leagues of baseball, basketball and American football in the US; football in the UK and rugby for New Zealand and Fiji. Kenya though hesitant in fully utilizing athletics, her runners are known for their outstanding performance. It is for this reason that sports have become more and more heavily promoted as a commercial product. Doing so enables the states to and economic non state actors see potential of investing in international sports.

4.3. MEGA SPORT EVENTS

Moreover, hosting of mega-sports events (MSE) in many countries has also become a desire, although the economics of such events are now being questioned (see next section).. For instance, the summer and winter Olympic Games or the Football World Cup are perceived as generating financial gains to the host country or city along with heightening of its national image, prestige, legitimacy of the government or as an international tourist destination. Houlihan also points out that, “at a national strategic level Mexico, Japan and South Korea used the hosting of the Olympic Games as opportunities to project images of modern technological and organizationally sophisticated societies and economies.”¹⁴⁹ “Some doubt has recently been cast on the validity of figures produced for such mega events”¹⁵⁰ “and the whole issue of the validity of Economic Impact Studies (EIS) is currently being debated.”¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ Houlihan, B. (2000). *‘Politics and Sport’*. In J. Coakley and E. Dunning (Eds.), *‘Handbook of Sports Studies’*. London: Sage

¹⁵⁰ Roche M. (2000). *‘Mega-events and Modernity: Olympics and Expos in the Growth of Global Culture’*. London: Routledge.

¹⁵¹ Lee Soon-hwan (2001). *‘A Review of Economic Impact Study on Sport Events’*. The Sport Journal, Spring.

Undeniably, mega sport events provide the host nation with a platform from which to raise its profile and project messages to the international community while at the same time showcase their economic potential in hopes of attracting investments. MSEs have a reach that few public relations initiatives could match. “The positive perception and emotive appeal of sports, particularly those that involve the national team, enable MSEs to provide ‘moments in time’ around which the nation can celebrate national pride and patriotism.”¹⁵² As a result, “MSEs can also mobilize attractive cultural attributes and provide a supportive context through which other social and political credentials can be projected.”¹⁵³ “MSEs also require a high level of state engagement, from pre-event support concerning lessons learnt given by former hosts or interstate co-operation on issues of security, to event time hosting of political elites.”¹⁵⁴ Accordingly, they further offer opportunities for states to develop mutually supportive relations in an informal setting. Given Nye’s explanation “of soft power, the utility of MSEs as tools of public diplomacy and for the expansion of soft power capacity is clear.”¹⁵⁵

An excellent example can be found in “the United Kingdom when they were preparing to host the London Olympics.”¹⁵⁶ “The then British Prime Minister David Cameron, launched a campaign to promote the country abroad, in preparation for the London Olympics and Queen Elizabeth’s diamond jubilee in 2012.”¹⁵⁷ “The goal of the campaign was to reinforce Britain’s brand as a country of fantastic sport, music, and history, emphasizing the word *great* in the name

¹⁵² Dowse S: *Power Play: International Politics, Germany, South Africa and the FIFA World Cup*. Johannesburg: SAIIA, 2011.

¹⁵³ Ibid p.6.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid p.6.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid p.6

¹⁵⁶ Ushkovska M., (2013)., ‘*Diplomacy and Lobbying: Methods for Securing National Goals. In Macedonian*’, (Unpublished Master’s thesis, Skopje: Ss. Cyril and Methodius University)

¹⁵⁷ Ibid

Great Britain.”¹⁵⁸ According to the British online newspaper The Telegraph, the UK government spent £510,000 in developing the country brand, expecting a return on its investments in over a billion pounds in profits for British companies and an increase in the number of tourists by 4 million.¹⁵⁹ Talking about UK’s brand, Cameron stated: “We want to extend an invitation to the world to take a fresh look at everything we have to offer... Britain today is simply a great place to visit, study and work. A great place to invest and do business.”¹⁶⁰ Therefore, mega sporting events such as the Olympics may serve as costly strategies through which countries can credibly signal their intent to pursue more open trade policies.

4.4. FOOTBALL AND MULTI-NATIONAL CORPORATIONS IN AFRICA

“The great majority of Third World countries are to some extent dependent for their sporting activities on foreign aid, the importation of sport goods and equipment, and money from multinational sponsors.”¹⁶¹ The government is the main sponsor and patron of sporting activities in many developing countries. “Between literacy and sport development, no Ministry of Education has privileged the latter against the former.”¹⁶²

A Multi-National Corporation (MNCs) is key in sponsorship of major sporting activities in Africa. Moreover, critical analysis points to the fact that MNCs often embark on activities that promotes their image but not that of the environment and the society. For instance, MNCs are

¹⁵⁸ Ushkovska M., (2013)., *‘Diplomacy and Lobbying: Methods for Securing National Goals. In Macedonian’*, (Unpublished Master’s thesis, Skopje: Ss. Cyril and Methodius University)

¹⁵⁹ The Telegraph. (2011). David Cameron: ‘Britain is GREAT’, Sep 22nd, [Online] Available from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/david-cameron/8781430/David-Cameron-Britain-is-GREAT.html> [Accessed: 24 April 2012].

¹⁶⁰ Ibid

¹⁶¹ Andreff W. (1988), Les multinationales et le sport dans les pays en développement, *Revue Tiers Monde*, 113, 73-100.

¹⁶² Ibid.

much interested in PR activities like sponsorship in Mega Sport Events, such as the Orange African Cup of Nations or Coca-Cola being the official sponsor of the World Cup. "Samsung was able to penetrate Africa by advertising using Ivory Coast player who is stationed in English premier League, Didier Drogba."¹⁶³ Chi Won Suh, CEO of Samsung Middle East and Africa region, complimented both the Chelsea FC star-player and the African continent, saying: "Africa is a key market for Samsung Electronics, with immense growth potential, and we are confident that our association with an internationally and locally acclaimed football star like Drogba will bring us closer to the football loving population throughout the African continent."¹⁶⁴

MNC's have had successful campaigns to win back public opinion through well-funded research, marketing and advertising, media manipulation that portrays them as acting in the public's interest. Through this strategy they are able to influence cultural habits and create demand by influencing public mind. In Kenya the scope has been broad from Coca Cola to Safaricom, these MNCs have been active in participating in Kenya's economic environment.

