

GLOBAL-LOCAL EXAMINATION OF ATHLETICS IN KENYA: A CASE STUDY OF
“KAPTUIYOOT” COMMUNITY

by

KIPCHUMBA CHELIMO BYRON

(Under the Direction of Jepkorir, Rose Chepyator-Thomson)

ABSTRACT

Research on globalization and sport has generated an increased interest among scholars, especially in the area of mega events. However research on globalization and sports as pertains to localized communities particularly in the African continent is scant. These communities have become involved in global sports and have become entangled with multinational corporations. The purpose of this study was to understand the effects of globalization on KapTuiyoot athletics sport community in Kenya. The theoretical perspectives that guided this study were social critical and practice theories. Interviews were used to collect data for this study. Thematic analysis was used to determine emerging themes. The findings of this study encompassed several themes that include: agents of sport socialization, foreign involvement in Athletics, consequences of athletics globalization on community development, community projections for future developments. The significance of this study lies in the generation new knowledge on localized sport communities in an African context. The implications derived from this study include development of a sport policy that allows for the expansion of sports field for the youth

and training of coaches and managers to enhance sport participation both locally and internationally.

INDEX WORDS: athletic competitions; case study of athletics training; globalization of sports; Kenya; local economic development; sports organizations; track and field

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DEDICATION

To Tula, my mama, and Chelang'a, my baba. Thank you for the future you bestowed upon me. This future will become your legacy. Mama, I was too young to understand the reality of eternity. I just need to reconstruct our last day of good-bye when I was at Grandma's place going to school. I can barely remember the last glimpse of your face. It was a bye forever, never to meet again. I loved you so much, mum. Thank you for the sandals, my first pair of shoes. You left a mark and a desire to continue to go to school and never to say bye to the pen-journey. Rest in peace, *Tulenyu!* I have done it for you. Babanyu, you, too, told me goodbye, that day I remember well, when I went to Jamaica, a place you only imagined and you requested me bring stories upon my return. Baba I did return. The *flying bird* brought me back with stories to share with you. Alas! Upon arrival, your passage was waiting for me, as fate would have it, you too, went mama's way. The stories remained untold. I have accumulated them. Stories from mum and dad, at least your grandchildren will hear them.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF STUDY

Play and sport are part of the human experience. In many parts of the world play forms and sport activities punctuate human life. In many communities, sport has brought a level of interaction unheralded in the past, making contemporary living full of sporting actions or competitions (Sage, 2010); it is a worldwide phenomenon as people of all ethnicities, cultures, and social groups embrace it (Warner, Dixon, & Chalip, 2012). Kofi Annan (2004) considers sport to be a universal language with Nelson Mandela (1995) pointing out that sport has the power to inspire all towards a common goal, bringing everyone to the same level of interaction and commitment. The topic of this study is global-local examination of athletics in Kenya: a case study of “KapTuiyoot” community.

Play and sport were inculcated into many communities across the African continent. The people were involved in a variety of activities that included games and sports. These activities were critical in teaching the young the customs and traditions of society, and indeed the children and the youth learned meanings and actions in culture useful in their individual and social development (Chepyator-Thomson & Byron, 2012). Children of all ages participated in a variety of physical activities that brought them into contact with others beyond their race, ethnic, and religious affiliation (Chepyator-Thomson, 1990). In retrospect, these games and sports inculcated conceptual and practical meanings in culture that allowed for empowerment of individuals or communities in diverse political, sociological and economical spheres. The social spaces in every community provided an avenue where the youths acquired social skills critical to their

development. Such skill-based acquisition practices included competition-based sporting activities, for instance, the fast-paced acrobatic movements of the Kamba ethnic group and the jumping activity of the Maasai people and arrow shooting, and club throwing among the Kalenjin (Amusa & Toriola, 2010; Chepyator-Thomson, 2012).

Before colonial disruption, sports and other social activities such as dances and singing took place in courtyards or fields identified by the elders. However, grazing fields provided ideal places where the youth engaged in sporting activities within the confines of their villages. The communal ownership of the grazing grounds-cum playgrounds gave the youth the privilege to play sports with the responsibility of herding their cattle with attendant accountability at the end of the day. The young boys and girls remained physically active and imaginative with the types and rules of games they participated in daily (Ndee, 2002). Conceptually, sporting activities were aligned with acquisition of social skills, and time and distance were incorporated as standards of determining the outcomes.

The practice youth sports and games mirrored adult activities. The stratification of sports based on age, gender and functions represented the transfer of strategic skills as an embodiment of a cultural reservoir and adequate preparation for adult life (Chepyator-Thomson, 1990; Zaslavsky, 1973). Indeed, games and sport activities “served as an instrument of socialization, cultural preservation, and as recorders of changes occurring in societies “(Chepyator-Thomson, 2012, p. 380). Most often the youth’s involvement in games allowed them to acquire skills both physical and mental essential to their formal functioning in society. Thus, the youth, through games and sports participation, gained practical knowledge and tools that shaped their overall purposefulness in their communities. The use of games and sports as service learning in the traditional African education framework was disrupted by colonialism.

The introduction of British sports in Kenya served as the means to control the colonial subjects. The objective was to break the traditional control units of clans (Mählmann, 1992). Sport programs were developed to silence the African youth (Bentsen, 1983), distancing or downplaying indigenous sporting activities, and making British sports take precedence in society, with the school system becoming the means of change—from African to European ways of understanding life—in most areas of society. The school became the new socialization playgrounds with mission schools working in tandem with British administrators in the introduction of sports to Kenyan Africans, with most of them being boarding schools (Chepyator-Thomson & M'mbaha, 2013). Sport became an instrument for moral training, seen as inculcating the spirit of fair play in competitive sports (Chepyator-Thomson & M'mbaha, 2013). The primary objective was to dominate the social discourse of the society through sport, where the Africans were made to feel inferior in all aspects of life and the people, as subjects, were not equal participants in sport competitions (Mählmann, 1992, p. 125). While young children participated in play activities, the mature youth and adults engaged in traditional sports such as wrestling, throwing of the javelin, and shooting (Chepyator-Thomson & Byron, 2012; Njororai, 2009). The modular approach of structured engagement in sporting practices provided an opportunity for inclusively shared environments where adults and young children partook in age-specific activities with the unwritten rules of collective adult supervision of the youth. It was the adaptation of situation-specific sporting practices while mixing between assigned chores and play that brought the greatest satisfaction among the youth.

Sport played a critical role toward the end of colonialism in 1950s and 1960s in Africa. Sports were transformed into weapons of resistance and agitation for independence. Kenya cultivated sporting competitive balance to achieve national unity and projection of a powerful

political nation, enhancing its international image with global competitions, which occurred after independence. At the summer Olympics in Mexico City in 1968, Kenya established herself as an athletics powerhouse (Onywera et al., 2006). The track and field team achieved success in middle and long distance events, a feat that proclaimed the country's international prestige and recognition (Bale & Sang, 1996). The Kenyan athletes won many medals, making them national icons, and cultural and political ambassadors.

Kenya became part of the global sporting arena with the colonial encounter which changed indigenous sporting traditions and brought a host of new sporting cultures that changed people's livelihood and involvement in recreational, celebratory, and communal activities. The British sports of football and athletics were thought to be the sports fit for 'natives' and the colonial administrators encouraged the sports as means of controlling the indigenous people in African societies. During colonial rule, sports associations were formed to govern the popular sports of the time in the country. With the formation of sports associations the distinctions between play and sports became important (Mählmann, 1988, 1992). These associations focused on elite sports development and participation in the Empire and Commonwealth Games to appease the colonies. It was not until the early 1990s that the International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF) started to transform athletics—from amateur to professional sport. The IAAF action opened up the athletics landscape through enhanced athletic development and provision of international competition opportunities. As Tanser (2008) explained, athletic competitions mushroomed globally, with the introduction of not only Olympics but also professional athletic competitions that included awards in the form of prize money. In Tanser's (2008) view, this commenced the international travel of athletes, allowing free market exchange of their labor, with permission from sports federation-International Amateur Athletic Federation. The professionalization of athletics led to visible economic returns of athletes' earnings with increasing sponsorships and television rights.

This mediated athletic success enhanced the new scramble of athletic stars in corporate competitive sports markets. Thus occurred the emergence of the search for stellar athletes in what is called training camps in many parts of Kenya.

Globalization led to the development of athletics in Kenya, reaching places distant from the country's capital Nairobi. KapTuiyoot community, northwest of the capital, took off like a wild fire, with many camps receiving many champions from all areas of the globe. In fact, KapTuiyoot community has become the epicenter of international athletics training for distance running, with a huge global corporate athletic presence escalating training activities and elevating performance requirements for the sports industry. The significance of KapTuiyoot Community, in the field of athletics, has attracted international media, and its branding in the international athletic performance as well as dominating the national sphere have promoted a place which most international athletics call their training home or destination while seeking international glory. Most of Kenyan elite long distance runners attribute their global spectacular achievements in the sport of athletics to KapTuiyoot community. Over the last 20 years, KapTuiyoot has defined the scope and depth of athletic performances around the globe, particularly in distance running. Thus, KapTuiyoot has seen an increased global sport labor migration to this community in search of ideal training conditions. These actors are athletes, agents/managers, and global corporate investors, waiting for an opportunity to mint the next world champion.

For the theoretical grounding for this study, *relations of capital* (MacClancy, 1996; Thorpe, 2009) provide a way to understand sport and social contexts, as well as in sports institutions in KapTuiyoot Community town. The various types of capital that underpin social actions and community involvement explicate how power relations exist in the sports spheres.

The purpose of this study was to understand the effects of globalization on KapTuiyoot athletics sport community in Kenya. The other key theoretical concept is *globalization* (Asumah et al., 2002; Robertson, 1992) – the multiple interconnectedness of avenues through which the world has become a global village– and it underpins the universality of sports. This global-local interconnectedness has been referred to as glocalization. As Giulianotti and Robertson (2012) explained, the term glocalization refers to “the interpenetration of the local and the global” (p.434). The transfer of European cultural practices in the form of sports and the overwhelming reception that the sport activities received in the colonial outposts illustrate the enormous power of sport as a globalizing agent. Roland Robertson (1992) explains globalization by way of definition as the shrinkage of the world into an intense interconnected space that brought human interactions on worldwide scale. This has happened through sport, with the commercialization of the sport of athletics making communities across the world become interconnected. Asumah, *et al.* (2002) gave an expanded definition of globalization, indicating that it is the reordering of priorities on a global scale, including cultural values and interdependency in sport competitions. Therefore sport has become one of the agents of international flow of cultural values, through the media landscapes, into and out of community. A third theoretical concept is *social space* (Carrington, 2007; Silk, Andrews & Cole, 2005), which is important in the understanding of the role sports has played at the community level; this concerns the context and processes through which forms of culture–local and national–are produced, reproduced or undergo transformation (Silk, Andrews & Cole, 2005). The interdependency in the use of social spaces as sporting fields in modern sports reflects the interests of multinationalism, with corporate neoliberal agendas shaping the identity politics of international sporting experiences at the community levels.

The theoretical lenses that guided this study were social critical theory (Habermas, 1989) and Bourdieu's practice theory (Bourdieu, 1986). Using these theoretical lenses allows understanding of how the interaction of sports participation produces different forms of capital, signifying power transactions in the community where these activities are practiced. Social critical theory was considered to explicate an understanding of the participatory mechanics, where constituents became actors in the relationship between overarching social, economic, or political participation (Freeman & Vasconcelos, 2010). Within the critical theory standpoint, the goal of the research was to rely, to a great extent, upon the participants' views of the context being studied because meanings were a product of negotiations within social and historical contexts (Creswell, 2003).

Another theoretical perspective used to guide this study is Bourdieu's idea of practice. Practice theory underpins Bourdieu's analytic apparatus or conceptual tools of habitus, field, and capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Kitchin & Howe, 2013). The field, as a structured network of social spaces, provides the site where the athletic practices are contested or exercised, allowing for the production of different types of capital as connected to the disposition of the athletic agents and members of the community, culminating as habitus that functions as the source of power.

Significance of Study

The significance of this study lies in the contribution of new knowledge connected to globalization of athletics at KapTuiyoot community in particular, and Kenya, in general. Another significance of this study lies in documentation of interactive mechanics on global athletics and articulation of the ways in which the community formed and acquired economic and social capital. Third, readers can integrate the findings of this study into their own experiences, thereby gaining a greater understanding of athletics in Kenya and KapTuiyoot Community in particular.

For community leaders and sports administrators, this study offers insights into effective ways to manage sports, promote cultural values, and expand the inflow of benefits from athletics practices to the community. Further, the novice practitioner may gain new information about athletes' participation in the local community and appreciate multicultural experiences that emanate from international competitions and from foreign athletes who come to train at KapTuiyoot Community. Another significance of the study lies in benefits that accrue from local schools' involvement in sporting activities. Succinct and clear schools sports policy would point to strong and effective sports programs, which would contribute to community investments in sports, leisure, and recreation activities useful to promotion of health and tourism.

Problem Statement

While debate about athletic performances of East African athletes dominates global media and gains the attention of Western sports scholars, little attention is focused on the role of transnational corporations in the professionalism and commercialization of global sports and on the impact these activities have on the commodification of athletic bodies. The essentialization of athletic bodies captures the commercialization and commodification of elite athletes in advertisement and in endorsement by sports apparel companies. Often athletic bodies are used as a vehicle for sport corporations and media collaboration in the appropriation of human performances through the capital market systems to increase profits. Although numerous research studies have documented the positive contributions of sports in youth development, promoting national unity and international prestige, the role of sports in communities intertwined within global and local arenas, such as KapTuiyoot community, remains under-researched. Therefore, the current study explored the global athletic practices experienced at the local community level by interrogating the cultural, economic, and social capital fields via the

institutional social structure of athletics. The social milieu was examined through a social critical lens to determine the relationship between the local and global sport dynamics in order to explicate the institutional relations and practices between local and international sporting communities at the community level.

Purpose of Study and Research Questions

The purpose of this study was to understand the effects of globalization on KapTuiyoot athletics sport community in Kenya. The research questions that guided this research investigation are as follows:

1. What was the role of sports in the KapTuiyoot indigenous community and how did colonial sports influence the traditional sporting practices?
2. How has globalization of the KapTuiyoot athletic community shaped global athletics?
3. How has athletics reconstructed the future of KapTuiyoot community?

Delimitation of the Study

The current study documented the role of athletics at KapTuiyoot community and globalization of athletics at the local levels. Through the study, the global perspectives of Kenya as a nation of athletes bring out the impact of globalization on sport institutions responsible for sports governance and reveal how the decision making among community stakeholders affect the sport of athletics. The choice of athletics reflects the national interest and the international significance it brings the country, particularly during Olympic Games. Bale and Sang (1996) posit that the globe-wide visibility of Kenyan athletes has resulted in the country being revered globally, with many seeing Kenya as the “new world sports order” (p.134). This places the country in a unique position of taking advantage of athletics to promote nationalism across the country. The international status that Kenya has gained through athletic performance continues

to paint a positive outlook on the country, helping attract financial sponsorships and positive interactions with international sports corporations. In order to understand the complexities brought about by sports agencies, it is critical to examine the role of sport policy in relations to the local sports actors in a globalized local sporting environment and examine how the government's top down approach to management of sport contrasts with the emergent structure of local athletics development (MGSCSS, 2005; Sport Act, 2013).

Researcher Subjectivities

It is important to identify the influence the researcher has on research outcomes. As a qualitative researcher I recognize and value the relationship between the researcher and the researched. This is critical to the consideration of my conduct of the case study of KapTuiyoot Community athletics community; hence an intentional reflection on and articulation of my feelings about this community, and my connections to sports participation in the past and the present, promote the legitimacy of the research findings. The purpose of this section is to outline aspects of my personal and professional history and belief systems, which had the potential to interact with the proposed research.

I was born in Marakwet District during the decade of independence at Sinen, a small rural village. My parents were fortunate to have a large herd of cattle, sheep and goats in the expansive forested settlement beyond the Kipkunar ridge. As a young boy I was introduced into the herding responsibility by taking care of the calves. The calves were separated from the mothers for production of milk and being protected from the marauding wild animals common at the time in our community. The action of taming goats, calves and sheep from grazing on cultivated fields posed a real danger on young boys of my age since play was an act of comradeship with the supervision of animals left at bay. So, running across the fields to chasing

our calves and goats determined to escape and cause real troubles for the young boys was always a constant danger for a herd's boy. The constant relay from one point to another while taking the animals to different grazing places in the forest areas required physical fitness and speed. So my childhood community practices prepared me for the world sports in school. I competed in many long distant running in track and in cross-country. St. Patrick's High School-Iten shaped by passion for athletics as a consumer and participant. The school was well endowed with international athletic history. The school promoted all sports and every student was involved in a variety of sport activities which either for competitive or recreational purposes—entertainment and fitness. There were a number of athletes from the neighboring Singore Girls High School who came to train with our athletes at the nearby location field, which was fun. I would go down to the location field just practice alongside the athletes from Singore Girls. Socialization during practice was a time to put your best feet forward. I developed a passion for playing recreational soccer during the time I was at the high school. After high school I went to university and continued to play soccer. Later, as fate would have it, I was posted to Singore Girls High School, for a teaching position. Immediately I commenced coaching the school's soccer team. While at the school I was approached to coach the track and field team. I agreed and I stayed at the school for 15 years coaching and teaching at Singore Girls. I also coached Kenya's national World Junior Championship team in 2002 in Kingston, Jamaica. The school achieved national awards in track and cross-country. Many of the athletes became Olympians, World cross-country champions and World Junior champions.

Having coached athletics in a local high school in Kenya I would classify myself as an active member of the KapTuiyoot community. The circumstances in which sports agencies conducted their affairs in the absence of sports policy created constant challenges that I lived

through as a teacher and as a coach. The awareness of sports activities at the community level as well as global agents' involvement in the affairs of the sport community became part of my daily routine in the execution of my coaching endeavors. In this instance I find myself aligning with the advocates for a formal sports policy. However my understanding of the sport environment in along with my professional preparation in the area of sport management and being a keen reader of sport policy have allowed me to have quality engagement in the research process which enhances credibility of my research work.

The implementation of high school sports programs in Kenya lies in the Ministries of Education and Sports, Culture, and Arts. The Ministry of Education organizes school sports while the Ministry of Sport, Culture, and Arts is responsible for out-of-school competitions. This presents challenges in the development and execution of national goals on sports, particularly in elite talent development that target sports at the grassroots levels. The non-separation of school athletics programs from social services sports activities have led to non-teachers managing school athletes. This was a constant observation when I was coaching. I saw how vulnerable school athletes were to exploitation and abuse, especially in an environment where there was no legal and policy framework to protect the rights of the athletes. The presence of athletic agents and managers exacerbated the situation with many school athletes being “shipped to Europe” to compete in Grand Prix events and road races without a local coach or a teacher accompanying them—more often it was foreign trainers or agents who accompanied them. These were the grand issues that I explored in-depth in my research. I believe it is important to state upfront that I consider the role of policy as sacrosanct within the confines of social justice, particularly critical in a globalized world where sports are hugely featuring in corporate investments, with the athletes increasingly becoming the entrepreneur's coveted factor of production. During this

research process, I conducted individual interviews with a number of participants involved in KapTuiyoot Community sports activities. Being an insider within the community with considerable outsider lenses acquired through understanding the role of sports in the U.S. context helps me to shape the argument of the role of government in the implementation and fulfillment of protection of athletes' individual and professional rights. To attend to potential biases that may have occurred during the course of data collection and analysis, I kept a reflective journal to better understand and check on the unhelpful aspects of my subjectivity (Peshkin, 1988). This subjectivity statement was critical in appreciating the participants in athletics at KapTuiyoot Community. The next section, Chapter 2, provides a background introduction to KapTuiyoot Community, its geographical location, history and a brief account of the evolution of athletics in order to understand the context of the study.

Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation consists of five chapters. Chapter 1 gives an overview of the dissertation study, including the background, statement of the problem, the statement of purpose, research questions, rationale of the study, the significance of the study, and researcher subjectivities. Chapter 2 provides related research on globalization of sports, both in terms of colonial context and the contemporary sport of athletics, showing the interplay of global athletic actors and local communities' participation and practices in multicultural contexts. Chapter 3 describes the rationale of the study and provides research context, participants, data collection, and methods used in the analysis of the study. Chapter 4 provides the findings of glocalization of athletics at the KapTuiyoot Community athletics community. Finally, Chapter 5 provides a discussion in the context of the literature and presents implications for glocalization, and future research, as well as recommendations for future research.

Definition of terms

Professional sports means sports for which a contract for engagement and remuneration has been entered into by a club or sports organization and the professional sports persons (Sport Act, 201, Kenya).

Athletics refers to track and field competitions in Kenya and as an Olympic event (International Olympic Committee, 2014).

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The chapter begins with play and sport as global human experience. This is followed by the practice of play and sport in the African continent before the advent of colonialism. The next section explores British colonial sport during colonial period and the role of sports in the colonial administration across the continent. The section on Kenya provides an overview of the role of sports and the organization of sports in post-independence period. The internationalization of athletics in Kenya considers the global professional and commercialization of athletics in Kenya and culminates in all “*roads*” lead to KapTuiyoot, demarcating the context of the dissertation. Finally, this section provides a description of the theoretical frameworks used in the study, and the chapter concludes with a summary. Figure 1 provides an illustration of the summary of the areas covered in the literature review.

Sport and Play in Global Context

Play and sport are constructions of human experience informed by frames of culture and ethnicity and conjugated in a variety of languages and social discourses evident across geographical and social spaces in global communities. In global context sport is a standardized form of human movement, representing a universally shared phenomenon as similar rules and regulations are used.



Figure 1: The Summary of Areas Covered in the Literature Review

Sports are competitive movement forms that are valued and promoted globally for the fulfillment of not only social and economic development reasons but also for individual development goals, beside nurturing and advancing better harmonious race, ethnic, and gender relations in society (Chepyator-Thomson, 2005). Amusa, Toriola and Groon (2013) explain sport to mean universal language that is used to inform the development of games and exercises,

leading to the improvement of human welfare, both individually and socially. The universality of sport also encompasses activities aimed at expressing or improving physical wellness and mental well-being that result in formation of social relationships and development of elite sporting competitions (Schwery, 2003). In addition, other studies, for example, Skille and Østera's (2011) found that "adolescents have various preferences for participating in sports and that fun is the most important preference for both adolescents and adults" (p. 360).

The language of sport and play occurs in various forms—organized, casual, or competitive—and as indigenous sport or games, helping reveal symbolic human expression characteristic of diverse global communities. As a global phenomenon, sport impacts many aspects of education, economics, and society. The role of sports in society is that it garners the "potential for human, economic and social development, as well as for promoting peace" (Schwery, 2003, p. 15). Sport fulfills an important role in society—it is "both a powerful symbol for national identity but also brings people together across continents." (Schwery, 2003, p. 15). Kofi Annan (2010) recognized social institutions' use of sport as an agent useful in the promotion of peace-building initiatives. The United Nations is one such global institution, where sport is used to form partnerships for development in many nations. The United Nations defines sport as consisting of all forms of physical activity that promote physical fitness, psychological good and social relations, and sport activities are used in meeting the objectives of the Millennium Development Goals (United Nations, 2003). The United Nations (2003) recognized the important role of sport in youth development via the realization of the vibrancy of holistic development of young people's physical, emotional health, and building of valuable social connections. Furthermore the United Nations acknowledges the role of sports in bringing "individuals and communities together, highlighting commonalities and bridging cultural or

ethnic divides” [United Nations, 2003, p. v). Many U.N. agencies encourage the use of sport among youth to provide healthy alternatives to harmful actions, such as drug abuse and involvement in crime (Skille, 2009; Stier, 2007; United Nations, 2003).

The role of sports within the social structures in many countries allows for inclusion of human rights. Agencies associated with the United Nations (2003) have used sport as an important vehicle for the promotion of social development and peace through international partnerships, which are operationalized in conjunction with local partners in member countries (United Nations, 2003). Many governments use sport to promote international diplomacy and to help local communities build social capital, especially critical in revitalization and empowerment of societies. Sotiriadou and Brouwers (2012) disclosed countries’ incessant use of sport to achieve political and cultural power, as success in sport is often equated with meeting national goals and objectives associated with national sports systems that deliver physical activity programs that lead to improved quality of life. Sport as a global human experience promoted an engagement from local communities through mass participation and the constantly participation in high-level competitive involvement of athletes at the international competitions has shifted the enormous role of school sports globally Schwery (2003).

According to Steady (2005), globalization is understood varyingly in the literature. For instance, Sage (2010) indicates that there is no universal consensus on the meaning of globalization: “Nevertheless, there is universal agreement that the processes of globalization are transforming the world toward greater interdependence and integration, in terms of human contact, flows of goods, capital, information, fashion, culture, and consciousness” (p. 4). The tenets of globalization reflect the interests of multinationalism with the corporate neoliberalism agenda that has shaped the identity politics of international sporting experiences. Neocolonial

perspectives have demonstrated the quest for understanding the dynamics of sports as cultural sources of power within the global contexts. Internationalization of sports brings together athletes across the globe to compete for sporting fame while countries encourage such activities for political and cultural exchange and international prestige (Houlihan, 2009). The voluntary nature of sport organization reflects social connectedness across international boundaries.

