

**HISTORY OF GENDER INEQUALITY IN SPORTS MANAGEMENT IN KENYA,
1901–2019**

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**A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate School in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for Doctor of Philosophy Degree in History of Egerton University**

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DECLARATION AND RECOMMENDATION

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I declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented in this or any other University for any degree.

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DEDICATION

To my parents, Peterson Kiragu and Pascoline Wangui Kiragu.

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The journey to earning a doctorate is long and cannot be completed singlehandedly. First, I am indebted to my parents who sacrificed their meagre resources to lay a foundation for my education. I thank my wife Hilda Jebichii and daughters Nini Wangui and Nicole Nyacomba for their encouragement and support throughout my graduate studies. Second, I thank Egerton University for granting me the opportunity to undertake PhD studies at the institution. Special thanks go to my supervisors, Prof. Reuben Matheka and Dr Dorothy Nyakwaka. Their advice and guidance carried me through all stages of the study.

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ABSTRACT

Sports management in Kenya is basically a male affair. Despite rivalling men's achievement in international competitions in some sports, women play a marginal role in top decision-making levels of sports in the country. Preceding studies have explained this inequality in terms of patriarchy. This approach, however, overlooks the role of state and non-state stakeholders in perpetuating gender inequality in sports management. This study delved into evolution of sports management in Kenya in order to understand how male dominance was reproduced and contested across three eras: the early colonial period before the establishment of sports organisations as well as the amateur and professional eras. The study covered the period between 1901 and 2019. The researcher reviewed global, continental and national literature to obtain information on gender and sports management and to identify knowledge gaps in studies on gender and sports management in Kenya. The researcher employed cultural and gender theories as the main analytical lenses. The researcher employed the ex-post facto design purposive and snowball techniques in sampling. The main study area was Nairobi County because this is where most sports federations' headquarters are located. The researcher examined primary source documents ranging from official reports to newspaper reports. Such documents were obtained from the Kenya National Archives (KNA) as well as institutional archives across the country. The researcher also conducted interviews on gender issues in sports management with people who have been involved in, or observed, management of sports in Kenya. All sources of information were subjected to external and internal criticism in order to establish their authenticity as well as validity of the information. The major finding was that gender inequality in contemporary sports management is an aggregate of historical interaction of stakeholders' interests with cultural factors and sports ideologies, especially muscular Christianity, amateurism and Olympism. Overall, the study foregrounded the historicity of reproduction and contestation of male dominance in sports management in Kenya. The research findings will be helpful in informing interventions because it identifies the drivers of gender inequality in sports management and how they operate.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION AND RECOMMENDATION	ii
COPYRIGHT	iii
DEDICATION.....	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
ABSTRACT	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	x
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xi
CHAPTER ONE	
INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background to the Study	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem	5
1.3 Research Objectives.....	5
1.4 Research Questions.....	5
1.5 Research Assumptions	6
1.6 Justification for the Study	6
1.7 Scope and Limitations of the Study	6
1.8 Definition of Terms	6
1.9 Glossary of Terms.....	7
1.10 Literature Review and Theoretical Framework	9
1.11 Methodology	28
CHAPTER TWO	
GENDER AND ORGANISATION OF SPORTS IN PRE-COLONIAL AFRICA	35
2.1 Overview	35
2.2 Conceptualising Games and Sports	36
2.3 Pre-historic Games in Africa	39
2.4 Games and Sports on the Eve of Colonialism in Kenya	43
2.5 Gender and Pre-colonial Games	49
2.6 Gendered Institutionalisation of Sports during the Pre-colonial Period	52
2.7 Summary	54

CHAPTER THREE	
GENDER INEQUALITY IN SPORTS MANAGEMENT IN EARLY COLONIAL KENYA 1901–1922	55
3.1 Overview	55
3.2 Missionary Societies and Organisation of Sports in Early Colonial Kenya	55
3.3 Gender and Missionary Sports and Physical Training Programmes	60
3.4 Muscular Christianity and Missionary Pursuit for Legitimacy: the Case of the CSM	68
3.5 Summary	72
CHAPTER FOUR	
THE INTERWAR PERIOD TO INDEPENDENCE, 1922–1963	74
4.1 Overview	74
4.2 Sports Management between 1922–1945	75
4.3 Sports Management during the Post-World War II Period	88
4.4 Summary	107
CHAPTER FIVE	
THE POST-INDEPENDENT ERA, 1964–2019	109
5.1 Overview	109
5.2 Important Developments in Sports Management at Independence	110
5.3 Evolution in Commercialisation of Athletics and Football	114
5.4 Bottlenecks in the Professionalisation of Female Sports	121
5.5 Gender Crisis in Top Decision-making Levels of Sports Management	127
5.6 Summary	141
CHAPTER SIX	
SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	143
6.1 Summary	143
6.2 Conclusion	147
6.3 Recommendation	152
APPENDICES	167
Appendix I: Interview Guide for Administrators of Sports Organisations	167

Appendix II: Interview Guide for Administrators in the Department of Sports Ministry Gender, Sports and Youth Affairs; Kenya National Sports Council	168
Appendix III: Interview Guide for Corporate Institutions.....	171
Appendix IV: Interview Guide for Officials of Ministry of Education.....	172
Appendix V: Interview Guide for Editors of Sports in Print and Electronic Media ..	173
Appendix VI: Interview Guide for Advocates of Gender Equality in Sports Management	174
Appendix VII: Interview Guide for Sports Officials in Security Organs	175
Appendix VIII: Research Permit	176
Appendix IX: Abstract of Journal Article 1	177
Appendix X: Abstract of Journal Article 2	178

LIST OF FIGURES

Fig 1.1 Map of Nairobi County	31
Fig 2.1 Photograph of Remnant of Board Game on one wall of Hyrax Hill Museum in Nakuru Kenya	41
Fig 2.2 A Maasai Board Game Inscribed on a Natural Rock	42
Fig 2.3 Statuette of a Black Gladiator	42
Fig 2.4 Echoke Doll Used by Girls among the Turkana	46
Fig 2.5 Maasai warriors Throwing Spears	46
Fig 2.6 Kikuyu Warrior Shooting an Arrow	47
Fig 3.1 European School Girls Playing Badminton and Volleyball in Limuru Girls School .	63
Fig 3.2 European School Girls Undergoing Drills at Limuru Girls School	164
Fig 3.3 CSM (Kikuyu) and CMS (Kabete) Football Teams in 1918	67
Fig 3.4 Missionary Service Corps in German East Africa during World War	I71
Fig 4.1 Jeans School Sports and Physical Training Instructors	95
Fig 5.1 Structure of Sports Management in Kenya on the Eve of Independence	112
Fig 5.2 Catherine Ndereba, Assistant Commissioner of Prison	114
Fig 5.3 Moi International Sports Centre before Commercialisation of Sports in Kenya	119
Fig 5.4 Moi International Sports Centre after Commercialisation of Sports in Kenya	119
Fig 5.5 Sabina Chebichii Competing during Inter-school Competitions in 1972	125
Fig 5.6 Sabina Chebichii Competing during the 1974 Commonwealth Games	126
Fig 5.6 FKF President, Deputy President and Chairman of Dispute Resolution Tribunal ..	128
Fig 5.7 Tegla Loroupe with the Refugee Team to 2016 Olympic Games in Rio, Brazil	136
Fig 5.8 Mary Ngugi with Nala Track Club Girls after a Training Session	138
Fig 5.9 Nala Track Club Girls Leaving their Resident for School	138
Fig 5.11 Beyond Zero Marathon 2020 Edition	140
Fig 5.12 Beyond Zero Mobile Clinic	140

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS

AAAA	Arab and African Athletic Association
AASA	Arab and African Sports Association
AIM	African Inland Mission
AK	Athletics Kenya
CDAs	Community Development Assistants
CDOs	Community Development Officers
DC	District Commissioner
DO	District Officer
CSM	Church of Scotland Mission to Kenya
FKF	Federation of Kenyan Football
FIFA	International Federation of Football Associations
IAAF	International Association of Athletics Federations
IOC	International Olympic Committee
IFs	International Federations
ISOs	International Sports Organisations
KAAA	Kenya Amateur Athletics Association
KDF	Kenya Defence Forces
KESSA	Kenya Scholars and Studies Association
KNSC	Kenya National Sports Council
KOA	Kenya Olympic Association
KVF	Kenya Volleyball Federation
NACOSTI	National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation

NOCK	National Olympic Committee of Kenya
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NOCK	National Olympic Committee of Kenya
PC	Provincial Commissioner

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Gender inequality in sports management is a global phenomenon. Relentless campaigns for gender parity in sports management at national and international have led to slight improvements in women representation. For instance, 62 per cent of member countries of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) had by 2004 attained the 20 per cent target for women inclusion in executive positions of their National Olympic Committees (NOCs). Most of African countries met the target.¹ However, the same cannot be said about the National Olympic Committee of Kenya (NOCK). Despite Kenya being arguably the most successful African country in Olympic competitions, research reveals that women occupied only nine per cent of executive positions in NOCK in the year 2004.² In the same period, women made up nine and ten per cent of executive committee members of the Kenya Volleyball Federation (KVF) and Athletics Kenya (AK) respectively.³

Although the percentage of women improved to twelve and twenty per cent in AK and NOCK respectively between 2004 and 2017, it declined to seven in KVF in the same period.⁴ Why have the gender proportions varied across sports organisations and time? What has perpetuated gender inequality in Kenya's sports management? These questions have stimulated scholarly interest on women and sports management in the country. However, scholars have sought answers from gender trends in the wider society and overlooked the interests of government and non-government stakeholders in Kenya in structuring the inequality. Additionally, although the history of sports organisations for Kenya Africans goes back to 1922 when the Arab and African Athletic Association (AAAA) was formed,⁵ existing literature on the subject largely excludes the period before 1990. Perhaps this results from the increasing discrepancy between women's performance in international events and their

¹ Carole A. Oglesby, *Women, Gender, Equality and Sports: Women 2000 and Beyond* (New York: United Nations Publications, 2007), p. 24.

² Njororai Simiyu, P.W. Achola and Andanje Mwisukha, 'Demystifying the Ideology of Masculine in Kenyan Sports', *East African Journal of Physical Education, Sports Science, Leisure and Recreation Management* 1, no. 2 (2003), p. 89.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Janet Musimbi Mbaha, 'Women in Sport in Kenya: Leadership Styles and Practice' KESSA [Kenya Scholars and Studies Association] Conference proceedings, Nairobi, 2017, p. 19.

⁵ Bryon Kipchumba and Rose Chepyator-Thomson Jepkorir, 'Sports Policy in Kenya: Deconstruction of Colonial and Post-Colonial Conditions' *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics* 7, No. 2 (2015), p. 303.

limited role in sports management since the 1990s. But overlooking earlier periods has led to partial scholarly understanding of the roots of contemporary gender inequality in sports management.

There have been efforts to increase the percentage of women in sports governing bodies across the world. For instance, following the Olympic Games in 2000, the Women on Boards initiative was formed. The initiative was conceptualised as a network that would enable women to have the same level of representation in sports management as men. It tracks women's representation in sports management at the global and national levels. In 2016, Women on Boards reported that while the number of percentage in Olympic sports grew steadily, the number of women in governing bodies remained below 30 per cent. In 2014, Women on Boards reported that the IOC Executive Board comprised fifteen members, including four women. By 2016 the percentage remained the same. Women on Board also reported that by 2014 most National Olympic Committees failed to reach the target of 20 per cent women representation set in 2005. More disturbing to the Women on Board was that the percentage of women representation declined by one per cent, from 17.6 to 16.6, in 2016. Some medal-winning countries like China had zero per cent women representation in their NOC, France 10 while Russia had 17 per cent. Great Britain remained static at 20 per cent. The trend was similar in International Sports Federations ISFs. ISFs are organisations recognised by IOC as administering one or more sports at the world level. Women on Boards reported on 28 ISFs represented in the summer Olympics. It observed that women's representation remained at 18 per cent. Only nine ISFs met or exceeded the IOC target of 20 per cent. Twelve ISFs retained a percentage of ten or below women's representation in their governing bodies.⁶

In Kenya, the push for equality in representation of women in sports governing bodies is part of efforts to address gender inequality in leadership across different aspects. The Constitution of Kenya (2010) recognised equality of men and women in law and access to political, social and economic opportunities. To solve the historical marginalisation of women from political leadership, the framers of the constitution included a law requiring that not more than two-third of public positions could be occupied by one gender. Additionally, Kenya became a signatory of international, regional and sub-regional commitments to gender equality such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in

⁶ Women on Boards, *Gender Balance in Global Sport Report 2016*.

Africa. However, the country has failed to meet both the two-third rule and commitments to international, regional and sub-regional targets on inclusion of women in political leadership. In the 2013 elections, only sixteen women (5.5 percent) were elected to the National Assembly out of 290 while none was elected to the 47 seats at the Senate. In the 2017 elections there was an improvement in gender representation as the percentage of women elected and nominated to political office stood 19.7 percent. This percentage compared poorly with that of Rwanda, South Africa, Tanzania and Uganda 64, 42, 36 and 35 percent respectively.⁷ This study on gender inequality in sports management thus contributes to not only sports but wider pursuits for equality gender equality in Kenya.

The British political economy of sports, from which Kenya heavily borrowed, is a combination of three sectors with different understanding and uses of sports. The differences inform determination of who plays what role in sports, thus creating a regulation dilemma. The first is the civilian sector, which advocate for exclusion of government and commercial sectors from sports management. Second is the state, which formulates laws to regulate sports. The third is the capitalist system, which requires that sports should be regulated by market forces like the commercial sector.⁸ This makes sports dynamic fields as power relations among the sectors vary in time and space. For instance, although the British government has traditionally regulated sports through formulating policy, its contemporary relationship with the civil society is contradictory as it has found itself playing supplicant to global sports organisations such as the International Olympic Committee (IOC).⁹ Therefore, to understand gender inequality in contemporary sports management, one must examine the place of gender in processes by which the imported sports adapted to the colonial and post-colonial contexts. It is also important to examine the ambivalence of the three sectors in respect to gender in order to understand how sports in Kenya have gradually accommodated women.

Political economy also informs variations in ideologies that inform functionality of sports. The Kenyan government, both colonial and post-colonial, has used sports on the basis of prevailing political and social interests. For instance, the colonial government ‘used sport in

⁷ *Journey to Gender Parity in Political in Political Representation: Search of a Framework for the Realisation of the Not More Than Two-thirds Gender Principal in Kenya* (Nairobi: National Gender and Equality Commission, 2018), pp. 1-2.

⁸ Lincoln Allison, ‘The Political Economy of Sports: Conceptual Problems and Regulatory Dilemmas’ A paper presented at the European Consortium for Political Research Joint Sessions Workshop in Nicosia, 25–30 April, 2016.

⁹ *Ibid.*

post-war era as a pacifying force to combat political resistance'.¹⁰ On the other hand, post-colonial regimes have used sports as a diplomatic tool. This is because 'professionalisation of sports fits well with Kenya's vision to use sport in establishing a global reputation.'¹¹ Kenyan athletics and football have adjusted to changes over time and to ambivalent demands of state and non-state stakeholders in sports. The adjustments have provided opportunities for continuities and discontinuities in male dominance in sports management.

Dynamics that inform male dominance change over the course of time. This justifies inquiry into evolution of sports management as a means of understanding inequality in top decision-making levels. Unfortunately, like in many African countries, sports history has been neglected as it is not among historical topics promoted by leading African historians.¹² But if evidence from countries where sports history is well grounded is anything to go by, historiography of sports would enhance the understanding of gender inequality in sports management in Kenya. It would explain gender inequality by examining different contexts and underlying forces as well as links to the past in terms of ideologies, rules, governing bodies and the likes.¹³ Sports history is thus a necessary addition to the growing field of sports studies in Kenya.

This study is a critical history of developments in sports management in Kenya. It applies tenets of critical history to understand changes in the interests of stakeholders in sports and their contribution to the establishment of male dominance in the management of sports in Kenya. Critical history takes contemporary issues and interrogates underlying forces that drive observable movement and change in a phenomenon such as inequality in relations between men and women.¹⁴ The study focused on athletics and football because they are the European sports with longer history and pervasive spread among Africans in Kenya since the early colonial period. This study tracked sources that recorded the story of the two sports as it unfolded to understand the root of inequality in contemporary times. It covered the period between 1901 and 2019 which consisted of three eras of sports management: the period before establishment of sports organisations, 1901–1921; the era of amateur sports

¹⁰ Mathew Carotenuto, 'Crafting Sport History Behind Bars: Wrestling with State Patronage and Colonial Confinement in Kenya', *History in Africa* 43 (2015), p. 3.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

¹² John Nauright, 'African Women and Sport: The State of Play', *Sport in Society* 17, No. 4 (2014), p. 567.

¹³ Wray Vamplew, 'The History of Sport in the International Scenery: An Overview of the History of Sports for a Sports Country' *Journal of Sports History* 17, No. 34 (2013), p. 6.

¹⁴ Joan Wallach Scott, 'Conversation with History', a Documentary Film of the Institute of International Studies, University of California, 2009.

organisations, 1922–1963; and the era of professional sports, 1963–2019. The study examined how key stakeholders in Kenyan sports have perpetuated gender inequality and how it has been contested and tested across time.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Gender inequality persists in sports management in Kenya. Women play a limited role in top decision-making levels even in sports where they rival men's performance in international competitions. Most studies explain this inequality as an extension of male dominance in the wider society, thereby de-centring political economy issues in perpetuating male dominance. This study collected and examined relevant data to reveal state and non-state interests in sports and their connection with gender inequality in management of sports in Kenya between 1901 and 2019.

1.3 Research Objectives

The study's broad objective was to examine how state and non-state stakeholders have influenced gender inequality in sports management in Kenya since the colonial period.

The specific objectives were:

- i. To examine the gendering of sports in pre-colonial Kenya
- ii. To examine gender inequality in sports in the era before the establishment of modern sports organisations in colonial Kenya.
- iii. To analyse how gender inequality was reproduced and contested in sports management in Kenya during the amateur era.
- iv. To examine how gender inequality has been reproduced and contested in sports management in Kenya during the professional era.

1.4 Research Questions

The study attempted to answer the following research questions:

- i. How were sports gendered in pre-colonial Kenya?
- ii. What established gender inequality sports before the establishment of modern sports organisations in Kenya?
- iii. How was gender inequality reproduced and contested in sports management during the amateur era?
- iv. How has gender inequality been reproduced and contested in sports management in Kenya in the professional era?

1.5 Research Assumptions

The study was based on the following assumptions:

- i. That there was gendering of sports in pre-colonial Kenya
- ii. That gender inequality existed in organisation of sports before establishment of modern sports organisations in colonial Kenya.
- iii. That gender inequality in sports management in Kenya during the amateur era was reproduced and contested.
- iv. That gender inequality in sports management in Kenya during the professional era has been reproduced and contested.

1.6 Justification for the Study

Historical literature on gender and sports management in Kenya is scarce. This study therefore enhances historical understanding of gender inequality in the management of sports as it examines different contexts in the development of sports in the country. It also demonstrates continuities and discontinuities in the dynamics of gender inequality.

1.7 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study focused on dynamics of gender inequality in the evolution of sports management in Kenya between 1901 and 2019. The year 1901 marked the completion of the Kenya-Uganda railway which opened the interior for missionaries and other agents of infusion of modern sports while 2019 marks the commencement of research phase thus the time scope for the study. The study mainly focused on athletics and football because of their long history and pervasive spread in Kenya. The study concentrated on the interests of major stakeholders in Kenyan sports and their impact on the meaning and gendering of sports management. Consequently, the study was able to demonstrate how gender inequality in sports management has been reproduced and contested in the past and in contemporary times. The major limitation of the study involved identifying informants on sports management in the past. The researcher overcame this limitation through snowball technique, diversifying sources of information and judicious incorporation of methods and concepts from related aspects of sports studies.

1.8 Definition of Terms

Amateurism: an ideology in sports which lays emphasis on participation for enjoyment and leisure rather than for pay.

Commercialisation of sport: processes by which sports in Kenya, sportspersons and

sports goods have been transformed to items of trade.

Gender: socially-assigned attributes to males and females in Kenyan sports.

Gender equality: rights, responsibilities and opportunities not based on whether born male was or female

Gender equity: fairness of treatment of men and women according to their respective needs.

Gendering of sport: the process of reproducing male dominance in meaning of sports.

Ideology: systems of belief within sports operate and attain meaning in Kenya.

Muscular Christianity: ideology held by missionaries, educators and administrators emphasizing manliness, the moral and physical beauty of athleticism, teamwork, discipline, self-sacrifice and expulsion of all that is effeminate.

Political economy perspective (power-based): an approach that has been used to examine how political, economic and social actors as well as institutions and processes in Kenyan sports reproduced gender inequality in sports management.

Power relations: implies the interactions between different groups and stakeholders in sports management in a hierarchical way or involving imbalance.

Professional sports: a concept of high performance as it applies to sports in Kenya.

Sports Management: the actual administration of sports in Kenya as well as the foundational ideology, value and function of sports among different stakeholders and in different periods.

Textuality: a method of analysis in which sources are examined for inherent meaning in addition to factual information on gender in Kenyan sports.

1.9 Glossary of Terms

Adji: board game of the Fon of Benin

Agon: games of strategy

Alea: games of chance

Ana: scoring counters in the board game of the Mijikenda of Kenya

Asantehema: queen mother among the Asante of Ghana

Bao: board

Chigogo: board game of the Mijikenda of Kenya

Echoko: type of doll used by females among the Turkana of Kenya

Ekecheria: the call for peace as invoked during Olympic sports in ancient Greece
and in modern Olympic games.

Esprit de corps: pride and loyalty of a group of people

Fumo: a double winning in the board game of the Giriama

Ilinx: games involving the sensation of whirling

Kalaha: board game of the ancient Egyptians

Kekwetkei: traditional wrestling of the Kalenin

Kuatha ndia: game of shooting the hoop of the Kamba

Kuratha Mbara: game of shooting the hoop of the Kikuyu

Luzalo: board game of the Lega of Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)

Lyeel: board game of the Bakuba of central Africa

Malso: game of sticks of the Marakwet of Kenya

Mawi: traditional wrestling of the Luo

Mwana: singular for ana, scoring counters in the board game of the Mijikenda

Mweso: board game of the Baganda

Nyange: game of shooting the hoop of the Luo

Owari: board game of the Asante of Ghana

Tembe: playing tablets in the board game of the Mijikenda

1.10 Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

This section reviews literature on gender and sports and formulates a theoretical framework for the study.

1.10.1 Literature Review

The study reviewed global, continental and country level literature to obtain scholarship on evolution of sports and gender inequality in sports management in Kenya. The review also aimed to identify factual and conceptual knowledge gaps in studies of gender and sports management in Kenya.

1.10.1.1 Global Literature

Gender inequality in sports management is a persistent global issue. Barbara Kotschnwar and Tyler Moran observed that women's underrepresentation in leadership ranks of international sporting bodies is inconsistent with their participation in sports. It is also at variance with women's educational attainment and their growing prominence in management outside the world of sports. The authors wondered why it took until 1990s for the first woman to serve in the executive board of IOC, eighty-four years after its formation. Kotschnwar and Moran argued that countries that give more participation opportunities in sports to women have greater female representation in sports governing bodies. So do countries with gender inclusive corporate cultures.¹⁵ Representation of Kenyan women in decision-making levels is inconsistent with levels of women participation in sports and with women leadership outside sports.

Michael Messner examined the impact of historical and ideological meanings of organised sports on gender relations in the wider society. After outlining a theory for a historical understanding of sports, culture and ideology, Messner argued that organised sports became a primary institutional means for bolstering a challenged and faltering ideology of male superiority in the 20th century. The author argued that the ever increasing female athleticism represents a genuine quest by women for equality, control of their bodies, and self-definition. Thus, participation in sports represents a challenge to the ideological basis of male domination. However, this quest for equality is not without contradictions and ambiguities. The socially constructed meanings of physiological differences between the sexes, the present

¹⁵ Barbara Kotschnwar and Tyler Moran, *Pitching a Level Playing Field: Women and Leadership in Sports* (Washington: Peterson Institute for International Economics, 2015).

‘male’ structure of organised sports and media framing of the female athlete threaten to subvert any counter-hegemonic potential posed by female athletes.¹⁶

Across Europe, with the exception of women-only sports organisations, women formed a minority in decision-making positions for several reasons. First, cultural barriers inhibited hiring, promotion and retention of women in decision-making organs of sports. Second, organisational processes in sports governing bodies were riddled with mechanisms such as 'sex typing of jobs'. Consequently, certain characteristics and skills defined in masculine terms are preferred. The co-option processes in sports thus led to homologous reproduction as leaders elect or appoint new leaders who look like themselves. Third, women were often recruited to positions with low prestige. Fourth, sports organisations were structured by a male culture which either excludes women or does not attract, nor accommodate, large groups of women. Fifth, job search committees and election committees were largely male. The committees often used subjective evaluative criteria in which men are seen as more qualified than women. In practice this meant that men used their male networks to help them during their job search and hiring process, or during election procedures for administrative positions.¹⁷

A report by the Parliamentary Assembly Council of Europe in 2005 observed that women suffered frequent discrimination in their access to, and practice of, both amateur and professional sports in Europe. This discrimination manifested itself in persistent stereotyping, the lack of a back-up and support structure for sportswomen and girls, the difficulty of reconciling work/sport and family life, the problem of reintegrating into the world of work after active careers, inadequate media coverage of women's sports and the limited nature of private funding. The assembly proposed several strategies including encouraging women and girls to take part in sports right from their schooldays, gender mainstreaming in public policy concerning sports, support for women's sports and women's participation in top-level sports, affirmative action in sports governing bodies and encouraging better media coverage of women's sports.¹⁸ Women and girls in Kenya have faced similar obstacles like their European counterparts. Efforts to level the field in sports management have not brought the desired results.

¹⁶ Michael A. Messner, 'Sport and Male Domination: Female Athlete as a Contested Ideological Terrain', *Sociology of Sports Journal* 5, No. 6 (1988), pp. 197–211.

¹⁷ European Union, *Gender Equality in Sport: Proposal for Strategic Actions 2014–2020* (Brussels: European Commission, 2014), pp. 14–24.

¹⁸ *Women 2000 and Beyond: Women, Gender Equality and Sports* (New York: United Nations, 2007).

Mark E. Moore, Bonnie L. Parkhouse and Alison M. Konrad studied gender-related employment practices in sports leadership in the United States in 2000. They argued that male-dominated leadership in sports industry had created a gender-segmented work structure in which women were typically paid less and placed in management position with less promotional opportunities. After surveying five hundred sports organisations, the authors concluded that legal actions could have enhanced more proactive and prudent employment opportunities for women and other disadvantaged groups. They argued that changing the gender make-up of the sports industry required a philosophical support from the top for equal employment opportunities for women and minorities. This philosophical support could be made an ethical component of human resource functions, thereby reversing injustices by consciously selecting qualified women and minorities for positions.¹⁹

In 2015 Erin Bazuris examined the inter-connected nature of sports, power and gender to understand why women were underrepresented in leadership of women college sports in United States. The author observed that sports continued to ascribe power to men by making the symbolic association between power and masculinity appear natural and legitimate. Consequently, the ways in which women were denied access to decision-making positions were largely unquestioned and unseen. Furthermore, factors external and internal to sports constructed women opportunities to engage in sports leadership on different terms such that women pose no threat to the gender order. Stereotypes about women and their compatibility with leadership in competitive sports erected barriers in entry and advancement to senior administrative positions in sports in USA.²⁰ Subsequent chapters exposed similar connections between sports, power and gender in Kenya.

In 2001 Katie Liston explained gender inequality in Irish sports by examining the connection between cultural constructions of gender and professionalisation of sports. Professionalisation of sports, a product of forces external to sports, namely, commercialisation and commodification, placed Irish sports at the nexus of cultural, economic and political forces. In the resulting paradigm, sport, a social activity, was transformed to a capitalist field as individual and team success were placed at the forefront of profit-driven exploits of the media entertainment industry. Sports that promoted the interest of the powerful and the wealthy were professionalised while those that did not were overlooked. Liston posited that

¹⁹ Mark E. Moore, Bonnie L. Parkhouse, and Alison M. Konrad, 'Women in Sport Management: Advancing the Representation Through HRM Structures' *Women in Management Review* 16, 2 (2001), pp. 51–61.

²⁰ Erin E. Bazuris, 'Barriers to Leadership in Women's College Athletics' in Eddie Cameux (ed), *Introduction to Inter-Collegiate Athletics* (Springfield: Western England University Press, 2015), 272–284.

commercialisation and professionalisation negatively affected women interests in sports. They often exaggerated and misrepresented the sports/gender relationship as evidenced by little or stereotyped media coverage of women in sports. The media constructed female sports as inferior and the perception that some sports were inappropriate for women. Consequently, commercialisation and professionalisation had advantaged men over women in all aspects of sports in Ireland.²¹ The fourth chapter detailed professionalisation of sports in Kenya and how commercialisation and commodification impacted on gendering sports management in the country.

Patricia Vertisky examined development of women sports history where between 1983 and 1993. Vertisky observed that pioneers of women sports history wanted to make visible experience and success of sportswomen. From the nineties, focus begun to shift to more probing questions about changing forms of women and men's sporting and exercise experience in the past. Other scholars analysed the role of sports in defining and reinforcing gender differences in society. Still other scholars studied modes of institutional accommodation of women in sport. The current research seeks to understand the relationship between sport and cultural construction of gender as a dynamic process through which unequal power relations between women and men have been continuously constructed and contested.²²

In 2012 Silvana Goellner's article is among the few sports histories from the developing world. Goellner observed that studies of women and gender in history in Brazil and the rest of the developing countries are incipient. Like the beginning of women history, the first contours of gender and sports historiographies in Brazil were designed to give visibility to women in sports. In this case, gender bestowed on sports historians the task of stressing the role of Brazilian women in sport. However, Joan Scott's articulation of gender as an analytical category begun to shift focus from including women in sports history to asserting that sports are gendered institutions in which feminine and masculine identities are constructed and contested. Body gestures, representations of health, beauty and performance

²¹ Liston, 'Power at Play', pp. 251–265.

²² Patricia A. Vertinsky, 'Gender Relations, Women's History and Sport History: A Decade of Changing Enquiry, 1983-1993,' *Journal of Sport History* 21, 1 (1994).

in Brazilian sports were thus viewed as historical constructions. Goellner noted that sports historians had started to probe the gendering of Brazilian sports.²³

This review of global literature is important in several ways. First, it illuminated the disparity between women participation in sports and their role in management of sports in both developed and developing countries as well as in International Sports Organisations (ISOs). It is clear that developments in global sports were mainly functions of the convergences and divergences of interests of the state, sports governing bodies and the market. Second, the review pointed to the symbolic association between power and masculinity and to the fact that sports served as a primary ways of naturalising and legitimising the association. Third, it revealed that stakeholders have had ambivalent ideologies of sports and have used sports for varying purposes. However, it is not clear how their ambivalence structured the relationship between gender and sports management. The paucity of historiographies on gender and sports management, mostly in developing countries, imply missed opportunities in understanding how social relations have informed variations of gender and sports management across time.

1.10.1.2 Continental Literature

Gender inequality in sports participation and management has been a major concern in Africa. The African Union Policy Framework for Sustainable Development of Sport in Africa of 2008 lamented the continued discrimination in sports on the basis of race, social class and sex. It urged authorities across the continent to spearhead efforts to deal with all forms of discrimination in sports. It called on governmental and non-governmental stakeholders to make sports accessible to men and women based on individual aspirations and abilities. It also called for equal participation and representation in decision-making bodies of sports across the continent.²⁴

Kari Fasting, Diane Huffman and Trond Svela Sand conducted a baseline in study in 2014 to establish the level of women's leadership and participation in boxing, basketball, football and Judo in southern Africa countries. The authors noted a great variance in percentages of women participation and women leadership in sports. They revealed gross underrepresentation in executive boards and coaching with just over ten and six percent representation of women respectively. Despite training women on sports management and

²³ Silvana Goellner, 'Gender and Sport in Brazilian Historiography: Overview and Potentials' *The History of Sport for a Sporting Country* 17, 34 (2012), pp. 46–54.

²⁴ African Union, *Policy Framework for the Sustainable Development of Sport in Africa, 2008-2018* (Addis Ababa: African Union, 2008), pp. 13–19.

coaching, women's uptake in decision-making ranks of sports organisations remained minimal. The authors argued that this persistent underrepresentation mirrors the gender order in the wider society. The southern Africa countries use women exemplars in sports to encourage more women and girls to pursue careers in sports.²⁵ There have been disparities in women representation in leadership of different sports in Kenya because of their varying meanings and histories.

In 2014 Anneliese Goslin and Darlene Kulka sought to understand the experiences of women in sports leadership in Malawi as well as the impact of sports leadership development initiatives on levelling the field for women in sports. The authors argued that marginalisation of women in sports leadership was compounded by three social barriers against women in leadership in the broader Malawian society. First, pervasion of the cliché that women are self-centred and therefore do not support and recognize other women. Second, multiple cultural barriers to women's pursuit of leadership. Third, negative societal perceptions on women leadership. However, training and other initiatives to bolster women in sports leadership have empowered and elevated the collective voice of women in Malawi sports. Women began to participate and influence decision-making in sports. The authors emphasised the need to network in order to change the perception of women and girls and sports. This would make women agents of change in Malawian sports.²⁶

Writing on women and sports in Africa in 2014, John Nauright noted that there were very few academic historians of sports and quality papers published on women and sports in Africa. The author attributed this to hierarchies of significance among historical topics promoted by leading historians from the continent. On participation, Nauright argued that the boundary of who plays what game rests on relations of power. For instance, in colonial South Africa colour bar was as important in women sports as it was in men's. Nauright wondered why integration of women into global elite sports through international federations, national governing bodies as well as regional and global competitions had not resulted to equal opportunities for women and men. The author observed that various factors limited black women involvement in sports in post-colonial South Africa. First, black women continue to be discriminated on the basis of race and gender. Second, the migrant labour system in which

²⁵ Kari Fasting, Diane Huffman and Trond Svella Sand, *Gender, Participation and Leadership in Sport in Southern Africa: A Baseline Study* (Oslo: Norwegian Olympic and Paralympic Committee, 2014).

²⁶ Anneliese E. Goslin and Darlene A. Kulka, 'Women and Sport Leadership: Perceptions of Malawi Women Educated in Sport Business Leadership', *South African Journal for Research in Sport, Physical Education and Recreation* 36, No. 3 (2014), p. 93–108.

many men moved to towns while women domestic roles continued to increase. Third, the fact that majority of South Africa's population after independence lived in rural areas meant that traditional laws and customs formed the foundation of their day-to-day life.²⁷

Participation in sports for black men in South Africa was not an easy sail either. Their acceptance in sports such as cricket and tennis was pegged on class, demeanour and ability to appropriate European cultures and behave like "gentlemen". They had to train their bodies to convey prestige and power and distinguish themselves from lower class Africans. In contrast, working class African and coloured men played soccer and rugby respectively to demonstrate a robust, physical and aggressive masculinity consistent with their rougher and less refined habitus. Additionally, the language adopted by African sportsmen was important for social acceptance and status as bodily deportment.²⁸ Subsequent chapters demonstrate power play in different eras in sports management in Kenya.

Ali Mazrui drew examples from different regions of Africa to illustrate how Africans absorbed cultural practices from the West and Islamic world leading to development of hybrid cultures, the triple heritage. However, Mazrui warned his readers not to assume that the absorption was harmonious. The author argued that foreign practices that clashed with indigenous values failed to take root while those that rhymed with indigenous values were adjusted to fit the African context. In sports, Mazrui noted Africans' great capacity to absorb games and sports from other cultures albeit with degrees of adjustment. For instance, Africans refused to separate the physical from the spiritual as demonstrated by Zairian wrestlers who despite adopting European style continued to use hypnosis to defeat opponents.²⁹

On gender and sports, Mazrui argued that the combination of militarized African movement cultures and the Victorian ideas of gender and sports complicated African women involvement in sports. Because women were often left out of military affairs in traditional societies, they were also left out in sports.³⁰ This explanation has a paradoxical impact on studies of women in sports in Kenya. While explaining limited space for women in sports, scholars invoke this explanation but often overlook Mazrui's emphasis on the contested nature of cultural absorption.

²⁷ Nauright, 'African Women and Sport', p. 567.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ali Mazrui, *The African: A Triple Heritage* (London: BBC Publications, 1986).

³⁰ Ibid.

Review of literature from the continent of Africa reveals more similarities than differences with patterns of women participation in sports and marginalisation in decision-making levels of sports. Here, paucity of historiographies of gender and sports management is more conspicuous

1.10.1.3 National Literature

The types of sports exported to Africa in early twentieth century were played along class and gender in their country of origin. How did the class/gender nexus play out in sports in colonial Kenya? Did the nexus play out differently in each of the three races in colonial Kenya? To what extent does Robert Young's dictum that a culture never repeats itself perfectly away from home³¹ apply to European sports in colonial Kenya? Was it easier, for instance, for white women to access sports in the colony than it was in Britain? These questions call for detailed investigation into how British sports adapted to the colonial context not only to accommodate Africans and Asians but also reinforce relations of power within the white population? Gender issues of sports in colonial Kenya and the impact it might have on inclusion today have not received sufficient scholarly attention. Scholarly engagement on both subject of Kenya's sports history and marginalisation of women in sports are disparate. The interrelatedness of the two subjects is largely unexplored. The following is a review of histories of sports and literature on women in sports in Kenya.

In 1996 John Bale and Joe Sang wrote the only book so far detailing the historical development of athletics in Kenya. The authors questioned the argument that success in middle and long distance running had elevated Kenya to a global sports power house. Employing a global perspective, the authors posited that despite the success, Kenya remained a pawn in global sporting culture as its athletics development depends on the West for: coaches and agents, competitions and sports goods. In a nutshell, Bale and Sang argued that modern sports were legacies of colonial power in Kenya. The authors also waded in the never ending debate on Kenya's distance running success characterised by environmental and genetic explanations.³² Although Bale and Sang dwelt on management of athletics in colonial times, they failed to include accounts of female athletes or engage with wider issues of

³¹ Robert Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Culture, Theory and Race* (London and New York: Routledge 1995), p. 174.

³² John Bale and Joe Sang, *Kenyan Running: Movement Culture, Geography and Global Change* (London: Routledge, 1996).

gender and sports beyond the superficial conclusion that women were not significantly engaged in sports.

In 2007 Luuk Boogard picked from where Bale and Sang left the debate on Kenya's position in global sport. Boogard argued that global sports were dominated by the West in terms of formulation of rules, hosting of competitions, management of global sports federations and the commercial aspects of sports. In this set up Kenya was simply an 'athlete plantation' where the West and oil-rich Middle East countries harvest talent. Additionally, Kenya is a source of cheap labour in form of sports persons playing in Western and Asian leagues as well as workers in sports products industries abroad. The author watered down Kenya's identity as the home of distance running claiming that it lost such opportunities when its traditional movement cultures were annihilated by British sports.³³ Without dwelling on merits of this conclusion, this study picks the point that local and global forces were at play in development of sports in Kenya. It presumes that the two operate with a degree of tension between them in terms of policy and ideology.

Tom Cunningham's 2016 study was two sided: one side examined the role of the Church of Scotland Mission to Kenya (CMS) in spreading modern sports among the Agikuyu and the other offered a critique of Bale and Sang (1996). Cunningham identified missionaries, settlers, educators and administrators as the major players in the development of sports before centralisation of sports management in the early 1920s. According to Cunningham, three forms of sport and physical exercise: drills, games and sports days were introduced by Europeans in Kenya. However, Europeans were not unified when it came to inclusion of Africans. A section of administrators and settlers opposed efforts to spread sports among Africans and those who did not oppose emphasised on drills as a way of disciplining Africans and producing a healthy work force. Missionaries on the other hand perceived games and sports as forms of moral instruction that taught unselfishness and moulded a Christian character.³⁴ Legacies of the interplay of missionaries, settlers and administrators' stance on social inclusion on gender and sports management in Kenya persist.

Additionally, Cunningham criticised Bale and Sang for de-emphasising the role of missionaries in infusing modern sports. The author argued that missionaries were the most

³³ Luuk Boogard, 'Every Medal has Two Sides: Modernization, Dependency and the Role of the West in Kenyan Athletics', Unpublished Master Thesis, Radboud University, 2007.