4.5. SPORTS AND KENYA'S REPUTATION ABROAD

Today "sports diplomacy is associated with governments employing sportspeople to amplify a diplomatic message, or with states using sporting events to enhance their image among global publics, to cool tensions in flagging diplomatic relationships, or simply to test the ground for a possible policy change."¹⁶⁵ These aspects are part of the reason Kenya uses her athletes as sports ambassadors as they seek to aid in achieving Kenya's foreign policy objectives and economic

¹⁶³ Troaca, F., (2008), *'Didier Drogba Signed with Samsung: But not to play football'*, [Online] <http://news.softpedia.com/news/Didier-Drogba-Signed-With-Samsung-82984.shtml> [Retrieved Oct 216]

¹⁶⁴ Ibid

¹⁶⁵ Murray S., (2013) *'Moving beyond the Ping-Pong table: sports diplomacy in the modern diplomatic environment'*, PD Magazine, p. 12.

pillar is important. “Sports diplomacy transcends cultural differences and creates opportunities for alternate avenues for overcoming hostilities, official dialogue and people-to-people relations, uniting separate nations through a love of sports.”¹⁶⁶

Kenya is renowned in the international arena for its prowess in athletics and this can specifically be used to achieve one of the core priorities highlighted in the Kenyan foreign policy that is, “to expound Kenya’s rich culture as an avenue to promoting understanding and better relations.”¹⁶⁷ “Kenya is Africa’s sports powerhouse and a global champion in athletic sports. Sports diplomacy is a diplomatic practice that enhances relations between countries, by connecting people of different languages and cultural backgrounds.”¹⁶⁸ Kenyan athletes have emerged as the leading brand ambassadors and source of national pride for Kenya.

Indeed, “arising from the numerous successes registered by Kenya’s sportsmen and sport women since 1956, when Kenya participated for the first time in the Olympic Games, the country has received a lot of recognition from other countries of the world.”¹⁶⁹ Other international athletes tour Kenya to train in the conditions that the Kenya winners train in with the hopes of improving their performance. These athletes are important as sports ambassadors and in tourism in the building of Kenya’s image abroad. “Linking sports with diplomacy uses sports people and sporting events to engage, inform and create a favourable image among foreign publics and organizations”¹⁷⁰ and “the image promoted by sports in international media shapes foreign

¹⁶⁶ Murray S., (2013) *‘Moving beyond the Ping-Pong table: sports diplomacy in the modern diplomatic environment’*, PD Magazine, p. 12.

¹⁶⁷ Kenya Foreign Policy p. 12

¹⁶⁸ Gichoya F., (2016), *‘Why Kenya should Embrace Sports Diplomacy’*: Nairobi Confidential., <http://nc.co.ke/2016/04/28/why-kenya-should-embrace-sports-diplomacy/> [Retrieved August 2016]

¹⁶⁹ Bhushan, N. (1988): *Cheza Kenya*. Newsread International, Nairobi.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid (2013) p. 12

publics perceptions in a way that is conducive to the sending government's foreign policy goals.”¹⁷¹

When states host a regional sporting event or an international sporting event, it opens its borders to the world and this gives it a chance to be a prestigious nation. Kenya hosted East and Central African Championship (CECAFA) a football tournament in 2013, this tournament was used to promote co-operation among countries in the region. “Organizing mega sporting events and investing into elite sport successes for many states is a ‘vehicle to global recognition’ and to achieve geopolitical goals.”¹⁷² For governments, “these sports diplomacy exchanges are an attractive means of promoting international understanding and friendship as well as dispelling stereotypes and prejudices. Not to mention they are also ‘low-risk, low-cost and high profile’¹⁷³ since these events are usually broadcasted internationally enabling states to attract sports investors due to her athletes.”¹⁷⁴ The right to host such an event is a confirmation of good international citizenship, and if the diplomatic posture, image and message are thoughtfully crafted and aligned to economic foreign policy strategy of a state it will be advantageous in forging foreign economic relations.

More often, “sports encourage a form of moderate patriotism with the desired success of one's country with little ill will toward athletes and cultures of other countries.”¹⁷⁵ More than being just celebrated, athletes can replace dominant images that tend to demonize and stereotype the other side. Kenya having undergone a difficult period of political violence and later its leaders

¹⁷¹ Bhushan, N. (1988): Cheza Kenya. Newsread International, Nairobi.

¹⁷² Keech, Marc and Houlihan B., (1999), “*Sport and the end of apartheid.*” *The Round Table: The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, 88 (349),. pp. 109 – 121.

¹⁷³ Ibid

¹⁷⁴ Ibid

¹⁷⁵ Goldberg J., (2000) ‘*Sporting diplomacy: Boosting the size of the diplomatic corps*’, *The Washington Quarterly*, 23:4, p. 67 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1162/016366000561358>

undergoing ICC trial, gave an unattractive image to the rest of the world and the post-election violence made many investors hesitant to invest.

“This image was improved when her athletes performed outstandingly in international sporting especially in the London Olympic Games, where Kenya was the leading African team with 11 medals.”¹⁷⁶ Kenya’s African dominance was further emphasized “at the Rio Olympic games where she ranked 15th worldwide with a total of 13 medals.”¹⁷⁷ Other than the athletes participation in Rio 2016, Kenya provided training grounds for the ‘Olympic team’, which is a team consisting of refugees from Africa. “These athletes were given access to training facilities to prepare them for the Olympics.”¹⁷⁸ This could be used to the state’s advantage in attracting sports investors and businesses, while on the other hand Kenya could trade training grounds for states that have the need to train in the Kenyan atmosphere.

4.4. CONCLUSION

Globalization has played a key role in building ‘nation brand’ in sports for many states that enables states to engage in economic foreign relations. The ability that has been presented by international media in international sports has prompted many states to not only want to host international sport events, but for various states to brand themselves using various sports building an identity that can be used to attract international economic actors. Such is the case with Kenya and athletics and how middle and long distance runners are closely linked with

¹⁷⁶ ESPN, ‘2012 Summer Olympics – Medal Tracker’ <http://www.espn.com/olympics/summer/2012/medals> [Retrieved August 2016]

¹⁷⁷ Rio 2016., ‘Official Medal count’ <https://www.rio2016.com/en/medal-count-country> [Retrieved August 2016]

¹⁷⁸ McKenzie D., (2016) ‘They came to Kenya as refugees – and they left as olympians’, <http://edition.cnn.com/2016/08/01/sport/refugee-runners-kenya-mckenzie/>

Kenya resulting to other international athletes need to visit Kenya and train with the athletes and at Iten Eldoret where most of these athletes come from and train at.