Global sports participation “constitutes one of the most dynamic, sociologically illuminating domains of globalization” (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2004, p. 545). The globalization of sporting activities has brought homogeneity to sporting cultures across the world. The sporting events shape discourses grounded in sociology and economics happening within the paradigm of international and socio-cultural relations (Hilvoorde, et al. 2010) that underpin multinational sport agencies. The multinational engagement in sports activities impact social functions in society and inform development of identities that shape shared sport experiences in local communities (Jun & Lee, 2012), with overarching arm of globalization. Giulianotti and Robertson (2004) explain that “globalization is marked culturally by processes of ‘glocalization’, where local cultures adapt and redefine any cultural product to suit their particular needs, beliefs, and customs” (p. 545).

Sotiriadou and Brouwers (2012) show how the use of the power of sports plays out in the global context within postcolonial countries such as formerly British-ruled countries such as Australia. While sport served as a means to challenge the subjugation of the colonial empire, during the postcolonial era, former colonized countries sought a reprisal with sport following independence as demonstrated by their Olympic teams’ strong desire to win medals. The International Olympic Committee (IOC hereafter) is global institution responsible for the organization, execution, and development of universal competition of sanctioned sports every

four years. The IOC has a responsibility to propagate the vision that sport is universal and encourages unity, understanding, and shared respect among all those allied to the Olympic movement (Mason, Thibault, & Misener, 2006, p. 55).

The study of the role of sport in national contexts is captured in mega events such as the Olympic Games, the World Cup, and other international sporting contests that have come to dominate sport scholarship. The contemporary roles of sports have been examined from economic and social lenses in order to understand the importance of sport participation in a variety of activities. While economic benefits that accrue from sport are attractive, they also promote elitism and corporatism (Cruickshank & Collins, 2012). This is because the multinational corporations and foreign agencies, with enormous economic power over the indigenous community and the athletes, control the tools of athletic success. The internationalization of sport cultures, continuous movement of athletes across national borders, and homogenous broadcast and consumption of “sport events worldwide have considerably challenged uniquely distinguished and preserved national/local identities” (Jun & Lee, 2012, p. 103).

Sport and Play in African Continent

This section describes the role of sport in the African continent before the advent of colonialism, and a discussion follows on the functions of sport and play. These physical activities serve as instruments of socialization of children, critical in promoting values of their communities. Sport and play as tools of enhancing education of the youth is also discussed in this section. Therefore sport and play in African is classified into a) sport and physical movement and b) education through sport in indigenous Africa.

Sport and physical movement. Sport, play, and games are elements of culture that characterize human communities in global societies. In African societies, sport, play, and games

are an integral part of the socialization of children and youth into adult roles. The older youth engage in some sport activities that involve rule-following competitive games. These physical activities are often engaged in combination with work, with competitive games practiced according to sanctioned rules (Bale & Sand, 1996; Kenyatta, 1938; Mählmann, 1988). Through play activities children and the youth engaged in cooperative games, with incorporation of creative activities, often unstructured and free from adult direction. Indeed “play, physical recreation and sport are all freely chosen activities undertaken for pleasure” (United Nations, 2003, p. 2).

The rich array of indigenous games and sports promotes cognitive, affective, and psychomotor development, giving rise to relevant skills among the youth to meet social roles (Hartman, Houwen, & Visscher, 2011; Moran, 2012; Vandorpe *et al.*, 2012). In context of the Keiyo ethnic group in Kenya, children’s play, games, and sport are “used to enhance social interactions among children of different ages and same age-groups, and to develop cognitive, affective and psychomotor skills in children and youth” (Chepyator-Thomson, 1999, p. 37; see also Chepyator-Thomson, 1990, 1993). These activities serve as a critical avenue to advance culturally responsive indigenous education. Sifuna (1990) explains the significance of indigenous education as an organized social agency where children and the youth learned the customs and values of their societies. This form of practical-oriented education had a strong focus on learning requisite skills and attainment of knowledge considered valuable to the individual and the society as a whole.

Education through sport in indigenous Africa. Education serves as a means to teach children and youth the tools of culture essential to their sociocultural functioning in society. In the African continent games and sporting activities are frames of culture, where indigenous

African education was facilitated through a variety of avenues that included sport, play, and games, which enabled the young to acquire requisite skills for adult functioning. In this respect, the content of indigenous games functions as the avenue of socializing youth and building them to reach their optimal potential as social beings (Roux, et al., 2008). Often forms of education are delivered through sanctioned institutions that would govern and facilitate the transfer of norms and traditions from the community elders and parents to the young generations. These customs and values incorporate sporting activities and embody cultural power and identity formation (Chepyator-Thomson, 1990; Chepyator-Thomson & Byron, 2012; Ndee, 2002). Indeed as Blacking (1987) explained, African people had their own rituals, dances, and games practiced for generations, which promoted status acquisition, identity formation and “maintenance of power in one form or another” (p. 3) and enabled the teaching of the youth to learn of the cultural roots of the elders. The sociocultural characteristics of indigenous games played by children from different communities informed the expressions of their traditional life, their historical accounts, and cultural values. These games were the avenues through which their cultures were propagated and passed on from generation to generation (Blanchard, 1995). Roux et al. (2008) explains the instrumentality of children in the dissemination of indigenous cultures with adults being the custodians of cultural content and values, often with traditional experiences. The functions of traditional games, play, and recreational activities were generally considered as important facets of a people’s culture (Gundani, et.al. 2010).

For instance stick fighting in South Africa allowed for males of similar age-sets to socialize in their respective places in rural communities, and it also permitted the males to address challenges of manhood or glorify bygone war days (Carton & Morrell, 2012). In addition the knowledge and skills gained from stick fighting equipped the youth to perform activities of

defense in their communities when confronted with external aggression. Indigenous educators used a variety of ways to teach activities of culture, which included informal instructions through play and games, where the children and the youth learned customs and rituals pertinent to each ethnic group. A way to inculcate culture was through children's participation in playful games, and when children disengaged from these activities, then illness was suspected which was addressed accordingly (Sifuna, 1990). Thus, African societies aspired to impart practical skills, relevant knowledge, and positive attitudes among the youth in a uniquely structured informal and formal setting appropriate to the age groups and the cultural practices (Andersen & Taylor, 2004). Play activities were stratified into children activities, and adults were expected to participate in celebratory and society's significant sanctioned ceremonies through dance and other bodily movements (Chepyator-Thomson, 1990).

Sports were essential in the conveyance of social and cultural traits and maintenance of social power in the community. In African communities youth sports inculcated among the youth discipline, teamwork, and recreational opportunities while attending to their traditional chores such as herding of livestock; they were replete with opportunities to exercise, play, and create different types of games and physical activities among children of all ages before the entry into adulthood through initiation ceremonies.

Competitive-based sports followed sanctioned rules in society, with participation in sports promoted broadly across many communities. The indigenous sports and physical activities had the objective of competition in sporting practices and enhanced one's standing in the society (Paul, 1987). Winning attracted recognition among peers and earned respect of elders (Carton & Morrell, 2012; Paul, 1987). In the spirit of fair play and positive attitudes in child development, sports, games, and play activities allowed equal participation in playgrounds. For instance, in

wrestling both boys and girls participated in the contests. These sport activities informed childhood experiences—it was a way of life and a preparation for adult responsibilities—as well as to bring people of differing backgrounds together. Furthermore sports served as the training ground for communities to exchange cultural currency and promote philosophical accumulation of its institutional knowledge and operational frameworks (Mazrui, 1986). Sports, games, and play activities provided learning and recreational avenues to articulate social norms and shape the character of the young populations. Thus, sports served as metaphors for representing the social fabrics within the larger cultural and social systems (Blacking, 1987). Within social stratification, the language of sport, both verbal and unspoken, embodies the relevancy of communal authority symbolized by the roles sports as society's reservoir of knowledge production. In addition, Kenyatta (1938), in his book *Facing Mount Kenya*, explained the role of participation in games as enhancing the promotion of cultural knowledge and physical development of the children and youth. Therefore, to say that African people were devoid of sporting activities in the Western understanding of contemporary sports (Njororai, 2009), would be an understating of the rich cultural roles that play, games, and sport play in the socialization of African youth.

British Sports and Colonialism

Introduction of foreign sports to Africa during colonialism has great impact on the sociocultural role of sport and play. This section looks at the role of imperial culture in African communities using sports. It also describes the role of the missionaries in using sports as recruitment tools in schools.

Imperialism through sports. The infiltration of British sports into Africa started with the Scramble for Africa in the 19th century. The partition of Africa at the Berlin Conference in 1884

led to the subdivision of the African continent based on varying European powers: Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, and Spain. With Africa under European tutelage, many sports and games were introduced, which negatively impacted African physical activities. The introduction of colonial sports changed the sociocultural role of sport and play activities that were integral to the life of African people (Ndee, 2010). Colonialism not only marginalized traditional sporting practices that were essential to transmission of African culture from generation to generation but also represented the introduction of sports that became the blueprint for successive sport development; football became the most popular and the most developed sporting activity in the African continent (Ojeme, 1989). The colonial administrators had great affinity to the sports of their British motherland and therefore engaged in these sports throughout the British Empire. The British government sought recruitment of officers in the colonies, basing it on sports participation, and ideas about athleticism were specially promulgated. Hence in colonial Africa, administrators sought district officers that demonstrated character, and this was determined through participation in team games, which played an integral role in formation of student character in the British public school system (Kirk-Greene, 1987, p. 85), a characteristic that became evident in the practice of sports throughout the British Empire.

Britain promoted exclusive and prestigious sports through its overseas territories (Ndee, 2010). Football and athletics were thought to be the sports fit for “natives” and were encouraged for social control in the society. Practicing Western-type sports helped in the internalization of foreign norms and values (Mählmann, 1988), which led to imperialism and exploitation of the African people (Mazrui, 1987). The sports promoted had the institutional characteristics of British educational establishments such as schools and clubs. The colonial administrators organized sports with the purpose of breaking up the African family set up or social units, such

as clans; and in order to achieve this objective, teams were formed on a regional basis (Gorman, 2010). The colonialists employed sport as an effective instrument in the subjugation of African people (Mählmann, 1992), and the symbols of the power of sport became the prerogative of white men, for example, refereeing, which cultivated and reinforced an inferiority complex on the part of the colonized. According to Bale and Sang (1996) the introduction of sports such as athletics was an example of the many ways that oppressed Africans assisted and abetted the presence of imperial rule. The essence of colonization rested on depriving African people from developing their own sporting cultures.

According to Njororai (2009), colonial sports greatly influenced the role sports played in Africa; they were the avenues used for cultural dissemination of indigenous knowledge. The presence of European powers in the African continent not only dominated the ways of African people, but also drastically changed the social-cultural landscape with the foreign education system practice of involving use of imperial cultural tools (Ndee, 2002; Novak, 2012). Furthermore, as Ndee (2002) explains, Europeans suppressed indigenous sports, as they did other social institutions in society, such as restriction of large social gatherings for fear of political agitation during the struggles for independence. With the influx of British cultural forms, the interpretation of culture of the African people was dependent on the variant of colonial policy through which it was diffused (Bale & Sang, 1996; Darby, 2002). The colonial developments witnessed in sporting activities espoused the concepts of competition and winning as the ultimate reward. In Novak's (2012) understanding, "Modern sport in white settler societies began taking on characteristics of capitalist development, competition, team identity and spectacle" (p. 854), in propagating the control of the African people. The sporting practices were considered spectacles of entertainment, and were performed mainly for the colonial masters.

The emergence of colonial sports promoted via the institutions of missionary schools brought “a situation in which schools [became] built on the basis of Western ideals and values,” [for instance,] “the games that the boys and girls participated in were of British origin” (Chepyator-Thomson, 1990, p. 22). According to Darby (2002) schools were established “for the African elite which in its eagerness for the higher status, afforded for cultural imitation of their colonial masters...took up the game of soccer” (p. 10), thus the sport developed as an elitist endeavor. The establishment of schools as the new centers of socialization in African communities shifted the playing fields from the village to the school grounds (Hill, 2010), and athleticism became the new norm for socializing the African youth. Athleticism turned out to be an educational ideology transferred from England to the colonies promulgating cultural imperialism (Hill, 2010). Sport in the formal education system was used chiefly as a means to achieve order and discipline among the youth, particularly African males. It was through such sports as soccer and cricket that children and youth got involved within the school environments, with regimented forms of play and recreation devaluating indigenous games and sport activities played in African communities (Chepyator-Thomson, 1990). Consequently the internationalization of sporting ideology was the product of colonial sport policy on African sport and play, which promoted the British power elites to develop sports throughout the colonies to flourish albeit along racial or class lines (Mangan, 1987; Mazrui, 1986).

The colonial practices emphasized the notion of cultural adaption, where European institutions were adjusted to suit local political conditions and social organizational structures, resulting in education of Africans who lived in two cultural worlds—African and British— but emphasis was placed on the side of British forms of culture (Sifuna, 1990, p.47). The school as a social institution did not promulgate the African culture, but eroded it within the confines of

material dispossession espoused by colonial imperialism. Thus the school playground ideology tilted the socialization structure to meet the colonial renderings reproduced in the foreign education curriculum. Therefore European play forms and sports were institutionalized through the system of schooling that restricted indigenous sports within schools. The fashioning of sport as a tool in shaping the colonial control constructed the concept of sport play as central in reproducing class relations. Through sponsorship activities that preserved the elite status of sport while making sure it remained a valuable enterprise among the masses in terms of consciously demonstrating affinity to the games and sport (Stoddart, 1988). The sport space became a contested terrain. For example, Stoddart (1988) indicates the increased politicization of sport in the agitation of political representations, with any contest between the master and the subjugated people perceived as a challenge to the colonial administration, “especially when social progress of comparing colonial achievement in sport with colonial victory [was] interpreted as [a] symbolic power of parity” (Stoddart, 1988, p. 667). As Chepyator (2012) argues,

Sports under political and social realms serve as a vehicle for social and political change, with African leaders and scholars at the helm, particularly evident during colonial times, where sports helped in the elimination of public policies that hindered the promotion of human dignity in society. (p. 380)

One of the dominant forces in the British colonial enterprise was acquisition of cultural power—a set of ideas, beliefs, rules, and conventions governing social behaviors such as the use of English as the official language and the type of games and sports imparted on the African people (Stoddart, 1988). Stoddart argues that through sport dominant British cultural forms were transferred to the colonies with “considerable consequences for the postcolonial order” (p. 651). The twin agencies of schools and colonial administration were predominant avenues through

which British cultural forms became entrenched in the colonies. These institutions used sport as a means of promoting discipline and control, and in addition, the missionaries appropriated the role of sports in recruiting of African boys into their institutions and as a means of evangelizing the young Africans while providing formal schooling.

The role of sport in missionary Africa. Missionary activities were one of the main avenues through which cultural imperialism was brought to Africa. Despite the fact that African societies had hierarchical systems of governance, the colonial powers misappropriated them deceitfully to their own advantage through impacting indigenous leadership; they infiltrated their customs and culture, initiating them as morally improving, becoming the civilizing force for the benefit of all Africans (Darby, 2002; Armstrong & Giulianotti, 2004). The European civilizing zeal led to cultural imperialism, along with the diffusion of modern sports, which impacted negatively the African traditional cultures. The connection of education and sport in social development informs the intricate relationship of European power domination and the suppression of the African dominions, especially with introduction of football. The historical significance of football played a key role in shaping the identity of the youth. It is clear that the colonial administration saw sports as a means of evaluating the character of the employees as well as indicating toughness and strength, particularly in Africa (Kirk-Greene, 1988).

There was a dual purpose of use of sport in society: one was to control the physically active and aggressive African male segment of the population and the second was to contain what was considered to be unwarranted sexuality among European males. The idea was that “sport might be useful as a means of containing European soldiers’ over exuberant sex lives, and the association of sport with concepts of manliness, with sport seen as a useful outlet and an energy-consuming substitute for young empire builders in achieving muscular Christian self-

discipline” (Clayton, 1987, p. 116). The European Christian missionaries who established schools as a means of evangelization mirrored the vision of school advocated by Lugard in the broader sense of wholesome discipline of a boarding school, which was organized on the lines of public school, focusing on the all-important point of strengthening of Christian character (Mangan, 1987; Tiessen, 2011). According to Carey Francis, former headmaster of Alliance High School in Kenya, Christianity and games served partially as a formidable part of school life but it could be argued that they were “indeed its’ most important elements” (Mangan, 1987, p. 146). Due to the enormous challenges facing the colonial government after the First World War, the work of the missionaries became more vital in advancing colonial policies and education in society, with sport being an essential avenue. The missionaries used sport to further their intentions through dissemination of football. This was critical for the continued diffusion of football to Africans because the missionaries saw sports as a civilizing and educational tool. They saw the potential of sports as the recruitment mechanism for mission schools, and football would remain central to missionary endeavor (Darby, 2002). Football was rooted in the colonial territorial expansionism and socialization. According to Nauright (1992), the “games ethic of the English Public Schools was exported to similar institutions established by old boys in the settler colonies” (p. 58). The public school sporting practice determined the basis for the organization of sports in the colony. The colonial administrators promoted segregation in leisure sporting practices; for example, sports like football were allowed to be practiced in African communities while cricket and horse racing remained the preserve of the Europeans (Nauright, 1992; Ndee, 2010). For instance, the promotion of physical education influenced by the British military concept and the English Public School culture shaped the organization of sports in schools

(Leseth, 2010). The public school sporting practice determined the basis for the organization of sports in the colony.

It was during the colonial period that sport associations were created. The formation of the Arab and African Sports Association in 1923 totally altered the sporting environment. This association allowed for the involvement of indigenous people in the management of sport (Njororai, 2009). Therefore the sports associations in the country in the 1930s and 1940s followed racial lines with the Arab and African Sports Association controlling athletics (Tanser, 2008). Later, in 1951, the colonial government established the Kenya Amateur Athletics Association (KAAA)-the precursor of Athletics Kenya- with Sir Derek Erskine as the first president and Archie Evans as the Secretary General. KAAA became the *de facto* administrative organ to manage, develop and enable Kenya's participation in international competitions (Athletics Kenya, 2014). Kenya was introduced to global athletics at the British Empire and Commonwealth Games in Vancouver, Canada, in 1954. In these games, Kenya was represented by a small group of track and field athletes, with notable performance by Nyandika Maiyoro finishing 4th in the three mile event (Commonwealth Games Federation, 2014). This international exposure prompted the formation of Kenya Olympic Association in 1954. The International Olympic Committee (IOC) ratified its membership in 1955. With financial support from the colonial government, the Kenya Olympic Association was able to send a team of 32 athletes comprising Africans, Asian and European races to take part in the XVIth Olympiad at Melbourne in 1956 and they participated in the athletic, hockey, swimming and rifle shooting events (International Olympic Committee, 2014; Bale & Sang, 1996; David & Steven, 2001). The institutions of KAAA and Kenya Olympic Association became instrumental in the development of global athletics arena in post- independence Kenya.

Role of Government in Sport Development

Post-independent Kenya started on December 12th 1963, a day that most youths of the time remember fondly the mood of the country. The hearts of Kenyans perched on freedom from British yoke that had destabilized indigenous social and cultural institutions, and people hoped that the system of education and politics developed would benefit the new nation. The political leaders promised change— institutional and political—to the people. Kenya's independence development plans instituted measures to provide, develop and promote sports to serve the social welfare needs of the country (Sessional paper, 1965). The new Kenya was a mixture of cultures that emanated from the diverse ethnic groups in the country but also from the British culture, with sport playing a prominent role. However after independence, the government promoted introduced sports in sports for development, with indigenous sporting activities becoming “virtually non-existent” (Bale & Sang, 1996, p. 168), which epitomized the impact of cultural imperialism of British sports and indicated the Kenya government's usage of organized sports to meet national goals (Godia, 1989). Contemporary sports that have come to characterize post-independent Kenya are mostly imported from Britain, and accordingly established sport institutions date back to the colonial period when Kenya was under British tutelage. Thus the Kenya national sports organizations established by the colonial government and are still in operation today with the same organizational structures. The Kenya government appropriated sports and its organization to meet the nation's sporting culture as well as to develop social programs in society.

The Kenya government promoted domestic and international sports competitions for political and social reasons. As a young nation, national unity was paramount and sport became a vital instrument toward the realization of this goal among the diverse ethnic and racial groups. At

the international level, the country used athletics (track and field) to shape its post-independence image, trying to assert its supremacy and prestige, a feat that expressed via the nation's success in sport performance, symbolically demonstrating social power among world nations (Adjaye, 2010). Furthermore Adjaye (2010) asserts that sport performance in international competitions such as the Olympics promotes the culture of winning and becomes a catalyst for national pride, value, prowess, and standing in the global community. The outcome of sporting competitions influences international diplomacy. Therefore, success in these games has been “both a means and a barometer of domestic modernization and changing international status” (Tan & Houlihan, 2012, p. 134), for example in South Korea sports success have been used to enhanced “national power, identity and social integration, and securing domestic political legitimacy” (Park, et al, 2012, p. 246). Further Park et al. indicate that the sports success inspired an important “feel-good factor” throughout the South Korea in 1997 during the economic depression, helping promote the actions of “sporting officials and politicians to help justify heavy investment in elite sport” (p. 246).

Sports Participation and Competition

In contemporary Kenya, the role of the government is to develop sports infrastructures completed through the Ministries of Sports and Education and to provide funds to train and enable national teams to compete in international games and championships. The government separates youth sports from elite sport organizations, differentiating between the two through ministerial charge. The Ministry of Education is mandated with the organization and management of youth sports, while elite sports rest with the Ministry of Sport, Culture and Arts. During the early years of independence, sport was a department within the Ministry of Culture and Social Services, which factored sports programs as a social delivery service within the

country, with community cultural officers coordinating the implementation of sports programs from the national to the grassroots level. The cultural component of sports in community development was fundamental. As Kobayashi, Nicholson & Hoyer (2011) explained: sport plays a critical role in the social fabric of a community, arguing that sport serves a vehicle for development of community as a whole through inculcation of customary rules that inform social integration critical in the promotion of nationhood and youth welfare. Sport fulfills nations' health goals through sports for all mandate and production of stellar internationally recognized performances through sport for excellence activities (Skille, 2009). The government used the concept of African socialism to guide sports development in post-independent Kenya as indicated in the Session No. 1 1965. In the Session paper, the government sought to bring about social and economic justice and collaboration with development partners (Sessional Paper, 1965). One such institution was Kenya National Sport Council (KNSC). The KNSC was formed in 1966 under the Society's Act (cap 108) of the Laws of Kenya, acting "as an umbrella body [to] coordinates and harmonizes the activities of sports organizations in the country, [as well as become the] link between sports organizations and the government" (Ministry of Gender, Sports, Culture and Social Services, 2005, p. 28). The KNSC is the technical arm of the government through which the Ministry of Sports, Culture and Arts channels funds to the sports federations (Godia, 1989). KNSC allocates funds to the respective federations to conduct their activities, with all of the federations being affiliates of the council. Sports federations are required submit budget estimations and respective calendar year of events for each financial year to allow the KNSC to prepare budget in advance so as to avoid a last minute rush and financial complications" (Godia, 1989, p. 271).

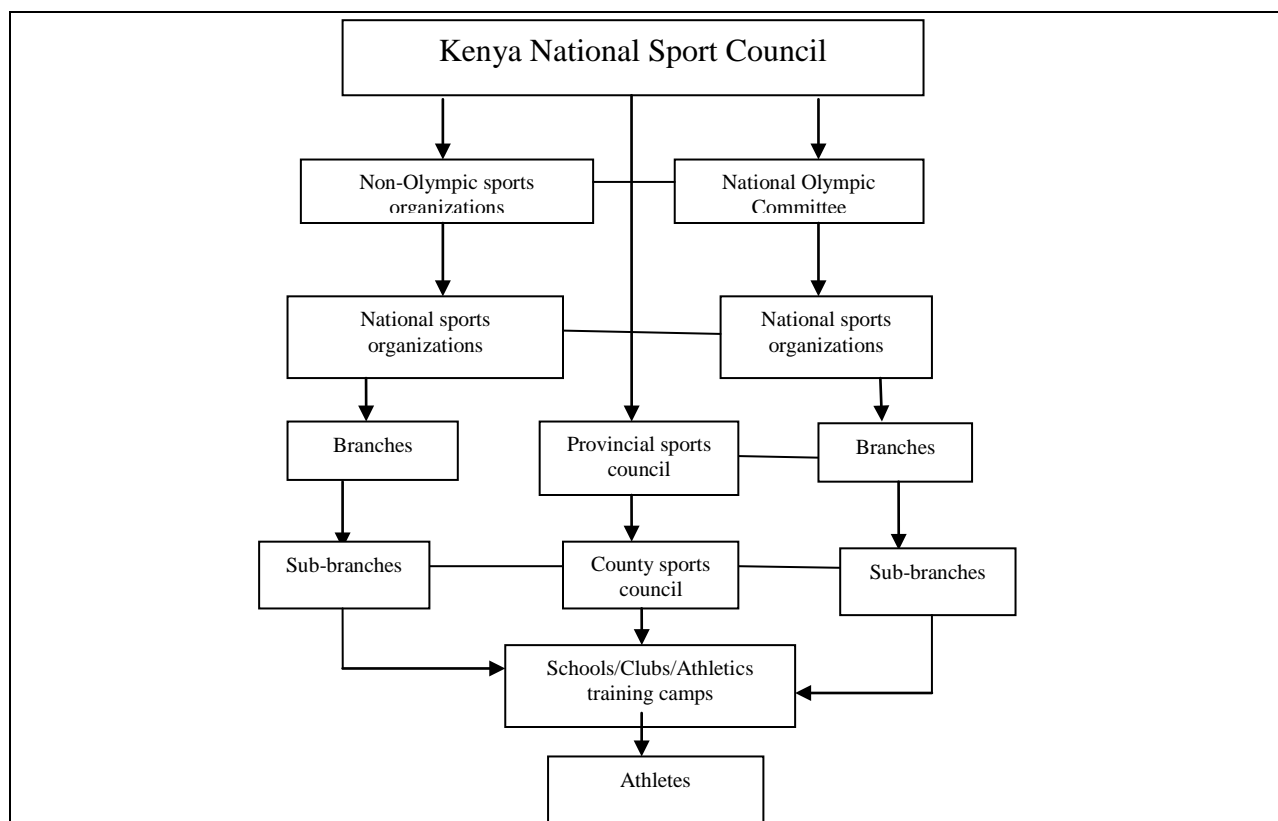


Figure 2. KNSC Organizational Structure

Since 1989, KNSC condensed its objectives with respect to the political and institutional changes, but with the same original intentions of the government at the time of its formation.