³⁴ Tom Cunningham, 'These Our Games: Sport and the Church of Scotland Mission to Kenya c. 1907–1937' *History in Africa* 43 (2016), pp. 259–88.

thoroughgoing in spreading new forms of recreation among Africans. The author outlined a few themes that are central to this study: European women were involved in sports in colonial times, mission-educated African teachers were responsible for the spread of sports and games more than White missionaries, African teachers subverted European sports and there were varying degrees of inclusion of Africans in sports by different European groups.³⁵ It is imperative to examine these themes further to reveal the play of gender and power then and now.

In 2016 Michelle Sikes explored methodological opportunities available for historians interested in examining gender in Kenyan sports. Sikes argued that the print media is an important source because journalists have always reported on the scarcity of women athletes. Although journalists do not probe the gendering of sports in detail, their reportage offer undiluted access to changing ideas, attitudes and identities across time. After examining major dailies, Sikes concluded that economic, cultural and institutional barriers abroad affected Kenyan female runners' career progression. Sikes posits that athletics scholarship in American universities starting in the 1970s greatly impacted professionalisation of athletics in Kenya. Thus delay in implementation of Title X in USA meant that Kenyan female athletes had to wait for over a decade for such scholarships. Title X was a legislation that mandated equal funding for men and women in athletics in USA.³⁶ However, Sikes did not interrogate sources for inherent power relations or how ideas of body management contributed to this delay and how such ideas were contested to allow for inclusion of women in subsequent years.

Mathew Carotenuto examined the resurgence of traditional wrestling in Kenya's correctional services after independence. The author noted that wrestling and other forms of indigenous martial traditions were marginalised because they did not fit colonial sports policy of social discipline, political obedience and notions of muscular Christianity. Carotenuto further argued that the resurgence of neo-traditional wrestling in Kenya's prisons provided opportunity for understanding the history of state patronage of sports. It revealed continuities with colonial past such as use of sport as a pacifying moral force for the youth, colonial criminal justice systems and state role in centralising and controlling sports. The author also explored sources available for scholars interested in social history of indigenous sport in

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Michelle Sikes, 'Print Media and the History of Women's Sport in Africa: The Kenyan Case of Barriers to International Achievement,' *History in Africa* 43 (2016), pp. 323–45.

Kenya and Africa. Such sources include: oral interviews, publications by political ethnographers, vernacular publications, newspapers and amateur histories. These sources provide information on how sports and leisure fed into debates about ethnicity, gender and other forms of social identity.³⁷

Bryon Kipchumba and Rose Chepyator-Thomson are perhaps the only scholars who have attempted a political economy approach to development of sports policy in Kenya. In 2015 the authors traced development of sports policy to the colonial period during which sports were riddled with racial discrimination. According to the authors, authorities encouraged sports among Africans as a means of instilling discipline and stopping political agitation. Among the Europeans, sports served as an integrative factor. At independence, the government adopted African Socialism as a blueprint for social, economic and political development. In line with tenets of African Socialism, the government essentially became the catalyst for sports administration and development. Today, professionalisation and globalisation of sports have challenged the government's position as the most important determinant of sports policy.³⁸ Since the scope of their study was limited to the extent to which political trends reflected in sports policy in Kenya, the authors did not significantly engage with the other two sectors of political economy of sports: the market system and civilian sector. Consequently, they did not examine the intricacies of sports policy formulation process that results from the ambivalence of these sectors with regard to the meaning of sports. Most importantly, they did not examine the relationship between political economy of sports and the gendering of inequality in sports management.

A few studies have examined the experience of women in sports management. Other studies sought to uncover why there are fewer women than men in top decision-making levels of Kenyan sports. These publications, along other studies that offer glimpses into gender and sports in general, provide sufficient ground for the current study and are reviewed below. Njororai Simiyu has written insightful works on sports in Kenya. Writing in 1996, Simiyu wondered why Kenyan sportswomen performed poorly compared to men in all but one sport, volleyball. The author attributed poor performance to socialisation process during childhood when boys are cultured in instrumental functions like maintenance of security and leadership. Girls on the other hand are socialised to associate with activities devoid of competitive drives such as household chores and expressive aspects of beauty. For Simiyu, the dearth of women

³⁷ Carotenuto, 'Crafting Sport History', pp. 1–33.

³⁸ Kipchumba and Chepyator-Thomson, 'Sports Policy in Kenya', pp. 301–313.

in sports leadership positions deny young girls models to emulate.³⁹ Simiyu acknowledged gender inequality in decision-making levels of Kenyan sports but did not investigate how it was established. The author's subsequent publications are also devoid of discussions of gender and stakeholders' interests in determining inclusion of women in sports.

Writing in 2016, Simiyu sought to contextualise Kenya's sporting success fifty years after independence. Simiyu noted that continuity with colonial project of organising sport around schools and disciplined forces combined with factors such as influx of foreign coaches and athlete scholarships in United States in the 1970s to produce world conquering athletes. The author also highlighted the rise and fall of Kenyan football and cricket due to leadership squabbles. Additionally, the author noted that Kenya's international success in volleyball has been achieved solely by women. However, Simiyu's explanation of the discrepancy between women and men performance in international competitions was unsatisfactory. The author cited high technical and tactical abilities of other nations and the fact that international volleyball is played indoors as hindrances to men's performance.⁴⁰ The explanation does not account for the difference, if any, between organisation of men and women international competitions. The explanation appears to water down commitment and hard work by women volley ball players or the structural investment to this success.

Njororai Simiyu, P. W. Achola and Andanje Mwisukha set out to demystify masculinity in Kenyan sports. They attributed women underrepresentation in sports to conflicting values of sexual beauty and sporting competence prevalent in Occidental sports and the divorce between women and military-oriented indigenous sports of Africa. They also associated paucity of sportswomen to socialisation process in which physical activities requiring considerable exertion and strength are regarded masculine. They linked paucity of women in decision making levels to their paucity in participation since personalities with good performance records in sports are preferred candidates for administrative positions.⁴¹ Although they recognised gender imbalance, they fell short of explaining the gendered nature of Kenyan sports in several ways. First, they did not problematise masculinity to reveal what masculinities became hegemonic in different sports and how. Second, they did not examine

³⁹ Njororai Simiyu, 'Gender and Sport Socialization in Kenya' *Journal of East Africa Research and Development* 26 (1996), pp. 24–31.

⁴⁰ Njororai Simiyu, 'Kenya at 50: Contextualization of Post-Independence Sporting Success' in Mickie Mwanzia Koster, Michael M. Kithinji and Jerono P. Rotich (eds), *Kenya After 50: Education, Gender and Policy* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016), pp. 125–146.

⁴¹ Simiyu, Achola and Mwisukha, 'Demystifying the Ideology of Masculinity', pp. 73–81.

how counter narratives by women were suppressed. Third, they did not examine the contested nature of the process of inclusion and exclusion of women in sports. Fourth, by employing patriarchy theory they were unable to explain change in the relationship between gender and sports over the course of time. Lastly, the authors used gender as a substitute for women thus limiting their ability to explain inequality.

Andanje Mwisukha and Elijah G. Rintaugu investigated how cultural, political and economic factors contributed to women underrepresentation in Kenya's sport leadership. Their major findings were: leadership positions were given to older men because of normative believe that age is equivalent to experience, wisdom and leadership ability; women lacked finances to further their training in sports leadership as well as participate in sports electioneering; cultural factors such as taboos and stereotypes portrayed women as unfit to lead; low participation of women in sports and lack of women role models contributed to their underrepresentation in sports leadership; and women did not use their network to help female friends while men efficiently use 'old boy' networks to get jobs in sports leadership.⁴² Although they recognised prejudice, taboos and stereotypes as cultural factors barring women from sports management, the authors did not investigate them for relations of power. Like other scholars informed by patriarchy they did not go beyond binary oppositions to investigate for instance, how discrimination affected different categories of women.

Janet Mbaha studied women experience in sports leadership in Kenya. Mbaha sought to give voice to illustrious women, women who have broken the glass ceiling in sports leadership. The author brought to the fore women's success stories and the day to day experience of women in a male dominated field. Like other scholars, Mbaha traced the success of Kenyan sportswomen to 1990s when global and continental policies and declarations on women and sports begun to bear fruits. The author wondered why success in the field of play had not impacted on women role in leadership.⁴³ However, inclination to making women leaders of sports visible and adoption of patriarchy theory made the author fail to investigate the workings of gender in political economy in sports. Additionally, the author did not examine how sports management is contested along different dimensions of power.

⁴² Andanje Mwisukha and Elijah G. Rintaugu, 'Insights into the Under-Representation of Women in Sport-Leadership in Kenya' *International Journal of Applied Sociology* 3, No. 5, (2013), pp. 102–108.

⁴³ Janet Musimbi Mbaha, 'Experiences of Women in Sports Leadership in Kenya.' Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Georgia, 2012.

Willy Rotich added ethnic stereotyping and identity to the never ending debate on Kalenjin dominance in middle and long distance running. Rotich argued that Kalenjin's hero-worshipping and communality have motivated thousands of young athletes and turned athletics, an individual sport, to a team sport to ensure at least one of their own win every competition they take part. Members of the Kalenjin community, athletes and non-athletes, identified themselves as the greatest running community in the world leading to what the author termed 'stereotype lift'. Rotich attributed gender disparity to Kalenjin paternalism arguing that gender roles are well entrenched with men taking up roles associated with strength and protection and related values of courage, fortitude and dependability. Association of athletics with these values and with military traditions has thus seen more males than females from the community take to athletics.⁴⁴ This 'stereotypic lift' leads to 'stereotypic threat' among athletes and aspiring athletes from other Kenyan communities. The stereotyping and ethnic identity also impact gender and other forms of inclusion/exclusion in management of athletics and other sports in Kenya.

Research on women and sports management in Kenya has led to development of two strands of literature. One strand exposes discrimination against women. It explains the inequality as a consequence of gender imbalance in sports participation.⁴⁵ But such an explanation runs the risk of essentialising gender inequality by assuming that all sports people had equal opportunities in managing sports across time while women have not. Additionally, the approach overlooks the role of women such as teacher Marion Stevenson who embraced football as a tool for attracting African boys to school, in management of sports during the early colonial period.⁴⁶ There is need to historicise male dominance in sports management in Kenya. The dominance needs to be examined in light of the evolving sports management and its interplay with the dynamics of social relations if its true nature is to be understood.

The second strand of literature brings to light experiences of the few illustrious women who have broken the glass ceiling in sports management. Such studies make women exemplars visible to inspire young women and girls to pursue careers in various aspects of sports. They demonstrate how women can overcome obstacles to carve out careers in top decision-making

⁴⁴ Willy Kipkemboi Rotich, 'Because we are Us: Stereotype, Cultural and Ethnic Identity in Kenya's Kalenjin Distance Running Success' Saint Bonaventure University, 2016.

⁴⁵ Simiyu, Achola and Mwisukha 'Demystifying Ideology of Masculinity', p. 92.

⁴⁶ Peter Alegi, *African Soccerescapes: How a Continent Changed the World's Game* (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2010), p. 11.

levels of sports in the country.⁴⁷ But historians take issue with dedication to experience in research as such research ‘precludes analysis of the workings of the system of inequality and of its historicity; instead it reproduces its terms’.⁴⁸ Preceding studies have for instance, overlooked the impact of commercialisation on gender inequality in sports management. This is despite the fact that studies conducted in other countries have revealed that commercialisation exaggerates the relationship between sports and gender.⁴⁹ Anybody wishing to understand gender inequality in sports management in Kenya must therefore examine how political, social and economic forces shape and reshape sports management.

In conclusion, while studies have questioned gender inequality in Kenya’s sports management, they have not examined its history and contested nature. Scholars begun to question women underrepresentation in sports management from the 1990s as the discrepancy between women performance in international events and the limited role in sports management became more visible. Studies reviewed herein have sought answers from gender trends in the wider society and treated political economy as eccentric to the institutionalisation of gender inequality in decision-making levels of sports. There is no literature on how interplay of the gender ideologies of state and non-state players in sports sector have influenced gender inequality in sports management in Kenya. Neither have ways in which gender inequality varied with changes in political economy of Kenya’s sports since the pre-colonial period been studied.

1.10.2 Theoretical Framework

This section reviewed theoretical approaches that have been used to study gender inequality in sports management in Kenya, examines their success and flaws in explaining existing inequalities and formulates a theoretical framework for the current study. Although underrepresentation of women in sports management in Kenya has received attention, scholars have not employed gender theory and culture theory in thinking about the inequality. Existing studies have largely employed patriarchy and hegemonic masculinities in their studies. While the two theories are useful in highlighting inequality between sexes, gender theorists and historians take issue with their assumption that sexuality leads to subordination of women the same away across time and space. They argue that such assumption overlooks

⁴⁷ See for example; Janet Musimbi Mbaha, ‘Experiences of Women in Sport Leadership in Kenya’ unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Georgia, 2012.

⁴⁸ Joan Wallach Scott, ‘Experience’ in Judith Butler and Joan W. Scott (eds), *Feminists Theorize the Political* (New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 25.

⁴⁹ Katie Liston, ‘Power at Play: Sport, Gender and Commercialisation’ *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 90, No. 359 (2001), p. 254.

evidence of differences in the extent of oppression, resistance, accommodation and convergence in relations between men and women.⁵⁰ It is important that scholarship of gender inequality in Kenya's sports management overcome this conceptual challenge.

The current study employed gender theory and culture theory as lenses to understand the relationship between gender inequality and evolution of sports management in Kenya. Gender theory examines unequal relationships between men and women and their social roles. Gender theorists and historians view women oppression as a cultural construction. They focus on how power relations are established, reproduced and contested. Gender theory draws from broader theories such as structuralism, post-structuralism and psychoanalysis. Its proponents include Joan Wallach Scott and Judith Butler. In the initial stages of its development in the 1960s, gender theorists were informed by structuralism. Consequently, the theorists conceptualised explanations of gender inequality along binary oppositions such as masculine and feminine. They further argued that individuals are products of systemic processes and not subjects or agents of history.⁵¹

Because structuralism insisted that everything could be understood through a fixed language, feminist historians turned to post-structuralism. Two of post-structuralism's criticisms of structuralism were central to the new gender theories. First, the rejection of totalising approaches to systems as closed and definite. Second, rejection of the notion that meaning is linguistically produced through binary oppositions. In principle, the new gender theories rejected the notion of fixity and universality of meaning and domination. They explain that discourses of domination contain within them the principles of their own dissolution.⁵² This inversion of power provides opportunities of change in the relationship between sexes. Male domination is thus perceived as a contested field rather than politically neutral.

In 1986, Scott popularised gender as an analytical tool. The theorist based the tool on two definitions of gender: gender as a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between sexes and as a primary way of signifying relations of power. The theorist argued that change in social relations corresponds to representations of power. The theorist urged historians to do the following when studying inequality. First, they should

⁵⁰ John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of Modern History*, 5th Edn (Harlow: Pearson Educational Ltd, 2010), 278.

⁵¹ Sharlene Sayegh and Eric Altice, *History and Theory* (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Pearson, 2014), p. 134.

⁵² Nancy Partner and Sarah Foot (eds), *The SAGE Handbook of Historical Theory* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2013), 10, 267.

investigate how and in what contexts cultural symbols that evoke multiple representations of women are invoked. Second, historians must disrupt the notion of fixity of gender and seek to discover the nature of debate or repression that leads to appearance of timeless performance in binary gender representations. Third, when examining gender inequality historians must include political and social institutions. Fourth, examine ways in which gendered identities are constructed and relate findings to a range of activities, social organisations and historically specific cultural representations. Scott argued that concepts of power build on gender even when they are not about gender itself. Consequently, gender structures perception and the concrete and symbolic organisation of social life.⁵³

Judith Butler argued that gender is performative. Butler differentiated the notion of gender performance from gender performativity arguing that performing gender involves males or females acting in ways appropriate to their ascribed gender. Gender performativity on the other hand produces a series of effects as people behave in ways that consolidate the impression of being a man or being a woman. Butler also explored the various types of gender policing. The theorist observed that gender norms are constantly regulated through institutional normalisation and informal practices such as bullying. Butler tasked scholars with examining ways in which gender norms are established, policed and ways of disrupting gender policing. The theorist averred that despite constant policing gender is a domain of agency and freedom.⁵⁴ This provides avenues for resistance by those considered gender different, the non-conforming.

The current study employed gender theory in three main ways. First, it examined the impact of ideologies of sports on exclusion of women participation in sports management during the colonial period. Second, it examined the differences in women participation in athletics and football management in different stages of evolution of sports management in Kenya. Third, it appreciated historicity of gender inequality in sports management by identifying continuities and shifts in dynamics of exclusion in the course of time. However, the theory does not provide ways of examining relations of power in forms of culture like sports. To overcome this limitation, the current study also employed cultural theory.

⁵³ Joan Wallach Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis,' *The American Historical Review* 91, 5. (1986), pp. 1060–1069.

⁵⁴ Judith Butler, 'Why Bodies Matter' a presentation in Twenty Fifth *Gender Trouble* Anniversary, Lisbon, 2015.

Cultural theory is a multidisciplinary framework of interpreting culture, power, gender, identities, social systems and historical change. The theory can generally be traced through the theoretical waves of structuralism, post-structuralism, post-modernism and post-colonialism and their imprint on the study of the past. It combines concepts of meaning and culture drawn from linguistics, cultural anthropology, literary studies, sociology and philosophy. The theory's concepts are divided into 'soft' versions, dealing with interpretation, representation and meaning, and 'hard' versions which are directed towards knowledge, politics and social control.⁵⁵

Cultural theory has impacted the study of the past in several ways. First, it rejects modes of interpretation which perceive knowledge as operating around binary oppositions. Instead, the theory urges historians to acknowledge ambivalence and indeterminacy of meaning. Historians informed by cultural theory avoid totalising tendencies in their interpretation and explanation. Second, cultural theorists such as Clifford Geertz and Pierre Bourdieu focused on different aspects of culture. Geertz depicted culture as an ensemble of texts which scholars must decipher. The theorist argued that cultural events make meaning rather than simply reproduce the pre-given meaning. This argument influenced development of the idea that micro histories of places or persons can be used as entries into understanding the larger cultures. Bourdieu on the other hand dealt with concepts of the body such as 'habitus' (habits, skills and dispositions) and 'hexis' (the tendency to hold and use one's body in a certain way). Bourdieu helped historians conceptualise how the social body overlaps with and reinforce notions of social hierarchy such as class division.⁵⁶ Numerous historical works have put Bourdieu's ideas to practice by investigating ways in which power is rooted in the body.

Third, cultural theorists are interested in relations of power. Leading proponents of theories of power include Antonio Gramsci, Jurgen Habermas and Michael Foucault. For Gramsci, power operates through hegemony. By hegemony, Gramsci implied that the power is exercised less through coercion and more through the ability of the ruling class to win consent of the population. Habermas sought to understand power in the public sphere. For Habermas, public sphere promotes a critical debate on current social, economic and political issues. The theorist argued that public opinion should be understood as a form of power as it is the mainspring of government itself. Foucault is perhaps the most popular theorist of

⁵⁵ Simon Gunn, *History and Cultural Theory* (Harlow, England: Pearson Education Limited, 2006), p. 188; Lloyd Kramer, Review of Simon Gunn, *History and Cultural Theory* (Harlow, England: Pearson Education Limited, 2006) in *The Journal of Modern History*, 80, (2008), pp. 905–907.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 20–79.

power. He expounded his views through concepts such as archaeology and genealogy. By archaeology, Foucault referred to the study of the rules of formation of discourses from which forms of knowledge are constituted. By genealogy, Foucault referred to the historical existence of local or subjugated knowledges. Theories of power have a significant impact on the historical discipline. They reignite a debate on historical agency.⁵⁷

Cultural theory also has strong ties with critical theory, an array of analytical concepts formulated by German–American theorists popularly known as the Frankfurt School. The theorist included Theo Adorno and Walter Benjamin. Adorno formulated the concept of culture industry to examine processes by which cultural forms such as art, music and sports are co-opted into the capitalist system through commercialisation, commodification and consumerism. Adorno argued that this co-option transfers the profit motive into culture forms making them commodities for sale. The theorist further argued that once cultural forms get to the mass media they serve to legitimate political and social interest of the dominant groups in the society. The dominant groups not only own the media outlets but also production industries whose products the media advertises to the public.⁵⁸ Adorno concluded that cultural forms, which once served important cultural and social functions, are debased as their authenticity is eroded by profit interests. Benjamin took issues with this conclusion.

Benjamin was interested in emancipatory and oppositional potential of the culture industry. Although Benjamin agreed with Adorno that the culture industry sever forms of culture from the domain of tradition, he disagreed with the argument that the public conforms blindly to the capitalist interests. Instead, Benjamin argued, culture industry not only offers opportunities for development of autonomous and independent individuals but also cultures oppositional to that propagated through mass media.⁵⁹ When considered together, Adorno and Benjamin's arguments offer ways of critically thinking about history of forms of culture. Scholars have used critical theories to study various aspects of sports. Scholars have used critical theory to examine aspects of sports such as: exploitative and oppressive practices in sports, ideological implications of sports as well as power relations. Particularly, scholars

⁵⁷ Ibid, pp. 20–90.

⁵⁸ Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments* (California: Stanford University Press, 2002), p. 95.

⁵⁹ Douglas Kellner, 'Frankfurt School', <http://www.gseis.ucla.edu/faculty/kellner>.

have used the theory to examine power, gender and commodification of sports in the developed countries.⁶⁰

The current study employed culture theory in three main ways. The first way was the study's approach to sources. Rather than take documents at face value the researcher sought to understand the conditions under which they were written. The goal was to understand actions and speech in light of the world the participants believed to operate in. Second, the author treated sources as texts and examined relations of power they inhered. Third, concepts of culture industry were instrumental in examining the impact of commercialisation and commoditisation on values, meaning and gendering of sports management.

1.11 Methodology

This section details the methodology employed by the study. It is divided into the following sections: research design, sampling, study area, data collection, data analysis and ethical considerations.

1.11.1 Research Design

This historical study employed ex-post facto design as history is an integrated account of relationships between people and places in the past to understand contemporary issues.⁶¹ When using the ex-post facto design, researchers identify events that have already occurred and then collect data to investigate a possible relationship between the factors.⁶² The design suits the current study as the researcher could not manipulate presumed causes of gender inequality in sports management. Instead, the researcher investigated antecedent events and causes using primary documentary evidence and oral testimonies as well as secondary sources to make logical conclusions and inferences.

1.11.2 Sampling

The study employed purposive and snowball sampling techniques. Purposive sampling allows researchers of history to select informants who were either participants or observers of

⁶⁰ See: Kazuo Uchiumi, 'Sports in Capitalist Society: Commodification and De-commodification of Sports' *Hitotsubashi Journal of Social Studies*, 34, No. 2 (2009), pp. 37–45; Wray Vamplew, 'The Commodification of Sport: Exploring the Nature of the Sports Product', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 19, 34 (2013); Michael A. Messner, 'Sports and Male Domination: The Female Athlete as a Contested Ideological Terrain' *Sociology of Sport Journal* 5, (1998), pp. 197–211.

⁶¹ John W. Best and James V. Khan, *Research in Education* 7th Edition (New Delhi: Prentice-Hall of India, 1995), p. 85.

⁶² Paul D. Leedy and Jeanne E. Ormrod, *Practical Research: Planning and Design*, 9th Edn (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education Inc, 2010).

the events or phenomenon under study.⁶³ The target population was people who have occupied the executive ranks of AK, FKF and NOCK. These are the political and decision makers in Kenyan athletics and football. The sample populations were drawn from: executive levels AK, FKF and NOCK; FKF Dispute Resolution; sports administrators in security departments; Sports Administrators of Kenya Academy of Sports (KAS); club owners and training camps; coaches and managers; referees; and sports editors and journalists. The researcher interviewed 32 informants as follows: six executive members from AK and NOCK; three executive members of NOCK Women in Sports Commission (WSC); five Sports Administrators from Kenya Academy of Sports (KAS); Sports administrators from Kenya Prisons Department; three club owners and managers; one referee and Confederation of African Football (CAF) match commissioner; five sports editors drawn from Nation Media Group and BBC; one Finance Officer from NOCK; 1 National Head Coach (athletics) and 1 Director of Football Development (FKF). Of the 32 interviewed, nineteen were male and thirteen females. To get more informants, the researcher employed snowball sampling technique by requesting individuals initially identified through purposive method to identify other informants in possession of the required information.⁶⁴ To ensure a systematic approach to data collection the researcher formulated questions for different categories of informants. The sample size was guided by the historical principle of not less than thirty informants. Nonetheless, the researcher conducted interviews until saturation point.

1.11.3 Study Area

The main area of study was Nairobi because this is where headquarters of many sports organisations and corporate institutions invested sports are located. Similarly is the ministry in charge of athletics and football as well as other government departments invested in sports such the Kenya Prisons Department. The study treated gender inequality in Kenya which is a national phenomenon. Therefore, the author also pursued information from other parts of the country. Fig. 1.1 is a map of Nairobi County detailing the various institutions where the researcher obtained information.

1.11.4 Data Collection

Historians distinguish between two categories of sources of information: primary and secondary. Primary sources are the backbone of historical research. They are eye-witness

⁶³ Abel G. Mugenda, *Qualitative Research Methods: Introduction* (Nairobi: Applied Research and Training Services, 2013), p. 41.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

accounts produced by individuals who participated in or witnessed the events under study.⁶⁵ There are five forms of primary sources of information available to historians. First, official records such as legislative, judicial and executive documents; data preserved by non-governmental bodies such as missionaries and religious organisations, information preserved by governing bodies in form of minutes of meetings; reports of committees and commissions; administrative orders and attendance records. Second, personal records such as certificates, diaries, autobiographies, affidavits, letters, wills, contracts, and original draft of speeches, articles, books. Third, oral testimonies of informants interviewed by researchers. Fourth, pictorial records which include photograph records of events and video recordings of interviews, meetings and speeches. Fifth, relics such as tools, weapons, clothing, buildings, furniture and art objects.⁶⁶

The current study examined a variety of primary written sources to understand gender inequality in sports management in Kenya. First, official records such as minutes of meetings, reports, organisational policies on gender among other documents from the stakeholders of sports management. Second, pictures and video recordings of events in Kenyan sports from different periods. Fourth, relics such as sport goods, trophies and art objects depicting the theme of gender in Kenyan sports. Third, the researcher conducted oral interviews on various gender issues in management of sports in Kenya with persons who have managed or directly observed management of sports in the country. The instruments of data collection used included semi-structured interview schedules prepared for different categories of informants, voice recorder to record interviews which were then be transcribed for analysis and digital camera to capture images central to the subject of study. The researcher made notes from documentary sources as well as during interviews. The researcher used the historical method of external and internal criticism to determine reliability of all sources of information for the study. External criticism helped in establishing the authenticity of the source material while internal criticism helped the researcher establish the accuracy of information from different sources.

⁶⁵ Louis Cohen and Lawrence Manion, *Research Methods in Education* 4th Edn (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 50.

⁶⁶ Soti Shivendra Chandra and Rajendra K. Sharma, *Research in Education* (New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributors, 1997), p. 347.

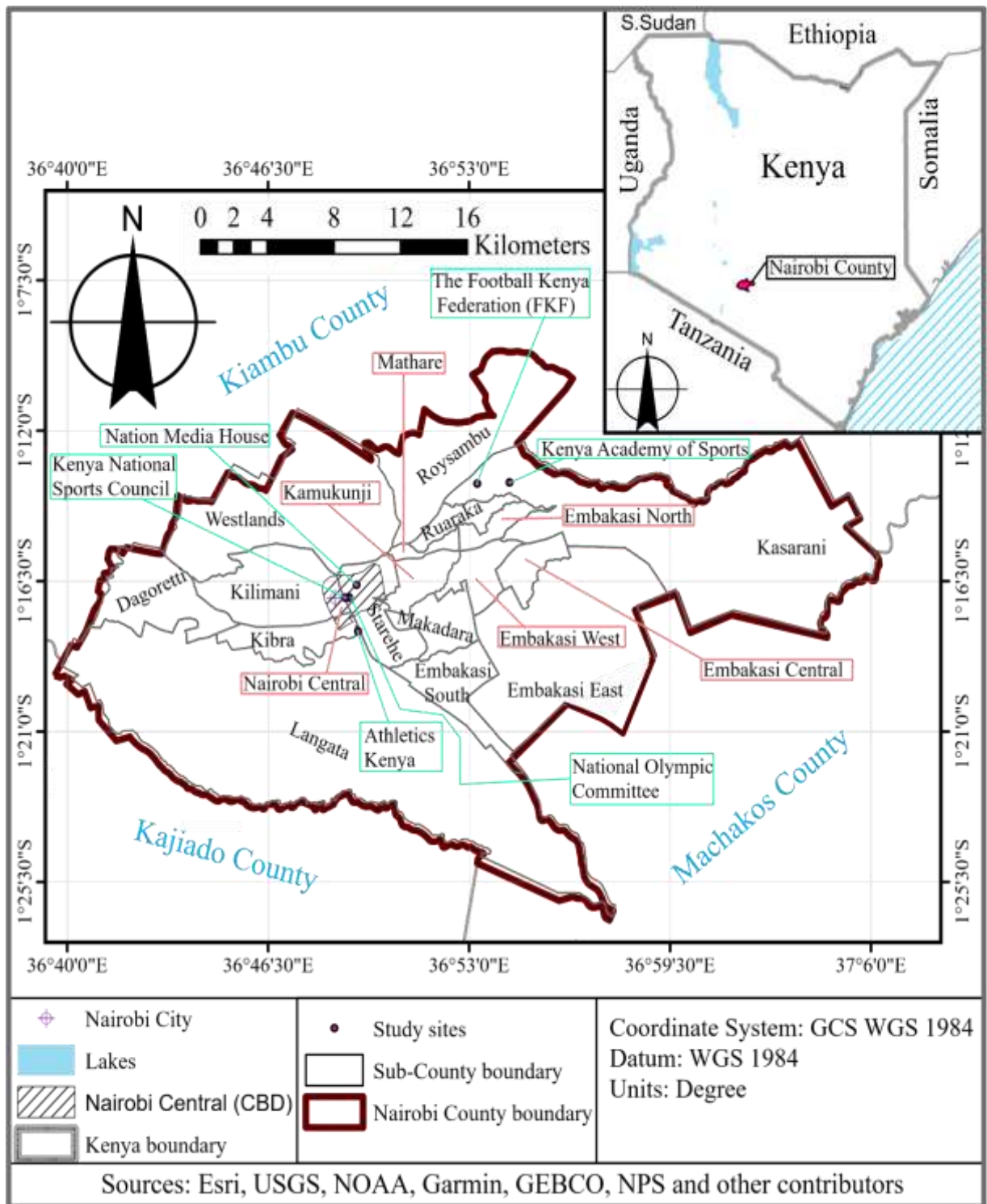


Fig. 1.1 Map of Nairobi County

Prepared by Robert Toroitich, Department of Geography, Egerton University

Secondary sources of information were pivotal to the research process. Scholars use secondary sources to: obtain scholarship into their subject of investigation by getting an orientation into the available approaches, acquaint themselves with main primary sources for their topic of research and to establish factual and interpretational gaps in existing knowledge on the subject of study.⁶⁷ Important secondary sources for the current study included books, scholarly articles, monographs, historical novels, and other reproductions of information.

1.11.5 Data Analysis

This entails systemising the processes of acquiring, organising, storing and retrieving data. Historians use the following methods in systemising research processes: data analysis, synthesis and interpretation as well as inference and generalisations. After establishing the validity of sources and accuracy of data, the researcher interpreted information in light of evolution of sports management and gender inequality in top decision-making levels of sports in Kenya. Since credibility of the study depended on the quality and depth of interpretation, the researcher applied high levels of caution, objectivity, creativity, insight and scholarship. Interpretation involved objective synthesis of data from numerous sources in relation to research objectives, research questions, research hypothesis and theory as opposed to mere accumulation or summarisation.⁶⁸ Formulating a clear interpretive framework was thus core to the current study.

Historians select from a number of approaches and concepts, even from other academic disciplines, when interpreting data. Cultural Theory and Gender Theory provided the main analytical lens. Additionally, the study will employ the concepts of historical time and historical space. Historical time uses chronology of events to establish causality, establish the meaning of historical events and to understand the relationship among events in light of the topic in question. Historical space on the other hand deals with the question of where the event originated, spread or culminated.⁶⁹ These theories and concepts were crucial in making sense of data. After carefully analysing and interpreting data, the researcher began to make inferences and generalisations.

Inferring and generalising enable historians to establish causality of the event. Since information is gathered from samples rather than entire population, researchers must be

⁶⁷ George J. Mouly, *The Science of Educational Research* (New York: American Book Company, 1963), p. 208.

⁶⁸ Shafer, *Guide to Historical Method*, p. 136.

⁶⁹ *Ibid* p. 131.

cautious while making generalisations.⁷⁰ Making inference involves transforming facts into historical evidence through: checking internal consistency of primary sources, checking primary sources against each other as well as comparing primary sources with secondary works.⁷¹ After making correct inferences and generalisations the researcher was able to argue and explain gender inequality in management of sports in Kenya.

Historians use deductive and inductive reasoning to argue. When they use deductive reasoning, historians make inferences based on conventional wisdom. As such, only sensible facts are accepted as historical evidence. In inductive reasoning the researcher examines the relationship among bits of evidence for generalisation. It operates on the assumption that plenty of data enables a researcher to reach likely conclusions.⁷² In the current study, the researcher largely used inductive reasoning. After analysing the data thoroughly, the researcher proceeded to report the findings.

There are two main frameworks for organising research report in history; narratives and analysis. In narratives historians tell stories and comments on what the material shows in relation to the research question. Narratives give the context of people's actions in the past by showing clearly the situations in which they found themselves. The downside of narratives is that the step-by-step progress can conceal lines of argument.⁷³ On the other hand, analytical approach treats successively a number of aspects of the question while discussing the evidence that is relevant to each. This approach is preferred by many researchers not only because it demonstrates to the reader that the researcher is tackling a problem analytically but also because themes give a clear outline of the analytical scheme. Researchers must, however, take care not to undervalue the real context of events. Consequently, this framework is unsuitable in studies in which judgement requires close attention to the stage-to-stage development of a situation in order to understand causality.⁷⁴ Researchers must thus choose frameworks that best suit the nature of their study.

In the current study, though the research objectives are chronological, the operating framework is thematic and contextualised through narratives. This is because the study sought to understand the link between stakeholders' interests and gender inequality in sports

⁷⁰ Ibid p. 132.

⁷¹ Storey, *Writing History*, pp. 45–55

⁷² Ibid p.57.

⁷³ I. W. Mabbett, *Writing History Essays: A Student's Guide* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 79.

⁷⁴ Ibid, pp. 80–81.

management. The study also sought to understand how gender inequality in sports management has been contested in the past. This endeavour not only required a strong analytical framework but also a deep acquaintance with the past.

1.11.6 Ethical Considerations

The researcher observed the following ethics throughout the research process: the researcher sought informants' consent by explaining purpose and nature of the study; he upheld confidentiality on sensitive information, the researcher obtained research authorisation from National Commission for Science and Innovation (NACOSTI) and Egerton University.

CHAPTER TWO

GENDER AND ORGANISATION OF SPORTS IN PRE-COLONIAL AFRICA

2.1 Overview

This chapter examines the question of gender in pre-colonial games and sports in Kenya. It traces the beginning of games and sports to the pre-historic cultural developments. It further examines the links between different categories of games and sports with gender and other social categories. Finally, the chapter examines the institutionalisation of games and sports along social institutions by the eve of colonialism to understand the gender-complex before the advent of colonialism.

Gender was implicated in the organisation of games and sports in pre-colonial Kenya. As a cradle of mankind, East Africa was one of the most important regions in the development of pre-historic cultures. Games and leisure have pre-historic origins and so is their gendering. These cultural forms were part of a wider cultural development. They were reflections of humanity's amazement at the environment and everyday experiences such as fears and terrors of encounters with dangerous animals or humans. In other words, leisure and games are reflections of the highs and lows of early fellow humans.⁷⁵ The author argues that the relationship between the games with the environment, everyday experiences and with other aspects of pre-colonial life have been overlooked in preceding studies on gender and sports in Kenya.

Games and sports have universal as well as context specific features. One of the universal features of games and sports, across time and space, is the inherent hierarchising quality. Despite the seemingly egalitarianism based on aspects such as rules, equality of equipment and team numbers, games and sports always systematically progress towards unequal finishes. Scholars of sports argue that this egalitarianism serves to vindicate domination. This explains why societies have since the pre-historic period pushed forward domineering individuals and groups during play and competitions.⁷⁶ The author of the current study posits that this inherent quality seeps to other aspects of games and sports to privilege certain social categories.

⁷⁵ A. Hampate, 'The Living Tradition' in J. Ke-Zerbo (ed) *General History of Africa I: Methodology and African Pre-history* (California: Heinemann, 2000), pp. 736–37.

⁷⁶ Pierre Parlebas, 'The Universals of Games and Sports', *Frontiers in Psychology* 11, 2020, p. 7.

The gendering of early games and sports was also linked to their intersection with aspects of life such as leadership, religion, notions of manhood and adulthood as well as initiation rites. For some pre-colonial societies across of Africa, proficiency in certain games was a mark of one's ability to lead. Plays between rival claimants to a throne became means of determining who had the divine approval. In other societies, permission to participate in some games was part of initiation processes and assumption of status as an adult.⁷⁷ Combination of the hierarchical quality of sports with the gendered attributes of other aspects of life compounded the gendering of sports before the importation of European games and sports to Africa.

Social distinctions in pre-colonial in play were also linked to patterns of play and fundamental categories. Across time and space, there exist three broad patterns of play: games of chance, games of strategy and games of physical skills. Each category is associated with certain social categories in the society. Similarly, some games within the fundamental categories of games: *agon*, *alea*, mimicry and *ilinx* were gender-specific and others gender neutral.⁷⁸ Over the course of time, pre-colonial games and sports became institutionalised on social institutions such as warriorhood, hunting, herding as well as the domestic sphere. The institutions upon which different games and sports were anchored had impact on determination of what sort of people got to do what in what game.

This chapter traces development of pre-colonial games of Africa to understand their gendering. It looks at three broad periods before the onset of British colonialism in Kenya: pre-historic, antiquity and the eve of colonialism. The author interrogated different sources to uncover how the intersection of play and fundamental categories with aspects of life such as politics, notions of coming of age and religion allowed male domination of pre-colonial games.

2.2 Conceptualising Games and Sports

There is a small difference between games and sports. Despite numerous shared attributes of games and sports, scholars have established lines of distinction between the two. Scholars in sports studies use two key main concepts to make distinction between games and sports. The first line of distinction involves the levels of codification which refers to systematic definition

⁷⁷ John M. Roberts, Malcom J. Arthur and Robert R. Bush, 'Games in Culture', *American Anthropologist* 61 (4), 1955, p. 599.

⁷⁸ See Roger Caillois, *Man, Play and Games* translated by Meyer Barash (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001), pp. 10–21; Mwanzia Kyule, 'The Bao: Board Game in Africa's Antiquity' in Anne Marie Deisser and Mugwima Njuguna (eds), *Conservation of Natural and Cultural Heritage in Kenya* (London: UCL Press, 2016), p. 104.

of rules of conduct of games and sports. It encompasses the rules and behaviour of the participants. There is consensus among scholars of sports that games are less codified and have more changeable rules. On the other hand, sports are viewed as 'specific types of game involving highly codified rules, large-scale use of the body, use of skills acquired through specialised training, and public display before an audience.'⁷⁹

The other line of distinction involves productivity. Scholars view games as largely unproductive. This implies that games are used to create neither wealth, nor new elements. However, little allowance is made for exchange of property between players. Sports, on the other hand, are viewed as serving self-development through play-like activities. Because of their productive quality, sports are thus oriented towards high performance and are therefore highly competitive. This quality is also used to distinguish pre-industrial sports and modern sports of the West. Furthermore, many writers have used similar thoughts in distinguishing traditional African games and European forms of sports.⁸⁰

Games and sports have shared attributes. Roger Caillois outlined the following as the shared attributes of games and sports. First, playing in both is not obligatory. Individuals and groups play on their will. Caillois argued that making play mandatory would reduce the attractiveness and joyous qualities of games and sports. Second, games and sports are separate. By this, Caillois implied that they are circumscribed within limits of space and time defined and fixed in advance. Third, games and sports are uncertain. This means that their course cannot be determined nor their results obtained beforehand. The uncertainty is also related to the fact that some latitude for innovation is left to players' initiative. Fourth, games and sports are governed by conventions that suspend ordinary laws and for the moment establish the 'rules of the game' which alone counts. Fifth, playing games and sports create a second reality separate from the real life.⁸¹

Scholars define games as recreational activities characterised by: organised play, competition, two or more sides, criteria for determining the winner and agreed upon-rules. Despite these commonalities, scholars have made effort to categorise games. The two main frameworks used to categorise games are patterns of play and what scholars like Roger Caillois consider

⁷⁹ Gregory Batenson, 'A Theory of Play and Fantasy' in Janet C. Harris and Roberta J. Park, *Play, Games and Sports in Cultural Contexts* (Illinois: Human Kinetics Publishers Inc, 1983), p. 314.