The Kenyan case however this is done in an ad-hoc basis since the use of sports to enhance foreign economic relation. This strategy is not documented anywhere as a formal commitment by the state. This confirms the hypothesis that sports can positively influence Kenya's foreign economic relations. This study will provide an analysis to point out the objective; to establish the role of sports in Kenya's foreign economic relations.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

5.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter entails the data presentation and analysis that was collected from the target audience. The data was obtained through the use of questionnaires which were the main tools for data collection in the study and interviews. The data was interpreted based on the research questions and objectives. The questionnaires were distributed to the target audience and the data provided information that formed the basis for discussions and the interpretation of the results.

5.2. RESPONSE RATE

The data was collected by administering questionnaires to University of Nairobi masters students from, Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies and interviewing officials from ministry of foreign affairs. Out of 25 questionnaires, 20 were returned. This represented a response rate of 80% which is enough to provide reliable finding for this study. The data collected was presented in table 3 below.

Table 3: Response Rate

| School/Institute | Sample (n) | Returned Questionnaires | Non Responsive |
|---|------------|-------------------------|----------------|
| Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS) | 25 | 18 | 7 |
| Ministry of Foreign Affairs | 5 | 2 | 3 |

Source: Author (2016)

5.3. DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS

From the findings the study established the following characteristics, that the majority of respondents were females by 61%, while males were 39%. Majority of the respondents were between the ages 19 – 30 years as shown by 72%, with 31-40 years age bracket also had a significant number of respondents at 28% and 10% were in the 41-50 category.

It was of utmost importance to know the respondents level of education so as to determine if they understood the research topic. The respondents were mostly graduates this represented 86% the other 14% respondents had undergraduate. This showed respondents ability understanding of the research topic.

While 34% of the respondent being senior management at their work place, and the majority of 66% were junior management.

5.4. TO EXAMINE AND ANALYZE THE ROLE OF SPORTS DIPLOMACY IN ADVANCING AFRICA’S REGIONAL INTERESTS.

One official from the ministry of foreign affairs was interviewed on the question of how sports can be better utilized as a tool of diplomacy in Africa. According to him African states are renowned for their athletics prowess and this gives Africa a unique identity. To further this he suggested that Africa should promote their best athletes who are globally recognized to be the regions ambassadors through their participation in sports.¹⁷⁹ They can use their athletic ability to showcase and promote Africa’s culture, just as Africa has absorbed the western culture. They can

¹⁷⁹ Interview with an official from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of National Government who examined how sports can be better utilized as a tool of diplomacy in Africa.

promote African languages abroad during media interviews and this may help in maybe ensuring one language is added to the United Nations official languages, perhaps Kiswahili.¹⁸⁰

5.4.1. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LEVEL OF AFRICA'S PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL SPORTING EVENTS

The findings of the significance of the level of Africa's participation are shown in table 9.

Table 4: Significance of Africa's Participation in International Sports

| | FREQUENCY | PERCENTAGE % |
|--------------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| Strongly Agree | 15 | 75 |
| Agree | 4 | 20 |
| Not Decided | 1 | 5 |
| Disagree | 0 | 0 |
| Strongly Disagree | 0 | 0 |
| TOTAL | 20 | 100% |

Source: Author (2016)

Majority of the respondents at 75% strongly agreed on the significance of Africa participating on international sporting events to advance her regional interests. This opinion was bolstered by those who agreed at 20%. The undecided and those who disagreed were the least at 5%.

5.4.2. NEED FOR AFRICAN COUNTRIES TO INCREASE THEIR INFLUENCE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The table 5 below shows findings of the opinion of whether there is need for African countries to increase their international influence through sports.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid

Table 5: Increase in participation in relation to international relations influence

| | FREQUENCY | PERCENTAGE % |
|--------------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| Strongly Agree | 13 | 65 |
| Agree | 7 | 35 |
| Not Decided | 0 | 0 |
| Disagree | 0 | 0 |
| Strongly Disagree | 0 | 0 |
| TOTAL | 20 | 100% |

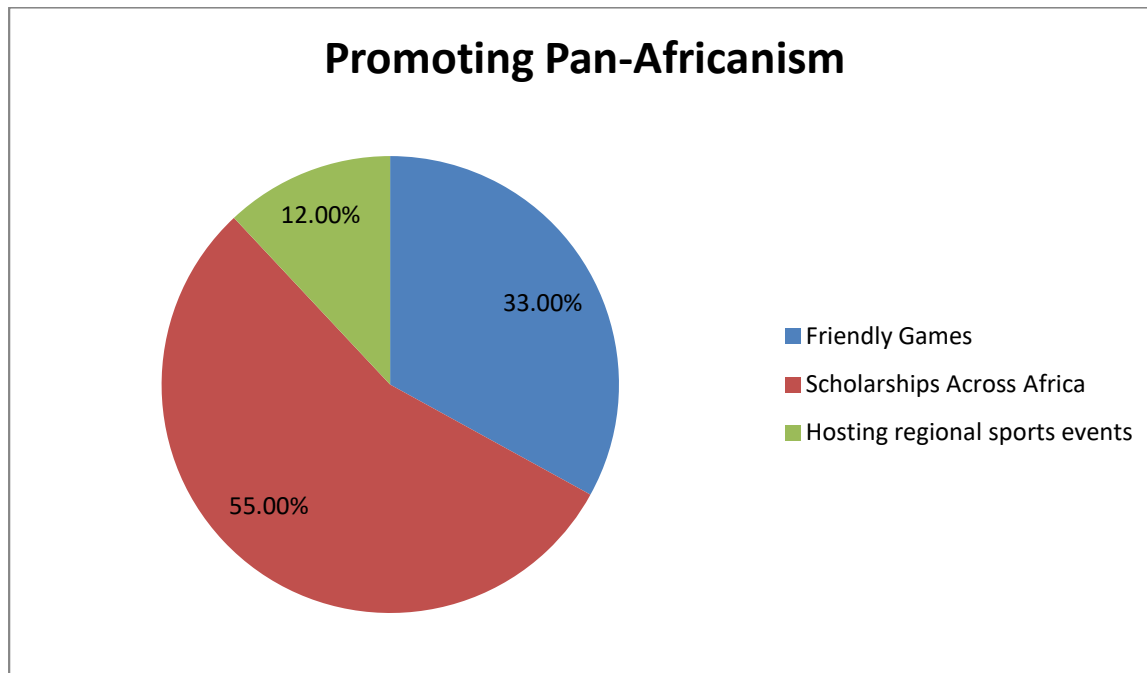
Source: Author (2016)

The table shows that 100% are in agreement of Africa using sports to increase their influence in international relations through sports. None were opposed to the idea. This table shows that the use of sports in international relations for Africa could be effective for her international relations.