Broadly, KNSC has additional objectives of “facilitating local and international participation in all sports by affiliates, solicit for financial, technical and material support for the affiliates both locally and internationally” (MGSCS, 2005, p. 29). The relationship between the KNSC and the sport organizations starts from the national level to the grassroots or the local levels. The council oversees the development of sports organization through the national sport organizations and the

provincial sports councils. At the national level, KNSC supervises the sports organizations through the broad division of Olympic and non-Olympic sports. Although this difference is evident in the KNSC organization structure, this divide is not clear with respect to sports participation at the grassroots. The development sport within the schools' system hardly mentions this difference of Olympic and non-Olympic sports, neither is this difference evident in out-of-school sports.

The provincial sports council coordinates the sports activities in conjunction with the KNSC head office. At the provincial level, there is a department of sports under the provincial director of sport in each of Kenya's eight provinces. Each provincial director of sport is responsible for administration of several districts under its jurisdiction. The other approach the KNSC coordinates sporting activities is through the sports organizations, otherwise known as federations or associations. The words, "organizations, federations, and associations" mean the same thing and are used interchangeably in the context of sports in Kenya. The Ministry of Education organizes sports activities in educational institutions ranging from primary schools, secondary schools and college sports programs. The identification and development of elite athletes for global competitions such as the Olympic and Commonwealth Games in Kenya begins from educational institutions. Many of Kenya's successful athletes are identified in school competitions. Today, schools are the most important institutions that promote sports development in Kenya. The success of school sports programs indicates systematic integration of education and sports starting at the outset of independence. Schools also play an important function in teaching social values and promoting student learning and discipline (Bale & Sang, 1996).

Sports and National Development

Kenya received foreign sport aid to assist in the modernization of cultural and economic institutions, benefiting from bilateral aid between the government and foreign trading partners. The broad based approach in national development policy, as outlined in the sessional paper of 1965, sought to increase capital flow from foreign aid especially bilateral aid to invest in social and economic programs. This foreign assistance came from the former colonial power–Britain– and from other development partners (Sessional paper, 1965). Bilateral relations between Kenya and Britain continued in social and economic sectors. The British government aided the development of athletics through sending expert coaching personnel to provide coaching education and production of coaching manuals to facilitate quality-training programs (Bale & Sang, 1996).

A development partner, The Federal Republic of Germany extended huge financial support for the development of athletics in Kenya through foreign aid for development of sport in the country (Mählmann, 1989; Bale & Sang, 1996), transforming coaching programs under the organization of the government and Kenya Amateur Athletic Association (KAAA), the precursor of Athletics Kenya (AK). The GTZ, a German development agency was responsible for providing coaches and advisers to Kenya to assist in the long-term sport programs and policies. Walter Abmayr became the German leader, who turned out to be an athletic tactician; he established the Kenya Athletic Coaches Association, expanding the Kenyanization of the coaching pool and realizing the training of 260 athletic coaches and athletic managers between 1981 and 1985. The other development assistance in the modernization and promotion of sports in Kenya came from the Chinese government in form of sport infrastructure. China's bilateral assistance played an important role in the development of Kenya's sports infrastructure that led

to construction of Moi International Sports Center, Kasarani. This multi-sport complex is the legacy of modernization of sports facilities and international cooperation through sports partnerships. Bale and Sang (1996) emphasized the fact that sport foreign aid was channeled to competitive or elite sport development. Other forms of aid from investment from IAAF/IOC development programs, which Kenya has, to some extent, benefited. Since 1986 The IAAF has a Regional Development Center (RDC) for English speaking countries in Africa dedicated to coaching education and certification programs. The RDC is responsible for coaching programs to equip coaches, especially development coaching at the grassroots levels (Bale & Sang, 1996). The overall goal in the development of athletics infrastructure in Kenya is to provide the requisite human resources necessary in the development of elite athlete programs to identify and train for the desired international competitions, which the country prides herself in global contests for example in the Commonwealth and Olympic Games.

Commonwealth Games

The *British Empire Games*, now the *Commonwealth Games*, were first held in 1930 in Hamilton, Ontario, Canada (Gorman, 2010). The Empire Games were meant to unify former British subjects through sports participation and competitions. Kenya's involvement in the games has been felt throughout the years, but a significant moment was at the pre-independence athletics performance at the Commonwealth Games came in 1962 when Kenya achieved impressive performances, starting with Seraphino Antao clinching two gold medals in the 100 and 220 yards, and Kimaru Songok taking the silver in 440 yards (Bale & Sang, 1996). These stellar performances initiated the emergence of the African nation into global search for an international athletic success. Over the last 50 years Kenya became has remained a dominant

force in the field of athletics. These Commonwealth Games performances are summarized in Table 1.

The country's performance in the Commonwealth Games is demonstrated in the total accumulation of medals in the respective editions of the championships reflects on the strengths of Kenya's national teams in international competitions. The progressive incremental in medal count from 1958 to 2010 capture the increased presence of Kenya since her introduction to global athletics scene. The fact that there are more gold medals (36.4%), compared to silver (29.7%) and bronze (33.9) is indicative of the intensity the nation has invested in these games.

The number of sports that Kenya entered in the Commonwealth games not only indicates dependency on the sports of athletics and boxing, but also illustrates the pedigree of the athletes who competed in these games.

Table 1**Kenya Commonwealth Medal Tally (1958-2010)**

Year	Venue	Country	Gold	Silver	Bronze	Total
1958	Cardiff	Wales	0	0	2	2
1962	Perth	Australia	2	2	1	5
1966	Kingston	Jamaica	4	1	3	8
1970	Edinburgh	Scotland	5	3	6	14
1974	Christchurch	New Zealand	7	2	9	18
1978	Edmonton	Canada	7	6	5	18
1982	Brisbane	Australia	4	2	4	10
1990	Auckland	New Zealand	6	9	3	18
1994	Victoria	Canada	7	4	8	19
1998	Kuala-Lumpur	Malaysia	7	5	4	16
2002	Manchester	England	4	8	4	16
2006	Melbourne	Australia	6	5	7	18
2010	Delhi	India	12	11	10	33
Total			71	58	66	195
Percentage			36.4	29.7	33.9	100

Source: <http://www.thecgf.com/countries/tally.asp>

There was not only a steady growth in the number of medal count won but also a diversity in the quality of sport performances produced. Significance performances in women athletics came into focus in the 1970s, with Sabina Chebichii winning a bronze medal in 800m in

1974, and Tekla Chemambwai winning Silver in the same event four years later. The contemporary dominance of Kenya in Commonwealth Games attests to the strength and vitality of the women athletes, who started a tradition of excellent performances in track and field. Today, Kenyan women are the dominant force in the commonwealth Games with the first gold medal won in 1998 edition of the games. Overall the country's total medals earned have increased since the 1990s with the highest medal count attained in 2010 Delhi Games. In the 2010 games, swimmers became the latest addition in Kenya's gold medal podium glory. The Commonwealth Games performances improved by leaps and bounds immediately after the country became independent but participation at these games in recent times have surpassed previous years.

Olympic Games

The notable achievements in Olympic Games shaped Kenya's international prestige and diplomacy following the spectacular performances of Kenyan athletes at Mexico City Olympics in 1968. The prominence of Kenyan athletes at the Olympics and world championships in middle and long distance running created a national identity demonstrated that has been witnessed at the international sporting arenas (Onywera et al, 2006). Beginning with the Melbourne Olympic Games 1956, Kenya has participated in subsequent Olympic editions with the exception of Montreal in 1976 and Moscow in 1980 when the games were marred by boycotts. The post-independence Olympic medal tally is presented on Table 2. The sport that is featured prominently in Kenya's performance is track and field with the exception of boxing in 1988.

Table 2**Olympic Games Medal Tally (1964-2012)**

Year	Venue	Country	Gold	Silver	Bronze	Total
1964	Tokyo	Japan	0	0	1	1
1968	Mexico City	Mexico	3	4	2	9
1972	Munich	Germany	2	3	4	9
1984	Los Angeles	USA	1	0	2	3
1988	Seoul	South Korea	5	2	2	9
1992	Barcelona	Spain	2	4	2	8
1996	Atlanta	USA	1	4	3	8
2000	Sydney	Australia	2	3	2	7
2004	Athens	Greece	1	4	2	7
2008	Beijing	China	6	4	4	14
2012	London	United Kingdom	2	4	5	11
TOTAL			25	32	31	88
Percentage			28.4	36.4	35.2	100

Source: <http://www.olympic.org/>

The country's Olympic performance at the Mexico City games fundamentally situated the country as a dominance force in long distance running. The three gold medals in 1968 remained the best achievement until the 1988 Seoul edition when the record was improved to five gold medals, including a gold medal in boxing. The gold rush fluctuated after Seoul for another 20 year before the Beijing Olympics when a new national record in Olympic gold medals was achieved. The Beijing games were particularly significant to the country because women athletes

won the first gold medals, indicating improvements Kenyan women have made since their participation and performance at the Atlanta Olympic Games where a woman athlete won the first Olympic medal, a silver medal.

Global Sport Politics

Kenya has been a constant participant at the Commonwealth games in the last 60 years, except for the Commonwealth Games held in 1986 Edinburgh when Kenya, among other African countries– protested the “Britain's policy against South African sanctions” (New York Times, July 13, 1986, ¶ 3). During the cold war there were political alignments and non-alignments occurring between western and African countries. Kenya’s post-independence history is replete with the capitalist experiments and collaboration with the West, especially with the United States and United Kingdom. Yet at same time the Pan-Africanism movement was alive with the non-aligned movement and fighting for the cause of liberation of colonial states, especially the apartheid problem in South Africa. The modern Olympic Games have been plagued by the boycotts since 1956. Politics as an integral part of International sports competitions was instrumental in the liberation of South Africa. Its role was evident in contests ranging from participation, security and ideological alignments. The IOC expelled South Africa in the Olympic Movement in 1970 with respect to racial discrimination in sports organizations.

According to (Kissoudi, 2008) the South African case “did not allow sport to be practiced in accordance with the IOC’s rules, [which] was the official reason for excluding it from the Olympic movement” (p. 1690). African countries boycotted the Montreal Olympic Games in solidarity due to New Zealand rugby tour of South Africa (McHenry, 1980). Kenyan boycott of the Montreal Olympics was a big blow to the athletics community and the sport in particular. The consequences of Montreal were exacerbated by yet another Olympic boycott, held in

Moscow in 1980 when United States and her allies boycotted the Olympics due to Russian invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. The use of sports as the theater for political showdown shattered the dreams of emerging Kenyan athletes, diminished the power of sports in international diplomacy, and marginalized the value of sports investments. The aftermath of the post-independence athletics boycotts were dismal performance as demonstrated by the decline in the Olympic medal tally for the 1984 games with three medals, which is perhaps the worst performance by Kenya at any global event. It was largely because of the 1976 and 1980 Olympic boycotts that Kenya found itself in a depressed state in the sport of athletics. The 12-year hiatus affected the development and motivation for participation in international competitions. At the Commonwealth Games, Kenya once again participated in boycotting along with virtually all the African countries to protest Britain's refusal to impose economic sanctions on apartheid South Africa. The survival of the nation in future athletics competitions in the eighties was saved by the expansions in diversification of international competitions in what can be called the roaring eighties in the aftermath of disastrous Olympic boycotts.

Expansion in International Calendar of Events

Starting in early 1970s Kenyan athletes received scholarships to U. S. attend universities, which became a prominent feature for about two decades. Indeed many top American universities recruited Kenyan track and field distance runners (Bale & Sang, 1996). According to Bale and Sang (1996), these student-athletes became a source of Kenya's internationalization of track and field athletes during the period of Olympic boycott. The attraction of United States colleges and universities declined in the 1980s with the emergence of "open payment of prize money to athletes became more acceptable" (p. 126). Beginning in 1973, World Cross Country was introduced and it took ten years before Kenya competed in 1983 (International Association

of Athletics Federations, 2014). It took 13 years before Kenya entered the international stage of World cross-country. In 1986, John Ngugi became the first Kenyan to win gold at the World Cross Country. Kenya's dominance in World cross-country improved the international standing and brought immeasurable attention to the athletics landscape. The country hosted the event in 2007. While the '60s was the age of Olympic success and running for the nation, the World cross-country brought about the team effort in Kenya athletics in 1980s. National identification and preparations toward the annual events catapulted Athletics federation to focus on international performance.

In addition to the Olympic and Commonwealth Games, IAAF introduced three significant events in the 1980s, which impacted positively Kenya sports performances after the Olympic boycotts. The IAAF introduced the World athletics Championship to foster athletics competitions between the Olympic cycles. The first edition was held in Helsinki in Finland in 1983. The expansion of the sporting opportunities also expanded the athletic gains and increased the participation rate among countries and athletes. IAAF recognizes athletic performances, which comes with prize monies during the World Championships (International Association of Athletics Federations, 2014). The IAAF added purposely the World Junior calendar into the hosting of international competition to promote youth sports development, with the inaugural edition held in 1986 at Athens Greece. This was critical in the elite development programs for Kenyan athletes to progress from the junior to the senior ranks. In addition to the IAAF events, All African Games were held in Kenya in 1987 in Nairobi with great success. After the dismal performance in the prior Olympics, the All African Games propelled the athletic community to show their prowess, and it paid off with the support of the government in preparation toward the Seoul Olympics (Godia, 1989). The roaring events of the eighties paved the way for the

modernization of athletics in Kenya and opened up greater opportunities for talented youth in the country.

Commercialization of Sport

Globalization in realm of sport has received great attention in recent times. But the concept of globalization has been difficult to define. A single definition of the term globalization is elusive. Rodrick (1997) defines globalization as “the international integration of markets for goods, services, and capital” (p. 1), and Friedman (1999) defines globalization in terms of the interconnectedness of capital, technology and information through the creation of borderless states into a single global market. Today’s global village is a product of technological revolution and emergence of transnational marketplace where companies and countries trade their goods and services across a lot of different borders and time zones at once, imaging globalization varyingly. Friedman (1999) explains that “globalization creates much more of an open, unified global market ... [where] those with the skills or talent to sell their goods and services” (p. 338). Stiglitz (2006) argue that globalization has multiple meanings with instances such as “the international flow of ideas and knowledge, the sharing of cultures, global civil society, and the global environmental movement” (p. 4). Sport participation at the global involves a cross border flows of ideas, cultures and environmental concerns.

The internationalization of sport and the promotion of national goals propelled sport on to the global stage (Horton & Saunders, 2012), and the commercialization of sport has become a major milestone in professionalization of athletics, enabling elite athletics to transition from amateur to highly paid professionals. Due to the duality of sports influence on both the source (local) and the nature of competition in globalized spaces, sport labor migration in training and competition, the power of sports transcends local communities. The interdependence in

performativity of sports within the local and global social fields played out in local communities. This is where the sources of skilled sporting bodies are found and where the global sporting industrial complex comes to contest for athletic supremacy in negotiating and determining the global sport product. Sportsmen and sportswomen become the vehicles of transfer of ideas and knowledge, cultural capital among others, introducing the concept of glocalization. Robertson (1992) coined the term glocalization as a “social process rather than an abstract category, which encapsulates the constant *interdependence* of the local and the global” (p. 41) particularly completed through sports. Further Giulianotti and Robertson (2012) defined glocalization as the “interpretation of the local and the global” (p. 434).

Theories of glocalization have been employed to examine the diverse characteristics of world soccer, the interaction of the local and global sport with examples of different aspects of sports in Korea (Andrews & Ritzer, 2007; Giulianotti & Robertson, 2009). In sum globalization maybe used to refer to the movement of athletes between training centers and international competitions destinations across the world. This has encouraged training interactions at local communities of foreign and local athletes, which influence local cultures. Commercialization of athletics opened up Kenyan sport space to internationalization and globalization. The traditional notion of sports for the love of it or for the love of country seems to have dissipated in today’s market-driven culture (Adjaye, 2010). Furthermore the sports have become a career aspiration due to the amount of reward that comes with success. Some athletes “have been reduced to virtual commodities” (Adjaye, 2010, p. 36). Adjaye in reference to, Jacques Rogge of the International Olympic Committee (IOC, 2004), lamented that: “athletes were selling themselves off as mercenaries to the highest bidder” (p. 36). The emergence of athletics agents explains the frustrations of the present dominant capitalist enterprise in global sports.

The history of agents in track and field is a recent phenomenon. The sport of athletics remained an amateur sport for a long time following the ideals of Olympic Movement, which discourage economic benefits in any Olympic sports. A sports agent is someone who has entered into a contract with an athlete in order to represent the athlete contractual negotiations (Davis, 2006). Sport agency did not become official in European Football until 1991, when “the profession of agent was officially recognized when FIFA established the first official licensing system” (Poli et al., 2012, p. 2). International Amateur Athletics Federations (IAAF) introduced professionalism in athletics in 1990 with the licensing of athletic agents (Tanser, 2008). Despite the high concentration of players and the fierce competitiveness in the representation market, every year agency profession attracts new aspirants who desire to become agents (Poli et al. 2012). The contractual obligations include the athletes’ playing opportunities and endorsement agreements (Kohn, 1988). The playing contracts places the agent and the athlete in a position of mutual negotiation with the sports franchise and further with the endorsements opening depending on the nature of the contract (Davis, 2008).

The athlete-agent relationship is fundamental to the business of sports. An agent is very important to an athlete as they handle the business side of athletics, but this relationship is mutually beneficial (Kohn, 1988). However, an agent requires athletes to represent while the athletes benefit from the services rendered by agents so that they can concentrate on cardinal functions of performance, hence the existential balance of power (Davis, 2008). Athletes require agents in their professional careers. A successful and rewarding agent-athlete relationship is a function of the social standing of the agents, that is, competency and honest or integrity. The registration and certification of agents is an important tool to weed out unscrupulous agents and protect the interest of the potential clients (International Association of Athletics Federations,

2014). It is very important that agents are honest and moral in their practices as it protects their clients from possible harm (Davis, 2006). The practice of social power within the public sphere raises a fundamental question on the relationship between the sport of athletics and athletes at the community level (Carrington, 2007). In most professional sports, for example, European football, American professional sports and track and field, the business of agents is evident. Athletic agents undergo rigorous licensing process. Foreign agents' presence in the communities have enormous social and capital power as they exercise authority in decision-making regarding the athletic opportunities availed to selected athletes via signing of athletics contracts. The grand prix has become a common feature of sport consumption and participation.

The professionalization of world athletics and with many of the events concentrated in European countries led to the emergence of athletic agents and managers acting on behalf of Kenyan of athletes, planning their athletics program and calendar of competitions and as a result secure for them financial commitment with athletics meet promoters. The irony of management practice is that the agents or managers are largely based outside Kenya (Bale & Sang, 1996). The professionalization of sport has opened up a new enterprise of exploitation of athletes and migration of sport labor from Africa to European market (Armstrong & Giulianotti, 2004). The migration of athletic labor is not a new phenomenon. There are numerous research studies that document sports labor migration, with the migratory phenomena viewed against the backdrop of globalization processes (Weedon, 2012, p. 201). The international dimension of athletic competitions opened up an expansionist enterprise, increasing the plethora of global commercial organizations that traded footwear and equipment, leading to the formation of "multi-national corporations with international division of labor, [who enroll] athletes of any nation as part of their media and publicity campaigns" (Bale & Sang, 1996, p. 105). These multi-national

companies established themselves as the neocolonial masters with appropriation interests of the physicality of the athletic body movement and culture. The presence of these athletic capitalist enterprises traded their economic goods in exchange of exploitation of the athletic services, especially from newly independent countries such as Kenya. The new scramble for Africa is in sport services and athletics has proved to be effective through the advertisement and endorsement avenues with Nike, Adidas, Puma, and Reebok, who stake their claim on the Kenyan athlete. While the economic competition is going on among these global commercial entities competing for a piece of the advertisement image of the Kenyan runners, the “national pride and identity, quasi-religious language and multi-national corporation come together in the selling of athletic footwear through the image of the essentialised Kenyan athlete” (Bale & Sang, 1996, p. 105). The essentialization of athletics refers to the commercialization and commodification of elite athletes in advertisement and endorsement by sports apparel has become the avenue for sport capitalism appropriation of human performance to increase corporate profits (Stier, 2007). Technological advancement in the West, particularly in USA and Europe shrunk the sport-space hence the Kenyan athlete competes in international sporting arena as the athlete as well as part of the global television audience. The athlete has become the athletic product packaged for the consumer by the corporate world for the sole purpose of consumerism and profiteering conduit in the capitalist market place.

The media has played a critical role in shaping the perceptions of running in the country, defining the sporting and cultural spaces where athletics is practiced, with the young generations looking up to their role models as motivators for future careers in sports. The media has become the agent of the invisible hand of imperfect market sports structure and the Kenyan athletes have been lured by the economic free enterprise agencies into playing into the “surplus value” hands

using the Marxist critical analysis as a lens. Bale and Sang (1996) aptly demonstrate this scenario: “furthermore, athletes’ agents or managers are themselves international agencies who are able to create global festivals of a scale previously unknown outside the Olympics. These are exemplified by Grand prix events” (p. 107). The “new empire of sport” appropriated the languages of the former colonial masters with English being one of the dominant languages of communication of the Olympic family. Margison (2008) explains that any theorization of the phenomenon of global athletics encompasses “cross-border flows: flows of people (athletes, coaches, agents, administrators); flows of media, information and knowledge; flows of norms, ideas and policies; flows of technologies, finance capital and economic resources” (p. 304). Global flows in international sports are dynamic and uneven. Bale and Sang (1996) points out significance of the movement of Kenyan abroad as part of the new global cultural economy involving a large number of moving groups of “athletes crisscrossing global space as they ply their athletic trades” (p. 118). This migration of athletes is practiced when athletes are taking part in competitions, a temporary domicile in another country for instance students on scholarships, or a the more recent feature of athletes shifting allegiance and acquiring citizenship in another country, popularly known as ‘defection’. The transfers of athletes across international boundaries of athletics organizations result in accumulation of social capital in the local communities. Putnam (1995a) defines social capital as the by-product of social interactions taking place within organizational set up enabling collaboration in the social milieu to take place, hence interactions that represent the “features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit” (p. 67). According to Spaaji (2012) “social capital needs to be conceptualized more precisely to highlight its distinctive meanings, notably how it is laden with power and inequalities” (p. 1521). The power dynamics experienced

in the sports social fields, particularly in the context of developing nations exposes the dominance of capitalist endeavors evident in the exploitation of the athletes and the sporting communities. The consumption of mediated sports entertainment practices is indicative of the cultural effects of global transfer of internationalized sports practices and reproduction of the foreign cultural symbols at the local social spaces.

KapTuiyoot Athletic Community: Globalizing the Training Field

KapTuiyoot is among the variously diverse athletics communities in Kenya, with majority of them located at high altitude areas astride the equator. Athletics communities stretch from the foothills of Taita Taveta district on the coastal region of Kenya to the highland regions astride the Great Rift Valley, with Mount Kenya distinctly characterizing the landscape in between the coastal area and the Mount Elgon located on the Kenya-Ugandan border. The common denominator of this vast geographical landscape is altitude, which ranges from 2500 meters to 4000 meter above sea level. This altitudinal range has been found to be ideal for hosting athletic training activities, recently becoming a great region—an international Mecca—for athletics sportscape, making KapTuiyoot a golden place for athletics training.

Sportscape is a recent concept used to define a place of great import to sports activities. According to Bale sportscapes are derived from the interpretive combination of sport and landscape. Bale derives the concept of sportscapes from landscapes, explaining that landscape is where “...bodily culture takes place...as part of the *cultural* landscape and ... [and comprises] everything we see around us, including people, buildings in a sports contexts; it is more or less synonymous with the scenery of sports” (p. 9). Combination of sports and landscape brings about the derivation of term sportscapes. In Bale’s (1994) terms sportscapes connote an environment where powerful relationships are at play to extrapolate pleasurable activities that includes

athletics and yet rarely is a consideration for the environment in terms of ecological balance between plant and animal life, which would allow for harmonious coexistence culturally and socially in KapTuiyoot community.