⁸⁰ See Caillois, *Man, Play and Games*, p. 10; Peter Mahlamann, 'Sport as a Weapon of Colonialism in Kenya: a Review of the Literature', *Trans-African Journal of History* 17, 1988, p. 152.

⁸¹ Caillois, *Man, Play and Games* p. 10.

fundamental categories. Under the modes of play framework, outcomes of play are perceived as products of: physical abilities of the players; series of moves each representing players' choices among multiple alternatives; reliance on chance, guess or mechanical devices like dice. The model based on these patterns of categorise into: games of chance, games of strategy and games of physical skills. Games of chance can be organised in casinos or through slot machines. Examples from this category are lottery, bet on sports competitions among others. This category does not seem to have many precedents in pre-colonial Africa. By definition, games of chance must neither include strategy nor physical skills. On the contrary, games of strategy may involve physical skills. It is also common place for games of physical skills to involve a lot of strategising in order to outsmart the opponent. In games of physical skills, strategy is part of mental skills required for one to play well. It is a calculation of how to best use one's physical skills.⁸²

The second framework is more elaborate and classifies games based on four fundamental categories: *agon*, *alea*, *mimicry* and *ilinx*. This model enables scholars to appreciate relationship between other aspects of life which are central to gendered analysis of games and sports. The term *agon* is used to refer to games that involve two opposing teams of individuals or groups. The *agon* games category with the longest history involves different board games some dating back to the pre-historic period of Africa and other continents. *Agon* games reenact a battlefield in which adversaries enjoy an artificial equality in that they have equal number of competitors in case of team games, equal elements quantity and value at the onset of the game. This becomes the basis of legitimate victory. Victory is therefore a result of contestants' qualities such as speed, endurance, strength, memory and ingenuity. Competitors therefore endeavour to have their superiority in these qualities recognised. Therefore, although *agon* begins with presumed egalitarianism, they end with hierarchical ranking of competitors. The practice of *agon* therefore requires players' attention, regular and appropriate training, self-discipline, perseverance and hunger for victory.⁸³

Alea games are philosophically different from *agon* because the outcome of play is based on chance rather than players' efforts and qualities. Players do not utilise their resources, skills, muscles or intelligence. All they need after casting the die for instance, is to surrender to destiny. Values like work, patience and experience which are central to *agon* are insignificant

⁸² See Roberts and Bush, 'Games in Culture', p. 597; Avinash Dixit, Susan Skeath and David Reiley, *Games of Strategy* 3rd Edn (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2009).

⁸³ Callois, *Play and Games*, pp. 14–15.

in *alea*. Scholars of sport reckon that the outcome in *alea* is either absolute favour for the winners or absolute disgrace to those who lose. Therefore, while *agon* games are vindication to work, *alea* involves surrendering to the blind verdict of chance.⁸⁴

The links of *alea* with religion had gender significance. Gender historians like Cheryl Johnson-Odim and Margaret Strobel argue that traditional religions were sources of both power and subordination for women. In pre-colonial Africa, religious authorities had, in most communities, political influence. Some religious beliefs revered women as sacred beings. However, recognition of women as religious figures did not imply gender equality. Furthermore, many traditional religions reinforced the subordination of women. Such religious practices viewed women as polluting, especially because of beliefs surrounding menstruation. So strong were the beliefs surrounding menstruation that they inhibited activities of even elite women. Among the Akan people of West Africa, for instance, the highest female office known as the *asantehemaa* could only be held by women beyond menopause.⁸⁵ This intersection with religion impacted gender dynamics in games and sports with religion.

Mimicry involves players' taking imaginary characters and behaving like them. The games have a make-believe effect in that the players temporarily abandon their personalities to take another and in the process convince others that they are who they claim to be. This is the defining character of games in which children take up adult roles such as 'father, mother and children' games that were widespread in pre-colonial Africa. These make-believe games allowed the young to prepare for gendered role as future adults.⁸⁶ *Ilinx* encompass games in which players participate in search of vertigo, a sensation of whirling and loss of balance.⁸⁷ The researcher did not come across evidence of games with such intentions while examining pre-colonial games and sports in Kenya.

2.3 Pre-historic Games in Africa

East Africa was one the most important region in the development of pre-historic culture. It therefore makes sense to claim that it was one of the most important regions in the

⁸⁴ Ibid, pp. 17–18.

⁸⁵ Cheryl Johnson-Odim and Margaret Strobel, 'Conceptualising the History of Women in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean and the Middle East and North Africa' in Iris Berger and Frances White (eds), *Women in Sub-Saharan Africa: Restoring Women History* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1999), pp. xxxv-xxvi

⁸⁶ Ibid pp. 19–21.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

development of pre-historic games in Africa. This development was recorded in rock art discovered in different pre-historic sites. Pre-historic leisure and games were centred on daily tasks of a group including clashes with beasts or hostile neighbours: the fears and terrors of everyday life. Games and leisure reflected the passions and pastoral life of the early humans and their spiritual concerns. Additionally, leisure and games also reflected early humans' amazement with the animal life teeming around them.⁸⁸

Game-based learning was central to the complex learning systems of pre-historic people of East Africa. Learning begun at home with the older persons in the family constituting the first level of 'instructors'. The mediums of early lessons comprised not only one's experience but also stories, fables, legends, maxims among others. In game-based learning, children's games were used to convey certain knowledge through the ages. For instance, games played by initiates conveyed concealed messages intended for the particular circle of initiates. Like was the case in Mali, games in East Africa were also instructional tools for a numeral systems.⁸⁹ Game based learning formed the basis of gender-specific and gender-neutral play.

The gendered orientation of pre-historic games was based on the fact that games were models of gendered cultural activities. Board games were some of the earliest forms of game-based learning. The pre-historic board games laid the foundation for inculcation of skills to categories of people deemed worthy of leadership. *Kalaha* of the ancient Egypt is arguably the oldest board game of Africa. It was played between 1500–1150 BCE. It was used in educational context to teach boys strategic and tactical thinking, language skills and mathematics.⁹⁰ These games were also played by the pre-historic people of Kenya. Figure 2.1 is an archaeological artefact of a board game played by the Sirikwa people who lived around Hyrax Hill archaeological site in today's Nakuru, Kenya. Figure 2.2 is an image of a board game of the Maasai people etched on a stone. Figures 2.1 and 2.2 signify the high prevalence of board games among pre-colonial Kenyan societies dating to pre-history.

⁸⁸ Hampate, 'The Living Tradition' pp. 449–450.

⁸⁹ Ibid, p. 742.

⁹⁰ Andreas Hellerstedt and Peter Mozelius, 'Game-based Learning: a History', A Paper Presented at the Irish Conference on Game-based Learning in Cork, 26-28 June 2019.



Fig. 2.1: A photograph of remnants of a board game in one of the blocks used to build Hyrax Hill Museum in Nakuru, Kenya

Source: Kyule, 'The Bao', p. 97.

During the antiquities, Africa served as a central source of for cultural inventions and dissemination for the Roman Empire. At its height, the empire extended to North Africa in modern day Tunisia, Algeria and Egypt. The empire exploited the grain resources of the region. Besides grain, the Romans also exploited African human resources as slaves and gladiators for the army, palaces, in vast estates of land with absentee landlords as well as the sanguinary games of bloodshed. The export of gladiators was part of a fast growing inequality in intercontinental relations. The Romans subordinated the conquered regions by ensuring that their tapping of African resources and services like those of gladiators was not matched by a similar movement from Rome to the continent.⁹¹ Figure 2.3 is a statuette of a black gladiator wearing a tunic, cuirass and helmet and armed with a shield and dagger. It is evidence of continental exchanges between Africa and Europe in combat games during the antiquity.

⁹¹ Hampate, 'Living Traditions' p. 742.



Fig. 2.2: A photograph of a Maasai board game inscribed on a natural rock at an archaeological site in Narok, Kenya

Source: Bale and Sang, *Kenyan Running*, p. 56.



Fig. 2.3: A statuette of a black gladiator during the ancient times in Rome

Source: A. Mahjoubi, 'The Roman and post-Roman Period in North Africa' in G. Mokhtar (ed) *General History of Africa II: Ancient Civilisations of Africa* (California: Heinmann Publishers, 1981), p. 224.

The Romans exported their mode of organisation of games to the conquered regions of Africa. In the conquered regions, political and social life was centred on towns akin to life in Rome. The organisation of games was part of the wide organisation of political and social life in Rome. The Roman political and social life was characterised by class distinction and extravagance by the wealthy class. In Romanised regions of Africa, games were modelled akin to games of the cities of Rome. Towns in the conquered regions were governed by a local municipal senate comprising of former magistrates and wealthy citizens appointed on collegial basis. As part of discharging their public duties, the officials had to make enough provisions for leisure and games. They were expected to display ‘generosity by giving banquets, organising games and financing construction of monuments.’⁹²

The Decurion middle class was the dominant segment of the Romanised communities in Africa. The Decurion class was made up of ranked officers in charge of ten soldiers in the Roman army. This class typically lived in towns and most members did not own land. They lived a bourgeois life. To earn respect among fellow townsmen, the Decurion lived lavishly like the wealthy class. Even for smaller towns, the class displayed their passion for architecture and Roman culture by erecting statues, building basilica for the courts of justice, libraries. Most importantly, they built costly imposing buildings for hosting municipal games.⁹³

2.4 Games and sports on the eve of colonialism in Kenya

Early European writers on culture overlooked the sporting culture of Africa. They downplayed the significance of African games by comparing them to European forms of sports which they considered the real representation of sporting culture. Consequently, sports historians face shortage of written sources dedicated entirely to the subject of pre-colonial games and sports. However, information about traditional games and sports up to the end of the nineteenth century is preserved in works investigating other aspects of life in East Africa. Seafarers across the Indian Ocean world recorded about physical activities and dances in the region. For instance, the anonymous chronicler of Vasco da Gama’s first voyage to East Africa in the late 1490s described prevalence of physical activities connected with water and dances. According to the author, the swimmers had mastered the waters and swam in the dead of the night to attack their ships. The chronicler also appreciated the long traditions of

⁹² A. Mahjoubi, ‘The Roman and post-Roman Period in North Africa’ in G. Mokhtar (ed) *General History of Africa II: Ancient Civilisations of Africa* (California: Heinmann Publishers, 1981), p. 480.

⁹³ *Ibid*, p. 497.

canoeing. Other writers of the time also wrote of traditions of sham fighting which prepared young men for their duty of defending their communities.⁹⁴

Pre-colonial Kenyan societies existed as autonomous polities. Contemporary national boundaries did not exist. The Berlin Conference of 1884-85 precipitated the drawing of modern boundaries in Africa as a framework for partitioning the continent among European imperial powers. In East Africa, the Heligoland Treaty of 1890 finalised the partitioning of the region between Britain and Germany. It marked beginning of the loss of autonomy by Kenyan societies. And although Britain was not originally interested in the area that later became Kenya, apart from using it as a bridge land between Uganda and the Indian Ocean coast, it declared a protectorate status over the territory in 1895. Twenty-five years later Kenya became a British colony.⁹⁵ How did African communities organise games and sports prior to partitioning and occupation of East Africa by Europeans? What was meanings did sports assume and under what contexts?

The pre-colonial meaning of sports in Kenya was diverse. In one context, sports could emphasise values of competition and aggression. In another, values such as cooperation, friendship, physical fitness, skill, and leisure took centre stage. In any case, utilitarianism was the key philosophy of pre-colonial sports. The patterns of play and norms and values were conceptualised with an inclination to their usefulness across different aspects of life.⁹⁶ For the children, games were means of making life intelligible and for preparing them for gendered roles later in life. Among the Akamba, for instance, children's desire for activity found expression in games. Boys would make small bows and arrows for shooting birds. They also constructed small bee-hives from calabash and hang them on trees to attract bees in addition to imitating men's dances. On the other hand, girls practised preparing cords of fibre to weave small sacks and in the sacks put small calabashes filled with soil to represent different kinds of food. They also made numerous dolls like was the case in other pre-colonial communities of Kenya.⁹⁷ Figure 2.4 is a photograph an *echoke* (doll) of the pre-colonial

⁹⁴ Mahlmann, 'Sport as Weapon of Colonialism', p. 153.

⁹⁵ J. KI-ZERBO, 'African Pre-history', p. 659.

⁹⁶ See Njororai Simiyu, P.W. Achola and Andanje Mwisukha, 'Demystifying the Ideology of Masculine in Kenyan Sports', *East African Journal of Physical Education, Sports Science, Leisure and Recreation Management* 1, no. 2 (2003), 82; Luuk Boogard, 'Every Medal has Two Sides: Modernisation, Dependency and the Role of the West in Kenyan Athletics' (MA Thesis, Radboud University, 2007), p. 19.

⁹⁷ Gerhard Lindblom, *The Akamba in British East Africa: An Ethnological Monograph* 2nd Edn (Uppsala: Appelbergs Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, 1920), 418–419.

Turkana people. The doll symbolises the relationship between physical activities like dances with marriage practices of pre-colonial Kenyan societies.⁹⁸

Pre-colonial games and sports were woven into other aspects of life, including war, hunting and children's games. This interweaving allowed the complex relationship between games and sports with political, economic, social, cultural and educative aspects of life.⁹⁹ This implies that gendered analysis of pre-colonial sports must pay attention to the special connection between such aspects and games and sports. The interplay with these aspects of life informed the gender specific nature of the sporting culture in pre-colonial Kenya. Figure 2.5 is an image of Maasai warriors shooting spears for precision and demonstrates the links between target spear throwing with war and hunting practices among the Maasai. Figure 2.6 is an image of a Kikuyu warrior shooting an arrow with emphasis more on hitting the target rather than throwing longer distances. The image links games of archery with war and hunting practices.

There were several categories of games and sports among pre-colonial people of Kenya. The first category encompassed children games which included singing and dancing, role-play, imaginative games as well as the use of toys. Singing and dancing were, perhaps, the most widely spread pastime for both boys and girls. Among communities like the Kalenjin, it was the norm for the young to gather at the home of one of their peers every evening to sing and dance. Children also took part in role-play and imaginative games. Games under this category were meant to make life intelligible to younger children.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ The *echoke* doll was taken to dances by unmarried Turkana girls. The girls sat at the side of dances and danced with the doll by shaking it. The girls called out the name of the man she wanted as her lover and mentioned the doll's name to him. The men could either accept or reject the doll symbolizing acceptance or declining of the girl's advances.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Benjamin Kipkorir, *People of the Rift Valley: the Kalenjin* (Nairobi: Evans Brothers Limited, 1985), 37. For imaginative games among the Akamba see Gerhard Lindblom, *The Akamba in British East Africa: An Ethnological Monograph 2nd Edn* (Uppsala: Appelbergs Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, 1920), 419.



Fig. 2.4: Photograph of *echoke* doll used by girls among the pre-colonial Turkana

Source: photograph taken by the author on 19 October 2022 at Hyrax Hill Museum, Nakuru Kenya



Fig. 2.5 is a photograph of Maasai Warriors throwing spears to hit a target rather than competing for distance thrown.

Source: Bale and Sang, *Kenyan Running*, p. 56.

The second category included combat-oriented sports. Combat games were celebrated across the communities of pre-colonial Kenya. From the early traders and other visitors taking part in the Indian Ocean trade to the missionaries operating in the interior of Kenya during the early colonial period, come accounts of different versions of sham fights involving young men and boys. Sham fights and other games such as archery, throwing sticks and sling were widespread across pre-colonial Kenya because they were systematic ways of training for survival in life.¹⁰¹



Fig. 2.6: Photograph of a Kikuyu warrior shooting an arrow at a target in 1907
Source: *Kikuyu News* 5, 1908, p. 5.

Wrestling was, arguably, the most common combat sport among pre-colonial societies. It was popular among boys and youthful males. Among the Luo, wrestling went by the name, *mawi* or *amen*. *Mawi* ethics emphasised the use of one's strength and skills in tackling and outbalancing the opponents as opposed to injuring them. Even among the Kalenjin who are synonymous with middle and long-distance running today, *kekwetkei*, as their variant of wrestling was known, was the most common children's game. It was also a common sport for

¹⁰¹ Mahlmann, 'Sport as Weapon of Colonialism', p. 4.

Meru boys. Some European travellers and ethnographers wrote about boys taking time to wrestle as they watched over their families' livestock in the grazing fields.¹⁰²

Other categories of combat sports included variants of the games of fighting with sticks and canes played by different communities. Like wrestling, the logic of such games was to outscore rather than injure opponents. *Malso*, the game of sticks among the Marakwet, is a good example. In this game, the players held two sticks and targeted hitting opponents as many times as possible to score with one while simultaneously defending oneself with the other. The game was also common among other Kalenjin sub-groups such as the Nandi and Kipsigis. For the two groups, the game would take a violent version when it was used for duels organised to settle slighting or insults. Whatever the case, *malso* was closely refereed by umpires to ensure adherence to the rules.¹⁰³

The other category of combat-oriented sports was those that by nature improved marksmanship and weapon handling. Such games included shooting with arrows and spears, club throwing and shooting the hoop. Young men among the Luo shot at the *nyange*, a round ring made of canes. The ring was placed at a distance for teams representing different clans to aim with a long stick akin to the spear. The winning team was the one whose competitors hit the centre of the *nyange* most times. The Kamba played *kuatha ndia* while Kikuyu youth played *Kuratha Mbara*, variants informed by a concept similar to *nyange*.¹⁰⁴

The third category included games of reflection and calculation. Several Kenyan societies played a version of what the Mijikenda referred to as *chigogo* (board). The Mijikenda played *Chigogo* on a flat board with two rows of seven holes on each side. A big hole was made on both ends for storing the *ana* (the scoring counters). The game involved two opponents, each starting with sixteen *tembe* (tablets). The goal for each player was earning *ana* for themselves. The game began with both players arranging their sixteen *tembe* in some of the holes on the right-hand side, using both rows. The one who initiated the play picked up all the *tembe* in one hole and dropped them one by one into successive holes moving in an anti-

¹⁰² For wrestling among the Luo see Henry Okello Ayot, *Historical Texts of the Lake Region of East Africa* (Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1977), p. 129; for wrestling among the Kalenjin see Kipkorir, *People of Rift Valley*, p. 35; for wrestling among the Meru see Owen Letcher, *The Bonds of Africa: Impression of Travel and Sport from Cape Town to Cairo 1902–1912* (London: John Long Ltd, 1913), p. 183.

¹⁰³ Kipkorir, *People of Rift Valley*, 35–36.

¹⁰⁴ For *nyange* see Ayot, *Historical Texts*, 129; for *kuatha ndia* among the Akamba see Lindblom, *Akamba*, p. 423; for the *kuaratha mbara* among the Kikuyu see L. S. B. Leakey, *The Southern Kikuyu Before 1903, Vol. 2* (London: Academic Press, 1977), pp. 577–578.

clockwise direction. If the last *tembe* dropped into an empty hole on the player's side and the opposite hole had a *tembe*, the player then picked that *tembe* as their own. However, if they dropped the last in an empty hole and the opposite hole was empty, it was then the turn of the opponent to play. The game continued like this and the players kept counting the *tembe* and the player with more than sixteen at the end got one *mwana* (singular for *ana*). The game was declared a tie if by its end each player had sixteen *tembe*. But, if a player had seventeen, they were awarded a *fumo* (a double-winning of two *ana*). If a player got all ten *ana* he was declared winner. If at the last game the winner had seventeen *tembe* while the opponent had one *mwana*, then the losing player had to hand over the *mwana* and was said to be in debt. The Kalenjin community's version of the game went by the name *Kechui*.¹⁰⁵

2.5 Gender and Pre-colonial Games

To understand the gendering of pre-colonial games it is necessary to examine the various ways in which play was interwoven with other aspects of life. One way in which games and sports became gendered was their integration with indigenous knowledge systems. Mimicry games were crucial in disseminating the gendered indigenous knowledge to the young. Traditional games were primary means of socialising the young into their social and natural environment. This socialisation was designed to help children adapt to the ways of life of their communities. Games served as guided means of allowing children to explore social, economic and political experiences of their people. Children's games were valued for their quality of developing social skills like sharing, conflict resolution as well as practical skills. It is noteworthy that there was gender differentiation in skills and experiences. Therefore, games and songs taught children the gender-specific and gender neutral practices in farming, hunting, and fishing, food preparation, building shelters and running a home. The medium of instruction in this knowledge system was mimicry, imitation of adult roles.¹⁰⁶

Pre-colonial games also served as models of gendered cultural activities of the communities. Activities such as combat and hunting were associated with males in most communities and so were related games. Additionally, board games stimulated combat and hunting activities. The games fall under the category of games of strategy. Games of strategy were meant to develop values largely associated with manhood in most societies. Traditional board games

¹⁰⁵ Johnson A. Mwangudza, *Kenya's People: Mijikenda* (London: Evans Brothers Limited, 1983), pp. 31–32; for *Kechui*, See Kipkorir, *People of the Rift Valley* pp. 35–36.

¹⁰⁶ See Fungai Mutema, 'Shona Traditional Children Games and Songs as a Form of Indigenous Knowledge: an Endangered Genre', *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* 15 (3), 2013, pp. 59–60; Hellerstedt and Mozelius, 'Game-based Learning: a History'.

are therefore categorised as games of war. In such games, opposing players direct conflict between two armies of equal strength. Both the structure and language of board games are reflections of the gendered interactive systems. In some African communities, playing pieces are considered as men who did manly activities like capture, kill, and defend.¹⁰⁷ Games of strategy in pre-colonial Africa also had links with other gender-contested aspects of life.

Pre-colonial games of strategy had strong links with gendered politics and leadership aspects of different African communities. The *awale*, a board game of the people of Ivory Coast was central in selection of new rulers upon the death of a seating ruler. When succession disputes arose upon the death of a ruler, the rivalling potential successors were required to play *awale* throughout the night after which the winner of the game would be declared the the rightful heir. However, there was more to the playing than the winner of the game taking the mantle. The act of nocturnal playing was revered as it was associated with the supernatural. It was believed that only those with connections to the supernatural like diviners, ancestors and future rulers could play the game at night while humans could only play during the day.¹⁰⁸

The Baganda and Bakuba of pre-colonial Uganda and Central Africa Republic respectively had similar associations of board games with politics and the supernatural. The *mweso* and *lyeel* board games formed part of ritual practices for newly enthroned ruler of the Baganda and Bakuba respectively. In both communities, proficiency and wins of the new rulers were perceived as reflections of intelligence, maturity and character. Furthermore, proficiency in play and winning confirmed to the community members that divine powers had approved the newly enthroned.¹⁰⁹

Pre-colonial games and sports were also linked to notions of manhood and adulthood. Among the Maasai, the “real” board game was played by men and women were not allowed to be present as men played. Instead, a simplified version was designed for Maasai women and children. This separation on the basis of gender and age was meant to preserve masculine authority in the community. However, this segregation was not universal across pre-colonial Africa. Among the Ashanti of Ghana, men and women played *owari*, the community’s board

¹⁰⁷ H. J. R. Murray, *A History of Chess* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), p. 25.

¹⁰⁸ Kyule, ‘Board Game in Africa’s Antiquity’ p. 104.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

game. Among the pre-colonial Yoruba of Nigeria women did not play but they were not barred from observing as men played.¹¹⁰

Some pre-colonial games of strategy were used in cultivating respect for the elders during the coming of age rituals. This was the case with the Lega people of Democratic Republic of Congo. The community formulated numerous proverbs that were related to the *luzalo* board game. When played by initiates, the game was part of education on the importance of honouring their elders and the values of the community. Among the Fon of Benin, girls were allowed to play *adji* as part of rituals and education accompanying transition to adulthood.¹¹¹

Pre-colonial Kenyan societies used games of strategy such as the board game in leadership training. Because winning such games was not a product of chance but a combination of foresight and ability to execute strategic moves in quick successions, the game was valued for its ability to inculcate leadership qualities. Good players were believed to have the ability to think tactically and solve problems facing their communities. Development of the capabilities to execute multiple captures and craft multiple moves before executing them required patience and dedication to the course akin to a good leader.¹¹²

Like modern sports, pre-colonial games reinforced social hierarchies such as gender system. This is evidenced by the fact that most such games were played by men. In games of chance, the supernatural was invoked to vindicate hierarchical ordering. Scholars like J. M. Roberts argue that explicit theories of chance did not exist among pre-colonial communities like the Chagga of Tanzania and other so-called primitive societies across continents. The outcomes were interpreted as either benevolence or aggression by the gods.¹¹³ Social differentiation through games was therefore believed to have the blessing of the gods.

It is worth noting that in most societies, youthful males and boys had more types of games than other social groups. Herding and warriorhood offered them significant time and space to practice and compete. In some communities, the relationship between games and male youthfulness was so profound that the adult male played very few games if any. Among the

¹¹⁰ Ibid, p. 104.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid. p.102.

¹¹³ J. M. Roberts et al, 'Games in Culture', p. 602.

Aembu, for instance, mature males played no game. Among the Luo, adult males found leisure in beer drinking.¹¹⁴

2.6 Gendered Institutionalisation of Sports during the Pre-colonial Period

Understanding the gendering of the organisation of sports in the pre-colonial period also requires examination of the contexts and institutions in which people learnt to play and competed. There were several such institutions and contexts. First was the domestic environment. The mimicking of adult roles in the domestic sphere led to the development of gender-neutral and gender-specific games. Gender-neutral games included hut-building and hide-and-seek. Role play like ‘marriage’ games was gender-specific as boys often assumed fatherly roles while girls assumed those of the mothers. In most cases, the games enjoyed freedom from adult control as long as they were not injurious.¹¹⁵

The second institution was the herding practice. Older and younger boys from different families grazed and watered their households’ livestock in the same fields. Among the Kalenjin, for instance, this allowed the older boys to guide the younger ones on livestock handling. It also provided opportunities for transmitting customs and traditions, including games.¹¹⁶ Herding was in most communities the domain for youthful males although young boys could accompany them to the grazing fields. It afforded the boys opportunities to play in relative freedom from adult surveillance. The farther away the grazing field was from the village, the greater the degree of freedom. In the nineteenth century some European trophy hunters recorded their encounters with games among the youthful males as they grazed away from home.¹¹⁷

Warriorhood was, perhaps, the epitome of utilitarianism of games and sports among pre-colonial Kenyan societies. As a philosophy, utilitarianism informed both the norms and patterns of play as games were conceptualised with an inclination to their usefulness across

¹¹⁴ For organisation of games among Embu and Mbeere communities see Kabeeca, *Embu Historical Texts*, pp. 4–5; for organisation of wrestling competitions among the Luo see Okello, *Historical Texts of the Lake Region*, pp. 129–130; For organisation of wrestling competitions among the Kikuyu during the colonial period, see Jomo Kenyatta, *Facing Mount Kenya: The Tribal Life of the Agikuyu* (London: Mercury Books, 1965), p. 104.

¹¹⁵ See Lindblom, *The Akamba*, p. 419. For the role of parents in children games, see Kenyatta, *Facing Mount Kenya*, p. 105.

¹¹⁶ Kipkorir, *People of the Rift Valley*, p. 35.

¹¹⁷ For an example of travellers’ account of wrestling among Meru boys as they grazed their families’ livestock see Owen Letcher, *The Bonds of Africa: Impression of Travel and Sport from Cape Town to Cairo 1902–1912* (London: John Long Ltd, 1913), p. 183.

different aspects of life.¹¹⁸ Games were intertwined with the training of boys for community defense. A proper warrior was a product of the combination of games that built character, dexterity, and physical strength. Meru warriors were particularly good in this if the accounts of early European travelers are anything to go by. A traveller traversing the land of the Meru in 1910 wrote: ‘Their young warriors were athletes of no mean ability, and were particularly proficient in the art of wrestling ... Armed with long, keen-bladed spears and murderous-looking swords, they have proved themselves in more than one occasion.’¹¹⁹ Besides wrestling, other games that were intertwined with warriorhood included *nyange* and marksmanship discussed herein.

Kenyan societies also organised competitions to offer spectacle to members of the community. Competitions in sports such as wrestling could be organised pitching wrestlers from different villages and sub-clans against each other. Such events could also be organised as competitions between clans. The inter-clan competitions were higher in profile and attracted more interest from community members. However, after the British occupied Kenya, communities gradually began to organise competitions based on the colonial administrative boundaries in addition to competitions within and between clans. But such competitions increasingly became fewer and far between as authorities and missionaries unleashed epistemic violence on African cultures.¹²⁰

The foregoing demonstrates the richness of games and sporting cultures since the pre-historic period. However, contact with European colonisers sealed the fate of most of the rich culture. The sports faced three fates. Some were wiped out by the uptake of Western forms by Africans and sustained campaigns of defacement and effacement by missionaries and other European groups. Some became part of nationalist struggles as grounds of serious resistance against colonialism. Others, like traditional wrestling among Kenyan communities such as the Abaluhya, went into a complex history of disappearance and resurrection.¹²¹ But the gendering foundations of traditional games endured and coalesced with moral values and

¹¹⁸ Luuk Boogard, ‘Every Medal has Two Sides: Modernization, Dependency and the Role of the West in Kenyan Athletics’, Master Thesis (Radboud University, 2007).

¹¹⁹ Owen Letcher, *The Bonds of Africa: Impression of Travel and Sport from Cape Town to Cairo 1902–1912* (London: John Long Ltd, 1913), p. 183.

¹²⁰ For organisation of wrestling competitions among the pre-colonial Luo see Henry Okelo Ayot, *Historical Texts of the Lake Region of East Africa* (Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1977), pp. 129–130; for organisation of wrestling competitions among the Agikuyu during the early colonial period see Jomo Kenyatta, *Facing Mount Kenya: The Tribal Life of the Agikuyu* (London: Mercury Books, 1965), p. 104.

¹²¹ See Niko Besnier and Susan Brownell, ‘Sport, Modernity and the Body’, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41, 2012, p. 447; Carotenuto, ‘Wrestling with State Patronage’, pp. 1–33.

ideologues of European forms of sports to the advantage of men in different aspects of sports in Kenya.

2.7 Summary

Gender differentiation in sports in Kenya and Africa goes back to differentiation in games and play during the pre-colonial period. As a cradle of mankind, Kenya, like many parts of Africa, was important in development of pre-historic aspects of culture such as religion, government and leadership, games and other forms of play. Evidence from Kenya and other parts of Africa shows that gender differentiation in games was linked to two main factors. The first factor was the intersectionality of games and sports with aspects of life such as leadership, religion and war. Second, the differentiation in philosophies and patterns of playing different games. The Roman conquest and rule of the northern parts of the continent was the first line of imperial cultural exchanges between Africa and Europe. Notably, Roman rule planted the seeds of elitism in organising sports and competitions that came to characterise sports during the new age of imperialism.

By the eve of colonialism, numerous categories of games had developed among the pre-colonial societies of Kenya. Broadly, games and sports included those of chance, strategy and physical skills. These categories had interpretive schemes that were intertwined with issues of leadership and politics, manhood and adulthood as well as religion. The games fell into fundamental categories of *agon*, *alea* and mimicry. *Agon's* philosophy was intertwined with concepts of war and battlefield experiences as evidenced by patterns of play and language. War and defence are gender-contested fields. *Agon* was also intertwined with leadership and politics which were also gender-contested. The intersectionality of games and sports with these gender-contested fields thus contributed to favouring men in most games and sports in most societies. Mimicry, on the other hand, was the foundational philosophy of children's games and play. Through play, children were socialised into the gendered nature of the adult world.

The next chapter examines the infusion of European sports in Kenya and the evolving meaning of sports to understand continuities and discontinuities in gendering of games and sports during pre-colonial and the colonial period.

CHAPTER THREE

GENDER INEQUALITY SPORTS MANAGEMENT IN EARLY COLONIAL KENYA, 1901–1922

3.1 Overview

This chapter is about the gender and organisation of sports in the period before establishment of sports organisations in Kenya. It focuses on organisation of sports in the early colonial periods. The chapter examines the place of gender in sports, physical training and leisure programmes organised by missionary societies. It also examines how the interplay of the ideology of muscular Christianity with missionary pursuit for legitimacy structured gender inequality in sports management then. This chapter argues that the seeds of misogyny in management of modern sports in Kenya were sowed during this period.

Missionaries not only valued sports for their own sake but also for their impact on other aspects of their activities in Kenya. The chapter details how missionary societies integrated sports, drills and other forms of physical training in their evangelical and educational programmes. It argues that the germs of the gendered management of sports in Kenya were planted before sports organisations came into being. Further, it argues that efforts to understand gendering of sports management must put into account the meaning of sports in their own right and in relation with other societal institutions such as education and military preparedness.

3.2 Missionary Societies and Organisation of Sports in Early Colonial Kenya

The intersection between class and gender shaped development of sports during and after industrial revolution in England. Patterns of Victorian culture reflected clearly in roles and privileges ascribed to class and sexes in sport. During the 19th and 20th centuries class was the most important social marker in sport as was in other aspects of life especially in England. The middle class was central to the development of women sports as working and lower class women were hindered by their subservient relationship with men of their classes and with women of higher classes. Despite the class/gender complexity women sports were flourishing in England by 1914 as campaigns for provision of games and sports to all classes and gender bore fruits.¹²²

¹²² Kathleen McCrone, 'Class, Gender and English Women's Sport c 1890–1914', *Journal of Sport History* 18, 1, (1991).

Across urban and rural England two modes of women involvement in sports emerged. One mode consisted of measured accommodation of women in sports considered male-appropriate such as football, hockey and cricket. Here, a unique development took place in hockey when women dislodged men, turning it to a female domain. The second mode was made up of sports considered female-specific such as calisthenics and rhythmic dancing. This mode transcended classes although it was more successfully adopted by the middle-class women because they had recreational and sporting consciousness, free time and the financial means required. It is important to note that sports management agents in England did not adopt a homogeneous class and gender sports policy. The two social markers remained major determinants in sports participation by the time the British began to export their forms of sports and physical training.¹²³

In the early phase of British rule in Kenya mission societies provided the framework for the infusion of European forms of sports, physical training and recreation. Missionaries organised sports and physical training programmes as means to modeling holistic Christian life in terms of body, mind and spirit. Missionary groups especially those of British origin, also used sports and physical training programmes to demonstrate their capacity to respond to the needs of the British Empire. Consequently, muscular Christianity, a doctrine that sought to ‘reinstall’ the manliness of the church in the West found its way to mission circles in Kenya. Muscular Christianity was thus woven with missionary activities in Kenya.

Missionary activities in East Africa predated colonialism. For the churches in Europe, the mission to East Africa was important because success in the region would allow them to penetrate the entire continent. For missionary societies of British origin, success in East Africa was also prized as a perfect reaction to what they considered Pope’s hostility against the Protestant movement. Missionary interest in what later became Kenya was inspired by prolific writings of missionaries like Ludwig Krapf and John Rebman and advances in medical science which facilitated mitigation of tropical diseases. Krapf and Rebman also ranked high among European explorers of Africa. Their writings inspired other missionaries to come to East Africa. The writings were also important in gendering the understanding of pioneering missionary activities in the region. The difficulties of the pioneering project were embodied in form of disease, death and the unpredictability of African temperance. The fact that the pioneers considered themselves ‘labourers’ indicates the embodiment of the difficulty

¹²³ Ibid.

they understood themselves to be working in. Due to the difficulties of missionary activities in East Africa, Krapf cautioned young missionaries of the dangers of despondency, faint-heartedness and the pursuit of an easy and comfortable life in East Africa. For Krapf, the desire to settle comfortably and marry would entangle the missionary and lead them away from their duty to God. From the beginning, fortitude, a value that was reinforced through sports and physical training, was ingrained in the missionary activities in East Africa.¹²⁴

Missionary societies established different recreational programmes for different social groups in colonial Kenya. For the young, missionaries offered sports, drills and physical training as part of producing holistic persons. Additionally, missionaries and colonial government officials co-formulated different types of education for different social groups. The goal of education had significant implication on the range of sports and recreation programmes provided to respective social groups. As products of the British public-school system in which sports and physical training were integral, missionaries naturally incorporated sports in the school programmes.

In the nineteenth century West, the Church used sports as tools for regaining reputation as a manly institution capable of responding to the needs of the state. The Anglican Church in particular was accused of effeminacy and of fleeing from the crisis-ridden world instead of trying to mend it. It responded by establishing sports and vibrant physical recreation programmes.¹²⁵ Most mission societies arrived in Kenya in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. This period was characterised by conflicts which provided opportunities for the mission societies, especially those of British origin, to demonstrate their usefulness in defending the British Empire. Missionary societies thus integrated sports in their educational programmes in Kenya.

Scholars have long recognised the place of sports in missionary education in Africa. They agree that, as the British exported their sports to the colonies, they not only taught their subjects how to play but also how to play with a moral purpose.¹²⁶ Markku Hokkanen examined the utilitarianism of sports in Scottish Presbyterian mission stations in what is now Malawi. Alongside physical and industrial education schemes, the missionaries offered sports

¹²⁴ Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society, its Environment, its Men and its Work* (London: Church Missionary Society, 1899), pp. 124–139.

¹²⁵ Roger Ward review of *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America 1880–1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), pp. 82–83.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

as means of training African bodies for moral and physical health. Most importantly, the schemes aimed at molding the Christian character of the Africans.¹²⁷ John Bale and Joe Sang devoted a few pages to discuss the role of missionaries in infusing European forms of sports in their book on the evolution of athletics in Kenya. The authors observed that mission schools were the germ of modern sports in Kenya as physical training, games, and drills were central aspects of their curriculum.¹²⁸ Tom Cunningham explored how the Church of Scotland Mission (CSM) attempted to use sports as means of ‘civilising’ and ‘disciplining’ the people of the central parts of Kenya.¹²⁹ Additionally, newspapers recorded the role of mission stations as institutional frameworks for sports before the establishment of the first sports organisations for Africans in 1922.¹³⁰ However, these studies have not examined how conceptualisation of sports and physical training in mission circles laid the foundation for male dominance in various aspects of sports especially management.

The completion of the Kenya-Uganda railway in 1901 allowed European missionaries, administrators and settlers to penetrate the Kenyan interior. Scholars like Peter Alegi argue that European sports ‘followed the path of railroads which were central to development of colonial capitalism, missionary activities and colonial armed forces.’¹³¹ Indeed it were the missionaries, education officials and military personnel who, for different reasons, introduced and managed sports in the colony especially before establishment of sports organisations. Establishment of sports organisations from the 1922, beginning with the AAAA, enabled centralisation of management of sporting activities of the indigenous people.¹³² This was an important watershed in management of amateur sports in Kenya. The 1960s marked the other watershed with professionalisation of sports which, although it did not mark the end of amateur sports, have been characterised not only by transformation of management practices but also the meaning of sports through commercialisation and commodification.

¹²⁷ Markku Hokkanen, ‘Christ and the Imperial Fields in South-Central Africa_ Sport and the Scottish Missionaries in Malawi, 1880–1914: Utilitarian Compromise’, *International Journal of the History of Sport* 22, 4 (2005), pp. 582–599.

¹²⁸ John Bale and Joe Sang, *Kenyan Running: Movement Culture, Geography and Global Change* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 72–75.

¹²⁹ Tom Cunningham, ‘These Games: Sport and the Church of Scotland Mission to Kenya c. 1907–1937’, *History in Africa* 43 (2016), pp. 259–88.

¹³⁰ See for example *East African Standard* 23 March 1935, 24 and *East African Standard* 25 May 1935, 22.

¹³¹ Alegi, *African Soccerscapes* p. 6.

¹³² Njororai Simiyu, ‘Colonial Minorities and Association Football in Kenya’, *Soccer and Society* 10, 6 (2009), p. 869.