5.4.3. Building Pan African Spirit through Sports

The pie chart below shows the varied opinions of respondents on how to promote Pan-African spirit through sports.

Figure 1: Effective method of promoting Pan-African spirit



Source: Author (2016)

The pie chart shows that not a single option was overwhelmingly supported by the respondents. Even though Africa offering scholarships across the continent was supported more than the others at 55%, hosting friendly games and Hosting regional sports events were slightly lower with 33% and 12% in support. This shows that the three options are good in the promotion of Pan-Africanism but offering scholarships was strongly supported.

5.4.4. SPORTS DIPLOMACY IN WAR TORN AREAS FOR CEASE FIRE OR A MIDST NEGOTIATION/MEDIATION

The table below represents the findings of sports diplomacy as a cease fire tool during war.

Table 6: Africa should us sports diplomacy in war torn areas

| | FREQUENCY | PERCENTAGE % |
|--------------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| Strongly Agree | 7 | 35 |
| Agree | 5 | 25 |
| Not Decided | 8 | 40 |
| Disagree | 0 | 0 |
| Strongly Disagree | 0 | 0 |
| TOTAL | 20 | 100% |

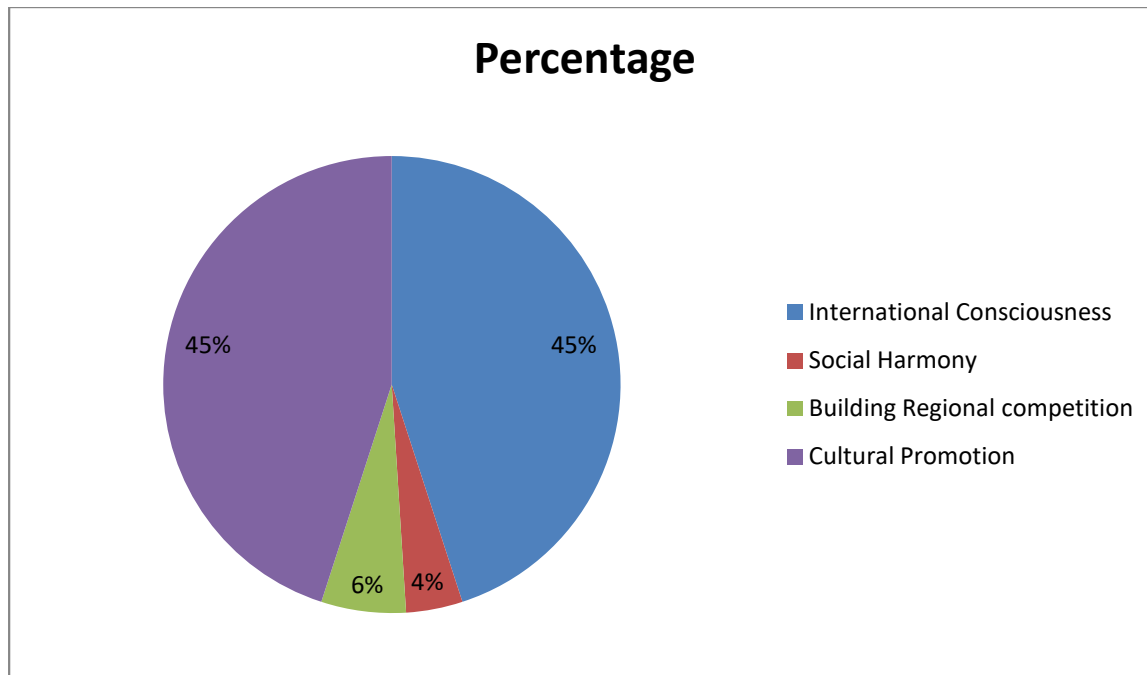
Source: Author (2016)

The respondents agreed at 25% that sports diplomacy could be a good idea to use to bring warring parties together during war. Even though the respondents that strongly agreed were 35%, the results showed that 90% were in support of using sports diplomacy as a ceasefire tool. 40% were undecided.

5.4.5. OTHER METHODS TO UTILIZE SPORTS DIPLOMACY IN AFRICA

The figure 2 below shows the findings of other methods to utilize sports diplomacy in Africa.

Figure 2: Other Effective Sports Diplomacy Methods in Africa



Source: Author (2016)

The pie chart shows that Africa could use sports diplomacy equally to build international consciousness and for cultural promotion. These two options got equal participation at 45%. Social harmony was lower at 4% and using it to build regional competition came at 6%.

5.5. ROLE OF SPORTS DIPLOMACY IN ATTAINING KENYA'S NATIONAL INTEREST

An official from the ministry response to the question of the role of sports diplomacy in attaining Kenya's national interest was that different sports diplomacy dynamics if implemented well can be a strategic tool in the quest of all of Kenya's interests.¹⁸¹ These interests as per the foreign policy document are to:

“...Protect Kenya's sovereignty and territorial integrity; Promote integration; Enhance regional peace and security; Advance the economic prosperity of Kenya and her people; Project Kenya's image and prestige; Promote multilateralism; Promote the interests of Kenyan Diaspora and partnership with the Kenyans abroad...”¹⁸²

He stated that it is the need to use various aspects of cultural diplomacy such as sports, which led to the public validation of a new post within Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs called the cultural desk early this year. He stated that among other functions of the post, it will work hand in hand with Ministry of Sports, Culture and Arts to actualize these sports, culture and arts as diplomacy tools. It will provide a platform abroad for local Ministry of sports, culture and arts may lack thus elevating and promoting Kenyan culture.¹⁸³

¹⁸¹ Interview with an official from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of National Government who examined how sports can be better utilized as a tool of diplomacy in Africa.