The unique sportsapes of KapTuiyoot have played important sociological and psychological decision-making for athletes looking for an ideal training place. Kenyan and foreign athletes alike have mythically surrendered to the attractiveness of the many KapTuiyoot across Kenya as athletic training destinations. According to Secretary General of Athletics Kenya, “KapTuiyoot attracts runners in training from throughout the world. About 1,250 Kenyan athletes train and another 250 foreign athletes train there each year” (Njeru, January 17, 2013). Indeed every year the global media, athletes, athletic managers and management companies focus their lenses on athletic communities such as KapTuiyoot in Kenya. Most often than not, the next world champion, marathon winner, or a world-class athlete will emerge from the precincts of KapTuiyoot communities. Athletes from all over the world have made some sort of “athletic pilgrimage” to most of the wonderment to KapTuiyoot communities—from far and wide—with the hope that their training at these KapTuiyoot will open doors to athletic opportunities in global championships. Internationally, KapTuiyoot has received an unproportional global media attention and scrutiny due to the unparalleled number of middle and long distance runners. Fundamentally KapTuiyoot stands on unique geographical locations, in the highlands of Kenya, and produces world record performance in distance running. The functions of KapTuiyoot in promoting international athletics is critical in examination of the relationships between the sporting performance and preservation of the cultural power while enhancing the accumulation of the social capital and providing the local populations with an opportunity to improve their economic capital.

Theoretical Frameworks Considered in this Study

Social Critical Theory

Social critical theory (Habermas, 1989) served as the theoretical framework for this study. Bourdieu's Practice Theory (Bourdieu, 1984) was used as the epistemological stance to examine the role of athletics practices in the KapTuiyoot community. Social critical theory interrogates the dynamics of power as expressed in the practice of athletics within the social field. Critical theory is considered to be "a participatory approach that engages constituents or stakeholders in a reflective and critical reassessment of the relationship between overarching social, economic, or political systems, such as capitalism or accountabilism, and every day practices" (Freeman & Vasconcelos, 2010, p. 7). Within a critical theory framework, the investigation of the role of sports participation in the KapTuiyoot community relied, to a great extent, upon the participants' views of the context being studied because meanings are products of negotiations in social and historical contexts (Creswell, 2003). These theoretical perspectives were employed to identify power relations using the knowledge and practices of the stakeholders within the athletic community applied in their interactions in the social field. According to Joseph (2003) "the interconnection between specific economic forces and the ideas and the psychic structures of the people who created them" (Joseph, 2003, p. 16) opens up the possibility of new knowledge regarding the relationship of sports and society. In addition, Joseph points out the use of a critical theoretical lens to explicate the conditions. Given the nature of sport as an act of contest, critical theory is a kind of conflict theory (Morrow & Brown, 1994) that is between structures and agents in sports.

Sport activity as consumed in a social arena, a stadium, or a recreation facility constitutes the sports landscape that the public owns. In Kenya, sports facilities are public facilities and

therefore are fittingly called a public sphere. These sportscapes provides an “ideal site of rational communication” (Thomassen, 2010, p. 34). The sportscape exemplifies what Habermas calls “the bourgeois public sphere marked by biases and exclusions based on...bourgeoisie’s economic interests, the public sphere is more than ideology” (p. 34). The discourse of sport development in the public sphere is an attempt to understand the roles of organizations in the business of sports at the community level emanating from international corporate interests. Using critical theory in the study of the athletics landscape of the KapTuiyoot community helps to locate the potential of reason and emancipation in sporting practice and institution within society, as Thomassen (2010) expressed the view that “the bourgeois public sphere relies on a distinction between private and public” (36). Sports in Kenya are promoted as a social service and funded by the government. The athletic training areas are open to and freely accessible to the general public. In the KapTuiyoot community, Uwanja stadium, an old dirt structure build in the 1950s, has produced world record holders and Olympic gold medalists. However, private athletic training camps utilize the free access to this facility when training their athletes, thereby increasing their profit without contributing to its maintenance. The practice of social power within the public sphere increases the fundamental relationship between sports and athletes at the community level. Foreign agents have enormous hegemonic and capital power to exercise authority over the athletes at the lower economic spectrum who are dominated through the classic market place practice of exchange value, usually skewed to the advantage of agents.

Sports are undertaken in an exchange-value or and a surplus-value-creating relationship. Although play has a use-value for players, sport has a use-value for the owner of the athletes’ labor who realizes its exchange-value through the consumer. An athlete’s labor is appropriated to create surplus value. Games sold as sports require that “some people (athletes) produce other

people's (spectators) pleasure, and yet other people's (the owners of the athletes' labor power) profits, be they egocentric – an exchange-value – or economic. In a sports' feeder system, athletes give up control over private labor" (Ingham, 2004, p. 17). Those who supply the means of production (sponsors, owners, organizations, associations, etc.) buy athletes potential as labor power. He further indicates that the system is "instrumentally rational...Interest gives way to competence where one's best is never good enough-there is always someone waiting to take your place or record- there is a reserve army of prolympian labor" (p. 18). The appropriation of play due to the commodification of human physical practices is transformed through games into sport.

Practice Theory

Another theoretical perspective used to guide this study is Bourdieu's idea of practice. Practice Theory underpins Bourdieu's analytic apparatus or conceptual tools of habitus, field, and capital (1984). Kitchin and Howe (2012) provide conceptual definitions of Bourdieu's analytic apparatus thusly:

Field can be defined as a structured and objective network of social relations where agents are engaged in a contest for resources and position. Capital was used by Bourdieu to explain certain 'tools' used by agents to contest these resources and field positions.

Habitus is defined as a set of continually refined dispositions, appreciations and perceptions that provide agents with meaning within field specific circumstances. (p.2)

The practice of athletic participation within the KapTuiyoot community reflects the daily interactions in different spheres of the community's social fields among the stakeholders in their individual capacities and through the activities of sports organizations, thus athletics becomes a habitus of power (Bourdieu, 1984). Field, capital, and habitus are useful conceptual tools that helped to unravel the roles of stakeholders within the context of athletics and globalization in

Kenya. Within a neo-pluralist context “power is viewed as highly concentrated; corporate interests and economic issues dominate the agenda; and there are inequalities in the distribution of power resources and access to government decision-makers in which less influential groups are relegated to peripheral status” (Chappel, 2008, p. 181). The state exercises this power in order to achieve public policy objectives through sports based on the social, cultural, economic, and political factors of the nation, and each country’s unique set of geographical and human factors plays a role in the development of sports policy structures and implementation agencies.

The centrality of capital in sports as a factor of production has a powerful connection to Bourdieu’s (1985) construction of social space. He drew parallels between the structure of the social world and the structural characteristics of different fields and the distribution of capital and profits. Moreover, it is important to work out the correct hierarchy “of the different forms of capital” (p. 737). Thorpe (2009) defines capital to mean the different forms of power held by social agents. Bourdieu (1986) identifies various forms of capital (power), economic (e.g., wealth), social (e.g., social connections), cultural (e.g., artistic taste), symbolic (e.g., prestige), linguistic (e.g., vocabulary and pronunciation), academic (e.g., tertiary qualifications), and corporeal (e.g., physical attractiveness). An agent’s position in the social space is an indicator of the degree to which the power of the agent can accumulate these forms of capital and define those forms as legitimate.

Summary

This chapter provided information on the development of sports starting with the global human experience and the significance of sport. The chapter also discussed the role of indigenous play, games, and sport in African continent. Play and games had been integral to the socialization process of the youth in African communities before the advent of modern sports via colonialism.

The chapter also emphasized the educational function of sports with the traditional African communities. Traditional sporting practices in African countries were interrupted by colonial occupation, and the chapter described British sports as tools of social control and an assertion of foreign cultural domination. The appropriation of sports in missionary schools is also discussed. The colonial sports organization mechanisms are discussed with an emphasis on national institutions and athletic sports. The post-independence sports landscape is fundamental to present-day sporting practices. The description of the role of government and sports involvement captures the post-colonial era and demonstrates the relationship between the local and global sports connections that the country has developed since independence. The chapter describes the government's role and response to global political challenges that disrupted athletic development. It also discusses the expansion of athletic events and how Kenya has benefited from them. The opening of the local economy to the global corporate world that led to the professionalization and commercialization of sport is also described. The chapter also discusses how Kenya has shaped the international sporting landscape through spectacular performances in distance running. The emergence of the internationalization of the KapTuiyoot community as a training destination for athletics provides a window to understanding the global-local regime of elite athletics in Kenya. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the theoretical frameworks used in this study. Social critical theory and practice theory are important in appreciating how sport as a form of cultural power has been appropriated in the sport industry. The practices of athletics in the local community are expressed in the form of social capital. Thus the relationships emanating from the presence of international athletes in the local communities provide the relevant glocal connections in this study.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

Globalization has become a defining concept of the 21st century. It has amplified global-location relationships, heightening sport participation across many international communities. According to Hall (1997) globalization at the local and global refers to the emergence of new practices of globalizing progression. Globalization of athletics rests on the involvement of multinational firms through sponsorships and endorsement opportunities that have intensified interactions between athletic communities and global economic entities and stateless agencies, impacting sport practices in local contexts. This chapter explicates local-global sports, particularly as it concerns athletics. In particular, this chapter provides descriptive information on the methods used in this study. The areas covered include the purpose, research questions, method, and context of the research study. The chapter also includes information about the participants, sampling procedure, data collection methods, data analysis, data management, trustworthiness, ethical considerations, and limitations.

The Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

The purpose of this study was to understand the effects of globalization on KapTuiyoot athletics sport community in Kenya. The research questions that guided this research investigation are as follows:

1. What was the role of sports in the KapTuiyoot indigenous community and how did colonial sports influence the traditional sporting practices?
2. How has globalization of the KapTuiyoot athletic community shaped global athletics?

3. How has athletics reconstructed the future of KapTuiyoot community?

Rationale for Using Qualitative Methods

Qualitative research studies are used when scholars' investigations target participants' understanding of a phenomenon (Hanson, Balmer & Giardino, 2011; Merriam, 2002). In these studies the "researcher is the key instrument" in data collection, and the emphasis is placed on the collection of descriptive data in a natural setting (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982). Other scholars (LeCompte, Preissle, & Tesch, 1993; Merriam, 2002) have argued that with qualitative research methods, the researcher is organic in the study settings during data collection and data analysis. The researcher immerses his/herself in the context of the data collection, and data are analyzed inductively to determine emerging meanings related to the phenomenon of interest (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982). The focus of the current study was the globalization of the KapTuiyoot community through athletic sports, and the study sought to provide an in-depth understanding of the participants' perspectives. Therefore, a qualitative research approach was a suitable design for data collection (Merriam, 2002). A qualitative case study was used in this study. A case study design is appropriate when the research question(s) place an emphasis on answering questions related to "how" and "why" in relation to a phenomenon in its natural settings, where contexts and cases are intertwined and there is no manipulation of participants' behaviors (Yin, 2009). A qualitative case study design places the greatest emphasis on context. Therefore, a case study design was appropriate in the current study because the researcher was able to "look for detail of interaction with its context" (Stake, 1995, p. ix). Since the research questions endeavored to obtain an in-depth comprehension of the participant's perspectives, qualitative research methods became the ideal methods for data collection (Crotty, 2003).

The Research Location

The selection of KapTuiyoot in this study was based on its significant contribution to the international athletic prestige of Kenya. This community is a metaphor for athletic “reservoirs” in many areas of Kenya, which have been identified as the athletic zones, stretching from Taita Hills in Coastal Kenya to the highlands east and west of the Great Rift Valley. The high areas of the surrounding land adjacent to Africa’s great inland water mass, Lake Victoria, have produced some of Kenya’s finest athletes. The KapTuiyoot community is a representative of the increasingly visible athletic oases in many parts of the 47 counties in Kenya. The magnificent geography of these communities transcends athletics – there are breathtaking scenes in the country with diverse flora and fauna, a defining characteristic of the topography of Kenya. The high altitude areas from Taita Hills to the Chengany Hills, the azures of Nandi Hills and the Kisii highlands coupled with the majestic altitude of the Aberdare hills captures global appeal, with athletic sports intimately connected these topographical areas.

Over the last five decades, these areas have been associated with elite athletic prowess. The rise of Kenya’s athletic stardom in global competitions can be traced to these latitudes. Among the satellite areas with notable athletic success are Wundanyi, Ngong, Machakos, Nyahururu, North Rift, South Rift and the Kisii highlands. The KapTuiyoot community comprises locations with an altitude of approximately over 2000M above sea level. These high altitude areas are a manifestation of cool fresh air surrounded by serene forest cover, which makes it a dream destination for many athletes aspiring to compete in world class athletic events. The existence of high caliber training camps and the increasing potential for sport tourism in many counties endowed with athletic potential further augment this possibility of these athletic satellite areas to become not only just a world-class home for athletics but also a tourist

destination. The ideal climatic condition and the altitude of the highlands within the county offer an opportunity for athletics training and the promotion of sports tourism, especially given that local and international athletes train at KapTuiyoot, which is in close proximity to the tourism sites. Athletics is synonymous with the historical development of these institutions in Kenya. Success in athletics, and to some extent the spectacular performances of Kenyan athletes at the Olympic Games, have come to be considered as the defining characteristics of KapTuiyoot community. In recent times, KapTuiyoot has come to be considered as the epicenter of distance running in the world. Athletics has contributed to the image of the community as an international training destination for athletes seeking international success. The patterns of athletic training migration have witnessed an influx of athletes from all over the world into the KapTuiyoot community, with many international athletics camps establishing their training bases there.

As in other parts of the world, there are factors associated with athletic success. Some factors influence the demand for athletics training include the effect of altitude; geographical terrain; social factors such as safe communities, role models, training facilities, and sport policies governing the administration of the sport; and the amount of exposure given to the athletes and region in national and international media. The geographical distribution of the athletic training camps in Kenya is a testimony to the diversity in the factors influencing the development of athletic potential in Kenya. The visibility of the KapTuiyoot community in global athletics informs the immense relationship between identification and development of young talent in Kenya and increases the attainment of the international prestige the country has achieved through athletic performance. The KapTuiyoot community is a microcosm of the larger focus of sport development in Kenya via the global-local reproduction of social capital using athletic sports to situate an understanding of the globalization of sport. The increasing number of athletic training

camps annually sanctioned by Athletics Kenya is indicative of the demand for more global training opportunities for track and field athletes and also portrays the degree to which athletics has become professionalized and commercialized, which has increased the global economy related to the elite track and field industry. The high number of athletic training camps and the demand for more with the constantly increasing number of athletes has shaped the way the people of the KapTuiyoot community relate with the athletic community.

Sampling Strategy

Recruitment of participants was based on a purposive sampling in several locations of the KapTuiyoot community. According to Daniel (2012), purposive/purposeful sampling is a nonprobability sampling procedure in which elements are selected from the target population “on the basis of their fit with the purposes of the study and specific inclusion and exclusion criteria” (p. 87). The sampling strategy provides information that cannot be obtained from other methods, while obtaining an in-depth understanding and maximizing the richness of the data. To participate in the study, a participant was required to be above 18 years. In addition to this condition, the participants had to meet at least one of the following: (1) have competed in international competitions (e.g. the Olympic Games, marathon, World Championships etc.); (2) have a substantial connection to the community (e.g. resident/training/or management, or business); (3) have an active involvement in athletics (athlete, coach, manager etc.); and (4) be active in sports activities in the community (camp owner, residential business, community social services, athletic wear seller or vendor, etc.). The recruitment of the participants in this study involved making appointments with the potential participants via phone or personal visits to places of work. Most of the participants were public figures known in the community and easily

accessible. Most of the participants were willing to participate in the study after the research protocol was explained to them.

Research Participants

The target number of participant in this study was 25 selected from international athletes, current sports administrators, coaches, training camps owners, and community leaders. Only twenty participants were interviewed for this study. There were 15 men and five women in the study. The characteristics of the participants were 14 were Kenyan, and six were from other countries. In terms of athletics competition, seven of the participants had competed up to an international level. The sample also included seven coaches, of which four served in the athletics federation at the community level. There were 10 participants who represented different community organizations associated with the athletics federation. The participants from other countries were three athletes and three coaches. The participants' ages ranged from 20 to 85. The level of education was also asked, and most of the participants were highly educated with over 95% having post primary education. For the purpose of this study, the participants were classified as local or foreign. The local participants were Kenyan citizens while the foreign participants were from other countries.

Data Collection Methods

According to Yin (2003, 2009, 2012), a case study design is suitable when (a) the focus of the study is to investigate the “how” and “why” questions; (b) the researcher cannot manipulate the behavior of the participants in the study; (c) the researcher wants to cover the conditions of the context because they are relevant to the phenomenon under study; or (d) the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clear. The audio data collected were labeled and stored on an electronic password-controlled computer. The researcher relied heavily

on interviews. Semi-structured questions were used. In addition, the researcher reviewed relevant artifacts.

Interviews

Interviewing was a suitable method for data collection in this study because it provided detailed and personal insights into the participants' understanding of athletic activities (Brinkmann, 2013). Face-to-face interview sessions were organized with the participants. The interview format was a semi-structured format in which "the interviewer [had] a clear list of issues to be addressed and questions to be answered but question structure, phrasing and placement [were] flexible and the interviewer [was] also free to probe responses" (Draper & Swift, 2010, p. 4). One interview session was conducted for each of the participants. Most of the participants agreed to be interviewed between 45-90 minutes with the exception of three who were interviewed for more than two hours because of their depth of involvement in sports. The interviews in this study focused on the participants' knowledge and individual involvement in the sport. Sometimes, there was a slight tweak in the interviewing structure for each interviewee, depending the level of desirability that the participant chose. The interviews were conducted in English, Kiswahili, and Kalenjin, and sometimes a mixture of all of them. The research questions, data collection strategies, and interview guide are presented as Appendix A and B respectively.

Data Management

The interviews, with the consent of the participants, were audio-recorded and later transcribed verbatim. The data was securely stored for purposes of protecting it during analysis. The researcher used pseudonyms to ensure the confidentiality of participants until the completion

of the study. The purpose of audio recording was to save time and engage the participants through listening to their words in order to capture the nuances that informed the study. The researcher transcribed the interviews personally after the interviews for the purpose of immersion in the data and data analysis.

Trustworthiness

The objective of this research was to build on quality outcomes based on the prudent representation of participants' responses and authenticity in the interview transcriptions. To establish trustworthiness in qualitative inquiry, this study conformed to the criteria of credibility and transferability (Koch, 1993). The rigorous qualitative research process has yielded findings that were reflective of the research context. Therefore, in qualitative research, credibility and dependability are critical to the research findings. Although reliability (dependability) related more to consistency to whether the findings of the study were clearly reflective of the data gathered (Merriam, 2002), credibility (validity) related to the accuracy of the representation of the data, including interpretations and perceptions (Creswell, 2007).

Triangulation

Triangulation refers to the combination or use of multiple research strategies in both qualitative and quantitative traditions where researchers take different perspectives on a phenomenon under study (Flick, 2007) with the aim of quality promotion. Utilizing several methods and theoretical approaches, Flick (2007) and Fielding and Fielding (1986) argue, leads to reduction of the risk that conclusions will reflect only the systematic biases or limitations of a specific source or method and allows the researcher to gain a broader and more secure understanding of the issues (Maxwell, 2005). The current study utilized data, theoretical, and methodological triangulations to document participants' knowledge and perspectives on the

understanding of the global-local interaction of athletics in the context of the KapTuiyoot community. Therefore, conformability requires the researcher to show the way in which interpretations have been arrived at via the inquiry.

Credibility. Credibility has the characteristic of believability. According to Thomas and Magilvy's (2011) understanding, credibility refers to the recognition of experiences as contained within a study as revealed through the interpretations. The practice of credibility occurs when a researcher reviews individual transcripts to determine consistency within and across the participants' experiences. This is achieved through a researcher's self-awareness in journaling about the content and the process of interactions, including reactions to various events experienced (Koch, 1993, p.92). The journal contents enhance credibility of the research process. Therefore, credibility in the current study was accomplished with the use of the strategies of reflexivity and peer debriefing or peer examination. In addition, the researcher used non-verbal cues as a way of authenticating the verbal information. My background in coaching athletics in Kenya, as well as being a native speaker of the local language, helped in the translation and interpretation of findings related to athletics in the KapTuiyoot community.

Transferability. Transferability refers to the degree to which the research outcomes or findings can be reflected in other contexts based on the similarities between them. Because qualitative research is intended to reach deep understandings about the phenomenon being studied rather than be generalizable to many situations, this study attempted to describe the findings in as rich and thick terms as possible (Glesne, 2006). The examination of the role of athletics in the KapTuiyoot community will inform the understanding of sports in Kenya in general.

Ethical Considerations

Ethics are important in any human endeavor. This is more critical in a research process in which human subjects are involved. Atkins and Wallace (2012) reiterated that: “an ethical approach should pervade the whole of your study...recognition of the need for anonymity or consent ...but should inform every aspect of the study” (p. 30). The University of Georgia Institutional Review Board approved the study before data collection. The Kenya National Council for Research, Science, and Technology gave permission for the study, informed consent was sought from the participants who signed the form indicating whether they chose to participate in the study; they had the right to withdraw at any time. Giving the participants an informed consent to sign seemed odd to some of the participants because of a fear of reprisal associated with the signing of documents as evidence. Most of the participants gave a verbal consent for their participation in the study. The participants had the right to privacy through the use of pseudonyms to maintain confidentiality, and during the data analysis, data aggregation was used in reporting the findings. Therefore, there are no responses traceable to the participants.

Data Analysis

Data analysis is the activity of making sense of the data collected. The data were analyzed using the grounded theory method (Charmaz, 2006). In grounded theory, data analysis involves inductive analysis, through which a researcher is interested in finding connections, patterns, themes, and categories in the data to explain what is going on (Patton, 2002; Goetz & LeCompte, 1984; Roulston, 2010). The analysis commenced with inductive coding (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss & Corbin 1998), with the initial codes representing broad emergent themes from each of the interviews. This was followed by more concrete categories with combination of themes to condense them into meaningful relationships. The process started with review of the

data, writing, mapping connections between codes and categories, and memoing (Charmaz, 2006). The aim of inductive analysis is to examine as specifically as possible research contexts, employing research questions seeking investigation of social behaviors or phenomena suitable for this analysis. During the data analysis careful attention was given to the issue of translations since the researcher used three languages in interviewing the participants. The researcher transcribed the interviews paying close attention to the meanings of the participants' words as much as possible, and sometimes the original words were retained in the analysis with translations given in parenthesis. The researcher also kept close watch on personal experiences from interfering with the participants' interpretation of the events as they experienced them.

Limitations

Every research effort has limitations inherent to its design. For this case study, several limitations must be taken into account. First, qualitative case studies aim for particularization (Stake, 1995) of the case. Simons (2009) provides a solution to this issue. Simons writes:

It is important to state that in many situations in which case study research is conducted, formal generalization for policy-making is not the aim. The aim is particularization to present a rich portrayal of a single setting to inform practice, to establish the value of the case and/or add knowledge of a specific topic. (p. 24).

Thus, the objective here was to ensure that the data and the analysis are credible and the process of interpretation attains the consistency required in answering the research questions. Moreover, although findings may be useful to the KapTuiyoot community, they would also inform the discourse of sports policy and management of sports in Kenya in general. My personal interaction with some of the sports actors at the local sites may provide an easy access to the organization, yet there is the possibility of bias or assumption of prior knowledge blurring

the ability to observe. The researcher has to include them in the subjectivity statement. Simons (2009) provides a ray of hope: “the subjectivity of the researcher is an inevitable part of the frame. It is not seen as a problem but rather, appropriately monitored and disciplined, as essential in understanding and interpreting the case” (p. 24). Therefore, subjectivities can serve as tools to enhance an interpretation of the data and strengthen the research report. Another limitation for this case study is the set of issues resulting from a single researcher. When one researcher is responsible for the totality of data collection, his/her worldview, assumptions, and relationship to the topic exerts a greater influence over the study, which I believe was not the case here.

Summary

This chapter provided a description of the research methods. A case study research design was used to examine the participants’ perspectives on globalization of athletics in KapTuiyoot community. Interview questions focused on participants’ understanding of the role globalization of athletics in the community and on their interactions with athletics as well as their perspectives on the contribution of athletics to community development. The research location is the KapTuiyoot community in Kenya, described fully in this chapter. The characteristics of the participants were also described in the chapter. The stakeholder communities included international athletes, coaches, sports administrations, community leaders, business community, and sports management camps.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH FINDINGS

The focus of the study was on the globalization of athletics in Kenya, with a specific concentration on the global-local interactions among the residents of a community identified as KapTuiyoot. The purpose of this study was to understand the effects of globalization on KapTuiyoot athletics sport community in Kenya. Table 3.1 and 3.2 show the demographic characteristics of the participants while Table 4 indicates the summary of the key findings. The findings of the study are based on 20 participants who included sports administrators, foreign and local athletes, government officials, community leaders, school-teachers, and coaches. In this chapter, the findings of the study are presented in a thematic format derived from the interviews in the form of four themes: (1) agents of sport socialization; (2) foreign involvement in Athletics; (3) consequences of athletics globalization on community development; and (4) community projections for future developments.