While sports among Africans lacked distinctive organisational framework in early colonial period, the same cannot be said of sports among the Europeans. One mark of organisation of sports among the two was the establishment of racially exclusive clubs, tournaments and leagues. For the Europeans, Nairobi was home to most of the clubs although areas with significant European populations such as Nakuru, Nyeri, Kisumu and Uasin Gishu boasted of vibrant clubs. Sports that allowed re-enactment of privileged lives of British upper class such as hunting, horse-racing, polo and over time golf were more popular and better organised. Polo was particularly popular among the governing elite. As early as 1909 settlers played three times a week at the Government House (the official residence of the governor) polo ground on the invitation of the Governor. The Connaught Cup which was presented by the Duke of Connaught was the principal polo event. It was open to any European team in the East Africa Protectorate. There existed three week-long meetings in a year organised since Nairobi had about a hundred European residents. These weeks did not only offer sporting spectacles, they were also packed with affairs of business, politics and social pleasures.¹³³

Although cricket was not very popular among ruling elites and settlers from the gentle class, the pre-war period witnessed growth of clubs such as Nairobi Gymkhana, Parklands, the Railways, the Kings African Rifles (KAR) and an Indian team. Other teams grew in Kisumu, Nakuru and Mombasa although they were no match to the clubs in Nairobi in term of facilities and competitiveness. The principal match was between the administrators and settlers played during the horseracing week. There was significant competition for places within the two teams. Interestingly, the Swahili were allowed to play cricket and some observers of the time wrote of their aptitude for the game.¹³⁴

The gentle class in the colony was not particularly fond of football although its popularity among other classes and spectators gave it the pride of place. The pre-war had two main football competitions played by the Europeans, the Dobbie Shield and the Girouard Cup. Dobbie Shield was a league competition played by clubs based in Nairobi such as Parklands, Gymkhana, Caledonians, the Town, Railway and the YMCA (missionaries). Other regions that fielded teams include Londiani, Nakuru and Mombasa. The Girouard Cup was a

¹³³ M. C. Cranworth, *Profit and Sport in British East Africa* (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd, 1919), pp. 420–427.

¹³⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 430–432.

knockout competition. Additionally, the influx of white military regiments during World War I led to significant improvement of footballing standards in the protectorate.¹³⁵

3.3 Gender and Missionary Sports and Physical Training Programmes

Muscular Christianity informed the philosophical understanding of sports and physical training in missionary circles in early colonial Kenya. It originated from a growing unease with the perceived feminisation of the Anglican Church in nineteenth-century Britain. Social critics like Charles Kingsley and Thomas Hughes were astute proponents of the ideology. They blamed what they perceived as effeminacy for hindering the Anglican Church's ability to respond to the needs of the British Empire. The doctrine permeated protestant churches and public schools as a reaction against the perceived puritanical and ascetic (self-denial and withholding of physical pleasure) religiosity of Tractarianism which sought to link the Anglican Church with its Roman Catholic origins. Additionally, proponents believed that sports helped keep boys from masturbation and homosexuality by acting as substitute gratification for sexual desire. The resulting understanding of sports alienated females from sports. Sports were believed to have the capacity to strengthen men physically and mentally. The men were in turn expected to use the acquired strength to protect the weak and to advance righteous causes.¹³⁶

The linchpin of sports and Christianity was theodicy, a call to the faithful to persevere the difficulties in their life of righteousness. In the sporting context, theodicy was understood in the form of binary opposites such as winning and losing, injury and healing, and making the team and getting benched. But the union of sports and Christianity was ambivalent as the two were based on contradicting principles. While salvation is generally egalitarian and available to anyone who wants it, sports are overly hierarchical. They are characterised by ranking of leagues, teams and competitors.¹³⁷ One of the challenges for the evangelicals in colonial contexts was reconciling the opposing ethics of the presumed egalitarianism of Christianity and hierarchical ranking of races and sports themselves.

Missionary groups operating in early colonial Kenya provided sports, physical training and recreations as part of their evangelical and educational programmes. Such provisions targeted different social categories such as European males of all ages, European girls and African

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ See Nick Watson, Stuart Weir and Stephen Friend, 'The Development of Muscular Christianity in Victorian Britain and Beyond', *Journal of Religion and Society* 7, (2005): pp. 2–3, 7; David Newsome, *Godliness and Good Learning: Four Studies on a Victorian Ideal* (London: Cassell, 1961), p. 207.

¹³⁷ Annie Blazer, 'An Invitation to Suffer: Evangelicals and Sports Ministry in the US', *Religious* 4 (2019), p. 9.

youthful male. After World War I, missionaries begun to organise sports and other forms of recreation as means of bringing European adults close to the Church. Such programmes were based on the assumption that many, especially military men, had drifted away from Christianity and it would have been difficult to convince them back to the Church in one step. Those who supported the Church's investment in sports and recreations believed in their value as the 'halfway house'. The 'halfway house' took the form of clubs, guilds and social events that were supposed to cultivate sufficient friendship to help white men overcome what missionaries considered shyness towards churchmen and the church itself. The rationale was to use the men's social character to bridge the gulf between secular life and Christian comradeship thereby enabling men to pass from one to the other. Important facilities in this respect included the Young Men Christian Association (YMCA) halls and Toc H (Talbot House) of the Church Mission Society (CMS) circles in Kenya.¹³⁸

As the European population grew, the Church developed interest in the recreations of European youths. Missionaries provided different sports and physical training programmes with the goal of instilling in the youths Christian standards of judgment regarding recreation. For the growing urban populations, the programmes were meant to provide constructive activity in order to prevent crime and social evils. The church thus pioneered establishment of centres to provide what they considered responsible environment for European youths to meet during evenings. Such centres provided reading areas, sports such as badminton and table tennis, concert halls, theatre, gymnasium and swimming baths.¹³⁹

Furthermore, missionary societies were the most important providers of education to African and European children in early colonial times. At the time, the colonial government role in provision of education was largely regulatory. One method of regulation involved an attempt to limit the number of missionary societies offering education. Authorities preferred to allow Roman Catholic missions and missionary societies operating under the umbrella of Federation of Missions in British East Africa. The Federation was a popular movement in the

¹³⁸ *Notes on Religious Instruction in the British Army* (Surrey: Training Centre and Depot, 1947), 4. The YMCA built its first facility in Nairobi in 1910 to serve European expatriates and immigrants. By independence in 1963, the YMCA ran youth programmes in major urban centres across Kenya. Toc House was a Christian fellowship that aimed at maintaining the spirit of friendship and unselfishness among people who offered services to others as soldiers, churchmen among others. It was first implemented in Kenya by the CMS in the 1920s. Because it lacked adequate personnel and facilities at inception, the CMS Toc H. programmes in Kenya were guided by the YMCA. For more on Toc H. and YMCA see *Kenya Church Review*, a quarterly magazine first published in 1929 for European Parishes of the Anglican Church in East Africa.

¹³⁹ ACK Archives: Sunday School Material 1948–1956: Report of the All-Africa Curriculum held in Southern Rhodesia, 6–25 August 1956; ACK Archives: KAYO 1951–1965 'Short Notes on an Informal Meeting about Proposed Youth Centre'.

1910s and 1920s which attempted to harmonise missionary interventions in the form of education, unified stand on African customs among other joint initiatives.¹⁴⁰ Were the goals for African and European children the same?

Educational goals in colonial Kenya were defined by race and gender. For European children, education was closely linked with equipping the pioneering European community with capacities to adapt to life in the protectorate. Sports for boys and girls were seen as the gateway to this adaptation. School children were thus exposed to sports like badminton, netball, clock-golf, table tennis and hockey at an early age. Boys enjoyed additional forms of sports particularly those considered more physical such as rugby, football and boxing.¹⁴¹ Schools also made adequate provisions for drills in the form of scouts and brigades as early as the first decade of the twentieth century. Girls had to wait a bit longer as the guide movement did not arrive in Kenya until 1920. It was believed that combination of the values of sports and drills with curriculum would help in healthy physical development and encourage growth of mental qualities for a pioneering community such as discipline, self-reliance, tolerance, self-respect, cooperation, resourcefulness and adaptability.¹⁴²

Meanwhile, missionaries crafted different educational paths for African boys and girls. Education for the boys had three main features. First, it comprised elementary subjects such as writing, reading, hygiene, and arithmetic. Second, it was industrial as it aimed at producing African carpenters, masons, and farm workers. Third, it was religious and aimed at producing African converts. Over time, sports and physical training became integral in boys' education especially when the government began to partner with missionaries in the provision of education.¹⁴³ Authorities often called upon missionary educators to integrate games and physical training in their schools. For instance, in a conference organised to harmonise education programs for Africans in 1921, the colony Director of Education reminded mission societies of the importance of sports and drills in shaping the lives and careers of the

¹⁴⁰See reports of United Missionary conferences on education and religious matters in G. H. Mungean, *Kenya: Selected Historical Documents, 1884–1923* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1979), 148–313. Note: The Federation of Missions in British East Africa comprised mainly of the Church Mission Society (CMS), the Church of Scotland Mission (CSM) and Africa Inland Mission (AIM). Following the formation of an education department in the early 1920s, the government limited the grant in aid and membership to Education Advisory Council to Roman Catholics and the above missionary societies.

¹⁴¹ KNA/ED/12/2 Education: Roman Catholic School Elburgon Inspection 1931–1955.

¹⁴² 'The Message of the Scouts', *Kenya Church Review* 3, December 1929, 8–11.

¹⁴³ See for instance, 'Annual Report for 1915, Kikuyu and Kenia Missions', *Kikuyu News* July–August, 1916, 14–22. For subjects of instruction see *Education Department of Kenya Colony and Protectorate*, 'Departmental Instructions Governing Native Education in Assisted Schools', 1921. Kenia was the other name for Tumutumu in CSM context.

missionaries and many administrators in the colony. The director thus urged missionaries to establish a strict disciplinary regime anchored on sports and physical training. Co-curricular activities grew popular among schoolboys in the 1920s such that, some like CMS Maseno Central School in Nyanza Province had to create three fields to meet the demand for football alone.¹⁴⁴



Fig. 3.1 Photograph of European School Girls Playing Badminton and Volleyball in Limuru Girl's School in 1930

Source: *Kenya Church Review* No. 7, March 1930, p. 4.

Missionaries used sports to distract Africans from what they perceived as licentious and retrogressive recreations. Europeans operating in Kenya in the early colonial period compared the values of African games and sports to those of the pleasures of the so-called civilised people. For instance, an editor with the only daily in colonial Kenya opined that although games and sports had always been part of African life, their influence were degrading akin to the pleasures of those he regarded civilised people. The editor further

¹⁴⁴ See 'Report of the Kikuyu Conference, 23 January 1922' in G. H. Mungean, *Kenya: Selected Historical Documents 1884–1923* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1979), pp. 225–226. For more on the structure and subjects offered at each level see Director of Education, 'The System of Education in East Africa 1912' in G. H. Mungean, *Kenya: Selected Historical Documents 1884–1923* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1979), pp. 237–251; 'Report of the Education Commission of E. A. P. 1919' in G. H. Mungean, *Kenya: Selected Historical Documents 1884–1923* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1979), pp. 237–251; 'Departmental Instructions Governing Native Education in Assisted Schools' in G. H. Mungean, *Kenya: Selected Historical Documents, 1884–1923* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1979), pp. 272–274; J. Britton, 'The Missionary Task in Kenya', *International Review of Missions*, xii, 47, (1923), p. 229.

warned missionaries that continuation of what he considered harmful African recreations would retard and hamper education and Christianity.¹⁴⁵

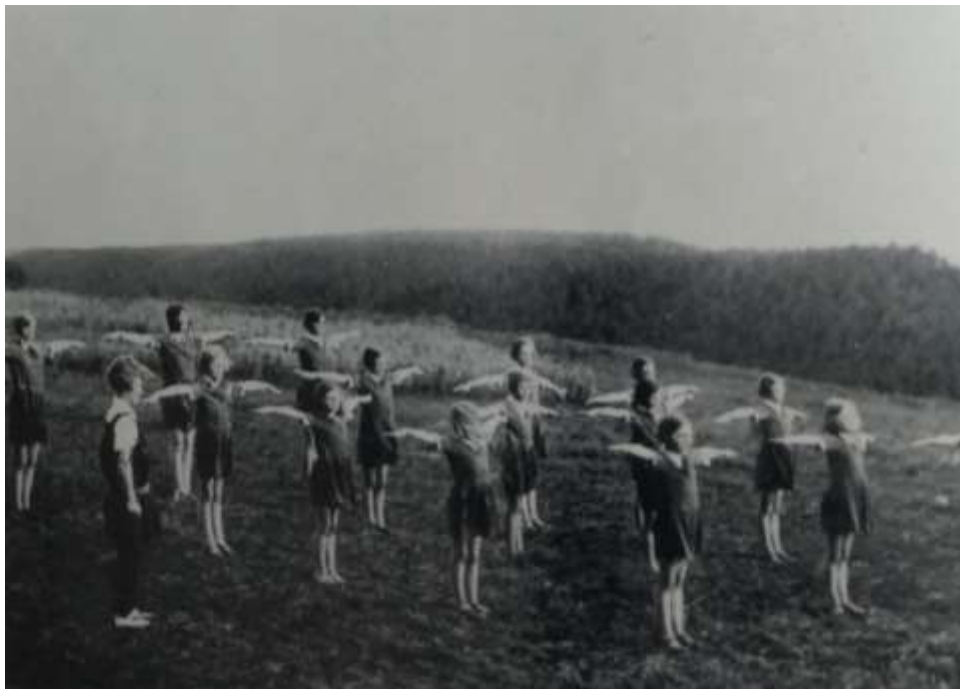


Fig. 3.2 Photograph of European School Girls Undergoing Drills in Limuru Girls School in 1930

Source: *Kenya Church Review* 7, March 1930, p. 4.

In any case, the entire missionary project was meant to salvage Africans from what missionaries considered heathen to righteousness. In this binary thinking, Europeans easily dismissed African games and dances as acts of ribaldry. For some missionaries, the term ‘evil dance’ became a metonym for African forms of leisure, games, and sports. For instance, in praise of adoption of the European games at Tumutumu schools, Marion Stevenson, arguably the most thoroughgoing CSM educationist of her time commented of the schoolboys’ play, ‘They had this healthy outlet of their energies in great contrast to the evils of the village which soon sullied their young minds.’¹⁴⁶ Football and athletics were thus substitutes for African games and leisure practices. In some cases, missionaries colluded with authorities to outlaw African dances. For instance, the Municipal Council of Mombasa finally legislated to

¹⁴⁵ Editor, ‘African Sports’, *East African Standard*, January 30, 1928, p. 24.

¹⁴⁶ Marion Stevenson as cited in Cunningham, *These Our Games*, p. 271. For missionary classification of the customs and practices Kenyan communities, see ‘Report of the United Missionaries Conference, Nairobi, 1909’ in G. H. Mungean, *Kenya: Selected Historical Documents 1884–1923* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1979), pp. 167–68.

outlaw Swahili dances designated as immoral. Selected types of dances could only be performed under a permit from the district administration.¹⁴⁷ However, the socialisation of African children into European sports did not entirely determine their understanding of sports.

Despite constant policing, missionaries could not control how Africans interpreted European sports. Different records examined during the study revealed missionaries' frustration with how Africans interpreted and played the sports. More often, this registered as the African's inability to internalise the philosophy and forms of sports and physical training. A comment by a missionary accompanying the Kikuyu Missions Volunteer (KMV), a missionary wing of African Carrier Corps accompanying British forces in German East Africa (Tanganyika) during World War I, exemplifies missionary ambivalence on Africans' ability to absorb European sports: 'Until he becomes accustomed to it, the African looks upon any form of athletics a labour. The rapidity, however, with which he takes to and performs exercises, is surprising.'¹⁴⁸ This study argues that what appeared as Africans' inability to emulate European sporting philosophy was in actual sense a hybridisation of the sports. For the missionaries, the sports as played by Africans represented a threat to the values of the sport.

Meanwhile, the type of education that missionaries envisioned for African girls made little provision for sports. Girls were seen as means of 'raising' the living standards of African communities. For the missionaries, educating the girls would awaken the mental life of Africans. Missionaries hoped to achieve the goal of 'raising' the living standards by training the girls on home craft subjects, sewing, child welfare, cooking, nutrition and housewifery. Beyond using the acquired knowledge and girls in their homes, the girls were trained to become competent workers in domestic service.¹⁴⁹ In either case, curriculum designers for African girls in the early colonial period saw little link between domesticity and the need for sports and physical training.

¹⁴⁷ A. I. Salim, *Swahili Speaking Peoples of Kenya's Coast 1895–1965* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1973), p. 158.

¹⁴⁸ Max Yeorgan, 'The Y.M.C.A with Native Troops and Military Labourers in East Africa' in G. H. Mungean, *Kenya: Selected Historical Documents, 1884 – 1923* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1979), p. 256. For more on hybridisation of sporting language and thinking about sports in Africa see Hokkanen, 'Christ and the Imperial Fields', p. 747.

¹⁴⁹ See ACK Archives: Papers of Education Advisers, 'Memorandum of the Education of African Girls in Kenya Colony Prepared by the Girls' Education Committee of the Christian Council of Kenya; 'The Pumwani Hostel', *Kenya Church Review* no. 2, September 1929, p. 1.

The training of African girls on chores considered feminine was importation of the Western designation of male industrial workers as the breadwinners and the female as working for pin money. In line with such thinking, provision of sports for boys was thus meant to inculcate values such as aggression and toughness to survive an increasingly competitive job market. There was consensus among Christians that ‘competition between men for jobs necessitated aggression and hardness. For a male factory worker to succumb to weakness, emotional sensitivity or lack of will power ... could lead to loss of wages, dismissal from his job and destitution of him and his family.’¹⁵⁰ This seems to have been the thinking behind vocational and domesticity curriculums that missionaries offered to African boys and girls respectively.

It is noteworthy that missionaries were gender-biased in documenting play in African schools. Important missionary outlets such as CMS’s *Kenya Church Review* and CSM’s *Kikuyu News* hardly documented play among African school girls. Apart from brief mentions in general play among children, little has been recorded on girls’ playtime. When girls and women presence was recognised, it was often in form of spectators. For instance, when C. W. Hutcheson, a visiting Reverend from St. Cuthbert’s Parish, Glasgow, wrote of 1916 Christmas Day at Kikuyu, he included a lengthy account of sports among boys. Hutcheson described how schoolboys at the mission had developed a craze for football just like boys in Scotland. However, his silencing of the girls play at the celebrations was profound. Instead of detailing their play as he did the boys’, Hutcheson contrasted:

The most marked difference was the amusing diffidence of the girls, whose coyness and bashfulness was often unconsciously intensely funny. This was quite natural when account is taken of the inferior position of women among heathen. It is one of the distinctive marks of their Christian training that they are admitted to something like equality.¹⁵¹

Some male missionaries like John Arthur, the head of CSM station at Kikuyu, opined that female missionaries attending football competitions added more of beauty than strength to their respective teams.¹⁵² The missionary text constructed school sporting as a masculine field. This indicates the long history of sexism and objectification that characterise sports journalism in Kenya today. Figure 3.1 and 3.2 on page 47 are photographs of European girls playing badminton and volleyball and taking physical drills in newly reconstructed CMS’s

¹⁵⁰ Tony Collins, *Sport in Capitalist Society: a Short History* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), p. 40.

¹⁵¹ C. W. Hutcheson, ‘Christmas at Kikuyu’, *Kikuyu News* 62, 1917, 3–4.

¹⁵² Cunningham, ‘These Our Games’, 260.

Limuru Girls School in 1930 after fire razed the old school in mid 1920s. The photographs not only underline the importance of sports and drills in European girls but also the documentation CMS's *Kenya Church Review* which sharply contrasted the African girls' case. Figure 3.3 on page 51 is a photograph of CSM and CMS teams in one of regular competitions between African school boys from the two missionaries dating back to mid-1910s. This photograph appeared in *Kikuyu News* in October 1919 under the title 'Alliance Football'. It speaks of the importance of sports in many of the alliance programmes of missionaries in Kenya particularly those under Federation of Missions in British East Africa of British origin. The federation was made up of missionary societies of British origin.



Fig. 3.3 Photograph taken during one of the matches between CSM (Kikuyu) and CMS (Kabete) football teams in 1918

Source: *Kikuyu News* 70 October 1919, p. 14.

Missionary text covers up the church's misgivings about the African female and sport. However, when considered through the lens of body management, the text speaks volumes about missionary's unease with physical exertion among the females. Marion Stevenson's consideration of farm and domestic work as obstacles to the Christianisation of women in and around Tumutumu area is a perfect example. Writing to *Kikuyu News*' readers Stevenson argued, 'the intensity and continuousness of this drudgery ... soon crushes and hardens all womanliness'¹⁵³. On the subject of female participation in dances, central to games and

¹⁵³ Marion Stevenson, 'Work Amongst the Girls', *Kikuyu News* 13, June 1909, p. 4.

physical training among the Africans, Stevenson was categorical, ‘the evil dances still further debase and brutalise.’¹⁵⁴ In Stevenson’s conception, physical strength and toughness were undesired attributes of African-Christian womanhood.

3.4 Muscular Christianity and Missionary Pursuit for Legitimacy: The Case of the CSM

The Church of Scotland Mission (CSM) was an ardent advocate of muscular Christianity in early colonial Kenya. CSM missionaries arrived in Kenya in 1891 and set up their first station at Kibwezi. They later abandoned Kibwezi due to prevalence of tropical diseases but opened three more stations: Kikuyu Mission in 1898, Tumutumu in 1908, and Chogoria in mid-1920s.¹⁵⁵ Sports, drills and other forms of physical training increasingly became integral in boys’ education especially when the government began to partner with missionaries in the provision of education.¹⁵⁶ But why did the current study settle on CSM as the case study to understand muscular Christianity and missionary pursuit for legitimacy in early colonial Kenya?

The CSM took lead position among missionary groups in Kenya despite its late arrival and comparatively fewer stations. CSM’s status was buoyed, partly, by her investment in conference facilities at her station in Kikuyu, and partly by her ambitious leaders who led missionaries’ efforts to harmonise interventions among Africans through education and evangelism.¹⁵⁷ Compared to other missionary societies, CSM was not only a pioneer in publishing regular magazines; her missionaries were also keener on recording sports and drills among school children. They were strong believers in the doctrine of muscular Christianity as demonstrated by their lead positions in the KMV as well as keenness in chronicling its activities in German East Africa. The foregoing is clear, for instance, when one compares CSM’s *Kikuyu News* with *Kenya Church Review* of the CMS. The CSM thus

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Nahashon Ndung’u, ‘African Independent Pentecostal Church of Africa and Eschatology’ (MA Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1979), p. 5.

¹⁵⁶ See for instance, ‘Annual Report for 1915, Kikuyu and Kenia Missions’, *Kikuyu News* July–August, 1916, 14–22; for subjects of instruction see *Education Department of Kenya Colony and Protectorate*, ‘Departmental Instructions Governing Native Education in Assisted Schools’, 1921. Kenia was the other name for Tumutumu in CSM context.

¹⁵⁷ See for example, ‘Report of the United Conference of Missionary Societies in British East Africa July 1918’ in G. H. Mungean, *Kenya: Selected Historical Documents, 1884 – 1923* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1979), p. 165; Brian McIntosh, ‘The Scottish Mission in Kenya, 1891–1923’, (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1969).

offers better opportunities for in-depth examination of the interplay between manliness, the church's pursuit for legitimacy, and sports in early colonial Kenya.¹⁵⁸

The term legitimacy is herein used to refer to the approval of the missionary project by settlers, colonial administrators, and African communities and chiefs. It is noteworthy that politics of sports defined the relationship between disparate European classes in early colonial Kenya. For the better part of the colonial period, the relationship between the settlers and the missionaries was uneasy, sometimes hostile. Through their publications, upper-class settlers did not hide their misgivings about the lower European classes, the public school product to which the missionaries belonged. Settlers' charges against those they regarded public schoolboys were informed by ideologies of body management in general and sports in particular. The settlers accused them of prioritising sports over work. In turn, the so-called public schoolboy was believed to dislike life in the colonies arguing it was a complete drudgery and had few attractions in the form of sports.¹⁵⁹ During the pre-war and inter-war periods, missionaries continuously searched for legitimacy, often having to justify their education work among Africans to the settlers and authorities. When Governors visited mission stations, missionaries were excited to demonstrate different aspects of their work. For the CSM, the Boys' Brigade was a regular display during such visits.¹⁶⁰

World War I presented unique moment of legitimation for missionary education. The government issued a Compulsory Service Order that required recruitment of 40,000 Africans for military labor in German East Africa on 26 March 1917. The CSM led other missionary societies in responding to the service order. John Arthur, the head of CSM mission at Kikuyu, turned first to the boy's brigade then to other schoolboys and teachers for his scheme of a missionary carrier corps. Arthur was convinced that sports and physical training offered prepared the groups for this 'call of duty'. On the necessity for African schoolboys, teachers, and other workers joining the war, Arthur opined:

They [have] the opportunity of ... walking in the path of duty's call ... [to] go forth willingly in obedience to that call. Further, it would be a testimony to the government that they are not afraid to help; to the whole white community that the abuses hurled

¹⁵⁸ For the CSM chronicling of KMV as World War I raged in German East Africa and photographs of KMV leaders see *Kikuyu News* 64, 1917, pp. 1–13.

¹⁵⁹ M. C. Cranworth, *Profit and Sport in British East Africa* (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd, 1919), 224–225, 245–246.

¹⁶⁰ For example on Governor Conway Belfield visit to CSM stations see J. W. Arthur, 'The Governor's Visit' *Kikuyu News*, October – December 1916, pp. 4–5.

on the heads of mission boys were untrue, and without foundation; to the chiefs and the whole of their own Kikuyu people that the teaching they received with us was not such to unman them, but rather to make them better and truer men.¹⁶¹

Gender theorists argue that the invocation of selfless acts and readiness to pay the ultimate price for the state is highly gendered. ‘The legitimising of war – of expending young lives to protect the state – has variously taken the forms of explicit reliance on belief in the duty of sons to serve their leaders or their king, and of associations between masculinity and national strength.’¹⁶² As the war raged in German East Africa, and as people died and others got maimed, sports became the most important means of lighting the spirits and stimulating enthusiasm in the dull camps.¹⁶³ Figure 3.4 on page 54 is a photograph of CSM, CMS and AIM missionaries in military uniform while serving as senior officers of the KMV. The photograph speaks of muscular Christianity and the need for physical engagement which embodied the sense of duty within mission circles in Kenya.

Missionaries with political ambitions like Arthur took advantage of the church’s response to the call for duty to advance their cause. Arthur’s handling of the Service Order exemplifies this. When the government issued the order, Arthur decided that Africans were going to ‘volunteer’. A letter to the CSM supporters in Scotland via the *Kikuyu News* issue of 4 April 1917 exposes Arthur’s paternalism. He presented the decision as having been motivated by the need to form a Christian unit to protect the converts from the perceived ruthlessness of ‘native retainers’ in charge of the Carrier Corps. Without first consulting the Africans and fellow missionaries from the sister station in Tumutumu, Arthur traveled from Kikuyu to Nairobi on the morning of 31 March 1917 to present his idea to the Director of Military Labour, and Military Commissioner of Labour. After the military approved his scheme, Arthur went to see Canon Burns of the CMS whom he would later learn was working on a similar scheme.¹⁶⁴ Arthur also wrote to African Inland Mission (AIM) asking them to rally African converts to the scheme. Only after everything fell in place did Arthur inform the Africans, the very people he expected to put their bodies on the line. The African is silenced in the available text on events leading to KMV save for Arthur’s oversimplified paraphrase:

¹⁶¹ John Arthur, ‘Letters from Dr. Arthur’, *Kikuyu News*, 1917, p. 4.

¹⁶² Joan Wallach Scott, ‘Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis’, *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 5, (1986), pp. 1053–1075.

¹⁶³ Yeorgan, ‘Y.M.C.A’, p. 256.

¹⁶⁴ For comprehensive details on formation of KMV and its operations in German East Africa during World War I see Geoffrey Hodges, *Kariakor: The Carrier Corps* (Nairobi: Nairobi University Press, 1999), pp. 135–149.

‘It was quite amazing to see the great interest that came over them as I expounded the scheme and the evidence of intense relief that such a way to help them indeed had been found.’¹⁶⁵



Fig. 3.4 Missionaries serving as leaders of KMV in German East Africa (Tanganyika) during World War I

Source: *Kikuyu News* 63, July 1917, p. 3.

Other missionaries like George Dennis, the teacher of carpentry at Tumutumu, were delighted to play part in the war. Dennis served at the canteen and mess during his time in German East Africa. Alluding to the positive impact the war had on inculcating fortitude, Dennis wrote: ‘This is a fine experience for any man and a never-to-be-forgotten sight ... It is a great time for many a man, and though hard, will help the manhood of the Empire.’¹⁶⁶ However, Dennis misrepresented the voice of the Africans, especially the maimed. In 1916 Dennis wrote: ‘One poor lad[‘s] face on the right cheek was badly shattered by shrapnel, just reaching the eyeball. His right shoulder was badly knocked up also, and yet the poor lad, he was so quiet and contented.’¹⁶⁷ Could missionaries like Dennis have reported differently given the premium that the church attached to the war as a moment to prove its manliness?

¹⁶⁵ Arthur, ‘Letters’, p. 4.

¹⁶⁶ George Dennis, ‘Letters from the Front’, *Kikuyu News*, July–August 1916, p. 5.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

CSM missionaries were convinced of the impact of the values of sports on the British Empire's military strength. A comment by Barlow, the Boys' Brigade trainer at Tumutumu, as World War I raged illustrates the point:

The boys we have been training in the discipline of the Boy's Brigade, in the self-control of the football field, and above all in the great living truths of Christ Gospel, have become men and go out as volunteers to serve their king and country, and carry into practical usefulness for the state in its time of need those lessons which in the past few years they have learned so well.¹⁶⁸

Barlow's comment points to missionaries' belief in game ethics as a link between Christianity and the needs of the state. However, the idea that the African would uncritically put his body on the line for his coloniser's cause is interesting. Did the missionaries expect the African to simply lay claim in Britain's wars? At a time when the church desperately sought acceptance and a place in the protectorate, it seems the missionaries imposed their fantasies of duty to the state on the Africans.

Colonel Ainsworth, the head of the Military Labour Department who approved Arthur's scheme, was in 1918 appointed the advisor to the colonial authorities on African affairs. Through Ainsworth, missionaries hoped to influence the curriculum of the soon-to-be instituted system of government-assisted schools in Kenya. C. W. Hutcheson, a Reverend who had visited Kenya from Glasgow that year declared: 'The choice of the new adviser is an excellent one ... of his friendliness towards [Africans], the missions have had a demonstration in the willing and invaluable assistance he rendered the Mission's Carrier Corps'.¹⁶⁹ In 1924, authorities nominated Arthur to represent the interest of the Africans in the colony's legislative body. It is clear that missionaries actively pursued an alliance with the government as far as African affairs went and if a number of them could get into the government, the better.

3.5 Summary

This chapter established that the seeds of structural and ideological bias against women in management of sports in Kenya were sowed before the first organisation to manage sports among Africans was established. On the eve of colonialism, the institutional framework for different categories of sports advantaged the males. With the exception of the domestic

¹⁶⁸ Barlow, 'Kikuyu Company', p. 9.

¹⁶⁹ C. W. Hutcheson, 'Recent Developments in East Africa', *Kikuyu News*, May–August 1918, p. 8.

environment, other institutions in which sports were organised favoured males. These included the herding practice and warriorhood. Besides the two institutions, communities organised competitions within and between clans. Combat oriented sports formed an important component of sports in herding and ‘military’ circles. Transition to colonialism in the wake of the twentieth century was not accompanied by formation of organisations to manage sports. It took up to early 1920s for authorities to establish the first organisation to manage sports among Africans. Up to then, missionary societies provided frameworks for managing sports and physical training. Sports and physical training programmes fit missionary societies’ pursuit for holistic Christians in terms of body, spirit and mind.

Missionaries’ reasons for the choice of forms of sports and physical training for different social groups were informed by race, age and gender. For European adults, sports and physical training programmes were part of the initiative to bridge the secular and religious realms through what they considered the ‘halfway house’. For European youths, the programmes were meant to instill Christian standards of judging recreation. The current study did not find evidence of missionaries put in place sports and physical training programmes African adults and youths outside the confines of their schools in the time under review. Within the schools, missionaries offered sports to African schoolboys as a means of disciplining and distracting them from African forms of leisure which they considered licentious and retrogressive. However, the domesticity-oriented education formulated by missionaries for African schoolgirls had little provision for sports and physical training. The subject of general play among African schoolgirls is highly suppressed in reviewed missionary text. This study argues that missionaries involvement in provision of sports and physical training was driven by the Church’s necessity to gain recognition as an institution capable of responding to the needs of the British Empire especially in times of crisis.

The next chapter covers the period between 1922, when the first organisation was established to oversee management of sports among Africans, and 1963 when Kenya attained independence. The period witnessed an increase in number of state and non-state stakeholders that became invested in sports. The chapter argues that the interests of those stakeholders affected the gendering of sports management in the period under review

CHAPTER FOUR

THE INTERWAR PERIOD TO INDEPENDENCE, 1922–1963

4.1 Overview

This chapter covers management of sports between 1922 and 1963. It covers two phases of sports development during the period: the inter-war and post-World War II. Themes for the inter-war period include establishment and of AAAA, popularisation of athletics and football, elitism in AAAA membership and patronage, ambivalence on the role of Africans in sports management, Africa agency at the grassroots and the gender nexus to developments in sports management in the inter-war period. Themes on management of sports in the post-World War II period are: Kenya's entry into the international sports stage, the Colony Sports Office, Olympism and paradigm shift in patronage and management of sports, political meanings of sports, development of recreation and rehabilitation programmes and the gender nexus to developments in sports management in the post-World War II era.

Sports management in Kenya between 1922 and 1963 was informed by three ideologies: muscular Christianity, amateurism and Olympism. As an ideology, amateurism propagated a philosophy of sports that rejected payment, espoused fair play and cultivated values such as courage, strong will and respect for authority. Rejection of payment was based on misinterpretation of Greek sporting traditions. Sports historians like David Goldblatt argue that although there were no cash prizes in ancient Olympic competitions, organisers did prevent people who made living through sports as was the case in early years of modern Olympics. Those who leverage their sporting prowess to earn money, power, status and even amnesty for wrongs committed were not perceived as threats to ancient sporting values.¹⁷⁰ Modern Olympism, on the other hand, combines qualities of the body, will and mind by blending sport with culture and education.¹⁷¹ Adoption of these ideologies led to propagation of sporting ideals that cemented elitism in sports management that was anchored on ideology,

¹⁷⁰ Vince Hunt and David Goldblatt, 'Politics and the Olympics' in *Sport in the Cold War*, produced by Wilson Centre, podcast, MP3 audio, accessed 16 May 2022. <https://www.digitalarchives.org>.

¹⁷¹ Note: Muscular Christianity was an ideology that encouraged sports programs as means of instilling manliness among schoolboys. It was first employed in England before spreading to the rest of Britain and the Western world. Relatedly, amateurism sought to provide a philosophy of sports that rejected payment, supported fair play and inculcation of maleness through sports. Pierre de Coubertin, the father of modern Olympism, redefined the Olympic movement as a school of nobility, moral purity, endurance and physical energy. The gendered aspects of amateurism and Olympism were significantly influenced by muscular Christianity. See Chapter Two for more on meaning of muscular Christianity and its permeation to sports in early colonial Kenya; for development of amateurism in Britain and its Empire see Tony Collins, *Sports in Capitalist Society: a Short History* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), 38; for more on modern Olympism see Pierre Coubertin, 'The Modern Olympics' (1896) as cited in Dikaia Chatziefstathiou, 'The History of Marketing an Idea: The Example of Baron Pierre de Coubertin as a Social Marketer', *European Sport Management Quarterly*, 7, 1, 66–67.

race, class and gender. The interplay of elitism with the evolving political and social meanings resulted in the formation of male-dominated sports organisations. This chapter examined how elitism was established and intertwined with political and social meanings of sports to privilege males in sports management. It also examined how male dominance was contested.

The existing body of knowledge management appreciates construction of sports management as a male domain was cemented during the colonial period. But they do not investigate how the coming together of ideology, political and social uses of sports by the colonial authorities that resulted in advantaging white politically-connected males. They also do not investigate how ambivalence in the construction processes, and the political social and economic realities made the African agency integral to the evolving sports management. This chapter sought to fill this gap. Most importantly, the chapter sought to understand how the interplay of amateurism and Olympism with political and social meanings of sports alienated women from management of sports and participation and how this alienation was contested. The chapter covered sports management in the inter-war and Post-World War II periods.

4.2 Sports Management between 1922 and 1945

Organisation of sports among Kenya Africans between 1945 was largely under Arab and African Athletic Association which was renamed Arab and African Sports Association following the review of AAAA constitution in 1936. Below is the history of the AAAA and how it became male-dominated.

4.2.1 Establishment and Operationalisation of the AAAA

Competition in European sports particularly athletics and football by Africans before the 1920s largely took place within the mission circles. However, football matches involving British regiments deployed to fight the Germans in East Africa during World War I stimulated interest in football among African adults living in Nairobi and Mombasa. The uptake of football was also buoyed by visiting teams from other colonies such as that of the old boys of Kings College Budo, Uganda. The visits catalysed formation of football clubs by Africans living in Nairobi. The uptake of football by Africans necessitated the formation of a football controlling authority in 1922 which gave birth to a fully fledged sports organisation, the Africans and Arabs, the Arab and African Athletics Association (AAAA), the following year. As an observer wrote:

Football could be seen being played around Nairobi without proper referees to officiate and enforce the rules and regulations governing the game. From that time ... most of the players became lames for the don'ts [sic]: tripping, kicking and intentionally jumping at the opponents ... playing individuality game and losing temper when rebuked.¹⁷²

The growing popularity of football among Africans in the 1920s speeded up initial efforts to centralise sports management. While there were only scratch teams in and around Nairobi and no recognised competitive tournament for Africans existed at the time, the matches attracted spectatorship even from the senior colonial officials. One such official, A. E Imbert, the Chief Registrar of the Native Affairs Department, took the initiative in 1922 to start a body that would control football among Africans. He shared his thoughts with the African leaders in Nairobi and a few like-minded Europeans. In a matter of weeks, he succeeded to have most African teams in Nairobi, Mombasa, Nakuru and Kisumu affiliate to the nascent football organisation, the Arab and African Football Association (AAFA).¹⁷³ With his small team of Europeans, Imbert then set out to secure trophies and the following competitions were initiated: Dr Arthur, Maxwell, Watkins, Remington and Gossage cups.

The football organisation gave birth to an athletic wing that organised the annual athletics (track and field) competitions in Nairobi. This completed the formation of the Arab and African Athletic Association (AAAA) in 1923. The AAAA were aimed at fostering and controlling the growth of sports organisation among Africans and Arabs; arranging athletic and football competitions between within Kenya and between Kenya and other colonies and countries. F. G. Hamilton became the chairman with John Arthur of the CSM, Canon Burns of the CMS and others serving as committee members.¹⁷⁴

Unlike the first two decades of the twentieth century when athletics and football competitions among Africans largely took place within mission circles, the formation of the AAAA allowed multiple state and non-state stakeholders to contribute to sports development. Government interests in sports were represented by colonial administrators and the senior officials of security and other government departments. Commercial firms and the church

¹⁷² Anon. 'African Football in Kenya', *The East African Standard*, 24 May 1935, 22. Note: the AAAA was renamed Arab and African Sports Association AASA in 1936 following a review of the association's constitution.

¹⁷³ Anon. 'Growth of African Sport', *The East African Standard*, 23 March 1935, 23.

¹⁷⁴ KNA/CE1/30/1 Arab and African Sports Organisation.

were also involved in the new dispensation.¹⁷⁵ The resulting multi-sectoral set up allowed the two sports to permeate the larger parts of the colony.