¹⁸² GOK, (2014), *'Kenya's foreign Policy'*

¹⁸³ Interview with an official from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of National Government who examined how sports can be better utilized as a tool of diplomacy in Africa.

5.5.1. DISTINGUISHED SPORT IN KENYA

The table 7 below shows findings for the sport that respondents found most distinguished in Kenya.

Table 7: Kenya's Distinguished Sport

| SPORT | FREQUENCY | PERCENTAGE % |
|------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| Athletics | 15 | 75 |
| Rugby | 5 | 25 |
| Football | 0 | 0 |
| Boxing | 0 | 0 |
| Swimming | 0 | 0 |
| TOTAL | 20 | 100% |

Source: Author (2016)

From the table above, athletics was the most distinguished sport in Kenya with 75%. This supported the secondary data that “Kenya is renowned in the world for middle and long distance running.”¹⁸⁴ Rugby proved to be an up and coming sport for Kenya and only 25% of respondents thought of it as distinguished. Those were the only two.

¹⁸⁴ Government of Kenya (2003). ‘*The Draft National Sports Policy*’. Department of Sports.

5.5.2. SIGNIFICANCE OF ATHLETICS TO KENYA’S GLOBAL IDENTITY

The table 8 below showed the respondents opinion on whether athletics is significant to Kenya’s global identity.

Table 8: Is Athletics significant to Kenya's Identity

| | FREQUENCY | PERCENTAGE % |
|---------------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| Strongly Agree | 14 | 70 |
| Agree | 6 | 30 |
| Not Decided | 0 | 0 |
| Disagree | 0 | 0 |
| 0Strongly Disagree | 0 | 0 |
| TOTAL | 20 | 100% |

Source: Author (2016)

100% of the respondents thought of athletics as a crucial part of Kenya’s global identity.

5.5.3. SPORTSMEN AS DIPLOMATS LED TO PROMOTING KENYA AS A REGIONAL LEADER

The table 9 shows the findings of how Kenya's sportsmen can help promote Kenya as a regional leader.

Table 9: Sports Ambassadors in promoting Kenya

| | FREQUENCY | PERCENTAGE % |
|---|------------------|---------------------|
| Attracting sports tourists | 11 | 55 |
| Training Centers | 1 | 5 |
| Athletes as sports ambassadors | 2 | 10 |
| Higher International ranking | 0 | 0 |
| Setting sports standards in Africa | 6 | 30 |
| TOTAL | 20 | 100% |

Source: Author (2016)

The findings indicate that 55% of respondents that by athletes attracting sports tourists the help promote Kenya. 5% of the respondents thought that by athletes establishing training centers helps promote Kenya. 10% of the respondents thought that by the athletes participating in the regional competitions and being associated in regional organizations helps Kenya's leadership role. 30% of the respondents thought that setting sports standards in Africa could help Kenya in their leadership role in the region.

5.5.4. KENYA'S IMAGE THROUGH SPORTS PARTICIPATION HAS LED TO:

The table 10 shows the effects of Kenya's image through sports participation.

Table 10: Effects of Kenya's image through sports participation

| SPORT | FREQUENCY | PERCENTAGE % |
|--|------------------|---------------------|
| Sports Personalities | 5 | 25 |
| Prestige in international arena | 4 | 20 |
| Promotion of Kenyan culture | 3 | 15 |
| Nationhood and Patriotism | 7 | 35 |
| Building desired hosting structures | 1 | 5 |
| TOTAL | 20 | 100% |

Source: Author (2016)

The table shows that 25% respondents thought that Kenya's image has been held in positive light due to Kenya's athletes. 20% respondents thought that Kenya's prestige in international arena was due to participation while 15% thought that Kenya's promotion of culture was due to participation. 35% and 5% thought nationhood and building desired hosting structures was due to sport participation.

5.5.5. EFFECTIVENESS OF SPORTS IN KENYA ON THE CHALLENGE OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The table 11 shows effectiveness of sports on human rights in Kenya.

Table 11: Effectiveness of sports on human rights in Kenya

| SPORT | FREQUENCY | PERCENTAGE % |
|---|------------------|---------------------|
| Education through scholarships | 2 | 10 |
| Participation of those with disability | 9 | 45 |
| Youth Empowerment | 1 | 5 |
| Ethnicity Representation | 4 | 20 |
| Equal play, equal pay | 4 | 20 |
| TOTAL | 20 | 100% |

Source: Author (2016)

The challenge of human rights in Kenya is addressed through sports in the following ways 10% of the respondents thought promotion of education through scholarships while 45% thought including those with disability in participation of sports was empowering. 5%, 20% and 20% thought youth empowerment, ethnicity representation and equal play and equal pay respectively reduced discrimination through sports.

5.6. ROLE OF SPORTS IN KENYA’S FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS

On the question of Kenya’s foreign economic relations and sports, the interviewee stated that just as Western countries such as USA are known for NBA, and that any athlete who wants to play NBA would want to play it in the USA is because of they have exported NBA to the world. He claims that Kenya should export Athletics with the same vigor since it is one form of our unique identity globally.¹⁸⁵

He also stated that if Kenya promoted her athletes especially rugby and athletics and brand them with local brands this would open new foreign economic doors that now seem impossible. International companies would venture to form business mergers with Kenya’s local businesses, thus raising Kenya’s profile economically and this would translate to economic growth for Kenya that would trickle down to citizens in form of jobs.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁵ Interview with an official from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of National Government who examined how sports can be better utilized as a tool of diplomacy in Africa.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

5.6.1. DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES IN SPORTS THAT KENYA IS KNOWN FOR

The findings of Kenya development strategies in sports that are well known are shown in table 12 below.

Table 12: Kenya's sports development strategies

| | FREQUENCY | PERCENTAGE % |
|--|------------------|---------------------|
| Supporting athletic personalities | 4 | 20 |
| Sports scholarships for students | 1 | 5 |
| Sports tourism | 8 | 40 |
| Hosting | 2 | 10 |
| Active sports participation | 5 | 25 |
| TOTAL | 20 | 100% |

Source: Author (2016)

The table shows that 20% of the respondents thought that Kenya was not well known for supporting its athletes indicating that Kenya did not support well its athletes. 5% supported providing scholarships for athletic students, while 40% was the most popular option indicated building the sports tourism industry was a good development strategy Kenya was known for. 10% thought hosting sporting events and 25% thought active participation in international sporting event were good strategies.