Table 3.1**Demographic Characteristics of Participants**

Identity	Sex	Age	Nation origin	Years sport	Category	Level of sport	Education Level
Kosutany	M	50+	Local	20	Education/ Sport administrator	School sports	Degree
Long'elech	M	30+	Foreign	20	Athlete / coach	Marathon	Degree
Chemosong	F	30+	Foreign	13	Athlete	Olympics Games	Degree
Riga	M	20+	Foreign	16	Athlete / Coach	Marathon	Degree
Mpempe	M	30+	Local	5	Community leader	District sports	Diploma
Kirorei	M	30+	Local	6	Community Social service	District athletics	Form Four
Taprandich	F	40+	Local	15	Sports women services	District Athletics	Form Four
Kobilo	F	30+	Local	23	Athlete/ Coach	Olympics Games,	Form Four
Komolin	M	50+	Local	30	County athletics programs	Provincial	Form Four
Chebaimo	M	40+	Local	30	Agriculture/ Business community	District	Degree
Maluche	M	60+	Foreign	45	Coach/teacher/ Sports	Coaching international s	Degree

Table 3.2**Demographic Characteristics of Participants**

Identity	Sex	Age	Nation origin	Years Sport	Category	Level of sport	Education Level
Miningwo	F	70+	Local	50	Community leader/ Business sports leader	District	Form Four
Serwet	F	40+	Foreign	30	Athlete	National athletics	Degree
Kapchebit	M	30+	Foreign	20	Athlete Philanthropy	Marathon	Degree
Kabore	M	30+	Kenyan	15	Coach Teacher	National athletics Marathon	Degree
Noywo	M	80+	Local	40	Athlete	Commonwe alth Games	KAPE
Tendenei	M	60+	Local	40	Athlete/ Sport administration	Internationa l athletics world cup	Diploma
Mongen	M	60+	Foreign	35	Athlete/ Journalist/ Coach	Marathon	Degree
Kanyasang	M	40+	Local	20	Community political leadership	World Champions hips and Olympic Games	Form Four
Lombelo	M	30+	Local	10	Sport administrator	National	Degree

Table 4**An Outline of the Categories and Themes of the Study**

Key Categories	The Key Themes
Agents of sport socialization	Indigenous sports Foreign sports
Foreign involvement in Athletics	Internationalization athletics Power of athletics agents Training camps Media branding
Consequences of athletics globalization on community development	a) Economic benefits b) Cultural perspectives c) Land question
Community projections for future developments	Community branding; Sport tourism; Future sport community

The Findings Described in Thematic Forms

Agents of Sport Socialization

African people integrated play and games into their social-cultural life forms, and sports activities inculcated cultural knowledge and skills among the youth. Sports transmitted community values through traditional education. Family and community members progressively socialized the youth through play, games, and sports activities. Today the socialization through sports is centralized on the school grounds. Thus, the emergence of an elite athletic culture began with its socialization into school athletics, where competitive sports were practiced through after-school programs. The participants in this study played a key role in the development of a running culture and in the construction of athletics in the KapTuiyoot community with schools and community serving as spaces in which athletes were nurtured and prepared for international-level competitions. The participants' knowledge of the roles and level of involvement in these institutions are paramount in understanding sport groups in the KapTuiyoot community.

Community members. The members of the community, and families in particular, were critical to the socialization of the participants into athletics. Children and youths engaged in traditional or indigenous sports, either formally or informally. Young children were encouraged to take part in play activities, for example when grazing livestock in the fields. These play or game practices were essential in the development of formal sporting endeavors. For instance, when the question of the role of indigenous sports in the community was asked, Noywo, Kirorei, Mpempe, and Miningwo indicated the importance of traditional sports in the community, pointing out the participatory process of learning social skills. Noywo, for example, stated:

When I was growing up... we played in many activities. You know eh... there were children's sports..., uh sport was used to teach kids about community knowledge. There were different activities like shooting, throwing of javelin and chasing each other around. Sometimes, when we were herding our animals in the forest, we would do a lot of wrestling, and you know, we would hide from elders.

Children were encouraged to take part in specific sporting activities to acquire certain skills useful in fulfilling social roles in the community. This open system promoted creativity in the way the activities were carried out. For example, children and youths' individual abilities were recognized during sports participation when skill accuracy and competence were tested through practical activities such as shooting games to determine the more versatile ones who were promoted through a reward system. Kiorei explained:

Uh, you know traditional sports, uh were there. We had this competition, uh the *mishale* (arrow shooting) competition shooting targets, I think that was the major sport in our community, the reason for this is that these people were originally hunters and eh ...[kept] livestock and whatever owners and in areas... with wild animals; so these sports were [used] to develop skills. There [were] rewards for the winning sharp shooters.

Play and games acted as the currencies that shaped the identity of the people of KapTuiyoot community. The culture of play was cardinal in the socialization of the youth to learn to practice self-reliance. Recreational sports were blended with adult communal practices, which informed the functional direction of youth activities. For others like Mpempe, traditional sports played a more practical role in the culture of the community, for these roles defined the cultural aspects of life. He explained:

In KapTuiyoot Community, sports...um has always been part of the culture. Yeah, every member of the society was engaged in some form of sporting practices. For example, the young kids were told *oba sang* (go out) and play. What is interesting... is that we don't tell them what, eh... activity to play but you will find them... active in their own games and play. Uh...I believe traditional sports served...uh the functions of bringing kids together, [promoted] health and fitness. The ceremonies...[used]... for seasonal events and...there was no discrimination [between] boys and girls.

The type and forms of sport practices in traditional societies blended well with the economic practices of herding of livestock, which required physical fitness among the herders, usually boys and men, with the objective of disseminating cultural values to future generations. In contemporary times, there has been a change in and significance of play and games in the community. The role of traditional sports has changed, as Miningwo nostalgically illustrates as she describes her attachment to the sport practices. She pointed out that:

There were many activities... we played as children... eh, play was important to teach social aspects to young children and... um, eh these activities combined... with other domestic responsibilities...unlike today...sports have become separate part of normal child growth. In our time...eh activities such as dancing... hide and seek... running around chasing each other... were common. Today kids have.... limited access to traditional sports. Um...those were the best days...when I reflect today and...you see how... the world has limited the freedom... of children being children. You know these activities promoted fitness and skills and for the older children it was a means of sharing of cultural values.

Colonial government. The introduction of an imperial sport culture interrupted the indigenous sporting practices during the colonial era. The British foresaw modern sports within an atmosphere of domination. British sports had a huge impact on traditional sports. One of the participants, Maluche explained the relationship between British and African athletic practices thusly

I think, uh, the British and Africans had different attitudes toward running. To the British, modern running had practical uses...eh besides military but running to Africans was more closely tied to functional uses. Um... some East African communities had several uses... depending on whether it was used for hunting, to raid cattle or herding. The establishment of British rule interrupted many of these events... however, people found ways to incorporate these practices into useful means to society.

The power of the local authority was the basis of British indirect rule in which an administrative structure set up by the colonial government was used in the promotion of inter-village competitions. This arrangement provided an opportunity for communities to unite and form a team to showcase village heroes and champions against their neighboring communities or villages. According to Tendenei, competitions were organized to identify skilled athletes essential to a demonstration of community solidarity and identity. He stated that:

Chiefs were the main organizers... of competitions between locations and sub-locations. You know sports included throwing of clubs (*Rungushiek*)... arrows shooting at a target... javelin (*ng'otit*)...high jump. They were field events mostly. Champions received recognition... from their age mates and the elders.

Foreign sports culture in schools. The school system became the social space in which organized sports took place. The participants indicated that schools were the centers of athletic

excellence. Teachers' played a supportive role as coaches and mentors. Some of the school activities were replicated in the home environment to hone the skills acquired in school, as recreation activities with older children allowed them to engage in competitive sports. When the participants were asked to describe the practice of sports participation in schools, the responses of some like Kirorei, Chemosong, Kanyasang, and Tendenei stated that involvement in running was without choice. Kirorei's experiences were narrated as follows:

Eh I got involved in sports... when I entered school. [In] those days...school sports were a must... for the pupils and...eh there was no serious coaching. The teachers were just... giving you support and... uh they were not really... that you are a coach of somebody, *yaani* (that is) if you are coach... to assist somebody. And at home we were playing some of the sports...and I started playing football...running around especially in upper primary. Participation in activities was mainly recreational... with the older pupils engaging in some competitive sports.

Participation in sport impacted how the athletes performed in their academic pursuits. Some pupils with the potential to become good in sports deferred the opportunity and put a priority on learning. Chemosong explained her shift in competitive athletics in primary school after beginning high school. She explained, "I competed in primary school athletics but I was not interested in high school. The goal in high [school] was to concentrate on good grades."

School sport was a European cultural practice transferred to the colonies as part of school programs. The system promoted mandatory participation in various sports offered to meet the interests of the pupils, which was a practice adopted by the government after independence. Miningwo gave her response on sports participation during this period. She explained:

When the Europeans brought schools...eh, the system created...a learning places and... with sports forming part of the experience. I remember... uh in the 50s when... I was in school...athletics and netball were popular. You know the coaches were Europeans... there were no African teachers in my school. Every pupil was required... to participate in sports. Of course, they were compulsory. During games there was... full participation in sports activities in the school. I played volleyball but there were no competitions... until after independence...uh when locations become the places for competitions.

Colonial transmission of imperial cultural forms through sports explains the contemporary dominance of British sports in Kenya, and the KapTuiyoot community represents the epitome of this practice. Maluche explained the emergence of these sports within the context of a sport-rich community He stated that

The dominance of athletics in KapTuiyoot Community... is a part of the culture of European education practices. The emergence of sports at KapTuiyoot Community...you know, can be placed within the cultural context of colonialism. The British brought sports traditions... such as polo, cricket, golf and tennis...which were played by the Europeans. Running races were meant to entertain...uh fun activities. Other recreational sports... like wrestling were practiced but this... I think this was more of a traditional sport, was part of native sports forms.

The relationship between sport and religion was fundamental during the colonial period because missionary schools promoted a sporting culture to provide well-rounded educational experiences in formal educational institutions. Maluche explained how the local schools became instruments of the integration of sports and education. He gave the following explanation:

...Catholic missionary schools' ecclesiastical mission... found in sports the underlying values... of sports as a thread.... that weaved the moral, educational, physical... that is, the holistic education that the Africans children needed. You see, the identity of KapTuiyoot Community... in sports is attributed... to the performance of School B and School G girls and....eh since these two schools were established within the threshold of the country's independence... with School B coming just two years before independence and School G girls three years after... when the country used sports to promote national unity.

The distance to school shaped the development of the pupils' athletic skills, as they had to reach school on time and had to fulfill home responsibilities that demanded an equal amount of effort to return home from school. During this time, schools were far apart, and many pupils constantly ran to school to avoid punishment for lateness. This informal athletic training became critical in the development of distance runners for most of the history of distance running success in Kenya. The shaping of Tendenei's explanation captured a poignant relationship of the evolution of the success of athletics in the KapTuiyoot community. He explained that:

I attended Kamaget primary school in 1956. And eh...in those days schools were very far. You had to wake up very early... so that you will not be late. You know... those days' teachers were very tough. When you arrived late... you will be caned. I first ran at the location in 1958... at Uwanja stadium. I remember some of the pupils at my school... aha Petero was the champion... of the school in javelin in 1963-1964. I started running proper... in primary in 1963 together with John, Thomas and became the district... representative in the inter-district championship at Kapsabet in 1963. The following year....eh I went to the nationals where I became number 2 to BJ. After the

nationals....uh I was invited to go to Kisumu... for the Olympic trials by Archie Evans. I became number 4 in the mile. I... joined School B in 1966 and...won the national cross-country the following year. We were in the same school with BM... somebody else called Sirmoto who was running 6 miles. In 1968 I was spiked at the provincial championship... and took off from athletics.

The practice of punctuality in schools inculcated in students was exercised daily in the performance of school activities. This provided a kind of training schedule among the pupils who were focused on arriving on time as required by the teachers, thereby enabling most potential athletes to develop their athletic skills. The intervals between school and home became important training intervals and of value later in athletic competition. Two participants, Kobilu and Kanyasang, both retired athletes, corroborate Tendenei's attribution of school distance from home and their success with the ethics and rituals of running to school, attesting to the functional roles of the school-promoted development of skilled athletes especially in the utilization of the school sports structure. Kobilu explained:

You know...we were required to be in school very early... not arriving late to school, eh this motivated me to run... and..., uh, I didn't know that routines such as... running to and from school four times... a day helped with my regular physical training of the body. At home, I was involved... in many other activities... like going to the river... to fetch water and... eh, on weekends to the forest to collect fire-wood. Uh, later in high school... I realized the importance of these activities... as part of my earlier athletics training. So, the school... and home...uh activities were important in my running.

Contemporary governments. After independence in 1963 the government of Kenya incorporated school sports as a national engine of unity. Thus, the Ministry of Education

structured sports as part of the education curriculum. The separation of games from the Physical Education (PE) curriculum became important in the realization of national goals of education after independence, ensuring the maintenance of quality in education. To ensure this quality, the government created the Office of Quality Assurance and Standards to carry out assessment and standardization of school programs. Kosutany, a Ministry of Education official, affirms the role of schools in the socialization process. He stated:

The school is an important developmental stage of any talent. Uh...the department of sports... ensures that schools implement the education policy directives...uh which includes PE and games in schools... for the benefit of the Kenyan child. You know, the Government is serious about it... and that is why there is the office... of quality and standards assurance... responsible for assessment of schools and... coordination of co-curricular participation from... the school through to the nationals.

The government involvement in school sports is crucial to the funding of sports programs. Secondary school sports programs are allowed to charge activity fees, which transfers the burden to parents. The government determines the amount to be charged in fees. This activity fee is to subsidize the annual government grant to the schools' sports association at the district level. Due to the Free Primary Education, primary school sports receive per child funding from the government. Despite these government subsidies, sports financing remains inadequate. Kosutany explained how the government policy works with respect to the implementation of school sports. He stated:

The ministry provides some money... to finance sports in schools...in uh primary and secondary. Uh, the government gives...uh a certain amount per child in primary school... to meet the objective of Free Primary Education program, and... uh, secondary schools...

are allowed to charge activity fee. In addition to this... the government gives secondary schools sports association.... Kshs. 200, 000 for sports activities in a year. And parents chip in... to supplement sport activities. These monies are not sufficient... they have high budgets... for some of the activities... like music and drama. You see, some schools have pulled away... from participating in drama activities. I want to be very emphatic... in primary schools in this district... they have killed drama and music, in fact, they have not... participated in them since last year (2012), no interest... because of lack of funds...uh career development is killed.

The inadequacy of government funding and the parental responsibility to pay fees for sports activities in secondary schools is causing schools to downgrade the competitive components of school sports to concentrate on academic performance. The challenge facing public schools is the prioritization of the functions of schools and the placing of sports toward the lower end of their priority list. Private schools' endowments and ability to charge high fees enable them to sustain sports programs. Similar to Kosutany, Komolin stated that:

Um...sports is not taken seriously nowadays...parents want academic as the main focus of schools in Kenya. In primary schools [there is]... the shortage of teachers and... underfunded school programs, including sports. Nowadays, there is shift... now to private schools in sports development... because um...yeah they have the capacity... to charge high fees and provide facilities. Although the ministry is saying it is promoting sports in schools...the problem is inadequate resources and weak implementation structures.

School sports programs have been used as social practices to engage pupils in physical development and give them opportunities to discover the potentials of skills and competitions.

Several sports programs have been offered during different terms of the school year. Kanyasang acknowledged the practice of sports in primary school. He explained the role of the school sport culture and how the environment contributed to athletic success in form of school-home continuum:

The normal run that I used to do... was the one in primary school...uh, where during games I would play...uh football and during athletics season... I would run. I performed beyond my school, but I never went beyond the division. Eh...I was naturally nurtured by the distance from school. I used to run... to school in the morning and in the evening going home. You know, those days I would abstain from going for lunch because of the distance.

The school was the only place where athletes had an opportunity to develop their skills, but the question was which schools had working programs. In discussing the transition from primary school to high school, Kirorei provided an explanation:

During my time... athletics was not like today, I mean, we did not have money motivation, so participation... was not uniformly distributed. Some of those who had talent went to boarding schools where, yeah... systems existed which promoted running, for example, School G and School B high schools... Others went to schools like Tabaha, Kemuma and even outside KapTuiyoot Community.

The KapTuiyoot community's elite athletic culture in international competition was recognized from its early achievements in sprint events, and the performances of local schools attracted athletes from outside the community to attend these schools, thereby helping diversify distance running. This practice has shaped the current migration of athletes to come and train in the community. Before this institutionalization through sports, there were sporadic achievements

in running that contributed to national interests and the creation of role models in the later years of athletic development. As to the question of the emergence of a running culture in the community, Maluche explained:

When you look at the trends in Kenya's athletics history... you will see that there was a sudden rise of sprinters from this region... in the early 50s, for instance Chemweno Suter... who went to the commonwealth games in 1958. One thing that is clear... was that schools became instrumental after independence. For instance, School B, School G Girls, and Kawaida Girls... were the earlier promoters of athletics in the community. Most of the athletes...uh who came to School B... came from outside the region... with a few from KapTuiyoot Community. The athletes who went to School G and Kawaida came from this district. Athletes from other communities... were the first athletes to come to KapTuiyoot Community as a result of local schools and... this could be said to be the first sport migration into the region.

The Ministry of Education policy on games and sports required the integration of learning and sport, with the teachers performing the coaching responsibilities and management of school sports through requisite structures mandated by the district, thus training athletes to reach national levels. When the question of government involvement was addressed to one participant, Kosutany explained how the government integrates sports activities and academic practices within schools. The promotion of sports at the school level became a prerogative vested in the games masters with the support of the school administration. According to Kosutany:

You know the government... require games teachers to...to prepare their students to participate in games and sports in their schools. And... uh my office... here acts as a link

between the schools and the government... at the district level. All schools in the district belong to a district sports association, which ensures that things are in order.

Sports and education became effective in the integration of the mission of School B with national goals established after independence. With meager facilities at its inception, the success of the students, particularly in athletics, allowing the school to attain national stature served the school well in academic and sports socialization. Maluche gave a narration on how School B functions as an exemplar of the mission. He explained:

One of the missions of the schools was to promote sports. You see, the pioneers of the school... saw the role of sports as integral to learning. Of course, during that time the school... did not have sports facilities but athletics did not need any investment except motivated students. So with this modest beginning... the first nation cross-country championship won by... our student, Monget Kimaget, in 1967. And a year later Arap Legei won the national steeple chase. Track and field championships... were first organized sport in 1964... with School B first athlete, Omogeni from Tabaha reaching the provincial level. Thus, School B fitted in well... with the goals of sports and education... as functional tool in socialization of students in post-independence Kenya. And yeah, the use of local facilities... for example, Uwanja stadium... assisted in this goal.

The government's objective for sports to be a co-curricular program was aimed at providing a holistic learning environment, which enhanced the academic performance of students and helped them to be healthy citizens. Furthermore, the athletic performances gave an opportunity for the athletes to excel. Kosutany, on this issue of school sports, had this to say:

The government objective is... although sometimes misunderstood... to promote the balance between sports and education. Uh, the government recognizes that... an excellent

combination between sports and academics... will bring a healthy person and well-rounded student. Nowadays, eh...schools are prioritizing academics over sports...which is wrong.

The challenge of efficiency in provision of elite sports and quality education among pupils is a major problem for the school administration and athletes. There is a lack of resources and personnel to help athletes, who spend an enormous amount of time training and at the same time, are expected to excel in their academic work. Schools pose a contradiction in that they are enjoying the publicity from athletics yet the amount of assistance they devote to developing the academic services provided for the athletic champions is wanting. One participant, Kobilo, explained the frustration athletes face in this dualistic environment. She stated:

Athletes face many challenges in high school. Yeah, in academics... they are always behind in class, um... because of the many hours... we spent on training and competitions. And, uh, you know... there is no support from the school and... we bring glory to the school. Uh, when athletes fail, the system ignores the value... or the role the athlete played. Combining running and... school-work is tough. I went to Kawaida girls and ran from form 1[grade 9] to form 3 [grade 11]... when I went to form 4 [grade 12]... I quit running to concentrate on my class work.

Foreign Involvement in Athletics

The production of a competitive national identity. The exposure of Kenyan athletes to international sport competitions dates back to the colonial period when many athletes represented the colony in the British Empire and Commonwealth Games. When the presence of Kenya's athletes in international competitions was questioned, most participants who responded pointed to the European dominance during the colonial period, explaining that African runners had

lacked exposure to these international sports events and had learned the skills to produce success through international competitions. One interviewee, Mongen, expressed the following:

... 1950s there was none but now 60 years there is something; yeah, it is the way the world is moving ... it is also... that athletic opportunities are now a global thing. I mean, in the '50s distance running was dominated by the British, Australians, the Finns, and the Russians, uh, because Africa didn't have the exposure, didn't have the opportunity. Now that the area with the greatest talent has got the opportunity, it's changed the whole picture. Well, I think, uh, what drove it initially were a few of the pioneers [like] Kipchoge and so on; they were a great attraction because there were unusual, they were Africa; my God, whoever has heard of an African distance runner, right? We had black American sprinters, and, uh, we had Caribbean sprinters. Uh, but this supposedly *mzungu* (white) discipline of distance running, uh, which required training, discipline and tactics, strategies and so on...it was supposed to be beyond the capacity of the black athlete. Uh and so when Kenyans and Ethiopians began succeeding in these disciplines it was exciting, it was interesting, it was a novelty.

It is apparent that the introduction of Kenyan and African athletes to the international arena provided them with a competitive advantage, particularly after independence. The government's use of the athletics after independence in 1963 shifted the focus to Kenyan performance in distance running, starting with Mexico City Olympic Games in 1968. Participants' understanding of athletics during the early years following independence was demonstrated with Kenya's debut in global level competitions. One participant, Maluche, discussed the country's remarkable performances by explaining that:

Actually with the Olympic performance of 1968, Kipchoge Keino made a huge contribution to the global interest in Kenya's distance running. The performance of Kenya at Mexico City cemented the country's image [at the global level].

African athletics' performances were stellar at these games, prompting people outside Africa to ask why. Two participants in the study, Mongen and Maluche, stated that the increasing highlighting of the African athletes may have negatively impacted western ideas of athletic performance in distance or track running. In specific terms, Maluche stated, "You know, it brought out the debate regarding the high altitude factor in distance running " [and] Mongen termed the view of Mexico City's high altitude and athletic performance as controversial. He explained that

You know by 1968, Kenya was already known as the athletic powerhouse for those who were following the sport. And with Mexico City at a high altitude, [and] Kenyans were coming from high altitude; they were assumed to have an advantage. Somewhat controversial at that time and of course they cleaned up in Mexico.

The country received this achievement with national pride and celebration, which led to the production of national sports icons such as Kipchoge Keino. The athletes who won gold medals for the country became role models among the youth. Komolin explained how the performances were received

I remember the performance of 1968 because of the name Kipchoge Keino made Kenya to be known. As young boys we were hearing of Kipchoge Keino. His name was close to the president in those days in terms of status because his name was on the radio and personally I wanted to be like him.

The athletics commencing from this success became the signature international publicity and recognition event for Kenya. Although the Olympic performances established the country's image on the global stage, Kenya's international recognition may have been achieved earlier in 1965 at the All-Africa games, as Mongen explained

Yes, the breakthrough came in 1968 for people who were fans of the sport, [but] the big breakthrough came in 1965 in Brazzaville, [at] the first All African Games where Kenya completely dominated and everybody... "*kumbe* (so) Kenya" and in the same year Kipchoge set his first of 2 world records in 3000/5000m. So he became an international figure as of '65, [with] his only two world records; and with his two gold medals in the commonwealth games in 1966.

Noywo, one of the former international athletes, was more candid when he talked about the events that took place in Mexico City. The internationalization of Kenyan athletics began with the Commonwealth Games in the 1950s. Noywo, who had already been to the Commonwealth Games, nostalgically remembered:

Eh... I knew Kipchoge and Naftali Temu, and I uh...when they won in the Olympics, we were happy, the country was celebrating. You see, they brought fame to the country and as a sprinter myself, eh, I was excited with relay team... *kimi* (with) Rudisha [Daniel] in the team, whom I knew since I ran with in 1960s.

The internationalization of Kenyan athletics through the Olympic Games created increased prospects for young athletes to go abroad for educational purposes via athletic opportunities, with many Kenyan students obtaining athletic scholarships to American universities.

The power of athletic scholarships. The impact of the internationalization of athletics on the KapTuiyoot community was enhanced by athletic scholarships to U. S. universities.

Successful athletic performance at the national level provided opportunities for high school graduates to obtain track and field scholarships from top universities in the United States. One of the participants, Maluche, explained that

Um, the American track and field scholarships, I believe proved to be helpful in the late 70s and 80s and helped in the sustenance of Kenyan athletics with the Olympic boycotts in 1976, and 1980. You know, with the 12 years between 1972 Munich Olympics to Los Angeles in 1984 damaged Kenya's Olympics performance. So, in a way, the track scholarships sustained the international presence of Kenyan athletes.

This scholarship recruitment benefited Kenya's dominance in the Olympic Games distance running performance, which led to an increasing demand by track and field coaches for elite high school distance runners to join their programs. Mongen corroborated Maluche's account of the importance of athletic scholarships and posited that Olympic performance was one of the reasons why U. S. coaches looked to Kenya.

Um, with the performance at Olympics, the American collegiate coaches, you know embarked on recruiting Kenyans to their programs. And, uh, the other factor that influenced is the fact that Kenya was an English speaking country, [which] made the recruitment of Kenyans very easy. With Mike Boit going to New Mexico, he became instrumental in the recruitment of School B athletes with his coach Bill Silverbag, particularly after his success in the Olympics in 1972.

The power of athletics agents. The track and field sport remained amateur for a long time despite its international competitive structure. Olympic ideals prohibited monetary rewards for Olympic participation, and thus many iconic Kenyan track and field stars competed for national glory in international competitions. With the new global economic order, international sports

institutions gradually changed their practices from amateur to professional ranks. Thus, a new phenomenon in the internationalization of athletics began. Mongen explained the genesis of athletics going professional as follows.