After establishing the national organ, the association focused on encouraging the growth of provincial branches. In the inter-war period, the model of sports management in the colony was based on administrative units: districts affiliating to provincial branches and provinces to the AAAA. All Provincial Commissioners (PCs) by the virtue of office became ex-officio members and chairmen of the Provincial Committees. And to ease management of the two sports, the AAAA formed football and athletic councils each with executive powers. The two councils organised representative competitions between districts, provinces, territories and other countries.¹⁷⁶

The AAAA was meant to be a superordinate agency that monitored affiliates' behaviour as well as coordinating and directing efforts towards common goals. It had the powers to make decisions, rules and sanction members who violated the set rules. Across the world and time, national governing bodies have been charged with the following responsibilities: ensuring each member organisation follows laid rules and that their activities are consistent with their own rules and those of international federations; fostering collaboration among members; generating enough revenues to share with members; facilitating members' fundraising efforts; passing knowledge and expertise on effective management to members; managing diversity within its ranks; popularising the sport through innovate campaigns; protecting the image of the sport by ensuring ethical adherence; guiding talent identification and development, coaching and conducting regional, national and international competitions; and, attending to athletes' welfare. While these responsibilities might change in time and space, this model is a useful foundation for examining the history of sports governing bodies in varied contexts.¹⁷⁷

4.2.2 Popularisation of Athletics and Football

After establishing colony-wide administrative structures, the AAAA embarked on campaigns to popularise the two sports in the colony. Achieving this goal called for regular competitions. Track and field competitions – then referred to as Olympic sports or simply sports to mark them out from football – began with competitions between locations,

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ KNA/CE1/30/1 Arab and African Athletic Association: Letter from AASA Secretariat to the Provincial Commissioner Nyanza, 21 May 1936.

¹⁷⁷ For more on apical responsibilities of national sports governing bodies see Paekianathan Chelladurai and Thierry Zintz, 'Functions of National Sport Governing Bodies: A Network Perspective', *Public Policy and Administration*, 14, 4 (2015), pp. 532–533.

divisions, and districts and culminated in inter-provincial competitions. There were numerous football awards, the most outstanding ones being the Remington Cup, an inter-district knockout, and the Gossage Cup Competition, an inter-territorial competition initially played between Kenya and Uganda. Tanganyika joined after Britain took over its administration after World War I.¹⁷⁸

The popularisation project had several features. First, it was marked by a debate on whether to organise competitions as inter-ethnic contests or as contests between administrative units. Competition between administrative units seemed to be the standard mode; countries versus countries and within countries/colonies administrative units like provinces and districts. But what about institutions such as mission societies and government departments that had capacities to field their own teams? It is noteworthy that some of these organisations had capacities to field stronger teams than some provinces. For the incipient association, there was no straightforward answer on the place of such institutions. Besides, missionary representatives like John Arthur and Canon Burns were determined to free sports in mission circles from the control of provincial administrators.¹⁷⁹

The question on what units to anchor competitions remained an item of discussion during AAAA's meetings decades after its formation. In 1935, DC Kericho, one of those who favoured strict adherence to a framework based on provinces argued:

I think that a contest between provinces in the strictest sense of the term is far more desirable. This would debar the King African Rifles (KAR), Police and isolated Mission organisations entering as a separate entity, but outstanding performers could be called upon to assist in the representation of the provinces in which they happened to be stationed or born.¹⁸⁰

In a meeting held in April 1935, Major C. E. V. Buxton of the KAR, proposed to have competitions organised between ethnic groups. Such officials argued that, for the African, a stronger *esprit de corps* (pride and loyalty) could only be nurtured along tribal lines. Some, like a member of the General Council of Nyanza Province AAAA only identified as Mr Fazan, argued that even the colony's provinces themselves were expected to develop on tribal lines. Those who opposed Buxton's proposition argued it would have worsened what they

¹⁷⁸ See KNA/CE1/30/1 Arab and African Athletic Association and KNA/PC/NZA/2/1/90: Native Association.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid

¹⁸⁰ KNA/PC/NZA/2/1/90 Native Association: DC Kericho to Ag. PC Nyanza Province, 5 June 1935.

considered tribal animosities and that a wider sense of loyalty than the tribes was more desirable. There being no one to second him in this particular meeting, Buxton's motion was defeated and organisation of sports based administrative units was adopted as the official position of the AAAA. However, it seems the AAAA adopted this position for its political correctness.¹⁸¹ Up to the eve of independence, official records continued to assign tribal identities to athletes and teams. It was commonplace for sports administrators including the Colony Sports Officer to add adjectives like 'Luo', 'Nandi', 'Kipsigis' and others to an athlete's name.¹⁸²

The second feature involved determining the place of African forms of games and sports in the new dispensation. The AAAA texts expose a consensus among European sports managers that the speed of acceptance of athletics and football by Africans depended, to a large extent, on effacing or defacing indigenous games and sports. As such, the popularisation of the two sports went hand in hand with the denigration of African sports. In 1928, for instance, an editor with the only daily in colonial Kenya compared the values of African games and sports to those of the pleasures of the so-called civilised people. The editor wrote:

Play has always occupied a great part of the primitive people. Much of it has been degrading in its influence as are many of the pleasures of the so-called civilised community ... the influences of education and religion are weakened by the continuation of harmful amusements and in an African colony every section of the [European] community has discovered in its work the retarding and hampering effects of the worst forms of amusement.¹⁸³

Europeans seem to have looked down on African games and sports not only because they differed with theirs in form but also because of the contrasting moral values.

The third feature involved ambivalence in efforts to cultivate amateurism. European sports as introduced in Kenya emphasised moral values. The related ideologies of Muscular Christianity, amateurism and Olympism provided the foundation for thinking about athletics and football. The three ideologies were held together by a strong moral conviction as summed up in the following excerpt:

¹⁸¹ KNA/PC/NZA/2/1/90 Native Association: Minutes of the General Council of the AAAA, 10 April 1935.

¹⁸² See KNA/AB/17/12 Sports Courses: Jeanes School Athletics Course Reports, February 1954.

¹⁸³ Editor, 'African Sports', *East African Standard*, 30 January 1928, 24.

As an ideology, amateurism sought to provide a complete philosophy of sport. Alongside a rejection of payments and an espousal of fair play, it also offered a definition of maleness that was squarely based on Muscular Christian ideals. A gentleman amateur ... was physically courageous, strong-willed, prepared to give and take orders, and, above all, not feminine. True sport could only be a masculine kingdom.¹⁸⁴

African players were expected to consume the tenets of these ideologies with little reflection. But, was this the case?

Football players questioned two main tenets of amateurism: non-remuneration of players and the presumed infallibility of referees. By the 1930s, football competitions, unlike athletics, drew significant gate collections and sponsorship. Perhaps, this partly informed players' demand for more allowance during training and competitions. North Kavirondo, the dominant footballing district of the inter-war period, rejected the meagre allowance whilst training for the provincial competitions. Correspondences between DCs in Nyanza Province demonstrate growing advocacy against non-remuneration among footballers in the Province. In the 1933/34 season, for instance, the players succeeded in pushing authorities to increase their allowance four folds and boycotted competitions when the increase was reversed in the 1934/35 season. Registering his inability to control the competitors, the DC North Kavirondo wrote:

I am sorry to say that apart from one or two isolated entries from the Government African School, North Kavirondo will be unrepresented at these sports. The selected competitors have demanded Shs2 posho [sic] night whilst training in Kakamega and I refuse to follow last year's example of giving away to them.¹⁸⁵

This went on even as commercial firms challenged AAAA disapproval of their offers to reward best competitors, particularly the top scorers in any competition.

African footballers also took issue with the notion of the unquestionability of referees' decisions in the field of play. Footballers and spectators were known to challenge the decisions of referees. In 1936, with the increasing prevalence of the cases, the Football

¹⁸⁴ Tony Collins, *Sports in Capitalist Society: a Short History* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), P. 38.

¹⁸⁵ KNA/PC/NZA/2/1/90 Native Association: DC Central Kavirondo to DC North Kavirondo, 1936 For AASA refusal to allow awarding individuals during the 1936 Singer Cup Competitions see KNA/PC/NZA/2/1/90 Native Association: Minutes of the Meeting of the Football Council of AASA, 8 May 1936.

Council decided to arrange training courses for the referees as the quality of refereeing was blamed for the growing cases of protest.¹⁸⁶ It is noteworthy that referees for football competitions between administrative units were preferably Europeans. Therefore, when read in the colonial context, the footballers' walkouts and rebellions give clues of sports as grounds for challenging European power. It seems football allowed the stifling of power relations between players and European decision-makers in sports.

4.2.3 Elitism in AAAA Patronage and Membership

The AAAA constitution established a hierarchy of leadership and eligibility for different positions. At the top was the General Council comprising of: the President; Vice President; the Honourable General Secretary; all Provincial Commissioners; and one nominee from each of the provinces. The 'provinces' were: Nairobi Municipal Council, Education Department, King's African Rifles, Kenya and Uganda Railway and Harbours, Church of Scotland Mission, Church Mission Society, Roman Catholic, Kenya Police, Nairobi Chamber of Commerce, Nairobi District Council and The Salvation Army.¹⁸⁷

The General Council had the powers to invite a person, preferably the colony governor, to become patrons of the association. The Chief Native Commissioner became the default president and was assisted by an elected Vice President. Below patronage and presidency, the constitution established four categories of membership to the senior management. First, full membership which was made up of persons elected by the General Council. Such persons were entitled to vote during meetings and were eligible for election as members of the football and athletic councils, committees and sub-committees. In turn, such members were expected to pay an annual subscription of ten shillings. Second, corporate membership which was open to any professional body, government departments, security organs and corporate firms. Such institutions were expected to make a minimum of ten shillings annual subscription. Corporate members were entitled to one season pass which gave them access to events organised by the Association during the financial year. Third, ground membership for persons who could afford annual tickets. The cost of the ticket depended on one's race: for Europeans ten shillings, five shillings for Indians and two shillings and fifty cents for

¹⁸⁶ KNA/PC/NZA/2/90 Native Association: Minutes of the Football Council, 9 April 1937. Note: in both senior and junior competitions, the Association preferred refereeing by Europeans.

¹⁸⁷ KNA/PC/NZA/2/90 Minutes of the Football Council, 9 April 1937; KNA/PC/NZA/2/1/90 Native Association: Minutes of the General Council of AAAA, April 1935. The missionary groups were allowed to map out areas to fall under their influence to isolate them from the control of provincial administration as far as sports were concerned.

Africans and Arabs. The council reserved powers to deny ground membership to any person without explanation.¹⁸⁸

Lastly, there was life membership for persons who donated a sum of sixty-three shillings or more to the association per year. Such persons were entitled to vote during general meetings and were eligible for election to council, committee or sub-committee. Precisely because life members had the right of the vote, controversy emerged surrounding the question of admitting Africans who could afford subscription. Even after the 1936 reconstitution of the AAAA as Arab and African Sports Association (AASA), Africans continued to be systemically sidelined. During the 1936 Annual General Meeting (AGM) of the Athletic Council, for instance, a question arose on whether members of Local Native Councils (LNCs), one of the biggest benefactors of athletics in the Colony, could be granted membership badges. The AASA Secretary reported:

The question of ground members' badge was discussed and it was suggested that the existing badges should be utilised for native Life Members and members of LNCs ... This subject was referred to the General Council but, as no native life membership is provided for in the constitution, I have held the matter up for discussion in the next AGM.¹⁸⁹

4.2.4 Ambivalence on the Role of Africans in Sports Management

Controversy surrounded the creation of the position of African stewards (representatives of African teams) in football management in the 1930s. The controversy illustrates the ambivalence on the role of Africans in sports management in the inter-war period. The position was established to link the AAAA policymaking with the Africans in Nairobi. As such, African stewards were to be allowed to attend Football Council meetings, give an opinion and disseminate the proceedings of the meetings to other Africans. However, Europeans grew uneasy with the stewards' presence. In 1936 a decision was made to bar stewards from attending council. Those who supported the move argued that the stewards were incapable of understanding proceedings in the meetings and relaying them to other Africans. Committee members thus agreed that the Municipal Native Affairs Officer was to hold monthly meetings with teams' representatives to explain the minutes and obtain their

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ KNA PC/NZA/2/1/90 Native Association: AASA Secretary's Report 30 October 1936, 3.

views. Ironically, the stewards were reported to have applauded the decision.¹⁹⁰ But is the uncertainty surrounding the perceived stewards' inability to follow proceedings the only probable explanation for the decision to discontinue their attendance?

European executives of the AAAA football and athletics councils found the presence of Africans in the meetings unsettling. Post-structuralism teaches us that power does not settle comfortably in the hands of the dominant. The theory argues that there are moments of inversion of power akin to how the host who, 'while at the same time being in a position of power ... is also in a position of subjection [by the visitor's] inspection.'¹⁹¹ The current study contends that the inversion of power might have precipitated the decision to abolish African stewardship more than the perceived inability to follow and broadcast the proceedings. It further argues that abolishing the African stewardship was the Europeans' way of resolving the tension between their paternalistic position and the stewards' inspection of decision-making processes.

The AAAA's silencing of the Africans in decision making matters was more profound in the earlier years of the Association. A veteran journalist summed the silencing of Africans in sports management as follows:

Africans were to be seen and not heard. They were to be told what to do and carry out what they were told without question. The people in the field were the European referees. It took decades and agitation before the colonisers put it in their minds that one could carry an African identity in sports.¹⁹²

The journalist made an argument on the silencing of Africans in the colonial sports text: official records, memoirs and the print media.¹⁹³ It seems Europeans did not want any opinions from racial outsiders and so they removed any chance for Africans to offer opinions.

The arrival of the Olympic movement in Kenya in the 1930s which culminated in formation of Kenya Olympic Association (KOA) only served to reinforce the elitist hold of sports management. During this period, sports were valued globally for their role in breaking down racial prejudice. Sports were believed to recognise the qualities of sportspersons irrespective

¹⁹⁰ Ibid, 2–3.

¹⁹¹ Sharlene Sayegh and Eric Altice, *History and Theory* (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Pearson, 2014), 101.

¹⁹² Roy Gachuhi, Interview with the Researcher, 9 October 2020.

¹⁹³ KNA PC/NZA/2/1/90: Native Association. This file contains numerous documents in which Europeans present in meetings are identified with full names while Africans were identified statistically, at best with one English name.

of their colour or creed. But this value ran opposites with racial relations in Kenya at the time. The fact that sports have the capacity to elevate participants to heroic status meant that African agency in sports was a threat to the notion of European supremacy. Consequently, the place of the Africans in different aspects of sports in colonial Kenya was closely policed and censored.¹⁹⁴

4.2.5 African Agency in Sports Development at the Grassroots

Although elitism and patronage of the AAAA alienated Africans from top decision-making levels, they were the drivers of athletics and football development in the grassroots. Their innovations and initiative shaped the development of the two sports at the locational level. In 1936, for instance, the Luo Union organised the first major play-off between senior and junior teams during the ‘close season’. Up to the time, the AAAA had overlooked the junior competitions in its plans. Instead of supporting the Luo Union’s initiative by way of material and human resources, it issued a caveat on any eventuality. Undeterred, the Luo Union went on to organise successful competitions then and in subsequent years.¹⁹⁵ This study suggests that the establishment of junior competitions laid the pipeline for athletic and footballing talent that Kenya boasts of today. There is a consensus among Kenyan coaches that achieving a higher training age (number of years one has trained in a particular sport) at an early biological age largely accounts for individual differences in performance.¹⁹⁶ Regions and communities that had high numbers of persons with higher training age and maintained the advantage over years continue to have a higher output of top performers in the respective sports.

Local Native Councils allowed African certain groups of Africans to become agents of development and management of sports at the grassroots. LNCs were the major financiers of sports in the inter-war period. The councils were initiated in 1924 following the enactment of the Native Authority Ordinance. The councils were premised on the ideas of the local government system. In such systems, the state allows the establishment of units with powers and authority to make decisions on matters that affect local communities and to mobilise local resources for the implementation of decisions made. Native councils’ mandate included

¹⁹⁴ Editor, ‘African Sports’, *East African Standard*, 30 January 1928, 24; Elias Makori, Interview with the Researcher, 20 December 2020.

¹⁹⁵ KNA/PC/NZA/2/1/90 Native Association: AASA Secretary’s Report, 30 October 1936.

¹⁹⁶ Gideon Chirchir, Interview with the Researcher, Nairobi, 21 October 2020; Stephen Mwaniki, Interview with the Researcher, Nairobi, 21 October 2020.

tax collection and the provision of services such as water, markets and education.¹⁹⁷ The local government units were expected to be crucial in financing the development of athletics and football in colonial Kenya.

This localisation allowed differentiation in sports development across governance units. Localisation of sports was consistent with indirect system of administration employed by the British in Kenya. The system incorporated African chiefs and LNCs in governance in the locations while European officials occupied higher administrative positions. Although the Native Authority Ordinance was enacted in 1924, it took some areas years before they could compose their LNCs. A case in point is the Coast Province where some areas were yet to constitute councils as late as the mid-1930s. In a letter to the Provincial Commissioner (PC) on 9 July 1935, the District Commissioner (DC) Tana River acknowledged the impact of late constitution of LNCs to sports development. 'If a tribal subdivision of the Coast Province were to be made it would be quite impossible for either Lamu or Kipini District to send a team. In neither District is there an LNC to pay for the expenses of competitors.'¹⁹⁸ The DC referred to the financing of teams to track and field competitions organised to select competitors to represent respective districts in provincial competitions. The pride of representing one's area, travelling and prizes catalysed local uptake of the sports.

Additionally, reliance on the mobilisation of local resources translated to a difference in allocation of resources to sports development between districts in a province. The flaws of the equal contribution to 'Olympic' sports between districts in a province brought to the fore the growing disparities in the development of the two sports by the mid-1930s. In Nyanza, for instance, there were varying financial capacities between North Kavirondo, Central Kavirondo, South Kavirondo and Kipsigis districts. While the Kavirondo districts facilitated their teams with ease, the Kipsigis DC lamented:

It would appear that this district is not pulling its weight. The truth, however, is that the system of equal division among all four LNCs is decidedly unfair to the Kipsigis LNC ... our expenses are kept much lower than those of the richer LNCs who

¹⁹⁷ Hamisi Mboga, *Understanding the Local Government System in Kenya: A Citizens Handbook* (Nairobi: Institute of Economic Affairs, 2009), pp. 8–10.

¹⁹⁸ KNA/CE1/20/1 Arab and African Athletic Association: Olympic Sports.

naturally do not stint their teams while we have to practice rigid economy in order to prevent our share out being more than our total vote.¹⁹⁹

Colonial chiefs, by the virtue of heading the LNCs became important drivers of sports development at the locational level. The chiefs' passion for sports became a defining factor. Starting with Chief Kinyanjui wa Gathirimu of Kiambu, whom CSM missionaries praised for gracing sports competitions at the missions in the first and second decades of the twentieth century, to Chief Ongwae and Musa Nyandusi of Nyaribari, who popularised athletics among the Abagusii in the 1930s, African chiefs were a major catalyst in the uptake of the two sports in their jurisdictions. The chiefs were so central to development of sports that a retired Public Relations Officer of Athletics Kenya (AK) observed a drop in performance and interest whenever less passionate chiefs took office.²⁰⁰

4.2.6 The Gender Nexus in Sports Management between 1922 – 1945

As management of sports seeped from the confines of Mission Societies to the AAAA and its affiliates in the 1920s, so did the values of Muscular Christianity. This took the form of missionaries like John Arthur of the CSM and Canon Burns of the CMS who became key players in AAAA decision-making processes. The Association allowed some missionary societies to carve out their spheres of influence as far as sports administration was concerned. The CSM, for instance, 'carved out' the entire Dagoretti-Kabete area from Central Province as far as athletics and football administration was concerned.²⁰¹ The areas were recognised as 'provinces'. Therefore, the missions' spheres of influence could operate with limited surveillance by provincial administrators who became patrons and managed sports from the divisional to the provincial levels. The gender implications, this study suggests, were that missionaries continued to impart muscular Christianity values on school sports. Mission schools remained key catchments for athletics and football.

After the establishment of secular schools, mission societies remained important pillars of education and infusion of athletics and football among Africans. So central were the mission

¹⁹⁹KNA/PC/NZA/2/1/90 Native Association: Letter from Kericho District Commissioner's Office to the District Commissioner Central Kavirondo.

²⁰⁰ Francis Orangi Nyatome, Interview with the Researcher, Nairobi, 7 October 2020. For the case of Chief Kinyanjui and the gracing of Church of Scotland Mission sports competitions see Mrs Scott, 'Kenianjui', *Kikuyu News*, No. 6, 1908, 3.

²⁰¹ See for example KNA/PC/NZA/2/1/90 Native Association: Minutes of the General Council of A&AAA, April 1935. The document exemplifies the missionaries' ability to influence decisions including admission of Mission Societies as 'provinces', a term used to refer to institutions allowed to affiliate themselves to the A&AAA independent of their provinces of residence.

schools that a contemporary described the so-called secular schools as ‘mission schools in a new form ... I can answer from Maseno experience that not a particle of difference has been made.’²⁰² In a direct reference to mission schools and sports development, a sports commentator wrote in 1927:

Until very recent times the only medium for educating the native has been the mission school which today still serves as the main road along which raw native travels to something approaching civilisation ... whatever the African has learnt in emerging from savagery, he owes to the missions.²⁰³

Missionary societies such as the CSM anticipated the coming of secular education. To secure their decades of investment in education among Africans, the missionaries strategically expanded the training of African teachers and the village school systems on which they expected to convince the government to build on. The strategy was based on the fact that since there were no government teacher training institutions and schools, the logical move for the government was to build an education superstructure on the existing missionary system. Furthermore, mission- educated Quality Assurance Officers continued to police sports in schools. Thus, for the better part of the colonial period, children in government schools were socialised in ways that reinforced athletics and football as male sports. Schoolgirls were left out in the two sports even after the education system formed the pillar of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) programme of education on amateurism. Although IOC promoted Olympism as a means of breaking barriers to inclusion in sports and other aspects of life, gender was not central to its definition of equality and inclusion.²⁰⁴

It is noteworthy that elitism and patronage at the AAAA top positions and African agency at the locational level converged to marginalise women in sports management. The British colonisers imported the Victorian public/private nexus into Kenya. And because political office and prominence defined role designation in sports management, women of all races were sidelined.²⁰⁵ The enshrining of the position of African chiefs and LNCs in the British system of administration in Kenya provided another avenue of gender exclusion. Because

²⁰² J. Britton, ‘The Missionary Task in Kenya’, *International Review of Missions* xii, 47, 1923, p. 44.

²⁰³ *East African Standard*, 6 August 1927, 22.

²⁰⁴ KNA: AV/7/7/7 Supervisor of Technical Education. For the goals of the Kenya Olympic Association see KNA/AZG1/30/2 Kenya Olympic Association Chairman Report, 1958–1959.

²⁰⁵ Note: Although European women played limited role in AAAA it was customary for wives of the political elites to accompany their husbands to competitions and even present the prizes. For example see Lady Barnes, the wife to Governor Barnes present prizes to winners during the 1932 ‘African Olympiad Sports’ held in Dagoretti, *East African Standard*, ‘African Olympiad Sports,’ 10 December 1932.

women were not appointed as chiefs and played a limited role in LNCs, their opportunities to impact sports management were greatly reduced.

4.3 Sports Management during the Post-World War II Period

It is important to characterise the politics of sports as Kenya joined the international sports arena in the 1950s. These were the early years of the Cold War when the United States and the Soviet Union, the main protagonists of the war, sought to make sports a frontline of their propaganda wars. The protagonists placed sports ideologies, particularly amateurism and professionalism, at the heart of propaganda through sports. In this sense, amateurism was embodied through athletes' sacrifice for their countries, adherence to fair play and non-monetary motivation. Professional athletes were believed to represent the opposite of these values. To proclaim a high moral ground in international sports both protagonists claimed to advance amateur ideals in sports. They also branded athletes from the opposite divide of the Cold War of being professionals and of being states' agents. Such polemics continued despite the heavy involvement of the United States and Soviet Union secret services in projecting national character through international sports.²⁰⁶

Another defining feature of the international sports arena that Kenya entered in the 1950s was the place of politics in sports. The International Olympic Committee (IOC) and the Olympic movement in general, presented itself as the exemplar of the separation of sports and politics. This was a far cry from reality. Sports historians like David Goldblatt, the author of *The Games: A Global History of the Olympics*, argue that the IOC's dominance of international sports was propelled by the politics of the Cold War. Such historians observe that, although Olympic Games were part of the biggest world sporting spectacles before World War II, the Cold War transformed them into the most dominant international sports events they are today. This is because the war created an environment of 'good guys and bad guys' that resonate with the creation of Olympic narratives that transcend respective Olympiads. The Olympics thus became the theatrical stage of great storytelling and deconstructing Cold War enemies. And the advent of the television in the 1960s cemented the marriage of sports with

²⁰⁶ Vince Hunt and Sport in the Cold War Episode 13: Sport and Statecraft in the US produced by Wilson Centre, podcast, MP3 audio, accessed 16 May 2022. <https://www.digitalarchives.org>. *Sport in the Cold War* is a series podcast started as part of the build-up to the 2012 London Olympics and is hosted by Vince Hunt, a British radio producer. Each episode is based on interview with sports historians and is based on archival data, artefacts or events that changed the course of sports during the Cold War era. The series is sponsored by the Woodrow Wilson Centre and may be accessed at the Wilson Centre Digital Archive.

Cold War politics thereby allowing the dramatisation of rivalries and soft power projection through the Olympics.²⁰⁷

Race relations in the United States were an easy target for the Soviet Union. The US States Department hatched a scheme of using black sports persons as a symbol of progress in levelling ground for marginalised races in American society. One aspect of the scheme involved using African-American athletes as cultural and career diplomats. Such diplomats were sent to coach and give talks on American domestic and foreign policy in African countries as means of thwarting communist influence. Although black athletes accepted such deployments to Africa, sports historians doubt their dedication to falsifying progress in race relations back home. The other aspect involved athletic scholarships in the United States. Kenya and Ethiopia, the most dominant nations in contemporary distance running, were great beneficiaries of United State cultural diplomacy in the Cold War era.²⁰⁸

For the colonial masters in Africa, sports presented opportunities for continued influence as colonialism began to cede ground to self-determination. They fashioned sports competitions as a part of the change from an empire system to a relationship of friendship and 'assistance' to Africa. Britain, for instance, opened doors for athletes from its colonies like Kenya to participate in the 1954 British Empire and Commonwealth Games 1954. In the early 1960s, France organised two editions of the Friendship Games for Francophone territories before allowing non-Francophone countries to participate in consequent competitions. Colonial powers like Portugal that were unable to stage mega events for their colonial subjects allowed sportspersons, especially footballers, to join teams in the metropole and even play for the Portuguese national team. But this interest in sports in Africa was also a means of checking the Soviet Union's influence in emerging nations after Guinea Bissau aligned to the union after independence in 1958. Even the IOC was an anti-Soviet organisation. During the Presidency of American Avery Brundage (1952–1957), it took interest in offering technical and logistical support during the All Africa Games right from its inception in 1965.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁷ Vince Hunt and David Goldblatt, Sport in the Cold War Episode 32: Politics at the Olympics produced by Wilson Centre, podcast, MP3 audio, accessed 16 May 2022. <https://www.digitalarchives.org>.

²⁰⁸ Vince Hunt and Kevin Witherspoon, Sport in the Cold War Episode 11: 'Marvelous' Mal Whitfield produced by Wilson Centre, podcast, MP3 audio, accessed 16 May 2022. <https://www.digitalarchives.org>.

²⁰⁹ Vince Hunt and Matt Centrowitz, Sport in the Cold War Episode 29: the African Friendship Games produced by Wilson Centre, podcast, MP3 audio, accessed 16 May 2022. <https://www.digitalarchives.org>.

4.3.1 Kenya's Entry into International Sporting Stage

Kenya's entry into the international sporting scene added layers of meaning that had a significant impact on the gendering of sports management. Although making debut Olympic competitions in 1956 was the major watershed towards Kenya's entry into the international sporting scene, there were significant precursors dating to the inter-ward period. The precursors included: hosting visiting teams such as the King's College Budo football team from Uganda; the Gossage Cup in which the three colonies of East Africa competed in the regional championship as early as the 1920s and matches between combined teams of the British military against the Italian prisoners of war during the World War II. Kenya also participated in intercontinental competitions such as Indian Ocean Competitions held in Madagascar in 1952 and the British Commonwealth and Empire Games of 1954.²¹⁰

Another major development in sports management in the 1950s was the increase in the number of stakeholders – government departments and commercial firms – that took an active role in sports management. This development significantly increased the variety of competitions, especially in Nairobi, organised by government institutions such as the East African Railways and Harbours, East African Posts and Telecommunications as well as commercial entities like East Africa Breweries Ltd. Additionally, more sports federations were formed to take charge of respective sports such as Kenya Amateur Athletic Association (KAAA) in 1951.²¹¹

The good performance in the 1954 British Empire and Commonwealth Games created a worldwide interest in Kenyan athletes. It also precipitated the formation of KOA as the performances convinced authorities of Kenya's ability to compete with the rest of the world.²¹² However, it seems that sports leaders in the colony were oblivious of the formation of a NOC was a precondition for participation in the Olympics and other international competitions. Derek Erskine, the first KAAA President, observed, 'It was finally realised that participation in British Empire and Olympic Games and other international meetings could not even be considered without a national body governing athletics in the country.'²¹³

²¹⁰ See Anon. *The East African Standard*, 24 May 1935, 22; KNA/CE1/30/1 Arab and African Athletic Association and KNA/PC/NZA/2/1/90: Native Association; Kindy, *Life and Politics*, 103.

²¹¹ See KNA/CE1/30/1 Arab and African Athletic Association; 'Kenya AAA', *Olympic Review* 1, No. 6, 1960, 13.

²¹² KNA/A2G1/30/1 Asia Arab, African: Kenya Amateur Athletic Association.

²¹³ Anon. 'Kenya AAA,' 13.

As a consequence, KOA was inaugurated on 14 February 1956 under the Presidency of the then Governor Sir Evelyn Baring and Alderman R. S. Alexander as its Chairman. The incipient association was modelled on the British Olympic Association whose constitution it adopted with minor alterations.²¹⁴ The Association's objectives were outlined as: 'encouraging the development of the Olympic spirit among the youth of the Colony; promoting a programme of education on the philosophy of amateurism; to not just concentrate on performance but to also develop the social, educational, ethical and spiritual values of amateur sports; to encourage all, irrespective of race, creed or status to forge a genuine fellowship and understanding through the medium of sport.'²¹⁵ Upon formation, sports associations managing Olympic sports in Kenya affiliated to KOA.

4.3.2 Guiding the Pursuit of Excellence: The Colony Sports Office

As Kenya joined the international sports stage, it became incumbent to put mechanisms in place to guide the pursuit of excellence. The Colony Sports Office was established in 1953 with the chief mandate of imparting sporting and sports management to competitors, instructors, Community Development Assistants (CDAs), referees, prison warders among others. The sports office trained Africans on different aspects of sports management such as creating and running clubs, record keeping, financial management, organising competitions, judging of competitions among others. The office was attached to the Department of Community Development whose mandate was to uplift the social and economic standards of Africans through informal training.²¹⁶

The Jeans School at Kabete in Kiambu hosted training courses in sports. It also served as the headquarters of the Colony Sports Office. The school was established in the mid-1920s after recommendations of the 1924 Phelps Stoke Commission on African education. It was meant to train teachers who would train teachers in village schools on best practices in education. Its main goal was to build on African civilisation and culture rather than impose of Western civilisation on Kenyans. A commentator in the local daily observed of the School's rationality:

²¹⁴ See *Kenya Olympic Association Newsletter*, No. 1, June 1956, 1; KNA/AZG1/30/2 Kenya Olympic Association 1956–1960: Report of the Chairman of the Council of Kenya Olympic Association, 1.

²¹⁵ See KNA/AZG1/30/2 Kenya Olympic Association Chairman Report, 1958–1959; R. W. Hoyle, 'The Functions of the Kenya Olympic Association', *Olympic Review*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 4. The following were the first associations to affiliate to KOA: KAAA, Kenya Rifle Association, Kenya Swimming Association, Kenya Cycling Association, Hockey Union of Kenya, Football Association of Kenya, Amateur Boxing Association of Kenya, and Kenya Yachting Association.

²¹⁶ KNA/AB/17/12 Sports Courses.

The suggestion underlying this is that there is probably much that is good in African traditions and that those might serve as a better foundation for a superstructure of civilisation than something entirely new and unsympathetic; that the native in the reserves might be instructed along quite simple lines how to develop naturally into a state in which his existence will count in the moral and economic future of the country in which he lives.²¹⁷

However, the researcher's examination of the sports office text found it to be anything but the building of European sports on the African sporting traditions.

The Jeanes School embarked on training Africans for the role of visiting or helping teachers in village schools to align education to local needs. The sports office adopted this same system. It used the school to train Africans coaches, physical trainers and sports administrators. The trainees were expected to contribute to fostering and encouraging athletics and football in their districts. But there is no evidence, as far as the current study could establish, of efforts to use African sporting ideals as the foundation of a superstructure of sports in the colony. Instead, there seems to have been a consensus among European stakeholders in sports that success in uptake of athletics and football was dependent on the effacement of African forms and discourse of thinking about sports and recreation.

The Colony Sports Office combined different methods to lift Kenyan sports to international standards and in encouraging recreational sports. The methods included: the use of training films, training manuals borrowed mostly from the Swedish and British Consulates as well as lectures by athletes from the United States and Britain. Archie Evans, the Colony Sports Officer, and his assistants such as David Onjiri and William Yeda also visited regions perceived to have higher concentration of athletic and footballing talent for training. Additionally, specialised training in sports and recreation were organised especially in areas considered politically problematic.²¹⁸ By the 1950s the generations of African athletes and

²¹⁷ Anon. 'Jeanes School: The Principles Underlying the Education of the Native', *East African Standard*, 6 August 1927, 24.

²¹⁸ KNA/CE1/30/1 Arab and Athletic Association: African Athletic Sports 1951; KNA/AB/17/12 Sports Courses: Archie Evans to the Swedish Consulate, 5 February 1954; KNA/AB/4/15 Community Development (Sports) Report 1955 Government African School Kapsabet, athletics training in Kisii; KNA/AB/4/15 Community Development (Sports) Report 1955, 2. This last document details the January 1955 visit and lectures by Mal Whitefield, an African-American record half mile record holder and winner of 800 metres in the 1948 and 1952 Olympics. In his column of the *Pittsburg Courier*, Whitefield, judging from what he termed specimens of physical manhood, anticipated the rise of Africa becoming one of the world's track and field powers. See plans to bring a measure of relaxation and recreation to the Agikuyu reserves in the mid-1950s KNA/AB/4/15 Community Development (Sports) Report 1955, 5.

footballers who had competed in earlier colony and inter-territorial competitions were, on an individual basis or in conjunction with the Sports and Rehabilitation Office, sharing their sporting skills with succeeding generations. Figure 4.1 is a photograph of a physical trainer, Colony Sports Officer and AAAA Assistant Secretary taken in 1954 during preparations for the 5th British Empire and Commonwealth Games. It demonstrates that Africans increasingly took role as trainers and managers especially within AAAA circles after World War II.

4.3.3 Olympism and Paradigm Shift in Patronage

KOA and its affiliates endeavoured to put in place mechanisms to propagate Olympic ideals in Kenya. Stupendous energy was expended on cultivating Olympic ideals in Kenya during the 1950s and 1960s despite facing a myriad of challenges. The Chef De Mission to the 1960 Olympic team summed the challenges: ‘The Association had to labour under difficulties presented by inadequate finance to spread further afield the interests in healthy activities in the stadia and on the village greens.’²¹⁹ One strategy was the establishment of *Olympic Review*, a monthly magazine which expounded on the aims and objectives of the Olympic movement in Kenya. KOA also organised competitions at the districts to popularise the movement. Its leaders used the competitions to address players and participants on ideals. The integration of provincial sports associations into the movement was also a strategy to keep the Olympic ideal alive.²²⁰

Globally, the IOC invoked *Ekecheria*, a call to peace that was proclaimed during the Olympic Games in ancient Greece, and charged NOCs with cultivating the ideal in their respective countries. The 1952 IOC Congress affirmed that, ‘the promotion of this ideal is still one of our objectives and the IOC ... wishes to draw world attention to this fact, and also friendly atmosphere of goodwill which prevails among athletes, officials and spectators from more than three score different nations who observe the amateur sport rules of fair play’.²²¹ Olympic Games were meant to promote world peace by providing opportunities for nations to demonstrate their strength and aggression in the field of play rather than the battlefield. Kenya was no exception. According to Patrick Renison, the Governor of Kenya 1959–1962,

²¹⁹ KNA/AB/4/15 Community Development (Sports) Report 1955 Government African School Kapsabet, athletics training in Kisii.

²²⁰ KNA/AZG1/30/2 Kenya Olympic Association 1956–1960: Report by R. W. Hoyle, Chef De Mission to the Kenya Olympic Team of 1960, September 1960.

²²¹ *Kenya Olympic Newsletter*, No. 2, September 1957, 1.

the goal of the Olympic movement in Kenya was to provide ‘the opportunity of meeting and competing in friendly rivalry with competitors from different countries.’²²²



Fig. 4.1 Jeanes School Physical Training Instructor (left) Colony Sports Officer (centre) Assistant Secretary AASA (right) during preparation for the 5th British Empire and Commonwealth Games, 1954

Source: *African Sports Review*, March 1954

Meanwhile, KOA became an elitist organisation from its very beginning. Its leadership privileged prominent persons – even those with little interest in sports – to spearhead its development agenda. The IOC set the pace in privileging the elites in the administration of Olympic affairs. As a self-elected body, the IOC chose persons to represent it in several countries. The selection exercise for a representative in colonial Kenya exposed IOC deep-

²²² Patrick Muir Renison, ‘Supremacy not the only Purpose’, *Kenya Olympic Review*, 1, November 1959, 1.

seated preference for the elites. After Kenya's impressive performance in the 1956 Olympic Games, the IOC decided to appoint a representative in the Colony. Confidential correspondence between IOC Vice President and Kenya's Governor on 13 March 1959 exemplifies its elitism. The Vice President wrote:

The IOC is a self-elected body and chooses its members to represent it in a number of countries. Among others considered, the case of Kenya has come up and one of our members has written suggesting R. S. Alexander who is the president of the Kenya Olympic Association. What we are after for this committee is not just a sports administrator ... but someone who is really a leading figure in the country and generally interested in sport.²²³

On 6 May 1959 the Governor responded,

Mr R. S. Alexander ... has been particularly good in maintaining friendly relations between Europeans, Africans and Asians. He was ... conceited and brash member of the Nairobi City Council. He was a member of our Legislative Council here and is improving every day He is undoubtedly a leading figure in Kenya and will probably become of still greater importance in the future.²²⁴

This correspondence reveals IOC's privileging of political prominence over understanding and interest in sports. Given this privileging and the colonial context in Kenya, the odds favoured wealthy and politically connected Europeans. By this definition, African and Asian men, and women of all races, were excluded from IOC top leadership. Prominent male leaders such as governors, members of the Legislative Council, and the mayors of Nairobi, the colony's capital, occupied KOA's top positions.

Elitism trickled from management levels to selection of Olympic competitors. The fact that competitors representing administrative units like districts in 'Olympic games' were not paid enhanced elitism of the Olympic movement in Kenya. As was the case in other parts of the world, elitism 'prevented potential Olympic athletes who did not have funding and support from competing.'²²⁵ Kenya's case was complicated by oppressive economic policies that subjected millions of Africans to a hand-to-mouth existence. Thus, by insisting on non-

²²³ KNA/AZG1/30/2 Kenya Olympic Association: IOC Vice President to Governor of Kenya, 13 March 1959.

²²⁴ KNA/AZG1/30/2 Kenya Olympic Association: Governor of Kenya to IOC Vice President, 6 May 1959.

²²⁵ Sara Lee Keller-Smith, 'Going for Gold: The Representation of Olympic Athletes', *Jeffrey S. Moorad Sports Law Journal*, 3, 2 (1996), pp. 450–451.

remuneration during weeks of intense training and participation, potential participants who were either unemployed or working outside security organs easily lost out. According to a retired Public Relations Officer of Athletics Kenya (AK), only security organs had appreciated the practice of representing institutions in competitions as ‘work in its own right’. Such athletes enhanced the image of disciplined forces by displaying strength and readiness to serve the nation. Even Olympic legends like Kipchoge Keino acknowledged the opportunity afforded by service in the police in the 1950s and sixties in shaping their careers as athletes and sports managers.²²⁶

Notably, the increasing interest in the Olympic movement by the political elites opened spaces for Africans to take part in decision-making processes of other organisations, particularly AASA. The review of the AASA constitution of 1951, for instance, provided opportunities for bringing Africans and Arabs onboard by altering the composition of both athletics and football councils. The constitution now read: ‘[t]he Sports Councils, one for each sport fostered by the Association, consisting of the Officers of the Association and two, at least one of whom shall be an Arab or African, nominees from each province.’²²⁷

After years of silencing of African competitors and those in management, it seems the racial foundations begun to weaken. Official records reviewed in the course of the study revealed a new beginning where Africans were increasingly applauded for their role as competitors and sports administrators. The KAAA President, for instance, would submit to the governor brief notes on Africans such as David Onjiri, the physical training instructor at the Jeanes School, and William Yeda, Assistant Secretary AASA. Others like Arere Anentia were praised for captaining a team of thirty-five athletes of different ethnicities and races; for being a first-class disciplinarian and inspired leader; his grand idea of sportsmanship and cooperation; and for being a gentleman and a fine ambassador for his country. While this study does not repudiate the role of these and other individuals in raising Kenya’s athletics and footballing standards, it attempts to place their impact in the social context. Their achievement required support by other stakeholders including the Africans.²²⁸

²²⁶ Orangi, Interview; Jean-Christophe Klotz, ‘Jim Ryun and Kip Keino Documentary Part I,’ Ethan Productions, 2002.