5.6.2. POPULAR TYPE OF FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT (FDI) THAT HAS BEEN RECEIVED DUE TO KENYA'S SPORT REPUTATION

The table 13 below shows the foreign investments gained by Kenya due to sports.

Table 13: FDI due to sports

| TYPE | FREQUENCY | PERCENTAGE % |
|--|-----------|--------------|
| Transfer Programs with other states | 12 | 60 |
| Training programs funding | 5 | 25 |
| Sponsorships to host | 1 | 5 |
| Investment in sports for social health | 2 | 10 |
| Infrastructure development | 0 | 0 |
| TOTAL | 20 | 100% |

Source: Author (2016)

Transfer programs with other states and training program funding got the most respondents support with 63% and 25% respectively. 5% thought sponsorships to host events were attracted due to Kenya's sport reputation. 10% and 0% respondents thought that investment in sports for social health and investment in infrastructure development were due to Kenya's sports reputation.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

This research study was set out to find out the role of sports diplomacy in African international relations with a focus of Kenya as a core example. It was established that Africa has not fully explored the use of sports diplomacy in the promotion of its interests as a region. The study further established that even as Kenya may be among the leading states in the region in the participation of international sports, the concept of sports diplomacy is yet to be considered a serious type of diplomacy.

The research findings on the objective of to examine and analyze the role of sports diplomacy in advancing Africa's regional interests were: Majority of the respondents at 75% strongly agreed on the significance of Africa participating on international sporting events to advance her regional interests. This opinion was bolstered by those who agreed at 20%. The undecided and those who disagreed were the least at 5%. On Africa using sports to increase international relations influence, 100% of the respondents are in agreement none were opposed to the idea. This showed that the use of sports in international relations for Africa could be effective for her international relations.

Africa offering scholarships across the continent was supported more than the others at 55%, hosting friendly games and Hosting regional sports events were slightly lower with 33% and 12% in support. This shows that the three options are good in the promotion of Pan-Africanism but offering scholarships was strongly supported.

The respondents agreed at 25% that sports diplomacy could be a good idea to use to bring warring parties together during war. Even though the respondents that strongly agreed were 35%, the results showed that 90% were in support of using sports diplomacy as a ceasefire tool. 40% were undecided. The pie chart showed that Africa could use sports diplomacy equally to build international consciousness and for cultural promotion. These two options got equal participation at 45%. Social harmony was lower at 4% and using it to build regional competition came at 6%.

This findings indicated that Africa's participation on international events was significant and that participation in these events could increase Africa's influence in international relations. Within African countries it was suggested that holding friendly matches amongst neighbours and offering sports scholarships across African states could promote the Pan-African spirit. It was also strongly suggested that in Africa, sports diplomacy could also be utilized for cultural promotion and social harmony. This was in line with Naughtright's statement that, "South Africa hosting World cup was a great opportunity for promotion of pan Africanism."¹⁸⁷ The findings thus agree with the hypothesis, sports diplomacy can be utilized to advance Africa's interests as a region.

On the objective, to establish and analyze the role of sports diplomacy in attaining Kenya's national interest in foreign relations, the research findings indicated that athletics and rugby would be the most effective sports tools to be utilized in Kenya's foreign relations athletics being strongly supported by most respondents. This is seen in the findings that athletics was the most distinguished sport in Kenya with 75%. This supported the secondary data that "Kenya is

¹⁸⁷ Nauright, J. & Bhola Lethu: *Football in Urban South Africa* in Armstrong, G. & Giulianotti R. 1999, *Football Cultures and Identities*, Macmillan Press Ltd, London pp.189-200

renowned in the world for middle and long distance running.”¹⁸⁸ Rugby proved to be an up and coming sport for Kenya and only 25% of respondents thought of it as distinguished. 100% of the respondents thought of athletics as a crucial part of Kenya’s global identity. The findings also indicated that 55% of respondents that by athletes attracting sports tourists the help promote Kenya. 5% of the respondents thought that by athletes establishing training centers helps promote Kenya. 10% of the respondents thought that by the athletes participating in the regional competitions and being associated in regional organizations helps Kenya’s leadership role. 30% of the respondents thought that setting sports standards in Africa could help Kenya in their leadership role in the region.

The findings also showed that 25% respondents thought that Kenya’s image has been held in positive light due to Kenya’s athletes. 20% respondents thought that Kenya’s prestige in international arena was due to participation in international sports while 15% thought that Kenya’s promotion of culture was due to participation in international sports. 35% and 5% thought nationhood and building desired hosting structures was due to sport participation.

The challenge of human rights in Kenya is addressed through sports in the following ways 10% of the respondents thought promotion of education through scholarships while 45% thought including those with disability in participation of sports was empowering. 5%, 20% and 20% thought youth empowerment, ethnicity representation and equal play and equal pay respectively reduced discrimination through sports.

Athletics has therefore had an effective impact in building Kenya’s identity and that athletes have established Kenya as a regional leader leading to legitimate superiority and attraction of

¹⁸⁸ Government of Kenya (2003). *‘The Draft National Sports Policy’*. Department of Sports.

sport tourists. Kenya has effectively upheld human rights through sports diplomacy, through education support, through sports scholarships and ensuring participation of those with disability in international sports. It was also indicated the need to use various aspects of cultural diplomacy such as sports, led to the creation of new post within Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs called the cultural desk that will work hand in hand with Ministry of Sports, Culture and Arts to actualize these diplomacy tools. The use of sports is outlined in the cultural pillar of Kenya's foreign policy.¹⁸⁹ This supports McEvoy statement that "Kenya's traditional low-risk, non-interventionist approach to peacebuilding and peacemaking is her unique foreign policy strategy."¹⁹⁰ The findings thus agree with the hypothesis, sports diplomacy can attain Kenya's national interest in foreign relations.

The objective to establish the role of sports in foreign economic relations; the research findings on Kenya's image indicated that distinguished sports personalities have contributed greatly to her image. The findings showed that 20% of the respondents thought that Kenya was not well known for supporting its athletes indicating that Kenya did not support well its athletes. 5% supported providing scholarships for athletic students, while 40% was the most popular option indicated building the sports tourism industry was a good development strategy that Kenya was known for. This is seen in Eldoret, "which is a prime training location that attracts athletes and investors promoting foreign economic relations."¹⁹¹ 10% thought hosting sporting events and 25% thought active participation in international sporting event were good strategies.