The sport became officially professional in 1981 when Primo Nebiolo, the director [president] of IAAF, said this amateur charade, you know, we've got to end this. So he established, step-by-step a trust fund for the athletes with their federations so that the athletes could run and collect prize money, and the prize money would not go directly to the athletes but would go to the trust fund in the athletes name in the particular federation they belong to. Well of course, uh, for Kenya this was not different from the old arrangement because the money was still going to the federation (KAAA).

The transformation of IAAF rules from amateurism to professionalism led to the institution of athletic representation, namely the introduction of sports agents. The initial entry of sports agents into Kenya was in 1990 when the government allowed agents to represent Kenyan athletes, thereby starting the commercialization of athletic labor on a global level. Several interviewees pointed out that the athletics landscape changed when the government opened the national athletic sphere to the professionalization and commercialization of the sport. Agents became instrumental in the management of athletes programs both at national and international levels. Mongen, Maluche, Kapchebit, and Kobilu provided accounts of the role of agents and managers within the context of the KapTuiyoot community and the global environment. Mongen stated that

Athletic opportunities increased beginning in the 1970s; uh, prize money beginning in the late 80s and early 90s...[and]... the big breakthrough I think was probably when Mike Boit became commissioner of sports in 1990 and invited European agents to come to

Kenya. And also he took the passports out of the then KAAA and gave them to the athletes themselves. So, the KAAA which have been holding everything and preventing the athletes from going about on their own, getting their own managers and therefore collecting their own appearance fees and so on...this was now open.

The professionalization of athletics increased Kenya's international presence. It also shaped the federation's administration of the sport. Maluche discussed the role that agents played in athletics and indicated how they shaped the athletic environment. He explained

And so was the climate of professionalization of the sports in the early 1990s. Uh, British agents Kim McDonald and John Bicourt... supported by the American NIKE Sportswear Company began, gradually, the revolution of commercialization. And, as you know yourself, around 1994...'95, or soon after, FILA came with marathon races that took this region by storm. You see FILA came in with...with an athletic model that that concentrated on long distance running, which changed everything. As you are aware, Dr. Rossa brought in financial rewards in marathon, eh...eh... the Italian connection, and backing by FILA Apparel Company [that] intensified the competition for elite Kenyan runners with NIKE. And within a very short time, FILA started several camps at Kaptagat, Nandi, and Kapsait, among other places and recruited good athletes and this was when KapTuiyoot Community was opened up.

The impact of professionalization and the emergence of agents in Kenyan athletic communities changed the dynamics of athletics in the KapTuiyoot community and across Kenya in general. Maluche's account speaks to this change: "the presence of agents in Kenyan athletics scene resulted in a big jump in championship performance in the 1990s and thereafter. This dominance is explained by commercialization of the sport/athletics." This commercial model of

track and field revolutionized the sport globally. Many athletes were able to benefit from competing in the sport, and the value of athletics changed. Kapchebit's account addressed the opportunity for athletes to have agents and explained what this relationship meant. He explained

Kenyan runners were getting richer because they had managers fighting for them uh...the managers make a percentage of whatever the athlete does...commercialization of athletics has taken away the patriotism for running for the Kenyan flag which is a natural progression of individualism which has come from fighting for the dollar.

The process that agents followed to get athletes in Kenya is as follows: the government invited in the agents, the official process of registration was not given to the athletes, and there was no legal age requirement for signing an athletic contract at that time. Kobilu's explanation of this process when she recounted her early experiences as a young athlete in the early '90s, helps contextualize the relationship between agents and athletes as one of a position of dependency. She explained

Eh...I got, a [an] agent...uh, manager in 1992, eh... when I was in primary school, eh after I, came back from the London competition. I didn't know...that, there was, eh, a contract, I was not told...maybe there was...The contract was not openly discussed because I was working with a translator. *Unajua sikuwa ninaelewa kingeereza yao, sasa David alikuwa anatueleza kwa kilugha* (you know, I didn't understand their English, so David explained in our language). So, David informed me that the agreement was to pay my fees. Uh, so that year they pay my registration fee for class 8 [8th grade]. *Wazazi* (parents) were very scared, *kwa sababu mzungu alikuja nyumbani* (because a white man came to our home) and the translator, so Coach David translated the message to us and

my parents were satisfied. Eh, later, I signed the actual contract in form 2 [sophomore in high school].

The commercial practice of contractual agreement, foreign to the athletics community at the time, was part of the internationalized cultural production of globalization through sporting practices. Nonetheless, the most important thing that agents brought to Kenya was dynamic to athletics when athletes were paid handsomely for participating in global athletics, an opportunity that led to greater financial rewards in international competitive competitions and brought foreign exchange to their communities. One participant, Mongen, explained that

So the athletes bring home the prize money, bring home the cars and so on... and you know, it added incentives and the role models in the KapTuiyoot Community, with every other village having a professional athlete. You see, eh, when managers/agents came in, the athletes had access to money and the phenomenon of transcendental hoping from one metropolis to another became an athlete's way of life. With professionalism, eh, an intense training ensued. And for a fact cross-country became foundational in Kenya's distance running philosophy.

The incentive and motivation of global economics through running led to an increased and intensive demand for athletic training and aggressive recruitment of Kenyan athletes among agents and meet promoters. The global athletics competitions became more intense, especially in the KapTuiyoot community. As a result, the agents, managers, and athletics began to focus on group training and identified training areas conducive to athletic development, with a full concentration on individual and group training, which led to the establishment of training centers in the community of KapTuiyoot.

Training camps and concentration of athletic labor. The intensive training that followed the emergence of the commercialization of athletics led to the creation of training camps with specialized coaching which was taking place away from family distractions and allowing for adequate preparation for the global championships. The camps focused on global competitions, with each management camp providing the facilities and equipment for their own athletes. Maluche gave an account of the evolution of a camp that would later shape the national identity of junior athletics in Kenya. He explained

The camp at School B, eh, started as a camp for girls, at the beginning, eh, it was to provide an opportunity for them, uh, since the boys were OK in the school. Our priority was...eh, we were focused only on school championships. Eh, you know, the camp would gather the girls as a team. Eh, I worked with Sr. Matungulu, who was an enthusiastic coach. Our goal was, eh, that the camp centered on identifying and developing of talents from the local schools; School G, School B Kemuma. Our focus... was to strengthen their skills... and uh, while at the same time ...they stay focused on their education. Later uh, after a while, we got support from Kim McDonald, NIKE, PUMA, and Reebok in terms of equipment and they also, gave donations for payment of fees for some of the athletes. Yeah, Kim McDonald was understanding, uh, he did not put the camp under pressure, eh, to sign the athletes. Of course Kim had successful group of athletes like Moses, Ishmael, Richard, and Cosmas among others. So he was not desperately looking for athletes.

The penetration of athletic agents and corporations into the development of youth athletics at the grassroots level is an indication of the depth of the internationalization of sporting practices that led to youths' global sports involvement. Although the youth camps were focusing

on developing the athletic skills necessary for improving their school's performance, other bodies saw an opportunity for broadening the mission of the youth camps to capture athletes for the global athletic market. This initial idea of improving school performance became the model for several camps in the KapTuiyoot community today. On the question of why the KapTuiyoot community attracts athletes to train, the responses of, the study participants, Kiorei, Serwet, Riga, Long'elech, and Kapchebit, had similar perspectives. Kiorei explained

You know, with so many foreign athletes coming to train here, eh, I mean it putting the name of the place higher in terms of running. It means the place is good for training. For example last year several countries send their athletes to KapTuiyoot Community to train for the Olympics including from Sudan, Libya, China, Zambia, and Britain among others. They bring business opportunities to our community.

The suitability of the KapTuiyoot community as a training region is partly due to the international performances of distance athletes from this region. Many athletes have attributed their successes to the uniqueness of the community, hence its emerging consideration as a training attraction. The global fame that the region has acquired has induced many countries to send their athletes to prepare for global championships by training in the region. When asked why she had chosen to come to the KapTuiyoot community, Serwet responded

Why KapTuiyoot Community? Eh... because, you see, it is famous for distance running. It is on altitude, and I consider it cheap to train here, and also to get away from family and concentrate on my training. Uh, I find training here to be supportive because of the presence of other athletes. Yeah, the place is geared for running. I would have chosen to train elsewhere but also, I came to come to KapTuiyoot Community not necessarily for my running but uh, as an experience to see other athletes, I mean, as a way of life

regardless of the difficulties and challenges of training at high altitude, and I don't regret coming here.

Many other athletes chose to transfer their training to KapTuiyoot in order to experience a new environment and new geographical altitude and gain a psychological preparation, all of which are tied to long term goals in athletic development. Another participant, Riga, saw the KapTuiyoot community as ideal for altitude training, and the attraction of the place helped him focus on his running goals. His choice of the KapTuiyoot community as a training location corroborates Serwet's decision to come to the community. Riga attributes his reason for choosing KapTuiyoot Community to psychological preparation.

I came here to focus on how to get to the next level, that is, to train in a new place. Eh, I had learned that KapTuiyoot Community has some of best athletes in the world. Yeah, uh, I am a bit scared...this is my first time to come to altitude. Um...knowledge about KapTuiyoot Community? Uh, I went to the Internet and searched for high altitude training camps in Kenya and we found this one here. We had heard of other athletes who had trained here before.

There are many training centers in the world where athletes have trained, and Long'elech describes one such experience by comparing the significance of the KapTuiyoot community training centers with another high altitude training center in Europe. Many athletes have training cycles throughout the year and go to different places to train depending on their training objective. Long'elech has a long-term attachment to the KapTuiyoot community training camps. His account of choosing the KapTuiyoot Community for its "ideal" training conditions is similar to both Serwet and Riga's. He indicated that

I came to Kenya in 2000 for the first time, and eh, I wanted to come because Kenya has the best runners. I had a passion of Kenyan runners and uh... I used to watch them on TV competing; yeah, I would collect their pictures on *Runners' World Magazine*. Those days I had knowledge of athletes like Paul Tergat, Moses Tanui, Osoro Ondoro, Moses Kiptanui, and Wilson Boit Kipketer etc. Um, these athletes inspired me. When I arrived at this camp then, eh...there were few white runners in KapTuiyoot Community that time. Um, you know, compared to other places, it is cheap to train here and...of course, the weather is good throughout the year. Yeah, the training circumstance is better. When I went to train in Portugal with Laura and Francois it gave me a sense of how good KapTuiyoot Community is when it comes to training circumstances.

Training camps have become common features in the internationalized athletic spaces in Kenya, with varying availability of training camp facilities appealing to the tastes of local and foreign athletes. Some of the training centers in KapTuiyoot have world-class facilities to attract high caliber athletes. One participant, Kapchebit, contested the meaning of a training camp when he commented on the facilities at the training camp.

Well, a training camp is a loose term, for instance, now we are seating at this camp and uh, I mean, this is absolutely a premier training camp in Kenya and especially for foreigners to come to, there is no second place. Yeah, it is the best training camp. This is where I would recommend any foreigner because, um, it will allow them to integrate into the community, without losing their security. On the flip side, the camp is pretty cut off from the community here. I mean, I won't say there is a mixing between what goes on in the camp and the community. Yeah, it is like a gated community. While training here, you will very much find like one needs some training partners, helping couple of other

friends and just holding up like one house through sharing of rooms. And so, uh, there are so many splinter training camps but organized training camps and even like Adidas would have to break up into several training camps because of the number of athletes.

Training camps as centers of differentiation. Training camps are places where athletes reside during their training, with KapTuiyoot Community as a host of some of the training camps in Kenya. Because of the nature of athletic training season(s), athletes have different training camps opportunities. Kiorei described another form of residential training camp arrangement, which was corroborated by Kapchebit's account of the unavailability of the expensive camps to local athletes or athletes who want to train cheaply. Kiorei outlined the multiple layers of residential accommodation open to athletes when they go to KapTuiyoot community to train. He stated

You know, it depends on the duration...their stay, uh, the nature of training, and whether they are here alone or as a group. You see some live in hotels, training camps and uh, some rent houses around.

The history of training camps in Kenya has national significance with respect to the preparation of the national team for international championship. The culture of group or team training can be traced back to the World Cross-Country preparations in the 1980s. The practice of camp training has shaped the modern day training camps just as the youth camps phenomenon did. One interviewee, Mongen, stated

But anyway, uh, I think, uh, what really started the training was the cross-country camp that Mike Kosgei initiated in 1985 and it was, I think, Ngugi more than anybody, who alerted Kenya to the fact that, if you work harder you, could actually run better.

Privatization of community spaces. The phenomenon of training camps was accentuated by the international success of the athletes who trained in the region. Coaches, federations, and countries thirsty for success sent their athletes to train in new areas with the hope that they would achieve international glory. So, areas associated with global athletic success have become the Mecca of the global training pilgrimage. The KapTuiyoot community has become a magical place where athletes pay homage to the search for international success. As Kirorei explained, the intensity of this community in terms of the level of training and coaching to athletes is as follows.

You see, so many people, eh...even if they are not the origin of this place, but when they... even a mzungu, eh, like the one called Farah... I don't know if it is the climatic change, or is it the food. Like, uh ...the other day some people were studying food. Uh...the other day somebody came to my place, he came to study and then, eh, he wanted to eat anything I eat. Uh...I had two of my employees giving them all they wanted. Eh...so may be such things, and uh...also may be the environment, I myself I believe it is the environment. May be it is the *baridi* (coldness) of the areas, some say food, of course there are other facilities, like the topography of the area.

The combination of physical characteristics and community connections through the presence of international athletes-the spectacular geographical attraction of the environment and a conglomeration of the finest athletes in the world- has formed the pedigree of the KapTuiyoot community as an important training place for most athletes: connections, time to enjoy the environment, and time to relax. Riga's explanations did include both in praising the KapTuiyoot community as a training destination. The training benefits and circumstances are perfect, but it lacks other auxiliary services such as entertainment. He elaborated

Training here is more like home. The housing is city like facility. Um... uh, the culture here is different. There are forests here. There is no rush we eat even better than home. Um... everything is perfect. Unlike home, uh, entertainment is missing here for example there are no movie theaters, no cultural theater. But, of course, in terms of training opportunity the facility here is pretty good. The track at Uwanja... is not good. There are fewer flat surfaces. All the athletes, here, serve as a motivation: *“If you don’t get motivated to run in KapTuiyoot Community, nowhere else will.”*

Most of the training camps at KapTuiyoot are privately owned, with athletes paying to use to the facilities and managers and agents paying for the athletes in their management company. Because of the many athletes in the region being independent or still developing, they have no access to training camps. The bulk of these athletes use their own resources to rent residential housing as they intensify their training with the hope of being identified by a manager or an agent or improving their performance and joining the national team. Access to athletic agents occurs through elite athletes’ networking or exceptional track, road racing, or marathon performances. The training camps are expected to assist local upcoming athletes with subsidized training opportunities. Komolin underscores the value of a shared responsibility between the camps and society. He explained

I believe the camps and managers uh ... should be open to the community. Sometime uh, we don’t have, I mean, since they are in the community, eh, they have to be open and give knowledge on how athletes relate to community progress and at least to maintain connections in our community.

The professionalization of international athletics and commercialization of the athletics at local levels has decentered the role of schools as the epicenter of athletic skills development. The

role that schools played in athletics development in the past has shifted to training camps with significant impact in quality relationship between athletics and education. While many schools concentrated on the promotion of academic success within the student body, many student-athletes on the other shifted their focus to the attainment of elitism in athletics. The athletes' focus on development of elitism then shifted training camps. These training camps have become centers for short-term athletic "breeding" grounds for global participation, which has discouraged the youth from pursuing education. The rise of global athletic success in the local community has become an avenue for social mobility especially students from poor households. This form of social mobility was very attractive to rural population in Kenya. In this state of athletics affairs, student-athletes faced the double tragedy in performing hard work in the training fields and doing well in global competitions, while at the same time facing fierce competition in the classroom. This is especially difficult given in the Kenyan system of education competition reigns supreme. Therefore most of the student athletes shun from going to school due to the challenges they face and get attracted to the lucrative athletic prize money they receive through foreign involvement. This has become the only option for it helps of them to alleviate family poverty. The absence of clear public policy on poverty eradication has not helped the Kenyan athletes from the exploitation of foreign capitalist system. Thus training camps have become the new centers of socialization through sports. The general development of camps as avenues for concentration on talent development at the youth and elite levels have become widespread within the region, and a specialization of camps is emerging. These camps, according to Maluche, have become the focus of talent development for global athletic contests. He explained that

The level of international exposure in this region has been assisted by school athletes; some of the local schools, you see, have been instrumental, especially at the junior level,

[such as] School G, School B; and Kemuma come back to train at KapTuiyoot Community. With their gradual success at the international competitions, people began to look at their success [differently]. The altitude of the community is conducive and the main dirt tracks around here are good for training the athletes.

The importance of school sport is still fundamental in the development of athletic potential in Kenya. The presence of training camps does not completely overshadow the role that schools sports programs play in the overall development. Early sport engagement in schools demonstrates the role of government involvement in promoting school sports. Kosutany demonstrates this significance of school sports in today's globalized athletic space. He explains the role of the Ministry of Education in athletics development.

As a government through sports we emphasize performance. Eh, in this region, the sports, which are popular and competitive are football, volleyball, athletics and music and drama. Uh...you know, our international sport is athletics. You know, we are proud as the champions and you see, our schools produce many of the junior athletes... for the country. So international junior competitions have become incentives in our school athletes programs. Some schools here have developed training programs in preparation for these competitions.

Consequences of Athletics Globalization on Community Development

The results of this study indicate that the internationalization of athletics provides tangible benefits with long lasting economic effects realized through the prize money athletes earn from participating in road races or track competitions. The sport of distance running is now perceived to be a full time career for young people. Moreover, there are indirect earnings accruing from the sport in such areas as sports tourism, employment opportunities that benefit

the community. On the other hand, this emphasis on international athletics also has negative effects on the KapTuiyoot community.

Trickle down economic benefits. The sport of athletics remained obscure as a professional sport for a long time. The emergence of globalization opened up commercial enterprises within the community, with professional agents and corporate interests in sports taking root. Athletes became a significant means of production, around which the creation of athletic goods such as footwear and sports apparel mushroomed in the global sport market, with the KapTuiyoot community's economy becoming intertwined with this global athletic commercial landscape with athletics power reigning supreme. The prize money that the athletes earn in international competitions impacts the community. The injection of foreign athletes' earnings into the local economy became critical in the athletes' social mobility and contributed to the overall community development. This was illustrated by Kirorei's response when he explained that

Uh, in recent years Kenyan athletes have become competitive, I mean...globally and most have earned a lot of money as a result. And you know they bring back this money to the community. If you look around most of the athletes have bought big cars, eh, they buy lands and property in KapTuiyoot Community and around KapTuiyoot Community. They are also investors in residential areas, hotel business. They have become symbols of material things, good life and high standard of living.

Sport investment has increased in the KapTuiyoot community with the result of elite runners bringing business to the community. Those who have invested in the community have become role models among the upcoming entrepreneurs, with diversification in types of businesses and clientele. Some of the investments face steep competition because of the

duplication and proximity of similar market segments. Athletes' investments in the KapTuiyoot community project the success stories of the local athletes in international competitions.

Miningwo explained that

You know, most of our athletes have, eh, invested here, some like the owner of Bingwa hotel and Chesaniya whose several assets have invested here and uh, I mean, at least for them, the community see them as partners in development. Yeah, their investments are seen as symbols of trust in this community. There are also people who have brought business to the town because of running, eh, you know, Paangana enterprise was built to target foreign athletic market. It is doing good business and has brought international recognition through tourism and it benefits athletes themselves.

However, athletic talent is a perishable commodity. When athletes win prize money, their priority is to buy land. Most of them have purchased property in the KapTuiyoot community for economic and strategic reasons. The increase in demand for land in this region has risen due to the purchasing power of athletes living there and those migrating to the area. Maluche explained the relationship between athletic success and the skyrocketing prices of land in the KapTuiyoot community. Maluche elaborated that

As you are aware, eh, the possession of a piece of land is an important status symbol in the community. So...when athletes get money, the first thing they think of is land. Eh, and, of course, this is a good thing, but, you see...now the price of land rises, and this also adjusts upwards the land rates and land use within the town. Economically, eh, I mean, the economy of KapTuiyoot Community has improved with the value of land rising due to increased demand by athletes.

With global connections through athletics, interactions between athletes and the local communities have resulted in mutual benefit in terms of exchange of commodities in the market place. The athletes have provided a market for domestic goods when they reside in the local communities as they carry out their training activities. Kirotei illustrated how the community can strategically benefit from being considered a global attraction for athletes and coaches to go and conduct their training programs. He explained that

Because, uh... when they come here, they need to find a place to stay and then, we...we benefit ourselves, and they buy food, they buy items when they are there for those months, they buy other things like chickens from the locals.

One of the towns in the KapTuiyoot community with a huge influx of athletes is competing with larger neighboring towns who are working hard to provide incentives to athletes so that they can invest in their community. The geographic identity of the KapTuiyoot community has given it a comparative advantage. Kirotei, in commenting on this relative advantage as an investment opportunity, said

Most of the investments ...found at KapTuiyoot Community, for example, Kiwewe hotel belong to foreigners, camp sites, and training centers, eh...some are built on prime lands... athletes have residential houses. You know, some of the athletes have houses here for training and live in Eldoret. Uh, and you see, some of the foreigners have established settlements along the escarpment. Uh.... the best example of investments belonging to our local athletes is the resort on your way to Uwanja.

The motivation to invest in the local community is influenced by the policies and opportunities provided by local authorities. In the KapTuiyoot community, the local council has merged its business opportunities with the running culture. The council has provided the local

community with prospects to establish businesses to serve the athletic community through tax incentives to sports- related businesses. Two of the interviewees, Miningwo and Maluche, agree that the opportunities for investment among the athletes and other investors are viable. Miningwo explained

I know, for a fact, that...that the council is very much involved eh.... in bringing together stakeholders at KapTuiyoot Community, we...we...had discussed an investment proposal...a guide of running and learning....uh, with the business community here. You see...the business community can contribute to running...uh... for example, some of them ...have rental houses, hotels, and food supplies. The use of running... to make KapTuiyoot Community attractive to...to international athletes, I think...is good business plan. There is also, eh...a proposal to give tax incentives to investors who invest in sports related businesses.

The business aspect of running within the community, as described by Miningwo, has increased the economic rating of the community. Most amenities have expanded into the region because of the potential opportunities created by the international athletic competitiveness as a result of the training and athletic successes attributed to the community. Maluche corroborated Miningwo's explanations on these investment opportunities.

With athletic success, this area has seen, a huge influx of people coming. Yes, athletes are migrating to KapTuiyoot Community and eh, you know, this is good for businesses. Of course main business opportunity is housing, um, there is boom in residential housing. I mean, these investments are, you know, have improved, the image and in general improved the standards of living in the community with the expansion of amenities such as water supply, electricity and communication.

The international image of the KapTuiyoot community is significant to its business calculus. Athletic migrants to this community have brought foreign exchange, and media attention has focused on the athletes and the community. The establishment of training camps has created employment opportunities. In succinct terms, the presence of elite athletes, both local and international, is considered a plus in the community. One of the interviewees, Serwet, a foreign athlete herself, highlighted the importance of the global-local connection. She said that

When you consider the presence of elite athletes, uh...training and living here, uh, is kind of elevating the status of KapTuiyoot Community eh...with enhanced media publicity. Yeah, the success of athletes training here... in competitions improves image and ...of course...the market economics and favorability of KapTuiyoot Community... in international running world. And you know, with athletics, more people come to KapTuiyoot Community....to train...thus, more money is injected locally...and ... is kind of cyclic. In fact...employment for some locals here... because of the training camps here...I guess there are... more people who are employed in restaurants and hotels around here.

While it is easy to trace the local athletes' earnings through the investments or material symbols the athletes possess, foreign athletes spend a significant amount of foreign exchange in the KapTuiyoot community, injecting significant amounts of money into the local economy. There is always new money coming into the economy when a foreign athlete comes to train in the KapTuiyoot community. Similarly, local athletes who invest their prize money in the KapTuiyoot community's economy provide additional new funds. The challenge to the community is to create the necessary purchasing power that will make the athletic community

spend their dollars in the local economy and in business ventures that will retain the profits earned within the community. So, as Kapchebit says

Now, you see, majority of the camp owners are foreigners, most of them are here on business. So when the athlete who train here is being prepared and um, when they are ready to compete they hop to the next plane and go race and with the manager getting his 15% and wait for the next season to start. So while training at KapTuiyoot Community is good for the athlete, it is not good for the local economy. Foreign athletes bring in foreign exchange. They spend on the camp's facilities, food, and entertainment, while other pay rent, and taxes. There is also money paid services such boarding *matatu* (taxi) and *boda boda* (motorcycles) transport. So the community does not reap the rightful benefits.

Practices of culture in the local community. In the practice of athletics in the KapTuiyoot community athletic community, people's meanings, values, ideas, beliefs, and attitudes that safeguard the fabric of society are revealed. One is competitiveness that implicates global sport communities. Sporting participation is an important cultural practice that reveals the competitiveness of a community. Among the people of KapTuiyoot, athletics is a platform to engage with the global community through business outcomes and as an avenue to mix with other cultures. Tendenei explains the sense of community through athletic practices in stating the following.

Through running...eh...the training of our athletes here...improves the level of competition among... our athletes. Our local leaders...you see...our politicians need to know...how they relate to foreigners...to bring money here... because athletics is part of public relations.