²²⁷ KNA/CE1/30/1 Arab and African Athletic Association: Arab and African Sports Association Constitution (1951), 1.

²²⁸ *African Sports Review* March 1954, 1. For more on appointment of African male in sports management see KNA/AB/4/15: Community Development Report: Sports, 16.

Another paradigm shift included the move towards the formation of multi-racial sports organisations and the composition of multi-racial teams to represent Kenya in international competitions. By 1959 curtains were fast closing for the AAAA which had hitherto managed athletics and football among Africans and Arabs. The Athletic Council was the first to be dismantled and replaced by KAAA. However, the formation of the Football Association (FA) was a conundrum. At inception, the FA constitution allowed direct affiliation by individual leagues giving them the right to representation and a vote in the executive. The provinces could therefore be outvoted by various leagues and interests in Nairobi. For a while, therefore, football was managed by two organisations: the Football Council of the AASA and the FA. And to allow all races to participate in AASA's well-established colony-wide and inter-territorial competitions, the AASA was renamed Sports Association of Kenya in 1959.²²⁹

4.3.4 Political Uses of Sports

The entry of Kenya into internationalisation sporting stage in the 1950s was accompanied by new uses of sports by the government. The IOC had popularised Olympic competitions as means of reducing animosity between races and nations. But there was ambivalence in the way this ideal was interpreted. Although nations generally accepted the idea of using the Olympic Games as a means to world peace, there was no one agreed way of achieving the goal. At the 1952 Congress of the IOC, Holland raised concerns with the extreme expression of nationalism during the games. It called for the toning down of national distinctions in the Olympic Games. J. L. Homan, the Dutch delegate 'regretted the excess nationalism at Olympic Games and suggested that in future the hoisting of flags and the playing of the victor's national anthem at official ceremonies be discontinued.'²³⁰

Wealthier nations like the United States and the Soviet union had turned international competitions to theatres of power. Social critics compared sports with war. For instance, in 1945 George Orwell wrote, 'Serious sport has nothing to do with fair play. It is bound with hatred, jealousy, boastfulness, disregard of all rules and sadistic pleasure in witnessing violence: in other words it is war minus the shooting.'²³¹ Therefore, international competitions such as the Olympic Games were considered by some as no events for the so-called that small countries. However, Governor Renison saw every reason for Kenya's participation despite being a comparatively small colony:

²²⁹ KNA/DC/KAJ/4/1/6 Annual Reports: Future of the Arab and African Sports Association.

²³⁰ *Olympic Newsletter*, p. 2.

²³¹ George Orwell, 'The Sporting Spirit', *Tribune*, 1945, p. 3.

It is sometimes said that it is pointless for a small country to compete in the Olympic Games against the teams sent by some of the large and wealthier countries of the world. I do not, however, subscribe to this belief. Supremacy is not the only purpose of competition. Only through knowing the highest standards of world athletics and of the training of self-discipline ... can the fullest enjoyment of athletic endeavour be attained.²³²

Holland also questioned the parading of nations and instead suggested that competitors should parade by sports and wear the same uniforms. The US presented a countersense to Holland's proposal. Its delegate retorted, '[t]he US Olympic Committee is against these proposals as nationality is definitely involved and the match of nations at the opening ceremony is one of the most colourful spectacles at the Olympic Games ... A match by sports groups ... would be drab and lack enthusiasm.'²³³

Additionally, some International Federations (IFs) criticised the Olympic Village accommodation for minimising interaction among athletes from different countries. The International Rowing Federation, for instance, argued:

The fact of having athletes housed together be it in barracks, or houses, practising different sports but belonging to the same nation is a mistake. Our object is not for athletes belonging to the same nation to get to know each other at the Olympic Games, but on the contrary, we wish to give athletes belonging to different nations the opportunity to get to know each other and make friends.²³⁴

The Kenyan contingent was divided along racial lines during the 1956 Melbourne Olympics. The housing of athletes based on countries should have served to cement relations between Africans, Asians and Europeans representing the colony. This was not the case. A report by Surjeet Singh, the captain hockey team, exemplifies the divisions within the Kenyan contingent:

In Melbourne, we were merely a team broken to pieces. Everybody could smell and feel racism ... We were just divided in different parties of racial groups ... We were

²³² Renison, 'Supremacy not the Only Purpose', p. 1.

²³³ *Olympic Newsletter*, p. 2.

²³⁴ Ibid

talking against each other ... all that harmony we had in the first place was turned to jealousy and backbiting.²³⁵

Another important development in the 1950s was the use of sports as tools of cultural and public diplomacy. Sports diplomacy transcends national and cultural boundaries by allowing people from diverse nationalities and cultures to interact through the shared affection for sports. This way, sports are integral part of cultural diplomacy. Sports facilitate diplomacy in several ways. First, governments consciously use their sportspersons to amplify diplomatic messages during international competitions. Second, organisation of international competitions involve engagements between state and non-state actors especially ISOs. The ISOs are at the centre of the engagements and keep close contacts with governments from participating countries, regional and national sports governing bodies as well as international media and firms sponsoring the particular competition. Third, ISOs are diplomatic actors in their pursuit of social cause in world politics. Fourth, governments use sports to secure international recognition. They do so by hosting mega events and facilitating development of recognised national sports governing bodies. Hosting of events and having recognised sporting bodies serve to legitimise the existence of a state. Lastly, countries can choose to boycott events hosted by adversaries as demonstration of disdain towards leadership and policies.²³⁶

With this development, Olympic competitors acquired ambassadorial status. This new role subordinated sporting prowess to social and political functions during international sporting events. Authorities were desperate to create the image of a racially tolerant administration especially after mishandling Mau Mau freedom fighters and communities around Mount Kenya which formed the bulk of the freedom fighters. The government organised sports competitions as a means of divert animosity between the Mau Mau and civilians affected by the war on one side and colonial authorities and settlers on the other. Sports competitions were thus intended to provide opportunities for controlled release of hostility.²³⁷

The need to legitimise the colonial state made authorities prioritise deportment over sporting prowess and fitness in the selection of teams to international competitions. For instance,

²³⁵ KNA/A2G1/30/1 Asian, Arab, African: Surjeet Singh's (Captain Hockey Team) Report to the Kenya Olympic Association.

²³⁶ For more on cultural and public diplomacy see Stuart Murray and Geoffrey Allen Pigman, 'Mapping the Relationship between International Sport and Diplomacy,' *Sport in Society*, 9, 17 (2013).

²³⁷ *Kenya Olympic Association Newsletter* 1, June 1956, 2.

during the selection exercise for the team to the 1956 Olympics, R. S. Alexander, KOA's Chairman, reminded those in charge of the exercise of the selection policy, 'we are looking to behaviour off the field with more stress than behaviour in the field... The eyes of the world will be on Kenya in Melbourne, and so anybody with fancy ideas or peculiarities has no place in the Kenya side.'²³⁸ At the ceremony to present Olympic Colours to the team that was to represent Kenya in the 1960 Olympics in Rome, Governor Renison asserted:

I would like to take this opportunity of emphasising ... the responsibility that you carry with you when you go to Rome ... It will be a vast international concourse at which you will be judged not only on your individual prowess at the Games but, infinitely more important, on your sportsmanship, your bearing and your conduct. It is not so much you who will be judged, but Kenya which will be judged through you.²³⁹

This conceptualisation of sports added to mechanisms of exclusion. Despite incorporating the goal of forging unity regardless of race, creed, status and other social dynamics, those who 'failed' the deportment test, such as Surjeet Singh who spoke to the press about racial divisions within Kenya's contingent to 1956 Melbourne Olympics, were sanctioned and condemned.²⁴⁰

Another political link to management of sports was the appointment of attaches to Kenya's teams during international competitions. Kenya appointed attachés to the Olympic teams from European residents of the countries hosting the respective games. The attachés' reports, like those of KOA officials, elevated the athlete's 'diplomatic role' over the actual competition. Furthermore, the credentials qualifying one's appointment as attaché had little to do with either his knowledge or interest in sports. Recommending Peter Howson's appointment as attaché to Kenya's team to the 1956 Olympic Games, Harold Holt, an officer at Australia's Immigration Ministry, outlined his suitability to include: service as a Lieutenant of the British Naval Force, fellowship of the Australian Institute of Management, delegate of the Church of England Synod, and chairman of committees of the Prahran Boy

²³⁸ Ibid. For atrocities committed by the authorities during the Mau Mau War see Caroline Elkins, *Imperial Reckoning: The Untold Story of Britain's Gulag in Kenya* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2005).

²³⁹ 'Governor Presents Olympic Colours', *Kenya Olympic Review*, Vol. 1, No. 6, June/July, 1960, 1.

²⁴⁰ See KNA/A2G1/30/1: Asian, Arab Africa, 'Report of the Committee of Investigation into the Poor Performance of the Hockey Team to the Melbourne Olympics.'

Scout's Association. Interestingly, Holt admitted to knowing very little of Howson's sporting background and interest.²⁴¹

Another political impact on sports management was linked to European perceptions of political consciousness of African communities. Authorities' perception of the political consciousness of Kenyan communities had bearings on the purpose of organising competitions in different localities in the 1950s. For communities thought not to be burdened by feelings of colonial injustice, sports were organised as a way of lifting their spirit. For those deemed to question the colonial order, competitions were organised to deter agitation. In this respect, the history of athletics among Nandi makes an interesting read. At the turn of the twentieth century, the community staged the longest resistance against British intrusion of Kenya. Although it ended with the Nandi's defeat, it was a beginning of an ambivalent relationship with the British with athletics as a defining factor. One scholar argued that, in their defeat, 'the [Nandi] developed a begrudging respect for the erstwhile foe ... One of the key qualities ... the former appropriated with great abandon was the latter's sense of order and the discipline of doing something well.'²⁴² Meanwhile, Nandi warriors continued to raid other communities for cattle. The British interpreted Nandi cattle raiding traditions as driven by a sense of sport. Therefore, in place of raids, 'the administrators begun to organise sporting activities that they hoped would replace [the] sport ... [and] divert their restless energy into peaceful outlets and thereby effectively contain them.'²⁴³

Sports competitions among the Nandi took a new turn in the immediate post-World War II period. While competitions had hitherto been organised largely to mitigate cattle raiding and contain the restless youths, the post-World War II saw their organisation as a way of boosting the spirit of the community. Perhaps as a 'reward' for their perceived loyalty, provincial administrators organised what they termed 'sports safaris'. The 'safaris' were soon extended to areas occupied by the Kipsigis and Abagusii culminating in what became known as Athletics Triangular Meeting.²⁴⁴ During the 'safaris' the DO traversed locations to preside over competitions. In 1950 the DO praised the Nandi for what he perceived as loyalty and insinuated sports as a means to sustaining the loyalty. The DO wrote:

²⁴¹ KNA/A2/G1/30/1 Asian, Arab, African: Harold Holt to Reggie Alexander, 26 November 1955.

²⁴² Willy Kipkemboi Rotich, 'Because we are us: Stereotype, Cultural and Ethnic Identity in Kenya's Kalenjin Distance Running Success', Saint Bonaventure University, New York, DOI: 10.30819/Iss.38-203,18.

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ See KNA/DC/KAPT/1/20/2: Athletics Triangular Meeting.

It was encouraging to observe and meet such healthy and open-hearted men who certainly do not give any obvious impression of being in the least politically minded, or burdened with a sense of injustice. I have heard that in many places the carefree African of former days has given way to a harassed humourless mal-content. I am glad to be able to say that my impressions of this [sic] people are that the former portrait is still largely true of the Nandi.²⁴⁵

For such people thought not to pose an immediate threat to British rule in Kenya, the DO prescribed sports with a lesser emphasis on their use as means to check agitation. He suggested that athletics ‘might give a new opportunity for articulate expression and encouragement to the valuable communal spirit innate in these people at a time when the ingress of Western ideas seems likely to cause some disintegration of the traditional pattern of life and outlook.’²⁴⁶

4.3.5 Recreation and Rehabilitation through Sports

Recreational sports have long been used to facilitate community development by keeping community members engaged thereby reducing antisocial tendencies. In the immediate post-World War II period, authorities in Kenya put measures to expand recreational activities among Africans. The Colony Recreation Office was created to guide and coordinate recreation activities especially in the urban and peri-urban areas. The office’s duties were outlined to include: organising and improving recreation-leisure activities for Africans particularly in the urban and peri-urban areas; providing liaison between government and local government authorities in all recreational activities for Africans; encouraging government and non-government employers to improve facilities for recreation for their employees as well as assist, advice and encourage all managers of stadia, welfare officers of commercial and other entities to provide entertainment of all kinds for Africans particularly during weekends in an attempt to reduce the number of ‘spivs’ and ‘hangers-on’.²⁴⁷ The new emphasis on recreation was meant to act as a form of social control at a time of fast growing African urban populations and political agitation.

Simultaneously, the Prisons Department increasingly became a major player in sports management. Political agitation and the Mau Mau war of the early 1950s precipitated the

²⁴⁵ Ibid, pp. 4–5.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ David Gallant, Emma Sherry and Mathew Nicholson, ‘Recreation or Rehabilitation? Managing Sport for Development Programmes with Prison Populations’ *Sports Management Review*, 2014, DOI: 10.1016/j.smr.2014.07.005, 1; KNA/AB/4/15 Community Development: Sport Report 1955, p. 7.

expansion of prison and detention facilities. The immediate post-World war II era witnessed a wave of nationalism across Africa. During the war, the authorities in sought the service Agikuyu men as soldiers and porters on promise of land and other rewards after the war. The authorities did not fulfil the promises and leading to disillusion among the demobilised porters and soldiers. At the same time, African political associations like Kenya African Union became emboldened in their push for decolonisation. The disillusioned ex-servicemen joined hands with radicals within KAU and members of the Agikuyu community rendered landless by colonial land policies to form the Kenya Land and Freedom Army (KLFA). KLFA was the guerilla movement that was soon referred to as the Mau Mau by authorities and the guerilla themselves. KLFA was staged a guerilla war against the colonial forces between 1952 and 1956. In 1954 the government launched the Operation Anvil, a military operation aimed at ridding out Mau Mau adherents from Nairobi. Over 20,000 people were detained during the operation.²⁴⁸ The influx of prisoners and detainees compounded the workplace problems for the warders. Therefore, the government encouraged the provision of leisure sports for the wardens. The scheme called for the training of selected warders on general sports management and organisation. The trainees were responsible for running sports programmes among warders and, over time, the prisoners.²⁴⁹

In areas where agitation gave way to armed struggle, competitions were organised means of stopping the ‘crime’. Consequently, sports events took the form of therapeutic recreations. Youthful males were the main target as they were considered to have the highest tendency for rebellion and antisocial behaviour. Beginning in 1955 in Nyeri and Meru districts, for instance, mass physical recreation schemes were organised in the sub-locations and villages. G. A. Orlos, a rehabilitation officer and physical trainer conducted training courses for African rehabilitation assistants, tribal policemen and two men from each location. The object was to equip trainees with skills to enable them to run sports programmes at the locational level.²⁵⁰ The Colony Sports Officer and DCs in the region agreed on the rationale for recreation schemes and training courses. They felt ‘that the organisation of physical

²⁴⁸ P. A. Rosendo, *Historical Review of the Kenya Prison Service from 1911 to 1970* (Nairobi, 1972), p. 21.

For more on the history of Mau Mau see Kiragu P. K, ‘A Biography of “Field Marshal Muthoni Kirima of the Mau Mau Movement, 1930–2015’ MA Thesis, Egerton University, 2016.

²⁴⁹ Sport Report 1955, p. 7.

²⁵⁰ KNA/AB/4/15 Community Development Report: Sport, 1955, 9.

recreation in the villages was of paramount importance particularly for the younger grades whose spare time previously had been spent in political activities.²⁵¹

The rationale of the recreation schemes was not so much to develop athletics and football but to occupy the people's spare time. Consequently, the schemes allowed the accommodation of African dances which had hitherto been discouraged by Christian missionaries and colonial administrators. In places similar to the above mentioned, the sports days at the grassroots usually ended with a traditional concert which left both performers and spectators equally exhausted.²⁵² This was by no means recognition of sporting values of African dances but rather a way of easing rising political tension brought by the clamour for independence.

4.3.6 Gender Nexus to the Developments in the Post-World War II Period

The evolution of sports in post-World War II Kenya provided fertile grounds for continuities in male dominance in management and participation. But the period also saw the beginning of the conversation on the place of women in sports. There was incipient advocacy on the girls' rights to sports. The decision to organise athletics competitions for girls, in part, resulted from advocacy by female teachers who were keen on sports. In 1950, these women convinced the DO Nandi Division, for instance, to convince his peers to start including female events in the school competitions at the district level. In the DO's words:

It may not be too early to suggest that some attention be given to encouraging athletics among girls in the more progressive schools in the District. What leads me to suggest this is the obvious share which the girls have already acquired in the school-life of one or two schools notably Kosiria and Kebulonit together with the fact that at the former, the woman teacher on whose competence I remarked in my last Safari Report, specifically enquired about this possibility. Again it is suggested that the sociological values might be far wider than mere events themselves, even if the ones decided upon were of a less severely athletic nature than the present programmes that male events comprise.²⁵³

But the beginning of the competitions for girls favoured what were considered progressive schools. Girls in village schools and those who missed the opportunity to go to school had to wait longer.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² Community Development Report 1955, 10.

²⁵³ KNA/DC/KABT/1/3/21 Nandi Locational Sports: Report of Locational Sports Safaris 15–26 July 1950, 3–4.

The formative years of women participation in sports were characterised by a sense of obligation by the male sports managers to protect the presumed fragile female body from the extreme physicality of sports. However, the keenness with which girls took to track and field events was subversive in the way that it undermined the notion of physically weaker sex. In the coastal region, where adult male and female enthusiasm in athletics was notably low, the most notable aspect during competitions was the girls' enthusiasm. In 1960, W. H. Mitchel, the Honourable Secretary Coast Province Sports Association wrote:

Here, frankly, I must confess I do not know what to do ... At best we only seem to get five or six schoolgirls at meetings who enter five or six races plus all the jumps and while we should not discourage keenness, it is obvious that with competing in so many events the standards of performance must necessarily be lowered.²⁵⁴

As Kenya edged close to independence, it was no secret that European patrons preferred to entrust the future of sports management to male Africans. Women were openly discouraged from seeking positions and, in some cases opportunities to train in sports management. In 1960, key stakeholders in the Kenya Olympic movement decided to deny women the opportunity to attend an Olympic Course in Germany. This was not a rare exception but a symptom of male entitlement in Olympic matters. The selected candidate was to be sponsored by commercial firms including the East African Standard, East African Airways, and British European Airways. These firms decided to sideline women with the approval of the KOA. An advertisement for the opportunity read:

[T]he type of young man – women will not be considered – the sponsors wish to attract is someone who is interested ... in sport or physical education, both from the organising and philosophical points of view, a young Kenyan who will derive benefit from the course and who will be in a position in the years ahead to pass on the experience and knowledge acquired for good amateur sport and physical education in Kenya, thereby furthering the Olympic ideals of improving sport and human relationships.²⁵⁵

This advertisement illustrates the limited role women were expected to play as custodians of the Olympic ideals in Kenya. However, it does not in any way indicate a lack of interest on the part of women. On the contrary, this study suggests, the fact that the sponsors saw it

²⁵⁴ KNA/CQ//1/34 Athletic Sports: W. H. Mitchel to Honourable Secretary Coast Province Athletics Committee.

²⁵⁵ KNA/CQ/1/34 Athletic Sports: Olympic Training Opportunity for Young Kenyan.

necessary to bar women from applying indicates an existing interest. It also indicates the reactions such interest elicited from the stakeholders accustomed to associating Olympism with manliness. Perhaps, they could not foresee a future in which women would become integral in the cultivation and protection of Olympic ideals. Within numerous AAAA and KOA documents examined by the researcher only two women were seen to have attended the KOA executive meetings. The two were identified as Miss B. Dodds representing the Education Department and Mrs Northrop who attended as an ordinary member. The researcher could not obtain further details about the two and their contribution to KOA. The barring of women highlighted herein exemplifies the structural and ideological difficulties that women faced as they attempted to cross into male defined realm.

The training programmes conducted by the Colony Sports Office also allow insights into the place of gender sport in colonial Kenya. The training programmes were designed to achieve attributes generally associated with males. For instance, as Kenya prepared for its debut British Empire and Commonwealth Games in 1954 the Colony Sports Officer called for professional training of athletes. The officer observed: ‘something much more will be required ... to build up strength, speed, endurance, flexibility and technique needed to make the international champion today.’²⁵⁶ Women were not believed to have the capacity for such attributes, neither were the attributes desired of them.

The ideological foundation of sports, muscular Christianity amateurism and Olympism, meant that for the better part of the colonial period, women in Kenya were not singled out for training as competitors or for roles in sports management. Although this masculine thinking was advanced by local sports officials, it was also reinforced from the outside. One external vessel for the infusion was the invitation of international athletes to give lectures to players and trainees in management. One such athlete was an African-American Mal Whitfield, then the record holder in the half mile race and the winner of the 800 metres race in the 1948 and 1952 Olympics. In his column appearing in the *Pittsburg Courier* in 1955, Whitfield reported: ‘In Africa, I saw fine specimens of physical manhood. These men ran as much as twenty-five miles daily ... in remarkably good time.’²⁵⁷ Whitfield’s report is indicative of an obsession with physical manhood that characterised sports management in post-World War II United States. It is little wonder then that all sports scholarships abroad for Kenyan athletes and managers between the 1950s and 1970s were accorded to men. Scholars agree that as a

²⁵⁶ Archie Evans, ‘5th British Empire and Commonwealth Games 1954’, *African Sports Review*, March 1954, 6.

²⁵⁷ KNA/AB/4/15 Community Development: Sport Report 1955, p. 2

consequence of the masculine hold, Kenyan women, alongside American counterparts, had to wait until the passing of Title IX legislation to get athletics scholarships in universities in United States.²⁵⁸

It is a truism that training for competitions and sports management in Kenya was done by men for men up to the eve of independence. It took up to 1959 for the sports office to organise the first Women Championship and the first course in sports management for women. Most provincial administrators hesitated to send competitors to Women Championships. Such administrators considered women-only competitions as waste of time and resources. Various districts comprising the Southern Province was particularly notorious in failing to facilitate female competitors.²⁵⁹ As Kenya emerged from colonialism, males had decades of head starts in participation and exposure to different aspects of sports management. The products of the Colony Sports Office training courses since its establishment in 1954 were ready to take charge of sports in the emerging nation. In addition, some among the early generations of athletes and footballers were already absorbed in management in different capacities by the eve of independence. Thus, women missed out on the rapid Africanisation of sports management in the wake of independence.

4.4 Summary

Elitism in sports management in colonial Kenya went through two major phases: the inter-war and the post-World War periods. In the two periods, dynamics of race, class and gender combined to privilege white politically connected men to act as the vanguards of British sporting ideals. The political class dominated patronage and other decision-making positions from the divisional level to the apex of organisations such as AAAA and the KOA. However, the ideological (muscular Christianity, amateurism and Olympism), social and political meanings of sports were in flux. The state of flux was influenced by developments like the internalisation of sports which brought in deportment (as opposed to prowess) and

²⁵⁸ For scholarships in the 1950s: Charles Musembi Mbathi scholarship in sports management at Province Barrington Bible College in the United States; Thomas Ashibande University College of North Staffordshire, advanced courses in sports management; and Staff Sergeant Korigo Barno who attended an advanced course at the Army School of Physical Training in Aldershot, England see KNA/4/15 Community Development: Sport Report.

²⁵⁹ KNA/QB/20/24 Provincial Sports Officers Conference; note: some districts in Southern Province were blatant in their refusal to fund women competitors. The Province did not send athletes to the 1959 and 1960 Women's Championships. In 1959 Provincial Association Meeting one DC from the province questioned the rationality of spending time and resources on women-only competitions. It is important to note that such districts generally lagged behind others in male athletics and football standards but administrators did not invoke futility of funding male representatives to inter-district competitions. For more see for example KNA/DC/KAJ/4/1/6 Annual Reports: Kenya Women's Championship 1959.

prominence as the key qualifications in participation (especially for the Africans and Asians) and management respectively. Other important developments included the expansion of recreation sports as means to divert agitation and reduce antisocial behaviour in the 1950s as well as the use of sports to promote friendly rivalry between administrative units in the colony. Like internalisation, these developments were highly gendered and they served to cement masculine hold of sports management.

The 1950s also witnessed the loosening of the grip of politically connected white males in AAAA while simultaneously solidifying their hold on the KOA. This paradigm shift allowed African elites, especially former sportsmen most of whom served in the disciplined forces, to begin taking charge of AAAA. This paradigm shift coincided with the beginnings of women competitions and the first training opportunities in sports management for women. Although the image of women in sports began to take shape as Kenya edged close to independence, it has a long history. It resulted from earlier advocacy by teachers, advances made in girls' education and the enthusiasm with which young girls entered into competitive sports. The girls' enthusiasm nullified the idea of women as the physically weaker sex. Not because African men had long head-starts in participation, training and management, women missed out in the Africanisation of sports management at independence.

The next chapter focuses on sports management in post-independent Kenya. It highlights continuities and discontinuities from sports management in colonial period. Its main focus is on evolution of professional and commercial sports and its relationship with gender inequality in contemporary management of athletics and football.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE POST-INDEPENDENCE ERA, 1964–2019

5.1 Overview

This chapter covers the management of sports after Kenya's independence in 1963. It examines the following themes and their relationships with gender inequality in sports management: important developments in sports management at independence, bottlenecks in the professionalisation of female athletics and football and gender crisis in top decision-making levels of athletics and football management.

Scholars have sought to unpack the gender puzzle in the management of sports in Kenya. Some studies have drawn a direct relationship between the number of women participants and the role of women in sports management. This school of thought overlooks the progress in participation as exemplified by near parity in Kenya's teams in international competitions. Some scholars have pointed out that gerontocracy of traditional societies easily seeps into sports to disadvantage women in sports management. Others have chosen to celebrate Kenyan women who have broken the glass ceiling in sports management. By highlighting women's journeys in sports, such studies hope to not only expose barriers in women's pursuit of positions in sports management and how to navigate them but also serve as exemplars to inspire other women.²⁶⁰ This multi-dimensional literature has deepened the understanding of gender inequality in sports management in Kenya. Nonetheless, knowledge gaps exist on how the interplay of professionalisation, commercialisation, the evolution of sports management, and social, cultural and political factors have structured gender inequality in sports management. This chapter investigates how the interplay alluded to herein reproduces athletics and football management as male domains. Such an understanding is important in guiding policy and other interventions on gender inequality in the management of athletics and football in Kenya.

²⁶⁰ For a comprehensive review of existing literature on gender and sports in Kenya see a review of national-level literature in Chapter One such as Mbaha, Janet Musimbi, 'Experiences of Women in Sports Leadership in Kenya.' Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Georgia, 2012; Mwisukha, Andanje and Elijah G Rintaugu, 'Insights into the Under-Representation of Women in Sport-Leadership in Kenya' *International Journal of Applied Sociology* 3, 5, (2013), 102-108 and Simiyu, Njororai 'Gender and Sport Socialization in Kenya' *Journal of east Africa Research and Development* 26 (1996), pp. 24–31.

5.2 Important Developments in Sports Management at Independence

The professional era of Kenyan sports has allowed women onboard as competitors while limiting their role in top management. The era is a culmination of decades of evolution in sports management during which there have been continuities and discontinuities in the meaning of sports. Imbued with values of muscular Christianity, amateurism and Olympism, the meanings of sports across time have been highly gendered. The structuring of meaning is influenced by state and non-state agencies that invest in sports for sports' sake or as a key component of their wider programmes. In the resulting multi-sectoral setup, the meaning of sports has ranged from being an educational tool, a means to a holistic Christian life (body, soul and mind), a means of instilling respect for authority, a diplomatic tool, crime mitigation tool, form of employment among others. These meanings have influenced the gendering of different levels of sports management in Kenya. Commercialisation is, arguably, the most powerful defining force of professional sports.²⁶¹

Kenya's sports policy defines professional sports as those for which a contract for engagement and remuneration has been entered into by a club or sports organisation and sportspersons. Contracts can be signed between a player and a team; between commercial firms or agents; between a team and a commercial firm; between local federations and commercial firms among others. Commercialisation is perhaps the most defining feature of professional sports. It redefined meanings of sports, modes of competition, viewership and spectatorship among other dynamics. Scholars such as the 'Frankfurt school', a group of German-Americans theorists who developed critical analyses of changes in capitalist societies, agreed that professionalisation of cultural forms like sports resulted in significant shift from traditional forms. Two schools of thought have emerged to explain the impact of professionalisation on sports. One school holds that commercialisation accompanied by commoditisation and consumerism eroded the moral values of amateur sports. The theory of culture industry propounded by theorists like Theo Adorno and Walter Benjamin is an example of critical concerns with the impact of commercialisation of sports and other forms of culture. The other school holds that instead of folding back amateurism, commercialisation added layers of meaning to the existing ones.²⁶² How does the continued commercialisation of sports in Kenya gender their management?

²⁶¹ For more on the uses of sports in the amateur era see chapters two and three.

²⁶² For more on legal framework of professional sports in Kenya see Sports Act, 2013; For more on culture industry theory and the impact of commercialism on forms of culture see the theoretical framework in Chapter

The newly independent Kenya continued to use structures of sports management laid by the colonial regime. The elites continued to patronise and manage provincial and district sports associations. The Colony Sports Office was renamed Kenya Sports Office under the Kenya Sports Officer. Provincial Sports Officers managed sports in the provinces under the behest of provincial administrators. They were aided by Community Development Officers (CDOs) and Community Development Assistants (CDAs).²⁶³ Figure 5.1 is a representation of organisation of sports in Kenya at independence.

However, as athletics and football federations became fully-fledged organisations with branches at the grassroots, the practice of provincial administrators, sports officers and CDOs running the day-to-day affairs of the two sports by virtue of their offices began to cede. Today, athletics administration runs from the sub-county to the county to the regional (administrative) to the executive council of Athletics Kenya (AK). Elections to each level are based on a delegate system. Three officials elected at the sub-county participate as voters and candidates at the county level. Counties send an equal number of delegates for elections at the regional level. The delegates system from the sub-county to the regional level discussed herein does not apply to the disciplined forces. The forces have a distinct system of administration based on seniority and one's accomplishments during active years in representing the respective security organs in local competitions and the country in international events.²⁶⁴ Football management follows a similar system starting with clubs at the sub-county electing holders for the sub-branch level. Sub-branch officials nominate their delegates to the branch (county) elections, the branch to the region and the region to the Federation of Kenyan Football (FKF) Executive Committee.²⁶⁵ Figure 4.6 is a photograph of Catherine Ndereba, the Assistant Commissioner of Prisons Services. She is in charge of all sports affairs of the prisons department. The photograph embodies the long history of

One; for examples of administrative circulars see KNA QB/20/15 Kenya National Sports Council: 'Administrative Circular No.2 of 1971 Olympic and Commonwealth Games and Role on National Sports Council in Relations to various National Sports Associations'.

²⁶³ KNA/QB/20/14 Kenya National Sports Council: Sports in Kenya.

²⁶⁴ Francis Kamau, Interview with the Researcher, 8 October 2020; Adriano Musonye, Interview with the Researcher, 20 October 2020 and Stephen Mwaniki, Interview with the Researcher, 21 October 2020.

²⁶⁵ Doris Petra, Interview with the Researcher, 15 December 2020. Note: The AK has designated the following as the constituent regions: North Rift, South Rift, Central Rift, Central, Luo Nyanza, Kisii Nyanza, North Eastern, the Coast and Nairobi. In addition to these administrative regions, the security organs (Kenya Defence Forces, National Police Service, Kenya Prisons Department, Kenya Wild Life Service and the National Youth Service) as 'regions'. The Inter-university Sports Council is an additional 'region'. Each region and 'region' is assigned three votes during elections for the national office.

association between security organs and sports and of the organs as fertile grounds for nurturing female sporting talent and leadership in sports.

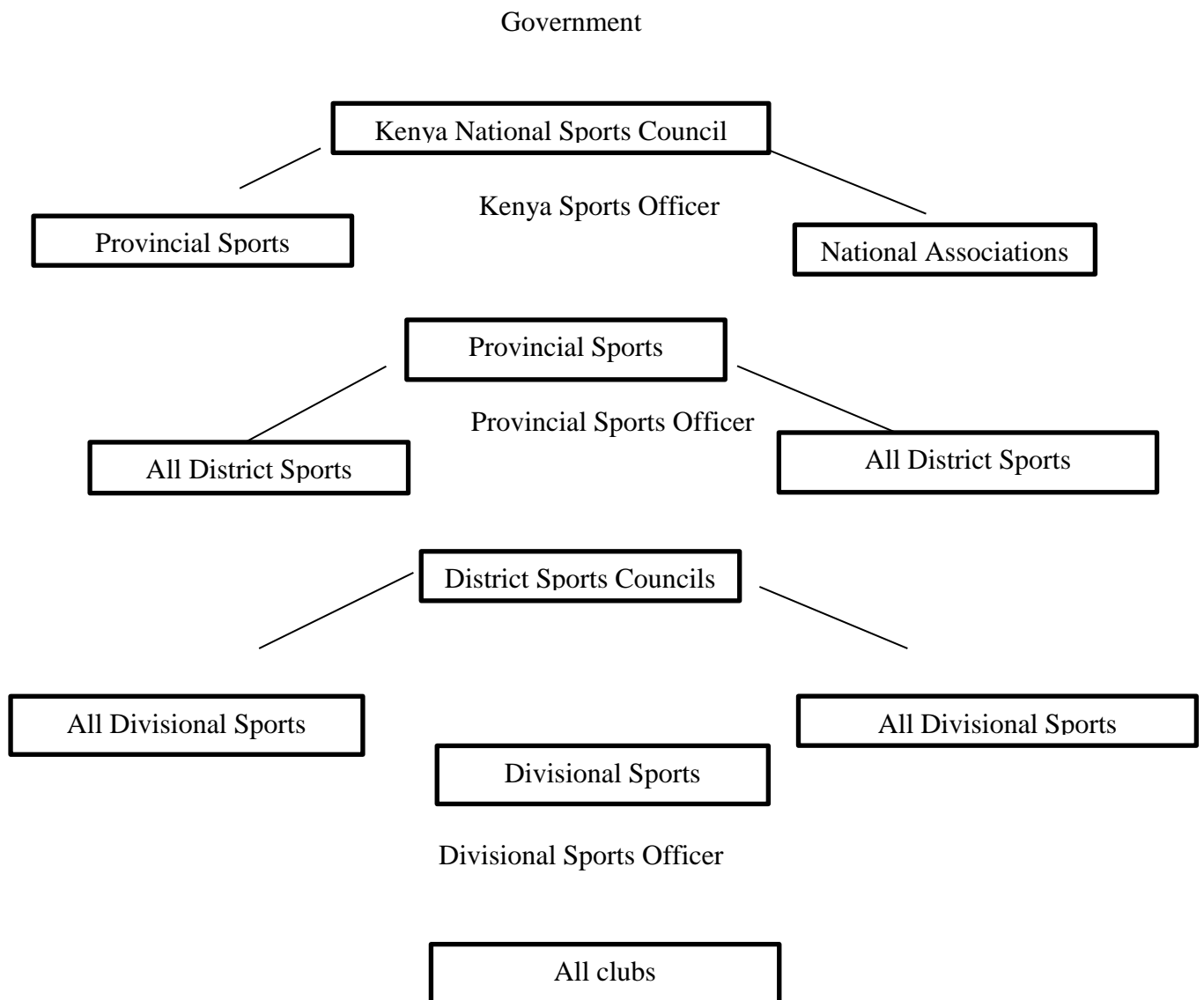


Fig 5.1 Structure of Sports Management in Kenya in the Wake of Independence

Source: *KNA QB/20/14 Kenya National Sports Council*

There also existed the Kenya National Sports Council (KNSC), an advisory body on sports policy that was established in 1966. KNSC was also mandated to coordinate efforts of all sports organisations in Kenya; assist in raising funds from individuals, private organisations, trusts and governments friendly to Kenya; assist in developing facilities for physical

recreation in a planned and orderly manner.²⁶⁶ Upon formation, the government expected existing sports organisations such as the Kenya Olympic and Commonwealth Association and federations for respective sports disciplines to naturally affiliate with KNSC. Its formation, however, marked the beginning of the uneasy relationship that exists between the government and sports associations. Sports organisations grew uneasy with KNSC as its mandate seemed to overlap with theirs in some aspects. As the tension grew into open rebellion the ministry in charge of sports clarified: 'this does not represent an imposition on sports organisations from this Ministry. It simply means that the Ministry wishes the Sports Council to have the full support of every organisation.'²⁶⁷ The balance between government intervention and interference remains a paradox to date.



Fig. 5.2 Catherine Ndereba, Assistant Commissioner of Prisons Services holding a trophy won by the Prisons Department at the 2008 National Athletics Championships

Source: Ndereba's Collection

²⁶⁶ KNA/QB/20/15 Kenya National Sports Council: Ministry of Housing and Social Services to all Sporting Organisations, 30 October 1966.

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

The paradox of state intervention versus interference informs the uneasy relationship between the Kenyan government and International Sports Organisations (ISOs). National sports organisations always defer to the ISOs. International Federation of Football Associations (FIFA) and IOC, for instance, operate on the policy of alienating governments from their constituents at the national level. For such organisations, sports are sacred and beyond the realms of government. As such, government interventions are interpreted as sacrilegious and disrespectful to the sanctity of sports.²⁶⁸

The ISOs seem to overlook the fact that their national constituents of ISOs operate in polities with laws formulated to regulate all aspects of life. In Kenya, even when there are blatant financial and other misdemeanours within FKF, for instance, the government intervenes at the threat of the country's suspension from international competitions. But in countries such as Kenya where most sporting infrastructures are government-owned and where sports development is largely dependent on public funds, it is not easy to keep the government off sports management.²⁶⁹

Besides, sports are integral to Kenya's cultural diplomacy. Kenya's foreign policy recognises the importance of sportspersons and the hosting of sports mega-events in initiating and sustaining diplomatic engagements with foreign governments and populations. Sports enhance Kenya's image abroad and demonstrates its competitiveness. Although Kenya only wrote its first foreign policy in 2014, it has an established tradition of diplomacy through sports. The hallmark of diplomacy through sports was the successful rallying of global support in its quest for the non-permanent membership in the United Nations Security Council. Additionally, Kenya has over the years rewarded Olympians with medals of distinguished 'diplomatic' service. With the foregoing in mind, the government is likely to remain a key player in sports management for the foreseeable future.²⁷⁰

5.3 Evolution in Commercialisation of Athletics and Football in Kenya

The establishment of the Colony Sports Office in mid 1950s prepared the ground for the professionalisation and commercialisation of athletics and football in Kenya. One of the first tasks of the office was to help Kenyan athletes develop qualities to enable them compete

²⁶⁸ Stuart Murray and Geoffrey Allen Pigman, 'Mapping the Relationship between International Sport and Diplomacy' in *Sport in Society: Cultures, Commerce, Media, Politics* (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 8.

²⁶⁹ Gachuhi, interview, 9 October 2020.