¹⁸⁹ Kenya Foreign Policy, (2014), p. 19.

¹⁹⁰ Mc Evoy C, (2013), 'shifting Priorities Kenya's changing approach to peace building and Peace makin.' NOREF Report.

¹⁹¹ Gichoya F.,(2016)., '*Why Kenya should Embrace Sports Diplomacy*': Nairobi Confidential., <http://nc.co.ke/2016/04/28/why-kenya-should-embrace-sports-diplomacy/> [Retrieved August 2016]

Transfer programs with other states and training program funding got the most respondents support with 63% and 25% respectively. 5% thought sponsorships to host events were attracted due to Kenya's sport reputation. 10% and 0% respondents thought that investment in sports for social health and investment in infrastructure development were due to Kenya's sports reputation.

Therefore the findings indicated Kenya was not well known for supporting its athletes indicating that Kenya did not support well its athletes and that the foreign investments earned from the foreign relations has resulted to transfer programs with other states. The findings thus suggested that if Kenya promoted her athletes especially rugby and athletics and brand them with local brands this would open new foreign economic doors that now seem impossible. The research findings thus agree with the hypothesis, sports can positively influence Kenya's foreign economic relations.

6.2. CONCLUSIONS

Sports diplomacy has been used often in the past by states, though not taking center stage in international relations it has left some impact in state relations. Ranging from "ping pong diplomacy between China and USA in the early 1970s"¹⁹² and "hockey diplomacy (coined by Canada in order to describe Soviet – Canada relations in the post-war period"¹⁹³) "to the impact sports and diplomacy had in overcoming apartheid and reintegrating South Africa into the

¹⁹² Murray S., (2013) *'Moving beyond the Ping-Pong table: sports diplomacy in the modern diplomatic environment'*, PD Magazine, p. 12.

¹⁹³ Macintosh D & M. Hawes, *Sport and Canadian Diplomacy*, Montreal Buffalo. London 1994, p. 33.

international community,”¹⁹⁴ “far less attention has been paid to the ‘means’ of the relationship between sports and politics: diplomacy.”¹⁹⁵

As John Hoberman noted, "Sport ... exercises a deep hold on the human imagination which is virtually universal and which does not seem to vary from society to society at this level of emotion."¹⁹⁶ Due to this solidarity brought about by sports, sports diplomacy has been effective in advancing Africa's interests in the past and it still continues to play this role today. Sports diplomacy was used by African countries to protest segregation in South Africa. This played a crucial role in forcing other states and organizations in the international system to face and address the apartheid system of discrimination against the blacks of South Africa. When African countries emphasized on this issue it gave them a voice on an important issue, this cooperation it fostered within Africa is in line with the African Union vision of representing a dynamic force in the international arena.

The African Union objective, to promote peace, security, and stability on the continent can also be enhanced through sports diplomacy just like in Ivory Coast when social harmony was prompted by the football team qualifying for world cup. Hosting FIFA world cup in 2010 by South Africa showcased the Africa as the prestigious nation it is changing perspectives of many international actors. It also attracted sports tourists who came to attend the event but toured other African countries in that period and also resulted to the promotion of African culture.

Kenya's national interest of being a regional leader in East Africa and Africa is based on the foreign policy of promotion of regional integration and resolution of conflicts by peaceful means.

¹⁹⁴ Murray S., (2013) '*Moving beyond the Ping-Pong table: sports diplomacy in the modern diplomatic environment*', PD Magazine, p. 12.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid p.12.

¹⁹⁶ Morgan W.J., "*Sports as the Moral Discourse of Nations*," in Torbjorn Tännsjö and Claudio Tambuffini, eds., *Values in Sport* (New York: E&FN Spon, 2000), 65-68.

Kenya has enhanced its foreign relations internationally and within the region through sports diplomacy. This is seen in the cases stated above “of South Sudan friendly match during her independence and Kenya’s participation in African Diplomatic Corps football team.”¹⁹⁷ Kenyan individual athletes also have the capacity to promote Kenya’s national interest especially when they are selected to serve as sports ambassadors to the United Nations.

Globalization has played a key role in building ‘nation brand’ in sports for many states. The ability that has been presented by international media in international sports has prompted many states to not only want to host international sport events, but for various states to brand themselves using various sports. Such is the case with “Kenya and athletics and how middle and long distance runners are closely linked with Kenya resulting to other international athletes need to visit Kenya and train with the athletes and at Iten, Eldoret where most of these athletes come from and train at.”¹⁹⁸

Sports are not a cure for animosities and conflicts that have existed for 50 years, but the success of the likes of Tegla Leroupe can have positive effects beyond the playing field, onto the political chessboard.¹⁹⁹ Although sports can be used to demonstrate the superiority of one system (or people) over another, it can also be an avenue to demonstrate similarities and bring societies (and people) closer together, preparing the way for eventual public policy changes.²⁰⁰ The liberal image of international relations is a large, seemingly all-inclusive tent—not just states, but also international and nongovernmental organizations and the often cross-cutting networks that

¹⁹⁷ Gachuhi R., (2016) ‘*Despite shadow of war, hope springs eternal for sport in South Sudan*’. Daily Nation: http://www.nation.co.ke/sports/TalkUp/Hope-springs-eternal-for-sport-in-South-Sudan/_/441392/2927524/-/view/printVersion/-/2k8vvnv/-/index.html [Retrieved August 2016]

¹⁹⁸ Gichoya F.,(2016)., ‘*Why Kenya should Embrace Sports Diplomacy*’: Nairobi Confidential., <http://nc.co.ke/2016/04/28/why-kenya-should-embrace-sports-diplomacy/> [Retrieved August 2016]

¹⁹⁹ Goldberg J., (2000), ‘*Sporting diplomacy: Boosting the size of the diplomatic corps*’, The Washington Quarterly, 23:4, 69

²⁰⁰ Ibid

connect them.²⁰¹ This is confirmed in the plural, modern and dynamic diplomatic environment, sports diplomacy offers people and nations a chance to showcase their best in ways other than politics, warfare and global one-upmanship through international sports organizations cutting across networks.²⁰²

5.3. RECOMMENDATIONS

The study recommends that the government should further embark on an active campaign for Kenya to utilize sports diplomacy in the pursuit of national interest in Africa and globally. Kenya should build more support for its athletes as this will build their profile and avoid switching of nationalities by athletes due to frustrations. Kenya's Ministry of sports, culture and arts should embark on the challenge of using sports in marginalized areas within Kenya and also work with ministry of foreign affairs to use sports in other states with conflicts so as to achieve the Kenya's objective of promoting peace.