Athletics is an exerting physical training with a strong psychological motivation that consistently maintains a certain rigor and routine. The hundreds of athletes who train every day in the KapTuiyoot community have influenced the general attitude of the people of the town toward the culture of running. The town council's mission on *running and learning*, according to Kirorei, has developed a framework for promoting recreational running modeled on elite athletes programs. He said

We have taken advantage of the athletic training culture. Our town council has created a cultural day. Eh... they did, um, the town's cultural day encourage the people to jog, walk, and even run, uh, that is, engage in recreational sports or activities like going to the gym for health reasons. The local administration, eh use *barazas* (local gatherings) to inform the *wananchi* (the people) aware of the benefits of exercise especially the working class.

Echoing the explanations of Kirorei, Komolin concurred with the utilization of the running and learning model, which has been in use since 2007 to promote the use and development of sport facilities in the community and to attract sponsorships for local teams in inter-district competitions. He provides the following explanations.

Yeah, at the beginning...the council's mission...in the guide of "*Running and Learning*" in the community, eh...was linked to development of sport facilities...you know, that was to promote...uh...sports for community development. Um...the council was...also sponsoring sports ...eh...from location to district levels. You know, also, we were looking for funding to sponsor our district teams to the provincial level.

The cultural value of sport is significant in the way a community consumes sports products. The KapTuiyoot community appropriated the benefits of athletic culture to nurture the

concept of recreational running as a positive influence on the way the community conducts business. The administrative enlisting of athletic practice in the designation of a cultural day was a huge social investment that championed recreation for fitness purposes. On her part, Miningwo, corroborated the emergence of recreational running as highlighted by Kirorei and Komolin. The deliberate involvement of the local authorities in the creation of a running culture by borrowing a leaf from the athletic community was significant. Miningwo elaborated that

Remember, eh... the other objective of the cultural day was to promote, a positive the relationship with athletic culture among the people in the community. You see, we see running as only for runners ... Uh, recreational running is not common to most of the residents and uh, eh we are trying to take advantage of the popularity of running culture among the elite athletes. Yeah, so every Friday has been decreed as “the Mayor’s Tracksuits Day”.

Cultural activities and the community’s way of life are critical to their appreciation of new activities such as running. The degree of active living in the community determines the depth of acceptance of new forms of physical engagement. Given that the community members are active by nature, with practices such as farming, walking involuntarily from one place to another is seen as sufficient in fitness circles. However, there is a deliberate move to ensure that the younger generation becomes part of the active society through the emerging recreation practices. The official practice of wearing tracksuits on Fridays was an innovative venture that served as a symbol of administrative leadership. Mpempe gave the illustration of farming as physical activity relevant to running and fitness. He recounted that

Yes, there are other cultural practices...like farming which promotes physical activity but, as you know...eh the young generation...have no idea of the value of fitness through

being active in farm practices. Uh, I mean, to engage them in recreational running... will promote a healthy lifestyle especially... for the young generation. The practice of wearing tracksuits on Fridays builds on the business concept of providing the needed facilities to promote recreational exercises. During the community's...sports day we...competed in variety of... other sports such as...tug of war as a means of celebrating success through sports, it was, yeah, a fun day for everybody.

The community has benefited from the international focus on KapTuiyoot community as a training center. The presence of elite athletes and the picturesque natural environment continue to attract athletes to the region, particularly foreign ones. The responses of Serwet, Riga, and Kapchebit attest to the positive and proactive nature of the community. Serwet responded

Before I came to KapTuiyoot Community I did have a sense of a lot of athletes, but the sheer depth and speed is something that I came to think about as an amazing one, since I did not realize it would be that strong in talents and some of the track sessions are incredible. I guess in terms of the area, with the spectacular Rift Valley, I didn't realize that the view of it would be here and to that extent, it is an experience I will never forget.

The KapTuiyoot community is famous around the world, and one thing the community is proud of is simplicity. Kapchebit pointed out that the community is accommodative to every resident, local and foreign alike. This is conducive for athletic development, as Kapchebit stated.

I think Kenyan athletes keep very much to themselves and this is the reason why they like KapTuiyoot Community because pretty much they can be anybody here, they can just fit into the community, they are not bothered, not pestered.

Similarly, Serwet praised the friendliness of the local community, particularly for first time foreign athletes; such attitudes and actions improve the perception and attraction of the

community to prospective visitors. The cultural element of respect among the community members provides an atmosphere in which athletes train undisturbed and mingle with community members with ease, hereby helping provide KapTuiyoot with credibility among foreign athletes to feel safe and carry out their training without fear. She elaborated that

Yeah, I...I think the biggest thing to describe...here is the people as very, uh, very friendly, you know, you feel very welcomed, they talk to you...and...you always kind of feel at home, I did not expect a lot of friendliness. Everywhere you go, they call you *mzungu*, but I don't think it is meant to be racist.

Athletic success is a valued endeavor in the community. Successful athletes are emulated by the youth because these athletes have contributed toward the social responsibilities in their communities. The production of cultural capital in the community has received recognition, as shared by Kirorei when he related the relationship that the community has with the local athletes. Most of them, he said, participate in community functions.

On the positive side, yes...these athletes are role models to the youth... who aspire to become like them. Eh, they contribute...you see...the go to *Harambees* (let's pull together) for school fees, church functions.

Through the local authorities, Miningwo and Komolin reported that the community is repackaging her culture as a part of the athletic experience for athletes, both local and foreign, to be enjoyed and spread during their stay in the KapTuiyoot community. Miningwo stated that

In the county council's ...uh, investor guide to KapTuiyoot Community, eh...we used the culture of running to connect... integrate the community's activities to the outsiders. People who come... here to...to... train should learn something about... our culture and the council is committed to ...showcase these activities at our annual cultural day.

The elaborate nature of a sports day, with local government involvement to ensure full participation and success, demonstrated the opportunity for commitment to community sport development and for reaping the benefits of social cohesion. The variety of sporting practices and traditional sports help to promote a cultural renaissance. Rewarding the winners provides a climax of the phenomenon, which is also a cultural activity that has enhanced the branding of the community through sports. Komolin explained

When we organized our sports activities, we...had the involvement of the District Commissioner's office in the day's celebrations...you know, with ...chiefs to mobilize the wananchi to attend...it were a great success. We also partnered with other stakeholders like...sports institutions and... schools around, to share the responsibilities... to bring their support in terms of sports, drama activities, music that capture our traditional cultures. Um, and yeah, the...council bought trophies and other presents as a reward for the winners. The mission is, uh, is to make...KapTuiyoot Community attractive... as an international sports tourism and cultural center.

Despite sports having a characteristic of competition, the activities of the cultural sports day at KapTuiyoot exhibits a day of fun and entertainment activities, which are inclusive of all participants. Although the community appreciates the athletes' success in international competitions, a cultural day captured the essence of the activities in celebrating the community's cultural events, as Tendenei explained.

People see sports as competitive. To me different sports are forms... about entertainment. During the cultural day such sports as sack races, competitions between men and women were very funny and entertaining. The idea was to match the culture of athletics within the community and to embrace the culture of activeness.

The actualization of the relationship between the local and global communities through sports becomes essential when athletes from the community are perceived as representatives of the community in foreign countries. The athletes carry the community's badge of role model. The publicity of the local community is associated with a particular athlete when he or she is featured in international championships. Therefore, beyond the community, Kanyasang saw the role of athletes as part of an internationalization of community relations. He elaborated that

We embrace the athletic culture of successful running. Eh...our elite athletes are our ambassadors... in other countries and... act as role models at home. We, as a community... have accepted the culture of running as our way of life.

Sports facilities are cultural spaces in which the community's sports cultural identities are constructed, lived, and shared. The promotion of sporting culture has been tied to the facilities that mirror the value the community attaches to sports. Lombelo and Noywo's responses reveal the role of cultural identities in sport facilities as cultural spaces. Lombelo, for his part, stressed the role of policy.

We have been fighting to... promote development of sports. You see...the government eh...emphasizes participation of primary and secondary schools in sports, and for us, we have to take advantage...to identify talents and...uh, we work with the stakeholders to promote the talent. As a government...we promote all sports and sports federations and... with community cooperation to invest in sport facilities. The cultural elements of sports are also part of our mandate to spearhead the social, economic, and cultural identity of the community.

Politicians talk sports as a way to engage with the community in the act of soliciting for votes and making promises. Sport is an important cultural social space in which the community

can dialogue and define its identity. The dereliction of sport grounds is indicative of the inattention that the facilities receive, yet on the other hand, the policy investment in those facilities shows when compared with incredible performance of local athletes. Noywo explained the dilemma facing sport facilities when he stated that

You know, politicians talk of this, talk of that, what is important... is that the culture of sports is good to the community...it is also important...to remember that sports facilities are crucial to the development of sports in this county. Look at...the location field it needs an urgent face-lift.

After the London Olympic Games, the community celebrated the contribution of their international athletes as part of embracing athletics and community development. Tendenei commented that it was a memorable reunion between past and present athletes. The community was rewarding her heroes, as Tendenei noted.

In December of 2012, the KapTuiyoot Community, eh, during our sports day former and present day athletes were rewarded for their achievements and uh, community pride. I was among those who were rewarded. Uh, we...we... were given medals as rewards, uh, eh Commonwealth Games medalist were given a sheep, and uh, Olympics Gold medalists were given a bull, uh, and you know, it was well attended and uh, [was] a successful event.

Corroborated by Komolin, the reward ceremony was the sporting event with which the community takes pride in itself when commemorating the cultural day. Komolin was full of happiness with reference to the London Olympics.

You see our community won 6 of the 11 medals at Olympics. Our cultural day was a celebration... of these achievements. The celebrations were part of our *Jamhuri*

(Independence Day) festivities. Yeah, each athlete was given a cow worth Kshs. 40, 0000 [\$600].

The recognition of sport as significant in community development presents positive and negative consequences to participants and society. The confluence of multicultural sports with the environment is bound to have divergent practices and outcomes that reflect the interactions within the shared social spaces. The KapTuiyoot community as a focus of international athletics training, a Mecca, has experienced both positive and negative impacts of interactions through athletics.

Negative perspectives of glocalization of athletics. The relationship between the athletic training programs and outcomes sometimes conflicts with the community order. The way the athletes conduct their business and themselves brings out cultural differences between foreign athletes and the local community, which may surface as tension points or be portrayed negatively among the community members. How international athletes conduct themselves is also a source of negative importance to the community. The contradictions of success, wealth among athletes, social class dynamics, and economic power have become issues of contention in the community. Tendenei provided an account that is relevant to athlete power. He responded

You know, in our traditional society's, respect was earned with respect to elders and uh, today, social status has come with money, so our athletes have status, coming from money. The society now worships or sometimes the elders have been disrespected due to money power. So, uh, this brings negative impacts.

It is significant, here, to note that most athletes start from a humble background before they earn the big money through athletics. The change in social-cultural relationships is associated with foreign cultures. Some athletes have copied foreign cultures. Chemosong,

Tendenei, and Kobiló's accounts provided instances of this foreign culture syndrome.

Chemosong in her account stated that

As we go to...other countries to compete, eh, we see...new cultures, some of us forget our own culture... and so, yeah, we get contamination through the introduction of foreign cultures or practices within our society, for example, uh, in the mode of dress and other social behaviors that the young generation think it is a form of civilization. You see, the community, interacts with, other tribes, foreign athletes, foreign sports, relationships have contributed to the dilution of native culture.

Tendenei underscored the lack of instrumental programs to promote cultural knowledge especially to the migrant communities. The global movement of people involves the transmission of cultures as well. The perception of one culture as good establishes the element of erosion of values and norms in the other culture, particularly among the young people bombarded in a media cultural landscape. Traditional cultures are assailed, as Tendenei explained.

It is true... that there is cultural erosion... and has become predominant. Eh, everybody... is coping foreign cultures and the young generation is... observing...thinking, oh... it is good. Yeah, some athletics have...indulged in activities that bring negative image to the community.

In today's media-inundated landscape, the conflict between tradition and westernization, particularly as shaped by global media and the borderless processes of globalization, societies are constantly battling with the interruption of cultural norms and the discourses of cultural representations depicted in movies and other capitalist media productions. Chemosong corroborated Tendenei's sentiments on cultural erosion when she said

Some *wazungus* and their girl-friends... do not respect themselves in the manner they socialize in public. You see some of us copy...what is seen as... modernization behaviors ...through movies, TVs and Internet... bring negative foreign images and our children copy them as good.

The interlude of competition in other countries provides an opportunity for athletes to explore, experience, and sometimes immerse themselves in those foreign cultures. It is through the interactions that athletes learn more about other cultures and, in the process, are influenced by some of these foreign cultural forms. The importation of acquired cultures to one's community brings about a backlash with the community members. Some of the cultural forms include the manners and sporting cultures. The coping of other cultures by local athletes is a common phenomenon, as Kobilu explained.

As athletes... [they]... learn other cultures...eh, when [they] are abroad. And you see, when they come around here and do things the way they are used to doing in their countries we take it as normal. *Ni kama sisi tumezoea kuiga mambo ya wazungu* (It is like we are used to coping everything foreign). *Tumekuwa na utamaduni ya mitumba* (We are used to second hand culture). *Si wanatuuzia ata nguo mitumba na tunavaa* (They even sell us second hand clothes and we are wearing them). Look at how the English Premier League is so dominant in KapTuiyoot Community and when it comes to Kenyan football we are not watching.

Absorption of cultural traits in a human society is a common practice when one lives in other societies. A cosmopolitan community like KapTuiyoot is bound to have cultural evolutions due to the shared spaces. On the changing space of the social reality of multiculturalism at the KapTuiyoot community, Kabore elaborated that

Our leaders are...trying to...to address the negative behavior through barazas, you see, to... to educate the community and especially, the athletes...eh, to maintain respect. You see, our schools... also promotes the... aping of foreign culture through... electronic media. And you know, the young generations... tend to [be] receptive... the older people are more conservative. Yeah, the cultural difference is evident among young and old with the youth coping the foreign cultural traits in terms of dress code, which is inappropriate in the local context.

With money flowing into the community, the moral persuasion of some athletes is to put to the test. Some athletes have engaged in immoral behaviors, and there is danger of elite athletes falling victims to social sanctioning. Miningwo's account of the conduct of athletes elaborated that

It is bad...recently some athletes were...eh, accused of abusing of... young girls, sexual exploitation....giving them money...gifts like training shoes...and cell phones to school girls, which lead to pregnancies.

Athlete identity is important to a mutual coexistence in a community, especially in a cosmopolitan community like KapTuiyoot. The moral standing of the athletes rests with a social contract that indicates the identity of the athletes in times of questionable actions. Athlete vetting and registration with sufficient background information is a necessary condition for being allowed to train in the community in order to check on athletes with criminal inclinations. The lack of registration of athletes when they arrive at KapTuiyoot for training with the local federation opens the community to abusive imposters. Miningwo stated

You know, we have a problem with...athlete identity... knowing the names...who these are and even to know where they stay. Uh, you see, to us...everybody who wears a

tracksuit is an athlete. There are those... who come to KapTuiyoot Community with...tracksuits and they are not genuinely athletes. Yes, they could be criminals. In fact... some of these imposters are the ones who...spoil our girls with gifts and take advantage of them with the claim of being athletes.

The rise in pregnancies among school girls and the alleged involvement of athletes was something the community was concerned about, and the participation of the local administration to investigate was a common theme with an urgent call to register all the athletes at the local sports office. This is a position that was held by Tendenei, who said

We are told...some of the athletes have... impregnated school girls...you see, they give them money. You see, this...is sexual harassment. Uh, we... we...have urged the local administration to take the matter seriously and ...require athletes to register with the sports office.

So, money has become the denomination of power, the power that has corrupted the social fabric of society. Chemosong expounded on the problem of teenage pregnancies and the relationships between athletes. The acceptance of gifts, in kind or monetarily, may be associated with poverty. The children's department has received complaints from the teenage mothers regarding child support. Chemosong in her account explained

The problem of cultural erosion... has brought about such cases... of course athletes, and the police are...the main culprits who... lure young girls into sexual encounters. If you want to get the true picture...go to the children's department. The community's... low living standards, and here...someone willing to help... is welcomed. There comes the athlete "imposters". You see, innocent girls see athletes... as having money, rich and can support them.

A long term solution to the mystery of athletes “imposters” rests with the evolution of a comprehensive structure, to be unveiled by the county government, for athlete registration requiring constant background checks of the athletes by the landlords. Miningwo offered a proposition, when she said that

Um, the council with ...uh, the Ministry of Sports and ...uh, the office of the governor are in the process of development... of a structure to be used by athletics federation...to register all athletes, both local and foreign training at KapTuiyoot Community... at any time of the year. And eh, also provide directive to landlords to conduct background checks on tenants.

Athletics training takes place in shared social spaces. The public sphere allows for the common use and right of use. There is also the element of respect within the interaction spaces. Sometimes the mere curiosity of young children is a distraction in the business of athlete training. Sometimes it is worth ignoring the attention of the young fans chanting the nickname “mzungu” in the training space, but in KapTuiyoot, there are instances when this has turned into bullying of the kids. Chemosong elaborated that

Sometimes athletes... uh, become arrogant to young kids... who enjoy watching and cheering athletes during training. You see, some wazungu athletes (men mainly) engage in anti-social behaviors... for example, eh, beat up kids... when they call them mzungu. I ...am... not saying that the...the... kids are right to disturb... people who are training but...you see, there is a level of disciplining them...you know, they could report... to adults around to...yeah... inform their parents to discipline them.

Tensions are numerous in cosmopolitan communities. In KapTuiyoot, it is not uncommon to see young children becoming excited by people from different races in their

community. The curious youth initiate communication with local greetings as gestures of friendliness, and sometimes this distraction takes a toll on the unaccustomed foreign athlete(s), with the result in some instances of the children being molested. These incidents of bullying interfere with the cordial relations among community members and the athletic community. Kobiló provided a corroboration of a bullying incident in saying

Um, sometimes...eh, when you are training... along the road young kids' salute you, *habari mkimbiaji* (hello athlete) and... this is more so with... white athletes, *habari* (hello) mzungu and run with them. Eh, you know... some wazungu male athletes... have...have harassed these kids... who are not violent but attracted to the athletes. Yeah, this is not good. They should...eh, respect these kids...yeah, they are not dangerous...no harm. Yes, there was... of twin brothers (white guys) who molested kids and yeah, they were told to move out of the house they had rented.

Understanding child psychology seems to have worked well for Riga and company when they encountered the challenge of mzungu calling from young kids. To some of the athletes, it was important to know the context in which certain words were used and to appreciate their knowledge of them, which served their training purposes. Riga's explanation sufficed to disallow bullying the kids. He said

Ignore them...we constantly heard the word mzungu...uh, being floated very easily.

When we knew that mzungu meant white, uh, we did not think too much of it. Um, it was not a big deal. The mzungu culture...at times can be a distraction, i.e. nuisance with the constant ...“hi five” from kids... but you ignore them as you continue with your training.

The culture of athletic individualism has become the norm. The sense of giving back to the community has taken a model of self-perpetuation and private investments, and has promoted

social class-consciousness in the athletic community. The athletes tend to ignore their backgrounds and social conditions. Kapchebit highlighted the dynamics of Kenyan athletes in response to the question of athletes' social responsibility in the community. He stated

I think, uh, there is a misconception... when you talk about Kenyan athletes and community... I mean, for me...as an observer...I see Kenyans helping with their families ...but I don't think... it is an outreach for helping others. You see, they invest... in private schools, and... who can blame them... they have grown up in poverty so when they get money they are hanging onto that.

Land question. The value attached to land in the KapTuiyoot community is as an important cultural symbol. Land is a symbol of wealth, recognition, and survival. It is an identity highly sought by local and foreign investors as well as migrants coming to KapTuiyoot in search of “green gold” meaning land. While athletes are training in KapTuiyoot Community, most of them have an insatiable desire to own a piece of the soil they trample upon to prepare for the next international race. When luck knocks at the door, the dollar-wielding athlete announces his arrival in KapTuiyoot. The next mission is racing to acquire the coveted piece of the KapTuiyoot community. There is a quick sale of land in this community and most of it has gone to athletes and foreigners. The seed of discord through displacement and children growing up in a period of powerlessness is a source of future disharmony. The danger of selling these parcels of land is that it leads to displacement and squatters among the native people. Miningwo captured the demand for land in the KapTuiyoot community when he explained that

Eh, many of the international athletes... from outside the region have bought lands here and...they have built residential houses. Yeah, this is good and bad. You see, with the rapid sale of land... is dangerous because this is going... to bring conflicts and...

displacement of the... people of here, ...yes, it is free market... willing seller, willing buyer...the children of the people selling their lands are young and... when they grow up they... have nowhere to go and... troubles will start. Well *hapa ni* (here is) KapTuiyoot Community. Uh, anything is possible. Our people respect wazungu money. *Kila mtu anataka pesa* (everybody wants money), *na kama mzungu ana pesa na nyinyi hamna, basi ni sawa* (and if the European has the money and yourselves don't have, then it is OK).

The relationship between the economic benefits of selling the land and future returns is regressive with the land-owners selling their holdings without a viable investment plan and with the potential of a squandered opportunity to gain from the transaction. Most families who have sold their property have enormous family feuds. Maluche's response calls attention to a fundamental effect of land economics. He said "Uh, the sale of land may not be a positive thing to say the least...uh, because people sell their land without any viable project to invest the money in, creating conflicts of interest with the family."

Lombelo described the rapid sale of land, a view that Miningwo and Maluche shared, who saw the problem through the lens of the commercialization of athletics in the KapTuiyoot community, pointing to the emergent increase of European presence in athletics and raising the demand for land. He stated that

When it comes to investments... the local people worship the European power, you see, they think wazungu are the best investors and speculators. Yeah, the locals will sell their land more easily to...a mzungu and an athlete even when the local people have the same amount of money.

The high price of land in the community has become a huge temptation to sell family property with the slimmest of reasons. Many international athletes and foreign investors have positioned their investment value of the community's prime lands with the knowledge that the locals will sell them. So with the motivation of high prices, land-owners will quickly sale the lands. Kanyasang explained that

The sale of land is a major problem, eh... in KapTuiyoot Community today. Our people sale their land...I mean, without any convincing reason. The lure of quick money from athletes and foreigners has changed the value of land. You see, land prices are very high and... there is almost a new demographic of migrants.... from outside the community who have bought large chunks of land and the locals, themselves, have become squatters.

The sale of land in the KapTuiyoot community indicates clear patriarchal power relations, with male members of the family being responsible for decisions regarding the transactions. The exclusion of the spouses or the children in discussions of a sale is detrimental to family harmony. The most important characteristic is that most of the property sold in the community has gone to elite athletes who possess economic power acquired through winning in international competitions, performances honed in the community's training environment. As Kobilo explained the sale of lands in the community, it corroborated the account of Kanyasang. She pointed out that

Most families here... are growing poor because of...eh...a husband or... a father or... a brother selling land secretly. You know, the problem is with... corruption at the land board. Some of the sale is agreed... by the family when they have a problem...that is a genuine problem e.g. school fees. In our community here... women have no voice... in the sale and they are the victims....*awe ni* (whether) wife or... sister or... mother. When

you look around here, the settlement is like who is who in Kenya's international marathon list. Athletes from Sabaot...Tugen...Kipsigis...Keiyo...Kisii and... of course kapyigoi.

The politics of land acquisition and utilization in the KapTuiyoot community is shifting toward the historical times when British settlers occupied the white highlands, whereas today the local people are selling these lands and scrambling to go to the ancestral lands. Chebaimo compared the land relations today with colonial times. He stated

The current form of land acquisition... in KapTuiyoot Community... is similar to the colonial times. When the British took the prime lands...eh, from the people and... pushed the natives...to the escarpments. Today, the areas around KapTuiyoot Community town is all sold and subdivided into plots developed by athletes and other speculators. *Wazee* (old men) dish out the lands and now it is causing a lot of concerns in some families.

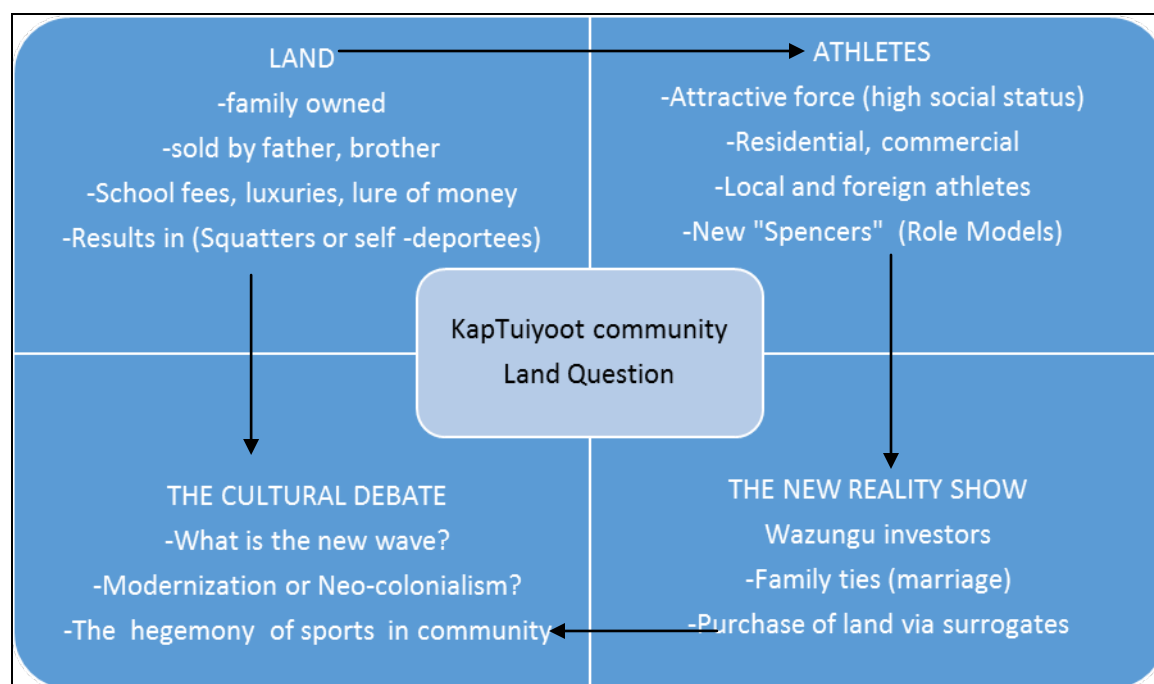


Figure 3. The Land Question and Modernization through Athletics

Figure 3 summarizes the perspectives on the land question in the KapTuiyoot community from the accounts of the participants' interrogation of the social economic and cultural power of land there.