²⁷⁰ For the first such awarding by President Jomo Kenyatta to Olympic legend, Kipchoge Keino see, 'Track Star gets Order of Burning Spear', *Daily Nation*, 30 July 1970, 1; for Kenya's use of athletes in lobbying for the non-permanent membership of the United Nations Organisation see *Daily Nation*, 28 July 2020.

favourably in the 1954 British Empire and Commonwealth Competitions. The term professionalisation in this sense implied months of training before such international competitions. Archie Evans, the Colony Sports Officer emphasised the need for longer periods of training if the athletes were to build up strength, speed, endurance, flexibility and technique to make it to the standards of international champions of the time.²⁷¹ With this in mind, the office endeavoured to expose Kenyan athletes to rigorous training regimes. When Kenya attained independence the office retained its mandate and the mode of operation. William Yieda, one of Evans's assistants, took the helm as Kenya Sports Officer.²⁷²

The seeds of dominance in amateur middle and long-distance running planted under the colonial environment culminated in Kenya's success in international competitions after independence. The success of Kenyan athletes like on the eve of independence stimulated interest and self-belief among aspiring athletes. Paul Sang, an accomplished athlete and coach explained, 'Our first experience in the international competition was so positive. We won medals from the word go thereby setting the bar for upcoming athletes. That bar is that if you win anything less than gold, you are not good enough.'²⁷³ This early success set athletics apart from other sports in terms of professionalisation.

Financial rewards for professional athletes started flowing after the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and International Amateur Athletic (IAAF) started to accommodate the payment of athletes. During the tenure of Juan Antonio Samaranch at the IOC helm (1980 – 2001) and Primo Nebiolo at IAAF (1981 – 1999) athletics became fully commercialised.²⁷⁴ This opened financial opportunities for Kenyan athletes. Besides bringing glory to Kenya, athletics became an important source of income. The continued dominance by Kenya in international competitions is sustained by the strong sense of professionalism with which its athletes take to the sport. In the words of Eliud Kipchoge, arguably the greatest male marathoner of all time, 'What makes Kenya dominate is because athletes treat the sport as a profession. They do not choose running as a hobby.'²⁷⁵

²⁷¹ Archie Evans, '5th British Empire and Commonwealth Games 1954', *African Sports Review*, March 1954, p. 6.

²⁷² See for example KNA/QB/20/24 Provincial Sports Officers Conference: William Yieda to Provincial Sports Officers, 31 March 1965.

²⁷³ 'Kipchoge: The Last Milestone,' Universal Pictures and Ridley Scott Creative Group, 2021.

²⁷⁴ Gachuhi, interview, 9 October 2020. Note: the journey towards professionalising athletics received a major boost in 2001 when the IAAF Congress voted for the organisation renaming to International Association of Athletics Federations while retaining the same initials.

²⁷⁵ Eliud Kipchoge as cited in 'Last Milestones', 2021.

However, as Kenya established dominance throughout the second half of the twentieth century, it was criticised for deriving global prestige through athletics while doing nothing for the sport in return. Bruce Tulloh, a British expatriate contracted to coach Kenyan athletes in the 1970s described the country as a ‘coach's paradise’ for what he termed unrivalled natural ability in athletics. The expatriate was however quick to outline what he considered major flaws in the management of athletics in Kenya at the time. For him, the country lacked clear sports financing policy; relied on a few generous sponsors, schools and disciplined services in organising competitions; and, lacked a national coaching system to develop talent. The expatriate proposed that the government should have subsidised athletics and football as its counterparts in Eastern Europe do.²⁷⁶ In what appears like admission to these charges, the minister in charge of sports averred that football consumed the lion's share of the sports kitty, thereby disadvantaging other sports.²⁷⁷

Meanwhile, as national and global developments allowed athletic standards to blossom, the professionalisation of football took off to a slow start. Like athletics, the professionalisation of football was partly informed by global trends. Beginning in the 1960s, commercialisation became a defining factor in football, first in Western Europe and then in the rest of the world. Mass production of colour television in the 1960s catalysed the professionalisation of football. The advent of the colour television became a major watershed that entwined football with commercial interest. Broadcasting of football matches over the television made footballers household stars and celebrities. After this, rewards started flowing in form of huge wages by clubs as well as sponsorship and endorsement by advertisers.²⁷⁸

While the nature of athletics allowed Kenyan athletes to tap into athletic ecosystems abroad, the commercialisation of football required the growth of the ecosystem locally. This, partly, explains why it took long for Kenyan footballers to announce themselves on the global stage. Nonetheless, commercial firms’ interest in football and athletics dates back to the inter-war period. During the period, football became the most popular sport in the colony. In these

²⁷⁶ Bruce Tulloh, ‘Second to None in Natural Ability,’ *Daily Nation*, 14 June 1973, 22.

²⁷⁷ For the views of Masinde Muliro, the minister in charge of sports in 1973, on how football ate into the kitty of sports development see Standard Reporter, ‘Sports Council to Handle Soccer Cash’, *East African Standard*, 23 January 1973.

²⁷⁸ Gachuhi, interview, 9 October 2020.

early times, the role of commercial firms was curtailed by the amateur traditions advocated by sports managers then.²⁷⁹

Several features marked the commercialisation of athletics and football in Kenya. First, by the early 1960s, the radio became part of an evolving commercial space especially in football. The Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) entered several contracts with firms that sought to maximise sales through sports. Caltex Oil Company, for instance, not only sponsored football tournaments but also reserved exclusive rights to advertise as the matches were broadcasted. At the same time, the KBC sold the rights to broadcast regional tournaments such as the Gossage Cup (a competition between national teams of the East African region) to other stations in the East African region such as Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation, Uganda Radio and Zanzibar Radio.²⁸⁰

A second feature was the exploitation of sports facilities especially stadiums as advertising sites. Beginning in 1984, enterprises like General Motors entered contracts with Nairobi Municipal Council allowing them to use the Nyayo National Stadium and the Nairobi City Stadium for advertisement. It seems the value of advertising through the facilities paid immediate dividends. The fact that firms offered to renew and extend their contracts long before the expiry of their contracts indicates that they derived great value through the practice. In 1984 one firm wrote, 'We are now willing to offer you the sum of Kenya Shilling one hundred and eighty thousand per year ... You, no doubt, will appreciate that we have filled all the sights allocated to us on the inner perimeter fencing of the stadium.'²⁸¹ In addition to such contracts, the municipal council had as early as the 1960s sought to increase revenue by charging the media for broadcasting matches live from the facilities. KBC opposed this development as early as the 1960s. A meeting of the Broadcasting Committee held on 8 August 1960, for instance, recommended that no such payment was to be made.²⁸²

²⁷⁹ See for example the AASA refusal to award individuals during the 1936 Singer Cup Competitions KNA/PC/NZA/2/1/90 Native Association: Minutes of the Meeting of the Football Council of AASA, 8 May 1936.

²⁸⁰ See KNA/RQ/15/7 Sports Programmes: Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (Gossage Cup).

²⁸¹ KNA/AMP/18/13 Kenya Amateur Athletics: Contact Designers Ltd to the Permanent Secretary Ministry of Culture and Social Services, 9 May 1984. For contracts between General Motors and Nairobi Municipal Council see KNA/AMP/18/13 Kenya Amateur Athletics: Advertising Space at Nyayo Stadium and Nairobi City Stadium.

²⁸² KNA/RQ/15/4 Sports Programmes: Recommendations of the 11th Sports Broadcasting Committee Meeting, 8 August 1960.



Fig. 5.3 The face of main entrance to Moi International Sports Centre Kasarani before commercialisation of sports in Kenya

Source: *Roy Gachuhi's Collections*



Fig. 5.4 Face of main entrance to Moi International Sports Centre Kasarani after commercialisation of sports in Kenya

Source: Researcher's Personal Collection, 12 October 2019

Thirdly, the Football Association of Kenya (FA) began to think of sources of revenue beyond gate collections. It sought to tap into the growing interest in broadcasting football matches by the media and commercial firms. It decided to charge a broadcasting fee for both live transmission and recorded national and international competitions. KBC sports broadcasting committee opposed FA's initial effort to charge the fee in 1960. It argued, 'the demand from

the Football Association for a broadcasting fee should be turned down because it might cause a dangerous precedent. It is further recommended that all planned FA broadcasts should cease henceforth.²⁸³ It seems stakeholders were unaware of the mutual benefits of an alliance between the sports fraternity, the media and corporate firms at the time. According to the current FKF Vice President, if the commercial space of Kenyan football is properly managed, all stakeholders would benefit immensely. For instance, the media would get stories and matches to sell their advertising space; firms would get the opportunity to attract customers; players would get a bigger platform to showcase their talent, and revenue for the federation would increase.²⁸⁴

Fourth, global sports manufacturing multinationals also became part of the evolving sports economy. As early as the 1970s, Adidas tapped into the growing market for sports goods while at the same time funding expansion programmes in Kenyan sports. It gave Orbisports exclusive manufacturing and market franchise for the whole of Africa. Orbisports collaborated with Development Finance Company of Kenya to finance its operations in Kenya.²⁸⁵

Fifth, in the late 1970s there was an incipient sports consultancy that offered to link stakeholders so as maximise returns on investment in Kenyan sports. Consultancy groups such as Sports Promotions offered services aimed at increasing publicity of sports and competitions; helping sports associations diversify revenue channels beyond gate collection by enticing the manufacturing sector to contribute to sports; creating sponsor-liaison by getting stakeholders to realise the long term mutual benefits of joint activities between associations and sponsors; and, offering centralised offices to initiate and sustain links between sponsors and sports associations.²⁸⁶

Lastly, the above developments were accompanied by a decrease in integrity and professionalism by some in sports management. Trouble was already brewing within sports organisations in the wake of independence. In the 1960s and 1970s, the ills in sports management in Kenya took the form of incompetence, ethnicity and personal squabbles. In

²⁸³ KNA/RQ/15/7 Sports Programmes: Meeting of the Sports Broadcasting Committee, 18 July 1960.

²⁸⁴ Petra, interview, 15 October 2020.

²⁸⁵ Anon. 'Money for Balls', *Weekly review*, 7 February 1977. 23.

²⁸⁶ See for example KNA/AMP/18/7: Vocational Sports for the Disabled: Sports Promotions to the Administrative Secretary Kenya National Sports Council, 9 October 1979.

the 1980s, financial misdemeanours increasingly became part of the management crisis in athletics and football. One observer noted:

Sports organisations seem more adept at mismanaging sports than anything else. It used to be merely a question of inefficiency and personal power struggles amongst sports officials. Now it looks as if all along, pilferage and embezzlement have been the order of the day ... As officials have lined their pockets and gone gallivanting from one country to another, it is the sportsmen and sportswomen who have suffered.²⁸⁷

In 2005, Kenya's Permanent Secretary for Ethics and Governance identified corruption as the main impediment to sports development in the country.²⁸⁸ Embezzlement and other selfish acts in management seem to vindicate concerns by proponents of amateurism that commercialisation would corrupt the moral values of sports.

Observers argue that the lack of professionalism in sports management has been compounded by a lack of visionary leadership at the apex of the ministry and federations in charge of athletics and football. Although there have been a few transformational ministers in charge of sports in the past, some contemporary sports administrators and managers feel the docket has largely been a 'dumping site' for the underperforming cabinet ministers. One observed:

We do not have visionary leadership that can make sports a professional field. In the first place, the appointing authorities have not always considered the sporting and, or educational backgrounds nor the interest in sports of the appointees. It has been the case that those managing sports have little knowledge of the dynamism of sports. Remember the 2018 appointment of Rashid Echesa, a primary school drop-out with an unknown sporting background to steward sports in the country?²⁸⁹

Furthermore, athletics and football federations' elections have in the past been characterised by a general lack of objectivity. Lack of objectivity in this case refers to the seepage of national political alliances and divisions, mostly along ethnic and regional lines, into federation elections. 'If federation elections are held in an election season in national politics, it affects how people line up and the outcomes. When held otherwise, they are a bit objective

²⁸⁷ Hillary Ng'weno, 'Letter from the Editor', *Daily Nation*, 24 March 1989, 24.

²⁸⁸ Stephen Ouma, 'Corruption is Killing Sport', *Daily Nation*, 9 December 2005, 23.

²⁸⁹ Pauline Murumba, Interview with the Researcher, 13 October 2020.

because the external pressure is minimal.’²⁹⁰ The cumulative impact of the leadership crisis at the ministerial and federation levels translates to the slow development. One informant admitted, ‘as a person working in the Ministry I must say we have been slow. The ministry should set the pace and standards to professionalise and transform sports. But with the enactment of the Sports Act 2013, things are beginning to fall in place.’²⁹¹

5.4 Bottlenecks in the Professionalisation of Female Sports

The professionalisation of female athletics and football in Kenya took different trajectories. Besides the challenges to the professionalisation of the two sports discussed herein, female athletes and footballers had to contend with historical, systemic and cultural impediments in their endeavour to make careers in sports. It took up to 1959 for Kenya to organise the first national championship and courses in athletic coaching for women, thirty-six years after the formation of the Arab and African Athletic Association (AAAA). Again, it took up to 1968 for the first female runners to participate in the Olympics in what the media considered a bold step by the Kenya Amateur Athletic Association (KAAA).²⁹² Despite their late arrival on the international stage, writers in Europe in the 1990s anticipated that Kenyan women would soon dominate global middle and long-distance running. It is common for contemporary female athletes to win more medals than male counterparts during international competitions.²⁹³

Female football took to a slow start. Up to the 1980s, there were no major competitions in the form of leagues or knockout tournaments. Some of those who contemplated organising matches for women offered what they considered light moments as opposed to the rigour of the game. Orbisports was among the first to organise a tournament on the national stage. In 1988 Orbisports inaugurated what it hoped would become an annual tournament as part of arena events during the Nairobi International Show. But the tournament, though complete

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

²⁹¹ Patrick Wekesa, Interview with the Researcher 12 October 2020.

²⁹² KNA/DC/KAJ/4/1/6 Annual Reports: Kenya Women’s Championship 1959. See also Michelle Sikes ‘Print Media and the History of Women’s Sport in Africa: The Kenyan Case of Barriers to International Achievement,’ *History in Africa* 43, (2016) 324.

²⁹³ Gideon Chirchir, Interview with the Researcher, 21 October 2020. For anticipation by sports writers in Europe in the 1990s that Kenyan female athletes would do well in international competitions see Paul Redfern, ‘Kenyan Women Expected to Shine’, *Daily Nation*, 10 January 1995.

with a trophy at stake was to be a 'light-hearted affair and the major objective [was] to provide a social day.'²⁹⁴

Contemporary sponsors of the Kenya Premier League (KPL) also sponsor vibrant nationwide tournaments for the under-20s such as Safaricom's *Chapa Dimba*. However, it took years for women leaders in FKF to convince Safaricom to bring girls onboard. To date, there is no professional league for women in Kenya. For catchment, Harambee Starlets, the national team, has to rely largely on tournaments like *Chapa Dimba*, secondary school competitions and a poorly funded league ran by FKF national office.²⁹⁵

However, the greatest challenge to the growth of professional female athletics and football is the continued muscular-hold of sports. After decades of exclusion, Kenyan women began to enter into a field that was designed to keep them and everything considered effeminate from sports.²⁹⁶ Today, women sports continue to face apathy in investment from the government, federations and corporate firms. While these stakeholders consider their involvement in male sports investment, they regard female sports a cost. According to FKF Vice President, 'when we organise tournaments the media is not keen as many Kenyans do not watch women soccer. The lack of visibility hurts women soccer as advertisers do not bring their money to the game.'²⁹⁷

Stakeholders hesitate to fund competitions, teams and individual sportswomen because of real or perceived low return on investment. Writers on Kenyan sports observe that the low level of investment is driven by the perception that women sports in Kenya offer fewer spectacles. The writer of the only column dedicated to gender issues in sports in Kenyan dailies argued, 'when women started participating we did not work on the sub-culture that male sports are superior to women's. Female soccer, for instance, still has very low spectatorship, television viewership and coverage. Therefore, corporates do not put their money in women's sports.'²⁹⁸ From the foregoing, one can argue that the convergence of commercial interests in sports reinforced an already gender-biased field.

²⁹⁴ KNA/ARK/8/1 National Youth Service: Coordinator Women Soccer Tournament to Chief Sports Officer National Youth Service, 15 August 1988.

²⁹⁵ Petra, interview, 15 October 2020.

²⁹⁶ See Chapters Two and Three for the historical construction of athletics and football as masculine domains in colonial Kenya.

²⁹⁷ Petra, interview, 15 October 2020.

²⁹⁸ Celestine Olilo, Interview with the Researcher, 6 October 2020.

The media has become a key player in sports development in the country. Visibility through the media is important to the development of sports disciplines and sportspersons. In Kenya, however, media silencing women in sports is the norm. Major media houses in Kenya are not keen on illuminating women in sports. Even female sports journalists hesitate to cover women's competitions because they are considered low profile and chances of career growth for such journalists are limited. One journalist admitted, 'I used to feel bad when I was sent to cover women's football. I knew I would get a small space as it was presumed readers were not interested in women's football. Newspaper stories of women in sports are normally small strips and often obscured.'²⁹⁹ Such silences feedback into sports discourse thereby further institutionalising male dominance in sports.

Sportspersons' engagement with media is a means of enhancing one's revenue and positioning for those who would seek to transition to management. But Kenyan sportspersons, especially female athletes have been accused of low media engagement and confidence. Amina Mohammed, after appointment as the Cabinet Secretary in charge of sports in 2019, identified media handling as a major challenge for Kenyan athletes. Consequently, the minister contracted media houses such as Nation Media Group to train athletes on media handling skills as part of the preparation for international competitions. Media practitioners and consultants in Kenya observe that male athletes are more open to and available for interviews than females. This is partly because sportswomen are more likely to get negative criticism.³⁰⁰ And, according to a retired athlete and former record holder of the African Championship in 3000 and 5000 metres and today member of Nairobi AK Executive, Kenyan female athletes are comparatively less educated. This impedes their ability and confidence to handle the media. For some, this is complicated by controlling husbands who in some cases double as their coaches and managers.³⁰¹ In an age in which activities off the field are as important as winning, female athletes are thus disadvantaged in securing sponsorship and endorsements.

Sexist journalism is another impediment to the Kenyan women's cause in athletics and football. As stories of women in sports began to feature in local dailies in the 1960s, they often emphasised the non-athletic attributes such as beauty and dressing. In 1968, for

²⁹⁹ Ibid.

³⁰⁰ Elias Makori, Interview with the Researcher, 21 December 2020; Wanjiku Mwenda, Interview with the Researcher, 2 November 2020.

³⁰¹ Justina Jepchirchir, Interview with the Researcher, 13 October 2020.

instance, an article highlighting the achievement of a female athlete began, ‘Lydia Stevens brings to the murram track a touch of glamour ... her lithe figure stretching down the straight has all the beauty of a cheetah in action.’³⁰² Four years later a journalist highlighting the paucity of female athletes in Kenya likened it to what he considered the revealing nature of a mini-skirt. Today, not much has changed. The secretary-general of the Sports Media Council lamented the normalisation of sexism in sports journalism and the lack of response by institutions such as the National Olympic Committee of Kenya’s (NOCK) Women in Sports Commission (WSC).³⁰³ Acknowledging this normalisation an editor said, ‘We have been cultured to imagine that if you are writing a story about a female athlete the story will be more appealing if you go into other aspects instead of going straight to the crux of the matter.’³⁰⁴ Figure 4.4 is a photograph of Sabina Chebichii competing in inter-school competitions in 1972 at the age of sixteen. Running barefooted and in a petticoat but still beating her competitors, Chebichii was nicknamed ‘petticoat queen by the Kenyan press. At the background can be seen two fully kitted male competitors. The photo demonstrates structural and material barriers female athletes had to endure. Figure 4.5 is a photograph of Chebichii winning bronze in Commonwealth Games two years later.



Fig. 5.5 Sabina Chebichii Competing During Inter-school Competition in 1972

Source: Boit ‘*Kenyan Female Runners*’ p. 22.

³⁰² Peter Moll, ‘Miss Stevens: The Girl Who Adds Glamour to Speed’, *Daily nation*, 12 October 1968, 23.

³⁰³ Mwenda. interview. For the article on the paucity of female athletes see Peter Moll, ‘Adala Running Back to Happiness’, *Daily Nation*, 22 June 1972, 23.

³⁰⁴ Steven Omondi, Interview with the Researcher, 6 October 2020.

Ironically, objectification of sportswomen in Kenya also has origins in the most unlikely of places, the local and international sports federations. Female volleyball makes a good illustration. Today, female clubs and international volleyball competitions enjoy huge spectatorship than the males'. This was achieved by switching to tight apparel to attract male spectators, a policy that ran from the International Volleyball Federation (IVF) to the Kenya Volleyball Federation (KVF). The switch managed to increase spectatorship, media coverage and sponsorship. However, questions surround how many spectators turn up for the love of the game and how to sustain the interest without objectifying the players.³⁰⁵

While the need to spur spectator interest, viewership and readership may have triggered objectification and sexism, the two are sustained by a strong sense of male entitlement in Kenyan sports. For some male journalists, women should be thankful for the coverage as opposed to criticising its content and presentation. However, the effect of objectification on some sportswomen cannot be underestimated. On the one hand, it makes some media-shy and therefore miss out on the benefits of visibility in the form of sponsorship and endorsement. On the other hand, it pressures some to become pre-occupied with their bodies at the expense of their sporting skills and fitness.³⁰⁶

³⁰⁵ Makori, interview, 20 December 2020.

³⁰⁶ Olilo, interview, 6 October 2020, Mwenda, interview, 2 November 2020. Note: both informants alluded to their experiences with male entitlement in their careers as sports journalists.



Fig. 5.6 Sabina Chebichii Competing During 1974 Commonwealth Games

Source: Boit, 'Kenyan Female Runners', p. 22.

Although the female talent has empowered many financially, it has flip sides. The great financial rewards have been accompanied by commoditisation of female athletes and footballers. Aided by cultural practices such as early marriage and polygamy, it is common for coaches in some parts of the country to marry athletes in their teenage. Sometimes the wives to such coaches are accomplices to such 'marriages' because of the greater potential for financial gains when the teenage athletes get to the peak of their careers. Those from poor backgrounds, and this is often the case for many athletes, are more prone because the coaches easily win the parents through bride price.

Husband-coaches may also double up as managers, thereby placing the athletes under continuous surveillance. The athletes' lives are thus reduced to the routines of daily training, flying for competitions abroad then back to training. Consequently, opportunities for empowerment through education and life coaching are limited. The lucky few who secure jobs with disciplined forces end up divorcing their husbands. The disciplined forces in this sense have empowering effects in the forms of interactions, promotion and freedom from

surveillance. On the other hand, those who attempt to assert themselves within marriage end up losing the hard-earned wealth when the husbands kick them out. Sadly, women in sports management today fear that a significant number of past and current champions of global middle and long-distance running continue to suffer in silence. In football, the vice takes the form of sex for playing opportunities. This is more pronounced in girls' football than in boys.³⁰⁷

5.5 Gender Crisis in Top Decision-making Levels of Sports Management

Although the evolution of sports management during the colonial period reinforced male dominance, Kenyan women have made some progress in sports management. Beginning with the first course in sports management in 1959, to becoming part of contingents of officials accompanying teams to continental and global competitions in the 1960s, women have in the twenty-first century broken the glass ceiling in technical departments and mid-level management. While AK and FKF and their regional, branch and sub-branch levels have recently become accommodative, disciplined forces have a long history of nurturing women coaches and administrators. Today, a few women serve in the national executives of NOCK, AK and FKF. The major highlight is, perhaps, Doris Petra who became the first female Vice President of FKF in 2016.³⁰⁸

³⁰⁷ Justina Chepchirchir, Interview with the Reseacher, 13 October 2020, Murumba, interview, 13 October 2020, Petra, interview, 15 October 2020.

³⁰⁸ Musonye, interview, 20 October 2020 and Petra, interview, 15 October 2020. For current gendering of the executive committees of AK and FKF see <http://www.athleticskenya.or.ke>; <http://footballkenya.org> respectively. For breakthrough to the contingents accompanying Kenyan teams to international competitions see Brigitte Shiundu, 'Olympic Women's Team Manageress Sums it Up: Women Athletes Need Guidance', *Kenya Sports Review*, 26 November 1969.



Fig. 5.7 From Left to Right Kentice Tikolo, Chairperson FKF Dispute Resolution Tribunal, handing the certificate of election to Doris Petra, Vice President FKF and Nick Mwendwa, FKF president after 2016 FKF election

Source: Kentice Tikolo's Photograph Collection

There are four major avenues to sports management in Kenya and they are highly gendered. First, a transition from active careers to coaching and other positions. This is, perhaps, the most common route. Notably, stakeholders lament the low levels of transition by elite female athletes and footballers. This often passes as a lack of interest and/or confidence on the side of the sportswomen.³⁰⁹ However, the disinterest, real or perceived, should be understood within the lived experience of female athletes and footballers in their active years. In most cases, the delegates and contestants are people well known to them. The retired sportswomen know the delegates and contestants' low opinion of women and in some cases; they are the same people who subjected them to abuse and exploitation. This foresight is made possible by the fact that the owners and coaches of training camps and clubs are the delegates and in most cases, the contestants.³¹⁰

³⁰⁹ Stakeholders identify lack of confidence as a major deterrent to gender equality in sports management in Kenya. The researcher attended the National Olympic Committee of Kenya's Women in Sports Commission (WSC) capacity-building workshop for female sports administrators, 29–30 October 2020. During the workshop, key facilitators like Joan Gathua, WSC member and former secretary-general of Kenya Judo Federation; June Waweru, Chairperson of Kenya Women Golf Union; and Wangui Kibe, Safaricom's Enterprise Digital Marketing Lead and 2020 Olympics Team Kenya's Executive Officer delved into strategies of building confidence and leading with confidence.

³¹⁰ John Vaselyne, Interview with the Resercher, 13 October 2020 and Olilo, interview, 6 October 2020.

The second avenue is the employment of those with academic qualifications in management and technical aspects of sports. The government deploys graduates of sports studies as technocrats and administrators of institutions established by the Sports Act (2013). Such institutions include the Kenya Academy of Sports (KAS) whose core mandate is to identify and nurture talent in collaboration with respective federations. KAS and other institutions established by the Act have a fair gender representation across levels of administration. Sports organisations like FKF also hire female experts to oversee technical departments.³¹¹ Thirdly, most sports organisations' constitutions have in the past allowed the co-option of prominent persons. Such persons have naturally been the affluent and politically connected. Because political influence and wealth control in the country is historically gendered, most of the co-opted have been male.³¹² The last avenue is elections to athletic and football federations. Top elective positions of the federations can be termed as the bastions of male power in Kenyan sports as explained below.

Historic, cultural and systemic barriers converge to complicate the role of women in athletics and football management in Kenya. Today's athletics and football governing bodies are products of a century of evolution in sports management. At the beginning of the evolution in the early colonial period, the two sports were expected to be masculine not only for their own sake but also to aid social institutions such as education and the church to regain 'manliness' (see Chapter Two). Therefore, the challenges women face today are partly related to the fact that they are seeking leadership in a cultural space that was not only expected to uphold masculine values for its own sake but also helps get rid of what some considered feminine in other aspects of life.

Elections have replaced the practice in which elites became decision-makers in athletics and football by the virtue of their positions in the political administration of Kenya. The electoral processes in AK and FKF are based on a 'club system'. This implies that those involved in the 'production' of athletes and footballers through training camps and clubs respectively double up as voters and candidates for positions from the sub-branches to the national offices. 'Production' has thus become an exclusionary concept in Kenyan athletics and football.

³¹¹ Monica Leshore, Interview with the Researcher, 12 October 2020; Melisa Alim Lim, Interview with the Researcher, 12 October 2020; Bob Munro, Interview with the Researcher, 10 October 2020. See Mathare Youths Sports Association (MYSA) Executive Summaries (2020), p.8 for graduates from MYSA programmes employed in different technical positions in Kenya's football management.

³¹² For provision on co-option of members in the provincial affiliates of the Kenya National Sports Council in the late sixties and seventies see the Eastern Province Sports Association's constitution, KNA/BF/14/1: Sports and Recreation.

Those who have trained – directly or indirectly – world-class athletes and footballers in most cases have an edge over others in elective positions of the two sports. There is a sense of entitlement based on ‘productivity’, so much so that those without backgrounds as sportspersons or coaches are sometimes perceived as outsiders.³¹³ Women are, perhaps, the biggest victims of this culture of exclusion. But what is the level of women's involvement in coaching even in regions of high numbers of female athletic and footballing talent?

Athletes from high altitude zones of Rift Valley, Central, Eastern and Nyanza dominate distance running in Kenya. Football is the dominant sport in low altitude zones, especially the larger western and coastal regions of the country. Management of the two sports has historically followed similar patterns.³¹⁴ Although women are beginning to make inroads in athletic coaching in the Rift Valley region, the same cannot be said of other regions. In football, the FKF Vice President revealed to the researcher that there are, as far as she could tell, only two women-owned football clubs to date. Because of the ‘investment versus cost’ considerations discussed earlier, the two clubs are not supported by the conventional revenues for football in Kenya – gate collections, sponsorship and FIFA – but through donor funds from abroad.³¹⁵ But what limits women's involvement in athletics and football coaching?

Several obstacles limit the role of Kenyan women in coaching. First, semblances of the Oedipus complex, its theoretical limitations notwithstanding, are believed to limit women's involvement in coaching. Most informants with insights in athletic coaching, for instance, argued that while most female coaches prefer to train female athletes, the athletes seem to believe that male coaches are more knowledgeable. The notion of male coaches being more knowledgeable is reinforced by the fact that women have been denied opportunities as head coaches of Kenyan contingents in international competitions. The denial is informed by the presumption that women lack the confidence to handle elite athletes and the ability to withstand the pressure that comes with the country's expectations of the contingents.³¹⁶

³¹³ The researcher made this inference from conversations with informants on the patterns of exclusion in sports management including gender, ethnicity and regionalism in AK and FKF.

³¹⁴ Francis Orangi Nyatome, Interview with the Researcher, 7 October 2020; Kamau, interview, 8 October 2020; Makori, interview, 21 December 2020 and Gachuhi, interview, 9 October 2020.

³¹⁵ Petra, interview, 15 October 2020 and Makori, interview, 21 December 2020.

³¹⁶ Orangi, interview, 7 October 2020, Kamau, interview, 8 October 2020 and Murumba, interview, 13 October 2020.

Second, sports politics in Kenya advantage men over women candidates. Some informants linked this to the general political culture of the country. One informant summed it up, 'The bad national political culture easily finds its way into sports politics. The sense of male entitlement makes us act like there should be no gender mainstreaming in sports.'³¹⁷ Men employ different forms of violence to elbow out women contestants. They vilify women to force them to withdraw their candidature. However, women have increasingly anticipated and negotiated the turbulence of sports politics. Nonetheless, the practices continue because men have successfully used them in the past. Some notable women like Catherine Ndereba, two-time Olympic silver medalist and the current commissioner of sports in the Prisons Department, and Pauline Murumba, an Executive Member of the AK Nairobi branch, admitted to choosing to preserve their integrity over top positions in AK and NOCK. They argue that the absence of gender policy on sports has made sports politics a fertile ground for misogyny. This realisation has motivated NOCK's WSC to begin working on a gender policy in sports.³¹⁸

Another impediment to the women's cause in sports management is the link between leadership and manliness in most Kenyan communities. For the better part of Kenya's history, sports leadership has been primarily male. As a consequence, women have been known to either keep-off sports leadership or vie for lower positions. Additionally, women are expected to, and do sometimes, sacrifice their ambition for higher positions in favour of men. In some cases, the federations have sacrificed women in what they term the 'greater good' of sports. The Olympic movement's culture of old 'boys club' aristocratic brokering of backroom deals has permeated the Olympic movement in Kenya. A case in point is the 2017 NOCK election. It is worth noting that because athletics accounts for almost every medal Kenya has won in the Olympics since 1956, the athletics fraternity has dominated management of NOCK. Indeed, the Kenyan media profiles athletics as the major Olympic sport and others like judo and taekwondo as 'fringe' sports. However, in the 2017 elections, the so-called 'fringe sports' challenged the dominance of the athletic fraternity. Three Olympic contemporaries of comparable achievement in their active years, Paul Tergat, Catherine Ndereba and Tecla Loroupe vied for different positions. The other sports could have easily outvoted athletics. In the give and take of lobbying, Ndereba and Loroupe were

³¹⁷ George Kariuki, Interview with the Researcher, 13 October 2020.

³¹⁸ Kentice Tikolo, Interview with the Researcher, 6 October 2020 and Catherine Ndereba, Interview with the Researcher, 28 October 2020.

asked to sacrifice their ambitions so that the athletic component could maintain NOCK's presidency.³¹⁹

Additionally, marriage and family dynamics limit women in terms of time and money to mobilise support. Campaigns and mobilisation in sports politics are expensive activities. And because of the patriarchal nature of Kenyan societies, husbands in most cases have total control over family resources. For married women, having supportive spouses makes a lot of difference. When spouse support is not forthcoming, male contenders have the advantage of resources and time to campaign. Unlike national politics, there is hardly a limit on the amount of money contestants should use in their campaigns for different positions. Furthermore, some informants, women included, opined that most women contestants are hesitant to dish money to influence their election. While this should be the norm, it works against women in Kenyan sports.³²⁰

Although the country lags behind in attaining gender parity in sports management, the number of women in different levels of athletics and football management in contemporary times is unprecedented. Several factors have facilitated this development. Naturally, as women have increasingly taken to sporting, their numbers in management have increased albeit disproportionately. Besides, gender gains in other aspects of life such as education and formal employment and the inclusion of a rule requiring that not more than two-thirds of public positions should be held by one gender have had a positive effect on gender dynamics in sports management.³²¹

Institutionalised advocacy for gender equality in sports management in Kenya has begun to take shape. The initial effort toward structured advocacy came in the early 2000s when women formed the now-defunct The Association of Kenya Women in Sports (TAKWIS). At its peak, TAKWIS focused on building women's capacities to manage sports while championing for inclusion of women in all levels of sports management. However, advocacy for gender equality in sports management is overshadowed by campaigns for gender parity in participation. Additionally, issues of gender and sports are hardly part of the agenda of the

³¹⁹ June Waweru, Interview with the Researcher, 11 December 2020; Ndereba, interview, 28 October 2020; Olilo, 6 October 2020 and Vaselyne, interview 13 October 2020. For aristocratic old 'boys club' nature of the Olympic Movement see David Black and Bryon Peacock, 'Sport and Diplomacy' in Andrew F. Cooper, Jorge Heine and Ramesh Thakur, *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 708 – 725.

³²⁰ Ndereba, interview, 28 October 2020; Mwaniki, interview, 21 October 2020 and Murumba, interview, 13 October 2020.

³²¹ Wekesa, interview, 12 October 2020.

women's movement in Kenya for two broad reasons. First, there are more urgent issues affecting women such as gender-based violence, access to education and health as well as inequality in the country's political leadership. Second, not many leaders of the women movement are keen on sports.³²² But with increased advocacy by individuals through media and academic writings, as well as incipient institutionalisation of advocacy spearheaded by NOCK's WSC, the number of women in sports management is expected to continue rising.³²³

Nevertheless, it seems that attaining parity in terms of the numbers of women in top management is just one piece of the puzzle. The increase in the number of women does not guarantee a voice in decision-making. Male entitlement in athletics and football management has led to emergence of modes of silencing. One means of silencing is directly linked to the huge difference in numbers of men and women in AK and FKF national executives. But the few women who get to such positions are assertive. They stand their ground, sometimes with good effect, sometimes attracting backlash from male counterparts.³²⁴ When they cannot limit women's voice during formal meetings, men sometimes result to making decisions in informal contexts.

One method of silencing women in sports management is the holding of meetings in weird hours of the night. Men employ this method to make women jittery or force them into choosing between the meetings and family responsibilities. Meetings could also be organised in alcohol-serving premises which have disruptive effects that discourage some women from taking part. Many in sports management circles refer to the silences as the 'flower girl' phenomena. According to some informants, the silencing of women is part of a wider cover-up of ills in athletics and football management. Such ills include sexual abuse and the marriage of teenage athletes discussed in the previous section. While women in sports management are keen on inspiring and assisting others to join them, they are also keen on tackling the silencing of women.³²⁵

Meanwhile, a transformational youth-based association has evolved in Mathare area of Nairobi over the last four decades. Founded by Bob Munro, a Canadian who relocated to

³²² Joan Gathua, Interview with the Researcher, 11 September 2020; Waweru, interview, 11 December 2020; Tikolo, interview 6 October 2020 and Olilo, interview, 6 October 2020.

³²³ Cynthia Mumbo, Interview with the Researcher, 9 October 2020.

³²⁴ Petra, interview, 15 October 2020.

³²⁵ Gathua, interview, 11 September 2020; Chepchirchir, interview 13 October 2020 and Waweru, interview, 11 December 2020. Note: Justina Chepchirchir argued that male leaders blocked her candidature for the AK gender office in 2016 because they feared she included the war against sexual predation and marriage of teenage athletes as part of her agenda.

Kenya in the mid-1980s, Mathare Youths Sports Association (MYSA) soon began to transform Kenyan football in ways such as participation by disadvantaged populations, and technical aspects such as coaching, and management. MYSA runs its male and female leagues with about sixteen football teams from the Mathare area. For its transformational role in gender and other aspects of Kenyan football, MYSA has won multiple local and global awards. The major highlight was in 2004 when it was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize. Its management model is entirely youth-based. It incorporates males and females in management right from teenage. MYSA prides itself as the first in the country to institutionalise the fifty-fifty gender policy in sports leadership. Its alumni have not only succeeded as players in local and national teams but are also increasingly joining professional leagues in Africa and beyond. In the recent past, MYSA has had more alumni than any other association in key technical and managerial positions in Kenyan football. Other alumni hold key positions in the public and private sectors. Perhaps MYSA's leadership development programme should be the miniature model for football in Kenya.³²⁶

Outside the framework of the official sports organisations and the ministry in charge of sports, Kenyan women have used sports as to uplift the social, political and economic needs of both the sporting and non-sporting Kenyans. Tegla Loroupe is one such woman. Loroupe's athletic achievements include being the first African woman to break a marathon record, and numerous medal finishes in track and road running events. Although she did not win a position when she vied during the NOCK elections in 2017, her use of sports to foster good relations in banditry-prone areas in East Africa won her numerous national and international awards. Born in West Pokot County, a region plagued by banditry, Loroupe came face to face with scars of war at an early age. The county borders other banditry-stricken counties like Turkana, Samburu, Baringo, and Elgeyo Marakwet. The region also neighbours regions in eastern Africa countries facing similar crises in Uganda, South Sudan and Ethiopia.³²⁷

In 2003 Loroupe founded the Tegla Loroupe Foundation. The foundation organised peace-building marathons bringing together youths from the banditry-prone areas of Kenya and the

³²⁶ For MYSA's history and impact on technical and managerial aspects of Kenyan football as well as the public and private sector see, 'MYSA Executive Summaries, 2020', Mathare Youth Sports Association, 2020. For MYSA's girls' programmes see Martha Brady and Arjmand Banu Khan, *Letting Girls Play: the Mathare Youth Sports Association's Football Program for Girls* (New York: The Population Council Inc, 2002); 'Highlights and Achievements of the MYSA Sports and Community Service Programmes for Girls, 1987–2011', Mathare Sports Association, 2012.

³²⁷ Borsani Serena, *The Contribution of Sport Within the Process of Peace and Reconciliation: From Trauma Healing Toward Social Integration* (Pisa: St Anna School of Advanced Studies, 2009), p. 45.

wider eastern Africa. The foundation's broader objective was to improve livelihoods as part of long-term solutions to the banditry culture which had claimed many lives and disrupted other aspects of life in the region. For her achievements in peace efforts, Lorupe was appointed the United Nations Sports ambassador in 2016. She was also incorporated into the UN diplomatic mission to end civil war in Darfur, Sudan. She also serves as an ambassador for other organisations like United Nations Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) and IAAF. Nationally, Lorupe has received various recognitions and even won the 'Community Hero' category during the 2007 Kenyan Sports Personality of the Year awards.³²⁸

Lorupe also created the first refugee team from Africa to take part in the Olympic Games. In 2015, Lorupe put together and trained refugee athletes for the Rio 2016 Olympic Games. The refugees were drawn from the two main refugee camps in Kenya, Kakuma and Daadab. The camps were populated by people displaced by civil wars in Sudan and Somalia respectively. Lorupe also served as the Chief of Mission for the refugee team to the Games.³²⁹ Fig. 5.8 is a photograph of the Lorupe and the first refugee team in history during the Rio Olympic Games, 2016. The photograph underscores Lorupe's role in provision of opportunity for people displaced by war to participate in the Olympic Games.