In Africa, scholarly work is lacking in the topic of sports diplomacy. The following topics are therefore recommended for research:

- i. Relationship between Sports diplomacy and International Organizations in Africa:
The threat of state sovereignty by international sports organizations in Kenya
- ii. Impact of sports diplomacy in the promotion of human rights in Africa.

²⁰¹ Viotti, P.R & Kauppi, V.M. (2012)., *'International Relations Theory'*. 5th Edition (Glenview: Pearson), 129

²⁰² Murray S., (2013) *'Moving beyond the Ping-Pong table: sports diplomacy in the modern diplomatic environment'*, PD Magazine, p. 15.

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APPENDIX A

THE ROLE OF SPORTS DIPLOMACY IN AFRICAN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: THE CASE OF KENYA

QUESTIONNAIRE

PART 1: GENERAL INFORMATION

1. Please Indicate your gender:

Male

☐

Female

☐

2. Age:

| | | | | | | | |
|-------------|--|-----------|--|-----------|--|----------|--|
| 19-30 Years | | 31-40 yrs | | 41-50 yrs | | Above 50 | |
|-------------|--|-----------|--|-----------|--|----------|--|

3. What is your highest level of education:

Secondary

☐

College

☐

Undergraduate

☐

Graduate degree

☐

Post Graduate

☐

4. For how long have you been working for your organization **(Please Tick)**

| | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|--|----------|--|-----------|--|----------|--|------------|--|
| Less than 5yrs | | 5-10 yrs | | 11-15 yrs | | 16-20yrs | | Over 20yrs | |
|----------------|--|----------|--|-----------|--|----------|--|------------|--|

5. Grade and Department

| | | | |
|-------------------|--|-------------------|--|
| Senior Management | | Junior Management | |
| Department | | | |

PART II: OBJECTIVES

1. **How can sports be better utilized as a tool of diplomacy in Africa?** (Initials below mean **S/DA** - Strongly Disagree; **D/A**- Disagree; **N/D** - Not Decided; **A** - Agree; **S/A** - Strongly Agree)

6. Do you think the level of Africa's participation in international sporting events is significant?

| S/DA | D/A | N/D | A | S/A |
|------|-----|-----|---|-----|
| | | | | |

7. African Countries need to participate more in sporting events to increase their influence in international relations.

| S/DA | D/A | N/D | A | S/A |
|------|-----|-----|---|-----|
| | | | | |

8. Identify the method best for Africa to build their Pan-African spirit through sports in the region.

- A. Sports Scholarships across African countries ☐
- B. Hosting African Sporting Events ☐
- C. Holding Friendly games among neighbours ☐

9. Sports is effective in Africa when played in war torn areas for ceasefire or a midst negotiation/mediation processes.

| S/DA | D/A | N/D | A | S/A |
|------|-----|-----|---|-----|
| | | | | |

10. Suggest any other way that the sports diplomacy could be utilized to by Africa.

- A. Social harmony ☐
- B. International consciousness ☐
- C. Cultural promotion ☐
- D. Build more regional competition which will strengthen international participation ☐

2. How can sports diplomacy be used to attain Kenya's national interest in foreign relations?
 (Where applicable with choices A-E; Use Likert Scale to **Rank In** order of **1-5**: 1- LEAST EFFECTIVE (**L/E**); 2- BELOW AVERAGE (**B/A**); 3- AVERAGE (**A**); 4- EFFECTIVE (**E**) to 5 being MOST EFFECTIVE (**M/E**)

11. Rank from 1-5, the most distinguished sporting activity in which Kenya is renowned for in international competition:

| A. Football | B. Rugby | C. Athletics | D. Swimming | E. Boxing |
|-------------|----------|--------------|-------------|-----------|
| | | | | |

12. Has the most effective sport in question above positioned Kenya as an effective global competitor by building its identity?

| Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Not Decided | Agree | Strongly Agree |
|-------------------|----------|-------------|-------|----------------|
| | | | | |

Please Rank questions 13-15 from 1-5, the order of effectiveness in which:

13. Sportsmen as diplomats of Kenya have resulted in promoting Kenya as a regional leader in athletics leading to

- A. Attracting Sports tourists ☐
- B. Establishing training set ups/centers ☐
- C. Gaining higher international standing among nations ☐
- D. Identification of sports ambassadors to international sporting organizations ☐
- E. Setting the standard of competition to other countries ☐

14. Kenya's image through participation of international sporting events has led to

- A. Distinguished Personalities ☐
- B. Promotion of Kenyan culture ☐
- C. Sense of prestige in international arena ☐
- D. Sense of nation hood and patriotism ☐
- E. Desired developed structures to host ☐

15. Rank 1-5 order of effectiveness, the challenge of basic human rights as a UN convention has been addressed through sports in Kenya by

- A. Equal playing and pay opportunities for men and women in sports ☐
- B. Disability Participation ☐
- C. Ethnicity representation ☐
- D. Education support through sports scholarships ☐
- E. Youth empowerment ☐

3. What is the role of sports in the challenge of foreign economic relations? Rank In order of 1-5: 1- LEAST EFFECTIVE (L/E); 2- BELOW AVERAGE (B/A); 3- AVERAGE (A); 4- EFFECTIVE (E) to 5 being MOST EFFECTIVE (M/E)

16. Kenya's foreign economic relations has resulted to the following development strategies in sports

- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| A. Building athletic personalities | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| B. Sports scholarships for students | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| C. Hosting International and regional sport events | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| D. Active participation in athletic competitions | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| E. Sports tourism | <input type="checkbox"/> |

17. What is the role of Sports Diplomacy in Foreign direct investment (FDI) in Kenya?

18. How has the reputation achieved by Kenyan sportsmen has contributed to Kenya attracting of sports foreign direct investments from international partners?

- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| A. Funding of training programs for coaches and athletes | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| B. Infrastructure development | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| C. Investment in Sports for social health in communities | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| D. sports transfer programs in learning institutions with other states | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| E. Sponsorships that enable hosting of international and regional sport events | <input type="checkbox"/> |

19. How does income from economic sports trends impact knowledge and policy formation?