Fig. 5.8: Tegla Loroupe and the Refugee Team to the 2016 Olympic Games in Rio, Brazil

Source: <https://olympic.com>

³²⁸ <https://olympics.com/ioc/refugee-olympic-team-rio-2016>

³²⁹ Ibid

Another retired female athlete who has provided sporting and educational opportunities for the less privileged is Lornah Kiplagat. Kiplagat started her career in athletics in 1995 and went on to become a world champion in 5000 km, 10000 km races, half marathon and full marathon. In 1997, barely two years after the beginning of her athletic career, Kiplagat bought land near Iten town and in 1998 started a training centre for talented girls who had completed primary school. The low rates transition from primary to secondary school by girls motivated her to mobilise funds to send talented girls to boarding schools which offered an ideal environment for education for developing their athletic talents. In the year 2000, the athlete established the Lornah Kiplagat Foundation which focused on education and sports. The foundation put up a school for the talented but less privileged girls in Kenya. The school evolved to become the Lornah Kiplagat Sports Academy which aimed to create an ideal environment for girls to pursue careers through sports and academics. In the year 2004, Kiplagat was part of the founding members of the Kenya Scholar Access Programme (KENSAP), an organisation that helped high-achieving, low-income Kenyan high school graduates secure admission to colleges and universities in North America. The former athlete also worked with a cross-section of stakeholders including the Dutch and Kenyan governments, universities such as Moi University and the University of Applied Sciences in Utrecht as well as the private sector to support her projects. Kiplagat is also the founder of the High Altitude Training Centre (HATC) at Iten. HATC offers opportunities for professional and recreational runners from all parts of the globe to train in a high-altitude zone. HATC is a modern training centre with an all-weather 400 M tartan track, gym facilities, sauna, swimming pool, physiotherapy and accommodation.³³⁰

The task of building resilience and capacities for future athletes is not a preserve of retired female athletes. Active athletes also invest time and resources towards empowerment through education and sports. Mary Ngugi, a multiple medalists in half and full marathons from Nyahururu is a worthy mention. Nyahururu is an athlete-producing area in Kenya only second to the high altitude zones of Rift Valley such as Iten and Eldoret. The region is home to great athletes like the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games marathon winner Kamau Wanjiru. Increased gender-based violence, including murder by spouses, motivated Ngugi to start Nala Track Club. Nala Track is the first club in and around Nyahururu run by an active athlete and dedicated entirely to nurturing female athletes. The club was designed to empower female

³³⁰ See Lornah Kiplagat Sports Academy Newsletter 2009; www.hatc-Iten.com; <https://www.kensap.org>; Doreen Wainaina, 'Running Holidays with Kenya's Elite Athletes' *Business Daily*, 26 May 2017, p. 7.

athletes and coaches. It targets female athletes from poor and marginalised backgrounds. The clubs allow the girls to attend nearby secondary schools in the morning hours and train for athletics in the afternoon. The club was meant to build girls' athletic and academic potential to enable them to deal with myriad obstacles faced by girls from poor and marginalised areas in Kenya.³³¹ Fig. 5.9 is a photograph of Mary Ngugi with Nala Track Club athletes after a training session at Nyahururu Stadium. Fig. 10 is a photograph of three of Nala Track Club girls leaving the club's residence for a nearby secondary school. Figures 5.9 and 5.10 demonstrate the compatibility of athletics and formal learning as means of holistic empowerment of sportswomen.



Fig.5.9: Mary Ngugi (centre) with Nala Track Girls at Nyahururu Stadium

Source: Mary Ngugi's Personal Collection

³³¹ See Olympic.com; <https://www.nalatrackclub.com>; <https://www.bbc.co.uk>sport>africa>



Fig. 5.10 Three Nala Track Club Girls in Secondary School Uniform

Source: Mary Ngugi's Personal Collections

Additionally, women without sporting career backgrounds also use sports as means of improving the living standards in Kenya. Margaret Kenyatta, Kenya's First Lady 2013-2022, is one such woman. The First Lady sought to improve health standards through the Beyond Zero initiative. The initiative was conceptualised in 2013 as part of her commitment to the reduction of preventable maternal and child deaths and the elimination of mother-to-child transmission of HIV/AIDS and syphilis (eMTCT). The Beyond Zero Campaign was launched in 2014 with the First Lady as its founder and patron. The initiative served to compliment Kenya's commitment to better health services for Kenyan mothers and children. The initiative was aligned with Kenya's Vision 2030 which, among other things, was aimed to provide quality and affordable health care to Kenyans.³³²

The Beyond Zero initiative was designed to leverage the First Lady's prominence and ability to mobilise political leaders, the private sector and communities towards positive change in Kenya's health system. The initiative was meant to create awareness and a sense of urgency in the country's leadership on the necessity to reduce preventable maternal deaths, child deaths and eMTCT; sensitise national and county governments on the need to allocate adequate resources on the cause; mobilise men's participation in HIV/AIDS control and

³³² *Beyond Zero Technical Report 2020–2021 and Partners Reflection* (Nairobi: Kenya Yearbook Editorial Board, 2021), pp. 1–6.

maternal and child health; and spur a culture of leaders' commitment towards reducing HIV/AIDS and in improving maternal and child health.³³³

Accomplishing these goals required immense financial and other resources. The Beyond Zero half marathon was designed as the anchor fundraising platform. The marathons were meant to tap into Kenya's reputation as a global athletic powerhouse. Therefore the half marathons easily drew wide national and international attendance and viewership as they are broadcasted live. The half marathons served as efficient tools for mobilising resources for the cause. They helped build strategic partnerships in tackling child and maternal death. Additionally, they build partnerships against harmful practices such as female genital mutilation (FGM) and promote healthy lifestyles through exercise and nutrition.³³⁴ Fig. 5.11 is a photograph of a mother and a child watching thousands take part in Beyond Zero Marathon to raise funds for Beyond Zero Campaign programmes. Fig. 5.12 is a photograph of a Beyond Zero mobile clinic during a health outreach activity in an unidentified rural location in Kenya. Figures 5.11 and 5.12 demonstrate the role of sport in improving health provision to the marginalised.



Fig. 5.11: A Woman and Child Watching the year 2020 Beyond Zero Marathon in Nairobi

Source: The Standard, 9 March 2020, p. 47.

³³³ Ibid

³³⁴ <https://marathon.beyondzero.or.ke>



Fig. 5.12: Beyond Zero Mobile Clinic at an Unidentified Location in Kenya
Source: <https://www.beyondzero.or.ke>

Sports management in Kenya is confronted by several emergent policy and structural issues. The three most important issues are the flux nature of the concept of gender, the doping crisis and sportspersons switching allegiance in citizenship and representing the new nations in international competitions. In 2019, the world athletics governing body IAAF introduced regulations governing the participation of female athletes to have high levels of testosterone which is associated with Differences in Sex Development (DSD). Such athletes were barred from competing unless they agreed to medical interventions to reduce their testosterone levels as well as conform to 'accepted' standards of femininity. Caster Semenya, an Olympic champion in 800 metres event became the symbol of resistance against discrimination against women based on testosterone levels. Although Semenya won court cases against IAAF rules she did not win the right to participate unhinged by the set medical interventions. In 2019, Margaret Wambui Nyairera, a Kenyan multiple medalist in 800 meters event, joined the growing list of female athletes barred from competing unless they conformed to IAAF regulations.³³⁵ How have the IAAF regulations on testosterone affected established and upcoming athletes that fall under the IAAF categorisation of uncomfortable female athletes? How does the regulation affect Kenya's policies on sports and gender? What becomes of the

³³⁵ Jacqueline Mahugu, 'Margaret Nyairera: All I Want to Do is Run', *The Standard*, 11 August 2019.

careers and lives of athletes who either agree or decline to take drugs to meet the levels of testosterone required by IAAA?

Doping is a huge threat to Kenya's image as a powerhouse in global middle and long-distance running. In the recent past, there has been a growing list of male and female athletes suspended from global competitions because of taking performance-enhancing drugs. A debate ranges on whom to blame for the vice. Some stakeholders blame the vice on the influx of foreign athletes' managers and agents who come to tap into the unlimited talent in Kenya and paint a picture of a clueless and blameless athlete. Others point to the lack of discipline and patience on the side of athletes yearning for quick wealth from their talent. The Kenyan government and AK through the Anti-Doping Agency of Kenya (ADAK) have made to the world governing sports governing bodies to eradicate the vice.³³⁶ Are coaches and sports managers at different levels and organisations implicated through omission or commission? Are there variations in doping cases across gender, sports disciplines, and regions among other basis and what informs such variations?

Francis Orangi Nyatome, a retired former AK Public Relations Officer, kept a record of Kenyan athletes who have changed allegiance to represent other countries in athletics. The researcher's conversation with Nyatome revealed mixed interpretation of the practice of Kenyan-born athletes representing other countries in international competitions. On the one hand, the act is treated acceptable pursuit for greener pastures akin to other professions. On the other hand, there is a feeling of betrayal. The researcher deduced this from Nyatome's admission of delight when Kenyan athletes defeat Kenyan-based athletes representing other nations. It is common practice for officials like Nyatome to encourage Kenyan athletes to specifically work to defeat such competitors.³³⁷ But what is the official policy on sportspersons switching nationality to represent adopted countries? What is the history of the policy? Are there gendered variations on switching allegiance? The history of changing definitions of gender, doping and sportspersons switching allegiance beg in-depth inquest which was not within the scope of the current study.

5.6 Summary

The chapter established that the combination of professionalisation and commercialisation of sports, with elitism and social, cultural and political barriers have reinforced male dominance

³³⁶ Nyatome, Kamau.

³³⁷ Nyatome.

in the top management of athletics and football in Kenya. At independence, Kenya did not decolonise sports management. Political leaders continued to head sports by virtue of their other positions such as provincial administrators and co-opted prominent persons. This system was later replaced with election to athletic and football federations based on a delegate system. In most cases, those involved in the running of athletic camps and football clubs are contenders for different positions and voters. Since multiple barriers limit women's involvement in running the camps and clubs, this system works against them. Transition from active careers to coaching and management is, perhaps, the most travelled routes to top management levels. However, more sportsmen than sportswomen transition to coaching and management. This is a result of myriad issues that limit sportswomen involvement with respective sports after active careers. These barriers have not stopped a few women from seeking and winning positions in the federations. However, the sense of male entitlement in decision making has led to different mechanisms of silencing the few women in top positions. Inequality in AK and FKF is sustained by the concept of 'productivity'. 'Productivity' takes different dynamics such as gender, ethnicity and regionalism. Management of athletics and football is dominated by regions, ethnic groups and the gender that has produced, or is perceived to have produced more elite sportspersons. As such, women have to contend with the label of 'outsiders' in sports management. Women appointed based on academic qualifications on aspects of sports administration and management run the risk of being perceived as outsiders to sports than men appointed on the same basis.

The next chapter summarises the study on chapter to chapter basis. It also offers conclusions by drawing the larger implications of the study's findings. Finally, the chapter recommends policy interventions and avenues for further research on gender and sports management in Kenya.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS

The sections that make up this chapter are summary, conclusion and recommendations. The study adopted a chapter by chapter summary. It also draws bigger pictures on implications of major developments in different eras of sports management on gender inequality in top decision-making levels. Finally, the chapter suggests possible policy interventions and avenues for further research on gender inequality in sports management in Kenya.

6.1 Summary

The study's broad objective was to examine how the interplay of state and non-state stakeholders' interests has influenced gender and sports management in Kenya. The specific objectives were: to outline issues of gender in sports management in Kenya in the era before establishment of sports organisations, to analyse how gender inequality was reproduced and contested in sports management in Kenya during the amateur era, and to examine how gender inequality is reproduced and contested in sports management in Kenya during the professional era.

The first chapter served a number of purposes. First, it contextualised statement of problem and gender inequality in sports management in Kenya. Second, it outlined the study's objectives, research questions and assumptions. Third, it made the case for a historical inquiry of gender inequality in sports management in Kenya. Fourth, it set the study's scope and limitation in terms of subject of investigation and period covered. On modern sports, the study focused on management of athletics and football because of the long history of African participation. The geographical scope is national. The study also mainly concentrated on the impact of state and non-state stakeholders in Kenya's political economy to understand how their interests give meaning to sports and structure gender inequality in top decision-making levels. Fifth, it involved a comprehensive review of global, continental and national level literature to identify knowledge gaps on gender inequality in sports management in Kenya. Sixth, it formulated a frame for the integration of gender theory and cultural theory as the analytical tools of the study. The two theories served as analytical lenses for the study. Seventh, it specified the study area, methods of data collection, data analysis and approach for presenting findings. Lastly, it outlined ethics observed in the course of the study. The main ethical considerations were confidentiality, informants consent and acquisition of research permit form NACOSTI.

Chapter two focused on gender issues in sports management before establishment of organisations to manage sports among Africans in Kenya. It examined: the gendered organisation of sports during the pre-colonial period; muscular Christianity and development of sports and recreation programmes in mission circles and missionary societies' use of sports and physical training in pursuit for legitimacy as institutions capable of responding to military, labour and other needs of the British Empire. On the pre-colonial period, the study examined how functionality of games and sports dictated institutional organisation and how uses of sports led to their gendering. Pre-colonial games included children games and various combat-related sports. The latter categories were linked to issues of community defence which was a male domain in all Kenyan societies. Consequently, combat related sports such as *mawi* and *malso* among the Luo were played and organised by youthful males. The coming of missionaries heralded another era in organisation of sports among Africans and Europeans in Kenya. Missionary societies were guided by gender, race and age in designing sports and physical training programmes. For the young, missionaries entwined co-curricular activities with education of African and European boys. However, while sports intended to enable the European community adapt to life in the colony, sports for the African boys were imbued with tenets of muscular Christianity and intentions of legitimising missionary education among Africans as a masculine endeavour that answered to the 'manly' needs of the British Empire. It is noteworthy that while sports became important part of European girls' school life, the domesticity-oriented education formulated for African girls made little room for their participation in sports. In place of athletics and football, the girls spent time on what missionaries considered practical lessons for their domestic roles later in life such as hygiene and sewing. These pre-colonial and early colonial period antecedents of sports organisations had ramifications on gendering of sports and sports management in consequent periods.

Chapter three focused on two broad phases in the evolution of sports management in colonial Kenya: the inter-war and post-World War II periods. The major watershed management of football and athletics in the inter-war period was the establishment of the kindred AAAA. To manage the two sports, the AAAA established a general council to organise and popularise each sport among the Africans. Popularisation of the two sports needed regular organisation of competitions. Olympic sports evolved as a collective term for track and field competitions. Popularisation of football witnessed emergence of cup competitions with Remington and Gossage cups, inter-district and inter-territorial competitions respectively, being the most important ones. The section on inter-war period also focused on major features of

organisation of athletics and football including: the choice between administrative units and ethnicity as the basis of organising competitions, effacement and defacement of African forms of sports and leisure as a prior condition for uptake of athletics and football by Africans and foregrounding of amateurism as the philosophical foundation of sports with its ripple effects on elitist exclusion in sports management. The section also highlighted the ambivalence on African agency in management of sports. While European political class oversaw sports matters at the top level, the political realities consistent with indirect system of administration employed by the British in Kenya allowed chiefs, LNCs and African teachers to become drivers of sports development at the locational level. The section ended with an examination of the implications highlighted herein on gendering sports management in the inter-war period.

The most defining element of sports management during the post-World War II phase was the linking of Kenya's athletics and football to the international sporting community. This spurred a number of developments. First, it led to establishment of the Colony Sports Office to guide Kenya's pursuit of excellence in international competitions. The office also oversaw training of sportspersons, coaches and sports administrators to boost development of both competitive and recreational sports. The office's philosophy and modes of operation had a bearing on gendered uptake and management of sports in the post-World War II era. Second, the seeds of Olympic sports planted in the inter-war period culminated in the formation of KOA and Kenya's debut in Olympic sports. This became the hallmark of internationalisation of sports in colonial Kenya. This development foregrounded the centrality of government in sports management inspired by the use of sports as the springboard of cultural and public diplomacy. This new functionalisation of sports led to paradigm shift in sports management with senior political class shifting their involvement from AAAA to KOA thereby allowing Africans to slowly begin to play a role in management of AAAA's affairs at the 'national' level. The post-World War II phase witnessed the beginning of inclusion of girls' events during inter-school competitions, the first Women Championships in 1959 and the first organisation of training for both female athletes and aspects of sports management such as coaches and administrators. The section on post-World War II sports also examined the place of gender in the major developments in organisation of sports in the period.

Chapter four focused on four broad themes: major developments in sports management at independence and the first two decades of independence, evolution in professionalisation of athletics and football in Kenya, bottlenecks in professionalisation of female athletics and

football and gender crisis in top decision-making of athletics and football in Kenya. The first section detailed continuities with colonial practices in sports management. The post-colonial state did not decolonise the privileging of political class and co-option of prominent persons in top decision-making levels of both the ministry in charge of sports and athletics and football governing bodies. The section also highlights the beginning of regulation dilemma involving the government role in sports management and the move by the civilian sector represented by national governing bodies and ISOs determined to protect what they consider sanctity of sports by limiting government 'interference' in sports' affairs. The second section examines similarities and differences in paths to professionalising and commercialising athletics and football in Kenya. It brings to the fore the intricacies in efforts diversify revenue sources and the accompanying pilferage and mismanagement at the expense of sportspersons and growth of the sports themselves. The third section delved into historical, systemic and cultural barriers in professionalisation of female athletics and football. Important themes examined by the section included: the invocation of investment versus cost debate on women sports in Kenya, media silencing and the ripple effects on diminished interest on marketing through women sports in Kenya, sexism and objectification of female athletes and footballers by the media and sports organisations and impacts of the links between commoditisation of female talents with cultural practices such as polygamy and early marriage. The last section examines gender crisis in management of athletics and football by probing the gendered nature of major avenues to top positions in sports management in Kenya. It also links contemporary inequality to ideological and historical constructions of Kenyan sports as male domains and in light of late accommodation of women in sports. The section also appreciates the progress made in efforts to level the ground for women and recognises changes in gender practices that have allowed inclusion of women albeit measured.

Chapter five attempted to extend the scholarship on male domination of sports management beyond its treatment as an extension of gender inequality of the Kenyan society in preceding studies on the subject. This was achieved by bringing to light primary sources ranging from reports in Kenya press, oral interviews to official records in the Kenyan archives. The study examined the sources to understand the interplay between the interest of government and non-governmental stakeholders with the historic gendering of sports themselves. The chapter also recommended further inquiry into gender inequality in Kenya's sports management.

6.2 Conclusion

This study is important as it historicises sports management and gender inequality in management of athletics and football in Kenya. It extends scholarship on the inequality beyond current treatment as an extension of inequality in the wider Kenyan society. It does so by examining the gendered orientations of the two sports and their intersection with interest of government and non-government stakeholders in sports. Broadly, the stakeholders include government departments such as disciplined forces, the civilian sector and the market. Stakeholders' integration of sports in their programmes informs the gendering of sports management. Their understanding and use of athletics and football add to dynamisms of exclusion to those inhered in the sports themselves. The intersection of the gendered use of sports by the stakeholders with moral values of sports has reinforced male domination of Kenyan athletics and football management. Nonetheless, the ambivalent construction of the sports has provided opportunities for subverting male domination.

Gender differentiation in organisation of sports Kenya can be traced to the pre-colonial period. Two aspects of organisation of sports during this period can be categorised under the civilian sector in sports: domestic sphere and herding. At the domestic sphere, children were exposed to concepts of gender-inclusive and gender-specific games. Children allocated the roles themselves while parents observed to ensure they were free of hazards. However, games associated with herding were gender exclusive because in most societies herding was a male affair. Therefore, in most societies, girls did not take part in sports associated with the herding. This also meant a limitation role in organisation of competitions. Different categories of sports had interpretive schemes that were intertwined with issues of leadership and politics, manhood and adulthood as well as religion. The games fell into fundamental categories of *agon*, *alea* and mimicry. *Agon's* philosophy was intertwined with concepts of war and battlefield experiences as evidenced by patterns of play and language. War and defence are gender-contested fields. *Agon* was also intertwined with leadership and politics which were also gender-contested. The intersectionality of games and sports with these gender-contested fields thus contributed to favouring men in organisation of most games and sports in most societies.

Missionary societies were became the major stakeholders in the development and management of European sports among Africans in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. This is because missionaries pioneered both Western education and infusion of modern sports among Africans. Missionaries and mission-educated African teachers

introduced schoolchildren to European sports that were conceptualised in masculine terms. Thus, from the onset of Western education in Kenya schoolchildren learnt to associate athletics and football with manliness. Furthermore, domestic oriented education that missionaries and authorities co-formulated for African girls alienated them from sports. Schools administrators and teachers were informed by the ideology of muscular Christianity in their implementation of sports programmes. The most important aspect of muscular Christianity was that missionary societies cultivated sports values to demonstrate their ability to build capacities to meet labour and defence needs of the British Empire.

The theory of gender performativity aptly applies to how, through repeated actions and correction by teachers, schoolchildren learnt the gendered roles in sports. As strong socialising agents, schools reinforced association of sports with manliness. This approach to sports contributed in suppressing women role in sports management. Nonetheless, two things allowed contestation of male (mostly European) definition of sports. The first was ambivalence in African interpretation of European values of sports. The second was related to the fact that missionary schools opened doors for African girls. Although there were deliberate efforts to dissuade girls from sports, the schools would over time serve as the very basis on which the African girls were socialised into athletics and other forms of sports. Though limited in top decision-making levels, the inclusion of girls in sports meant increased participation of women in organising games especially at the school level.

Between 1923 and 1963 the government increasingly became the major player in development and management of sports in Kenya. It encouraged the development of the Colony Sports Office, federations such as AAAA, KOA and KNSC as well as governing bodies for respective sports disciplines. Government departments such as security organs also integrated sports in their mandates. The sports office was important in imparting sporting and sports management skills as well as the ideological inclinations of sports management in Kenya. Up to the late 1950s, the office excluded women in its training programmes for trainers and sports administrators.

As the political elites took over development of sports from the missionaries in the early 1920s, the civilian sector role in sports management was suppressed. However, the need to associate with ISOs as a pre-condition for participation in international competitions allowed the resurgence of the civilian sector in the 1950s. This took the form of organisations affiliated to the global federations for respective sports. Meanwhile, as sports organisations

worked to free themselves from government control they surrendered their autonomy to ISOs based in North America and Western Europe. The surrendering of autonomy impacted local agency in mainstreaming sports management because the country became a recipient of policies and interventions formulated from North America and Western Europe.

The practice of diplomacy through sports further deepened the gendered orientation of sports management in Kenya. After the World War II authorities endeavoured to use international competitions as opportunities to enhance Kenya's competitive image. Because competitiveness has historically been associated with masculinity, so was diplomacy through sports. The adoption of *Ekecheria* further reinforced male hold on top decision-making levels of Kenyan athletics and football. George Orwell's dictum that sport is war without shooting underlines the gendered nature of diplomacy through sports. The idea of the world attaining peace through sports was constructed as a binary opposite to war. Thus conceptualisation of peace through competitions reproduced the association of sports with maleness. It is little wonder then that Kenya's sports diplomats (competitors and accompanying officials) were male. Convergence of government interest in sports as part of cultural and public diplomacy with ideologies of muscular Christianity, amateurism and Olympism cemented the hold of white male political elite on AAAA, KOA and other sports governing bodies. Stakeholders made little effort to reverse elitism in sports management at as Kenya edged towards independence.

As a construct, gender was used to reinforce elitism and ideologies of sports in every step of development of European sports in colonial Kenya. Bourdieu's concept of habitus applies to how deportment and disposition took primacy over talent and competence in selection of competitors and officials in colonial Kenya. Authorities customarily selected the presumed loyal athletes and officials for international assignments. Meanwhile, school curriculum and sports were used to indoctrinate children into ways of thinking about sports that consolidated impressions of manhood and womanhood. This was also achieved through school inspections during which inspectors condemned what they considered gender inappropriate sports and plays.

Although the study did not detect open rebellion by women against exclusion in participation and management, women and girls found ways to challenge various tenets of exclusion. First, in the immediate post-World War II era, primary school teachers challenged the tenets of domesticity-oriented education co-formulated by missionaries and colonial authorities which

kept girls from inter-school competitions. Second, school inspectors accused African male teachers of not only allowing mixed-gender plays in schools but also playing along girls themselves. These were in themselves acts of subversion that challenged the association of sports with manliness. Lastly, the significance of girls' participation in inter-school competitions cannot be underestimated. Participation offered opportunities to demystify the idea of a weaker sex through demonstration of enthusiasm and bursts of energy. Although they participated as individuals, institutionalisation of competitions for girls signalled a growing acceptance of women as a social category that could take part in sports. Women pioneers in sports management and administration had similar impact in watering down the relationship between manliness and management of sports.

In contemporary times, the government remains a major player in sports management. However, the civilian sector, represented by sports organisations, increasingly wrestles the government over the control of sports. And with advent of professional sports, the market has become a major benefactor of sports thus a major partner in sports development in the country. The current study argues that professionalisation and commercialisation significantly influenced the gendering of sports management in Kenya.

Commercialisation brought radical shifts in motives for participation in sports management. Before the advent of commercial sports, amateurism had successfully tamed financial motivation in people's decisions to participate in sports management. For the better part of the colonial period, positions in sports organisations did not involve financial rewards. On the contrary, those in sports leadership sometimes used their resources in service of sports. However, the commercial era has altered all this. While professionalisation was conceptualised in contrast to practice of non-payment of players, those in sports management have used available resources to enrich themselves at the expense of the sportspersons and development of sports. Furthermore, some managers and coaches have made opportunities to compete for clubs and country transactional. The transactional nature of Kenyan athletics and football is sometimes embodied through sex for positions. Young females, especially athletes, are further commoditised through early marriage to coaches or their kin.

Commoditisation discussed herein is more profound at the grassroots than in higher levels of athletics and football management. Nevertheless, national executives of AK and FKF are implicated. Leaders at the national level are known to turn a blind eye to such misdeeds at the grassroots just to maintain support of the owners of training camps and football clubs. This is

because as ‘production’ of athletes and football players became major campaign tools in federation elections, the camps and clubs became the mainspring of elections especially in circles outside disciplined forces. National executive incumbents have been known to overlook the misdeeds as long as the perpetrators commit to support them during elections. This way, women’s pursuits for leadership in the federations threaten this practice. Consequently, misogyny riddle sports politics to discourage women ascendancy to top decision-making positions.

ISOs’ efforts to spearhead gender parity sports management through setting targets for national federations are hindered by their one-size-fits-all approaches. The approaches pay little attention to local circumstances such as gender issues in Kenyan athletics and football discussed in Chapter Four. Consequently, interventions on gender equality originating from ISOs have not always attained their objectives. And even when targets on the number of women are met, they only make nominal difference in decision making in most sports. The nominal presence complicates women’s ability to articulate and address gender-related issues in management of athletics and football in the country. A sense of male entitlement in athletics and football matters continues to embolden gender-discriminative practices in management. Furthermore, notions of sacredness of sports advocated by ISOs have slowed the impact of the two-third gender constitutional rule in sports management. This is because extension of Kenya’s laws into sports management always runs the risk of interpretation by ISOs as acts of sacrilege against sports. This explains the tussle between Kenyan government and organisations such as FIFA.

Historically, male domination in management of athletics and football should be understood as iterative as opposed to cyclical or lineal phenomenon. It is iterative because conditions leading to its reproduction have varied across the three eras (iterations) of sports management. One can thus conclude that each era has had unique variants of dominant males in sports management. Developments in each era have provided opportunities for maintenance of status quo, reproduction of new forms of male domination as well as subversion. This means that definitions of people who qualify to be entrusted with sports management are not static but have varied with social, political, economic realities and with the interest of major stakeholders in given eras. During the early colonial period, the version of hegemony was a hybrid of Christianity and masculinity. The hegemony was also buoyed by strong links between pre-colonial sports and militarism. Between the inter-war and post-World War II periods, hegemony in sports management fell in the hands of amateur elites

(white male political class). The contemporary professional era has elements passed on historically from the first two eras combined with misogynous system of sports politics.

6.3 Recommendations

This study has established positive response to advocacy on gender in Kenyan sports starting with the efforts of individual teachers through to the colonial period to the formation of the now defunct TAKWIS. But advocacy efforts have for the better part of the history of sports in Kenya been low key and largely not institutionalised. This recommends structured and coordinated efforts between sports disciplines and alliance with women movement in Kenya. It also recommends speeding up the formulation of a policy on gender and sports management to tame misogynous practices in sports management and politics.

There is need for nuanced study of the intersection between stakeholders' interests and the meaning of sports that were outside the scope of the current study. Such studies would allow comparisons of variations in dynamics of exclusion in respective sports. It would also enable policy interventions that take into account the specificity of gender inequality in each sport.

There is also need to examine the place of gender in emergent issues facing sports management including: policy and structural impact of IAAF regulations on high testosterone in sportswomen which is associated with DSD; gender and switching allegiance to represent other countries; gender dynamics and differentials in doping.

SOURCES

(A) Informants

Name	Occupation	Date of Interview
Amenga Michael	Director of development FKF	8 September 2020
Chirchir Gideon	Head Coach Kenya Prisons Department	21 October 2020
Gachuhi Roy	Author and Retired Journalist	9 October 2020
Gathua Joan	Member NOCK Women in Sports Commission	11 September 2020
Jepchirchir Justina	Executive Member Athletics Kenya Nairobi	13 October 2020
Kamau Francis	IAAF Certified Coach and Athletic Training Camp Owner Laikipia County	8 October 2020
Kariuki George	Executive Member Athletics Kenya Nairobi	13 October 2020
Karuru Anthony	Finance Officer NOCK	28 October 2020
Kirwa Julius	Head Coach Athletics Kenya	13 October 2020
Leshore Monica	Talent Development Officer Kenya Academy of Sports	12 October 2020
Lim Melisa Alim	Talent Development Officer Kenya Academy of Sports	12 October 2020
Makori Elias	Managing Editor Nation Media Group (Sports)	20 December 2020
Mumbo Cynthia	Founder and Chief Executive Sports Connect Africa	9 October 2020
Munro Bob	Founder and Chairperson Mathare Youth Sports Association	7 October 2020

Munywoki Jackson	Talent Development Officer Kenya Sports Academy	12 October 2020
Murumba Pauline	Executive Member Athletics Kenya Nairobi	13 October
Musonye Adriano	Retired Coach Kenya Prisons	20 October 2020
Mwaniki Stephen	Athletics Coach Kenya Prisons Department	21 October 2020
Mwenda Wanjiku	Secretary General Sports Journalist Association of Kenya	2 October 2020
Ndereba Catherine	Retired athlete and Assistant Commissioner of Prisons Kenya Prisons	28 October 2020
Nene John	Sports Journalist BBC	10 October 2020
Nyatome Francis Orangi	Retired Public Relations Officer Athletics Kenya	7 October 2020
Okwemba John	Administration Officer Kenya Academy of Sports	10 October 2020
Ollilo Celenstine	Sports Editor and columnist Nation Media Group	6 October 2020
Omondi Stephen	Sports Editor Nation Media Group	6 October 2020
Onyango Maqulate	Referee Instructor and Confederation of African Football Match Commissioner	8 September 2020
Tikolo Kentice	Chairperson FKF Dispute Resolution Tribunal	6 October
Vaselyne John	Athletics Commentator and Aspirant Athletics Kenya Lang'ata	13 October 2020
Waweru June	Chairperson Kenya Women Golf Union and Member NOCK Women in Sports Commission	11 December 2020
Wekesa Patrick	Talent Development Officer Kenya Academy of Sports	12 October 2020
Were Jackson	Athletics Kenya Chairman Lang'ata	13 October 2020

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Interview Guide for Administrators of Sports Organisations

Name..... Sex (m/f)

Position

Place of Interview Date of Interview

1. What is the structure of the organisation's management?
2. How inclusive in terms of race, ethnicity, region, gender, class and ability has this organisation's decision-making level been since its formation? What has informed issues of inclusion across time?
3. What has been the organisation's policy on gender equality at decision-making levels?
4. Has there been variations in gender policy over time and what has informed such variations?
5. Through what processes does one join the top brass of this organisation?
6. What sort of candidates are suitable for decision-making positions?
7. Do men and women have equal chances of ascending to various positions? If yes, how does the organisation ensure equality?
8. If the answer to No. 7 is no, why and how does this vary from one position to another? What have been the variations across time and what has informed those variations?
9. Are there gender-specific roles in management? If yes, how does that work?
10. Other than positional hierarchy, what other social dynamics inform one's influence on decision-making?
11. How do the dynamics identified in (9) above affect one's position of influence? How have such considerations changed with time?
12. Do social dynamics identified in (9) affect women differently from men?
13. How have gendered relations varied across time and what have informed those variations?
14. Why have there been discrepancies between women participation in sports and their role in management?
15. What has the organisation done to bring gender parity in decision-making? What challenges has the organisation faced in achieving gender parity at management level?

16. How has the organisation implemented national policies on gender equality across time?
17. Have there been contradictions between the organisation's policy on gender equality in management and those of other stakeholders in sports management?
18. How has the organisation worked with other stakeholders to achieve gender parity in management?
19. Are there individuals who left marks on the struggle for gender and other forms equality in management of sports? If yes, who are they? What did they achieve and how were they able to achieve it?
20. Are there variations in perceptions of male and female managers? If there is, what leads to such variations?
21. Has there been cases of gender-based violations within the ranks of this organisation? How does the organisation deal with such cases?
22. How has gender inequality affected efficiency in the organisation's management?
23. How is gender implicated in contests for positions and the day-to-day management of this organisation?
24. Do women seek senior positions in this organisation? If yes, what is the highest position ever held and what was the general perception of their performance compared to male predecessors and successors?

**Appendix II: Interview Guide for Administrators in the Department of Sports
Ministry Gender, Sports and Youth Affairs; Kenya National Sports Council**

Name..... **Sex (m/f)**

Position

Place of Interview **Date of Interview**.....

1. What is the structure of management within the department?
2. What has been the gender representation trends of the department's top officials across time? What has informed such trends?
3. Does the department have gender policies one can examine?
4. How does the ministry work with other stakeholders in sports to ensure gender equity in sports management across the country and sports disciplines?
5. What sports disciplines have been prioritised in the campaigns for gender equality and why?
6. How inclusive (race, ethnicity, class, ability etc.) has this organisation's decision-making level been since formation? What has informed issues of inclusion across time?
7. What has been this organisation's policy on gender equity at decision-making levels?
8. How has the policy varied with time and what has informed variations of the gender policy across time?
9. Through what processes does one join the brass of this organisation?
10. What sort of candidates suit the various positions of the decision-making level?
11. Do men and women have equal opportunities to the various positions? If yes, how does the department ensure this equality?
12. If no in (6) above, why and how does this vary from one position to another? What have been the variations across time and what has informed those variations?
13. Are there gender-fit roles in management? If yes, how does that work?
14. Other than positional hierarchy, what other social dynamics inform one's influence on decision-making processes?
15. How do dynamics identified in (9) above affect one's position of influence? How have such considerations changed over time?

16. How do social dynamics identified in (9) above affect women differently from men?
17. How have been the gendered relations at the top management? How have gendered relations varied over time and what have informed those variations?
18. Why have there been discrepancies between women participation in sports and their limited role in management?
19. What is the department doing to bring gender parity in decision-making? What challenges has the department faced in achieving gender parity at management level?
20. How has the department implemented national policies on gender equality across time?
21. Have there been contradictions between the department's policy on gender equality in management and those of other stakeholders in sports management? If yes, how?
22. How has the department worked with other stakeholders to achieve gender parity in management?
23. Are there individual women and men who have left marks on the fight for gender and other forms equality in the management of sports? If yes, who are they? What did they achieve and how were they able to make such achievements?
24. Are there variations of perceptions towards men and women managers and what leads to such variations?
25. Has there been cases of gender-based violations within the ranks of the department? How does the department deal with such cases?
26. How has gender inequality affected efficiency in the department?
27. How is gender implicated in the process of contest for positions and day-to-day management of this department?
28. Do women seek senior most positions of management in this department? If yes, what is the highest position ever held and what was the general perception on their performance compared to male predecessors and successors in those or similar positions?

Appendix III: Interview Guide for Corporate Institutions

Name..... **Sex (m/f)**

Position

Place of Interview **Date of Interview**

1. What is the history of this institution’s involvement in male and female sports?
2. Why and how has it been involved in sports?
3. Has there been preferences of either male or female sports and what has informed such preference?
4. How has this institution benefited sports and from sports in the past?
5. What informs what sports discipline the institution gets involved in?
6. Has there been the variations of preferences of sports disciplines and why?

Appendix IV: Interview Guide for Officials of Ministry Education

Name **Sex (m/f)**

Position

Place of Interview **Date of Interview**

1. How has the ministry been involved in schools and college sports?
2. Why has the ministry encouraged sports in education institutions? Have the reasons changed over time?
3. What measures have been put in place to address gender imbalance in decision-making positions of schools and college sports?
4. What has been the ministry's policy on male and female involvement in schools and college sports?
5. What sports have been prioritised in schools and college championships and why?

Appendix V: Interview Guide for Editors of Sports in Print and Electronic Media

Name of Informant.....

Sex (m/f) **Position**

Place of Interview..... **Date of Interview**

1. What is the history of this organisation's/publication's coverage of sports in Kenya?
2. What has been focus of coverage of male and female sports and how has that changed with time?
3. What has informed changes in (2) above?
4. How has the organisation/publication worked with male and female leaders in sports management in the country?
5. How has the station/publication been involved in advocacy for gender equality in sports management in the country?
6. Are there imbalances in this organisation's/publication's coverage of male and female sports? If yes, why?
7. Has the station/publication been involved in development of male and female sports beyond dissemination of news on sports?
8. How has the organisation/publication benefited from such involvement?

Appendix VI: Interview Guide for Advocacies for Gender Equality in Sports Management

Name of the Advocate **Sex (m/f)**

Career **Place of Interview**

Date of Interview

1. What is the history of the advocacy group in campaigns for gender equality in sports and sports management?
2. What sports has the advocacy prioritised and why?
3. What strategies has the advocacy employed and what has informed such choice of strategies in different times?
4. What progress has the advocacy made in time?
5. What challenges has the advocacy experienced and how has the challenges changed with time?

Appendix VII: Interview Guide for Sports Officials in Security Organs

Name of Organisation


Name of Official**Sex (m/f)**


Position

Place of interview **Date of Interview**

1. What is the history this organisation’s involvement in sports?
2. What sort of sports has the organisation prioritised and why?
3. Why are games and sports important to security organs?
4. How does the organisation ensure gender parity in participation in sports?
5. What is the structure of sports management within the organisation?
6. How is the organisation linked to sports management?
7. What steps has the organisation taken to ensure gender parity in the management of sports within itself?
8. How does the organisation work with other stakeholders to ensure gender parity in management of sports in Kenya?


Appendix VIII: Research Permit


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Appendix IX: Abstract of Journal Article 1

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Evolution in Professionalization of Sports and the Links to Gender Inequality in
Management of Athletics and Football in Kenya

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Abstract

The professional era of Kenyan sports has allowed women onboard as competitors while limiting their role in top management. This article argues that the interests of stakeholders influence the meaning of sports which in turn influences the gendering of aspects of sports including management. Commercialization is, arguably, the most powerful defining force of professional sports. The article therefore follows the evolution of professionalization to understand the impact of commercialization on gender parity in management of athletics and football in Kenya. It collected and examined primary and secondary data, employed the historical method of external and internal criticism to establish authenticity of sources and veracity of information they provided. It used inductive reasoning to argue. The article established that the combination of professionalization and commercialization of sports with social, cultural and political factors have perpetuated male dominance in management of Kenyan sports.

Keywords: professionalization, commercialization, commoditization gender inequality, sports management.

Appendix X: Abstract of Journal Article 2



Ideology, Elitism, Gender and the Evolution of Sports Management in Colonial Kenya, 1923 – 1963

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Abstract

Marginalization of women in sports management in Kenya has a long history. However, the existing literature on the subject overlooks the interplay of ideology and elitism in gendering inequality in sports management in colonial Kenya. This article delves into the evolution of sports during the colonial period to understand the impact of the interplay between ideology and elitism on gendering sports management. It examines data preserved in official records, newspapers/magazines and views and recollections of knowledgeable informants. The article established that ideology and elitism combined with evolving social and political meaning of sports to advantage the colonial political class in top decision-making levels of sports management. At independence the white political class in sports management was replaced by an African one, community development officers and, sportspersons transitioning to sports administration. These developments gave Kenyan men long head-starts in the management of sports as the country transitioned to independence.

Keywords: Elitism, Ideology and Gender