Community projections for future developments

The global reputation that the KapTuiyoot community has acquired through international athletics has shaped the contemporary dynamics of the community's existence. The cultural construction of the relations between the community and sports has transcended the traditional functions of sports into the global presence of international sports corporations. The interrogation of the social sphere of the global-local appropriations of athletic performances formed the participants' view of the future of the community. These global-local appropriations of sport performances impact the social-cultural structures that frame the interdependence between the global and local. The global-local continuum is referred to as glocalization. It shows the mutual interrelationship between the local and global communities that has resulted from athletic practices. Therefore, the results of glocalization of athletic enterprises evident in the KapTuiyoot community are discussed in the following section.

Community branding. When international athletes come to KapTuiyoot there is usually a battery of international journalists who accompany them. The media hype on Kenyan athletic performance received international attention following their successes in the Olympic Games. The media creation of athletic icons publicized the country's international prestige. Mongen provides an illustration of how the western media hype surrounded Kenyan athletics, either local or foreign athletes, with a description of the significance of the foreign media and an indication of Kenya's athletics performance as a celebrity status thing. He recounts a 1968 Newsweek attempt to place Kenya's performance on the front cover

In fact, I can recall, it was going to be, I know for a fact, I knew someone who was... I was training for Peace Corps at the time, in October '68 and a fellow Peace Corps trainee happened to be the son of one of the art director at Newsweek Magazine, which was the sort of rival publication of the Time Magazine. And Newsweek had planned to develop an Olympic cover for their let's October 15, that was going to be the "big Kenyan dominance at Mexico, but unfortunately Jackie Kennedy married Aristotle Onassis in October and took the cover of the Newsweek. It was Kipchoge front and center. He won two medals and ran three races.

African athletes use sports as an avenue to success, and the perception of a stellar production of sport performances, the western media representation of the status of African athletes, international and media icons, is diminishing. According to Mongen "this is hurting the sport." He argued that

Uh, today, African athletes are simply anonymous. Um... they turn out very quickly... a guy wins money, buys land, tractor, cows, and quits. You know... athletes see the sport as an end... in itself rather than a means. The opportunity role of sports...to compete and win some money translates... sport as a solution to poverty stop-gap and immediately...with the athlete shifting focus through the ranks of social mobility but in an unsustainable manner.

The occurrence of elite athletes from other countries shifting their training bases to Kenya is common. According to Kapchebit, the British double Olympic medalist, Mo Farah, and the British athletics team trained at KapTuiyoot Community and indicated that the British press was following Mo everywhere. He recounted

He (Mo) brought Paparazzi to KapTuiyoot Community, for the first time, I saw cameras hidden in the bushes for taking pictures of him. Um...you see, Mo, uh, he practically put Kenya, I mean, KapTuiyoot Community on the map in a way that the British Press, and if you look at the British press, KapTuiyoot Community got a boost when Mo started running well. So, yeah, he really put KapTuiyoot Community on the international map.

The global presence of Kenyan athletes has increased tremendously with the addition of competitive avenues. International athletes training in the community generates local and international media interests. Elite athletes capture the limelight and the media narratives convey meanings in context, and publicity is given to the local community. Kabore reiterated the multiple roles of athletics icons in the KapTuiyoot community:

You know...eh, athletes come to KapTuiyoot to train...because eh, of the success of the local athletes... in international competitions. Um, many foreign athletes...come to train here, for example, Mo Farah was here, Paula Radcliffe was here, Wanjiru used to come to this area to train and eh... once in a while there...is local and international media interest with the presence of these athletes.

The emerging significance of the KapTuiyoot community through sports, as Kabore alluded, equals the relationship brought about by Maluche, who viewed the media as a critical player within the community in publicizing the presence of international athletes. The media attention focused on the performance of athletes at international competitions and on the local athletes tracing their training to KapTuiyoot Community have all elevated the image of the community, making it the global epicenter of athletics development. He elaborated

Um, the performance of local schools in athletics helped to, I mean, identify the region with athletic success. In particular, junior athletic performance of School G and School B

athletes, uh, defined the dynamics of community sense of running success. And you know, the presence of international athletes within the community has brought into limelight the usually sober rural community into the spectacle of international media and focus.

The common parlance around KapTuiyoot is that the community is the home of champions. Many of the community's athletes have become media icons and marketing agents of the championships they compete in; for instance, the London marathon utilized the dominance of local athletes to market the event internationally to the KapTuiyoot community. The community is branded as home of champions. Mongen attributed the branding as "the slogan 'home of champions' to just a public relations gimmick. You know, the idea was mooted by London Virgin marathon organizers with the British team and press corps."

This slogan, home of champions, seems to be viewed positively by the community. The people see the emergence of a positive impact with the success of many athletes who train in the community, and they become international competitors, particularly the local athletes, who bring foreign exchange to the community. So, the people in the community perceive the branding as a marketing strategy in the long run. Taprandich's explanation was more futuristic. She stated that

When we say... the home of champions, yeah, it is way of promoting the image of the community that is, branding KapTuiyoot Community. Eh...we are using it as...as a marketing strategy to increase athletes coming here, or make KapTuiyoot Community a global running community, you see, branding running as an economic activity in the community.

Branding the community as the home of champions coincided with the London marathon announcement at KapTuiyoot, which may have become currency with local business interests.

Although the community as a whole sees the branding as beneficial to the image of the community, individual business connections with Chesanaiya enterprises got a comparative advantage in the short term as the host of many international athletes. Mongen elaborated on the origin of this promotional language when he said

In fact, eh, is the London Virgin marathon branded KapTuiyoot Community... as a home of champions when they came here. Uh, some of our athletes took... advantage of the idea to promote their interests. You know, Chesanaiya used the connection to bring about image. And you see, this was meant to take advantage of KapTuiyoot Community... to be, you know, associated with Chesanaiya. So the idea that KapTuiyoot Community is labeled the “home of champions” has attracted international athletes to KapTuiyoot Community.

The image that media and international sport organizations give the local community has become an antithesis in the way the community is appropriated. In order to attract an international clientele to patronize hotels and training camps, KapTuiyoot has been publicized as a community of champions, which makes it a marketing tool, but little attention, has been given to the general community. According to Lombelo, when asked about the tangible contribution of the branding of the community as the home of champions, he said

Eh... it is too early to say. But, the obvious beneficiaries include the likes of Chesanaiya enterprises, Kiwewe hotel, which hosted the event. Uh, another group are the training camps... that attract international athletes to their premises. Um, I would say, at the moment... there is very little that goes to the community. Uh, I think... the community will benefit in the long run.... with the promotion of other activities.... such as tourism, residential businesses and other investments.

In marketing its event to the community, as most of the elite athletes who competed at the London marathon indicated, the public relations element of sports emerged through the media. The media relations showcasing KapTuiyoot as a dominant consumer in the London marathon, with landmarks or banners to announce the commitment of the London Virgin marathon, prominently showed the connection between KapTuiyoot and the global community, with the community being publicized as the home of champions. Maluche elaborated

Uh, over the years, of course as you know, the training profiles of athletes from KapTuiyoot Community has given the community an advantage. Uh, with the growth of athletics at KapTuiyoot Community and success in global competitions, the media has branded it the home of champions in the world of athletics. For instance, when you see the banners around the community... they are connected with the promotion of London marathon, where so many elite athletes who were based in KapTuiyoot Community competed. Uh, I would think the organizers might have decided, that it was easier for them come to KapTuiyoot Community to launch the event, than to take all the athletes to London to launch it, so it was purely a public relations [event] and I guess with some economic benefits to the local community.

Critically, the presence of London marathon organizers in the community may be related to the increased dominance of British athletes in distance running and to the fact that most of their elite athletes trained at KapTuiyoot. The press conference was to showcase the Kenyan athletes at KapTuiyoot rather than in London to launch the event. Kapchebit related the press conference as follows.

You see, uh, I think the coming of London Virgin marathon to this place was because of the success of Mo. When Mo trained here for the World Championship, the previous

year, he became a legend in his country, so the...the London organizers came here and held a press conference for the release of the field for the event to basically showcase the Kenyan athletes. So they released their field here the other year, by saying at the conference at Kiwewe hotel, which these are the athletes or the names of the athletes we are running in the London Marathon, was a great opportunity for KapTuiyoot Community. And uh, I think, they wouldn't have done that if Mo hadn't been successful.

Sport tourism. If branding is the strategy to position the KapTuiyoot community in the global media and international tourist market, then sport tourism is the product that KapTuiyoot is packaging to attract international tourist consumers and create the necessary demand for KapTuiyoot as an international tourist destination. The community's development of infrastructure to meet global standards for the international traveler is underway. When the participants were asked about the KapTuiyoot community as a sport tourist destination, their responses elicited mixed reactions. Maluche responded that

Of course with increased number of restaurants and hotels e.g. Milgo, Kiwewe hotel, and Grand Falls hotel, there is a projection increase in the number of stop-overs in KapTuiyoot Community for tourists passing here on their way to neighboring tourist resorts, thus they spend money, the needed injection to the local economy.

The unique geographical environment of the KapTuiyoot community has the potential to attract tourists, thereby increasing its foreign exchange. The connection of athletics and tourism has positioned the community to provide its people with opportunities for employment and economic development. To facilitate the increase of business investment, especially in infrastructure, will enhance the promotion of sport tourism. Kabore explained the instrumental

relationships between needed amenities and the promotion of sport tourism in the community.

He stated

Eh, over the years, eh...hotels around here...food [is available for] tourists. You see, eh, food is cheap here, I...mean we have supply, good food. Visitors to our community will find places to get food. With wazungu coming here, eh, to train...they are tourists also, and you know they have to spend money. I guess, uh, you have seen exchange rates places down here. But, you see those forex places attract our athletes to bring their dollars home and eh, exchange here.

Sport tourism has become a promotional tool with the athletics training camps used to bring international athletic interaction to the local community. Government agencies at the community level are formulating policies to take advantage of the emergence of the new economic environment. Taprandich, echoing the sentiments of Kabore, explained the readiness of KapTuiyoot Community to become a tourist destination, bringing much needed economic development to the community. She stated

Yes, it is viable, eh...you know, government has developed tourism council...eh, to bring tourism, and also, increase tourist sites here, but first, our by-laws have to be passed. You see, we are losing with tourists, they go through here, but we don't get anything, so eh...by-laws are urgent.

To promote sport tourism, new sporting activities are emerging in the KapTuiyoot community such as paragliding. It is popular among tourists who visit the Kiwewe Hotel.

Komolin stated that

There is another sport in the community. Eh, some wazungu, who stay at Kiwewe hotel fly over the escarpment, uh...you know paragliding is becoming popular, and uh...it is

not for us...*ni wazungu tu* (whites only) sport in KapTuiyoot Community. You see, it is promoted by Kiwewe hotel, so it is business for them...attracting foreigners; maybe one day, I mean, the community will learn...but it will take time.

The emergence of alternative sports promoting sports tourism has received attention through paragliding. However, the community's governing institutions have to proactively address the accompanying challenges related to legal policy frameworks surrounding the new sports environment and participation in order to benefit the community. Miningwo explained the relationship between policy and the practice of paragliding corroborated the concerns addressed by Komolin when she stated that

Yeah, they brought paragliders; eh...they fly from Kiwewe hotel. Um, at first, we did not know what they were, eh, I mean the people were asking what was going over there...the council talked to the owner of Kiwewe, uh, were informed it was paragliding, a sport for recreational. The council and governor are now, eh...writing the By-laws, to regulate use of public space. You know, flying of parachutes is controlled by aviation department, and eh...this include paragliding. So the By-laws regulate the land use within the community and eh to determine the amount of land rates to be charged.

The athletic training opportunities that KapTuiyoot has enjoyed via international athletes branding has resulted in the area being classified as a potential tourist destination and is a benefit of athletic success that has brought foreign currency to the community, with increased future opportunities for an influx of elite athletes from other countries to train in the region. In her account, Serwet explained that

Um...the success of athletes training here, I mean at global events, eh...has given the publicity to the community. So, um...when foreign athletes come here, uh, they enhance uh, the image, I mean, there is the spiral effects of the image and publicity of the current success of foreign athletes who have trained here. Uh...for example, in 2011 Mo Farah won a gold medal and he was training here before the World Championship. Um, his success led to UK athletics...uh coming here in 2012 to train before the Olympics selection. You know, there was a huge media exposure of KapTuiyoot Community, uh... with the British press corps following their medals prospects, among them Mo Farah. Yeah, the media frenzy here... here was an advantage to KapTuiyoot Community in terms of tourism earnings, uh, there is a...huge potential with influx of internationals coming to train and also enjoy the spectacle of the Great Rift Valley just gaping right before you.

The community economic development programs have incorporated environmental and investment decisions to gain benefits from natural resource availability. Integral to the investment are the foreign exchange attraction measures, which include athletic productivity and consumption of invisible tourist services. The community's harmonization of human practices is paying off with international athletes coming to KapTuiyoot from other countries and influencing the community decision-making development of strategic investments. The advantage to the community of being seen as a tourist destination was indicated by Serwet, who concurred with the position of Miningwo, who stated that

You know, the presence of training in KapTuiyoot Community from other countries, eh...bring tourism earnings. Eh, yeah, hotel business attract tourists....and you see, they get money and give the people employment, eh, people earn income...the government

also, eh, get tax. You see Rimoi is not far from here...uh, the government will promote local and foreign tourists to go there. I mean, this is good for the community.

Local councils are instrumental to the development of the community, and the economic opportunities that come with the international linkages made through tourists are critical to the community's economic growth. Sometimes the demand for economic development outweighs the opportunities. The overstretched desirability of benefits from athletic training potentials may lead to negative policy implications. There is a sport tourism demand for the KapTuiyoot community, which comes as a function of attracting more international athletes, and thus promoting athletic training. Kanyasang noted that

The council has plans to create appropriate training access areas...that [concern the] areas within the town, suitable for athletes to train and eh; also, this requires a small fee from the athletes; I mean, eh...they also have to realize...that, we care about them, yeah, to maintain the...the areas is a cost, to the community. We are planning to introduce, uh, a levy, a training levy...you see eh, the community provides security, for free...so the community has to benefit from these athletes...you know running here, uh is business for them. So with the new government, the structure of athletes training here, eh, is for the benefit of all, uh...athletes and community.

The proposition of the levy on athletic training proposed by Kanyasang in KapTuiyoot may have the negative impact of deterring athletes from coming to there to train. Athletes generally carry out a cost benefit analysis in order to make decisions about training destinations. When the question of introducing a training levy was posed to Maluche, he compared KapTuiyoot with other training places in the world, for example, St. Moritz, Switzerland, and

indicated that the KapTuiyoot community was still the most attractive training destination region in the world, owing to its uniqueness. He explained that

KapTuiyoot Community has attained the stature of St Moritz, Switzerland... and you know, foreign athletes have gradually, eh, moved to KapTuiyoot Community train, eh, because it is cheap, yeah, it has the... same altitude effect, uh...an all year round conducive climate for training, you see, this area... is also free from pollution. Remember, also, um in the last few years... Chesanaiya enterprises have shifted focus... to international athletes. Surprisingly, as you may have seen, managers, uh, have their own camps now. Initially... some athletes, especially from other countries... used to stay at Kiwewe hotel, you see now...with new camps with swimming facilities, have attracted foreign athletes. Of course... this is huge in the promotion of sport tourism.

The future sport city. The investments in athletics facilities as part of the modernization of track and field in KapTuiyoot community, has attracted huge global and national interests. The establishment of all-weather training and running facilities to cater for the athletes has received the support of the national government and the local community. Currently, there is a billion Kenya Shilling tartan track under construction that will change the face of international athletics. This facility will be one of a kind in the athletic rich region of KapTuiyoot. According to one of the interviewees, Kapchebit, this is the new attraction in KapTuiyoot community athletics, and it brings an increased demand for international athletics, both in training and competition. This will boost the economic opportunity. He elaborated

You see, this facility will, I, mean, give KapTuiyoot Community a further international appeal, um...the global attraction will be huge...I know athletes will love it...global athletics will be brought here, it is not a surprise for a Grand Prix event to be brought

here. Yeah, the many athletes now training here... uh...from different camps will benefit with the tartan track when completed.

The globalization of KapTuiyoot through athletic modernization has created a new specter in community relations. The expansion of athletic facilities has led to the marketing of community but at the same time brought out the negative substitution effect in community land use, leading to the displacement of local communities to give way to the establishment of the athletic facility. Maluche explains that the community will have the added value of becoming a globalized athletic society, although the community pays the price of the opportunity cost. He stated

With these new facilities more training camps, eh, there will be... intense competition to get athletes to train here...the cost of athletes staying at athletics training camps, hotels, better residential housing will rise. And of course, with global media, eh there will also be sheer marketing of KapTuiyoot Community in foreign press, uh...which will in turn increase the demand for athletes to come here...this will eventually increase the pressure for the community... to give more space... for establishing more camps. In the end, the original benefit of training... in this place will be outweighed. This will disadvantage the... casual athletes, who come to, uh, enjoy training at without competitive ambitions. Remember, also that...athletics facilities are built in areas... which are agriculturally productive. So athletic investment, eh, might result in... decreased food production. So what, I am saying... is that athletics in this community has side effects.

KapTuiyoot has advanced the idea of the promotion of domestic tourism through bidding to host local and national sporting events to capture local interest and promote the sustainability of local tourism efforts. Major sports events attract huge turnouts, especially on the community's

main market day, Saturday. Miningwo explained that the local tourism agenda could flourish when the events are held on the busy business day. She stated

Yes, the opportunity to promote domestic tourism is there...eh, bring sports here and people will come, you know, market day, people are many...from Eldoret and other place, so having sports is attractive...you see, when school sports are held here, eh...so many people come and watch... some come to sell their goods. With sports, uh... being held here, eh, you know, the council can get revenue from taxing businesses. The small-scale traders, for example sell souvenirs to tourists...this is promoting our culture. So we need more sports events.

The future of KapTuiyoot, as a leading destination in the sport of athletics in Kenya, is subject to the scale of economic development. These concern advantages that the regions can attract to it through sports before its usefulness is outweighed by the dynamics of size, alternative attraction areas, and a decline in the initial reason for its attraction. These advantages are factored into the development of the community with respect to size, population, growth rate, and land use flexibility. Currently, the KapTuiyoot community enjoys the international status of being the athletic training epicenter; respondents attested to this with some being skeptical of the infinite attraction of KapTuiyoot as an international training destination.

The avenue to systematizing the growth and efficient management of the athletic populations at KapTuiyoot is through registration of athletes training at the there. Taprandich noted there is need for “registration of athletes to document for economic and security reasons while they train in KapTuiyoot Community. This will involve both the tenants and camp owners providing relevant information to the athletic office.”

Knowledge of the number of athletes training in the community is significant, and for planning purposes, there is a need to determine the right amount of infrastructure necessary for efficiency in training management. Kanyasang agreed that registration of athletes was important

The authentication of athletes... is important to know, yeah, the average number to plan you know, the city's facilities accordingly... and factor into our annual expectations in...terms of security and privacy and...uh, we are in the process of opening up an ...athletes' office at Equity Bank where these athletes...you see, can conduct their business... without hindrance. This will also spur confidence... among our athletes so that they can invest...uh, more in the local economy.

The integration of athletics into the decision-making process in the administration of society is critical in order to serve the athlete community well. Athlete registration has the potential to create a forum or association where issues that face the community and influence athletes' welfare can be brought up for discussion. Kobiló's understating of issues of integration is indicated in the following explanation.

As successful athletes...we need to give back... to community...yeah, because it is the village... where we first showed our potential as athletes, eh, so we should remember to give back that is something. The union of athletes... federation and the community... can foster athletic development and...and you know, this county can become important... in using her athletic resources for community development. The registration of athletes... and the formation of athletes... association will give us power to contribute to decision making.

The connection between academics and athletics is critical to KapTuiyoot because schools are places of the foundation of excellence and where athletic skills are developed. The

county government policy addresses the change of the community's attitude toward athlete scholars. The role of athletes in community development begins with a change in perception, as Kanyasang explained.

As a government, eh... we are prepared to change... the perception that, people have... athletes are not good in academics... by reflecting on their progress...yeah... when they are in school and even after they retire. This misconception... of the role of athletics as purely a money-minting machine... has distracted the role of sports in general because everybody, uh, now thinks of running as the only sport.

Sport policy seems to be the key to the future of KapTuiyoot. Its sound implementation will propel it into the city of the future. Tendenei, in his response to the question of the future of KapTuiyoot, explained that

The future is bright. The county government... needs to allocate...eh, more money to sports. The role of sports managers... should be checked and the officials of AK ...yes, at the county should... be scrutinized since...you know, they are not active in the... identification and development of local talents. The county Secretary of Sports... and the director of sports...yeah they need to implement the sport policy...uh, appropriately particularly in development of local talents.

The future of KapTuiyoot Community as a sport city is dependent upon the relations that exist between the training camps and schools in talent development. A high number of high school students drop out of school to concentrate on running. Maluche explained that

Camps have outweighed the purpose... of sport as integral part of education. Their emphasis, uh...nowadays, is on competitive sports development and less time for the athlete to attend school. I think, this is exploitation and... abuse of the rights of the

person. Athletics camps have become...uh... sort of concentration camps... well intentioned for the exploitation of the athletes, when you see some of the conditions they are subjected to, they are deplorable.

Sport organizations are worried about the increasing deterioration of agent regulations and application to the signing of contracts among primary school students. The behavior of athletic agents needs regulation, especially concerning underage signing of contracts. Lombelo commented on the gray area. He explained that

The law should protect, eh... primary school athletes from corrupt agents who sign contracts with them... with the collusion of parents. This early exposure to money...you know disrupts their normal learning in education and... they become tools of athletics trade... rather than adults who can make their own decisions. You see at this young age... they have no idea what they are... agreeing to and most times they are underpaid. With no sufficient education... they become vulnerable... to abuse by agents and senior athletes.

The longevity of KapTuiyoot Community as the ideal training environment is facing emerging competition from other training places in the world. Technological advancement in simulation models of scientific training is being studied, with NIKE leading the way in the creation of training chambers. The present intense training demand in such places as KapTuiyoot are based on the notion of the inherent advantage of athletic training in these places as possessing unique advantages that attracts others to train there also. The infinite demand for KapTuiyoot Community as a training magnet will even out, Riga noted. He said that the technology and reduced success in distance running on the part of Kenyan athletes may be the undoing of the KapTuiyoot community. He elaborated

Multiculturalism will normalize the interest... of foreign athletes coming to KapTuiyoot Community. There are similar altitudes... like KapTuiyoot Community... where athletes will go and train.... when the stereotype thing of saying... Africans are born to run or they have... genetic superiority is dispelled. For example, in the US, uh, we have, Vista Chula, California and... one can still get the same results... like if you trained at KapTuiyoot Community. In Oregon...there is now a creation of an altitude chambers... that is a pressured chamber...that... that the athlete sleeps high, and train low for NIKE athletes. So technology...uh... has become a substitute of places like KapTuiyoot Community. Galen Rupp trained there... for the London Olympics. You know, the multiplicity in training places... is the new thing now. Mo Farah came... to train at KapTuiyoot Community... for some months and went to Oregon... for the remaining months before the Olympics, and...you see... Kenyans were still training at KapTuiyoot Community... in their preparations for the Olympics. So, yeah, change is important. The difference with... the emerging American and British distance runners...is that they are becoming more tactical... in their training than the Africans.

The desire of local athletes to choose KapTuiyoot as their training base is on the assumption that their training will result in getting a manager or agent. Most of them hope that by training there, they will become professional runners with lucrative opportunities. This may be the dream, but the reality is different. The many athletes who train in the area increase the competitive nature of the recruitment space. There is intense competition during training, and the cut throat competition that follows in the oligopolistic athletic market will make many well-trained athletes drop out. Kobilu illustrated the danger of KapTuiyoot Community appealing to athletes as the avenue to international athletic performance. She explained

You know, many athletes, eh, come to KapTuiyoot Community to train... with the hope that mzungu...eh... will give them a chance to go and run abroad... to make money. The danger is...is there is no guarantee that the promise of going professional... because of competition in the business. And also, there is believe that when you train at KapTuiyoot Community then you will become an international athlete.

Summary

This study investigated the globalization of athletics with emerging themes clustered on: engagement through sports, professionalization of athletics, glocalization effects of athletics at the community levels, and the community's reconstruction of the future of KapTuiyoot community. The findings showed the participants' perspectives on socialization through indigenous and foreign sports among the youth in the community as a significance avenue of cultural education. This was through the community's provisions of play and games in traditional playgrounds and foreign school sport culture. The appropriation of sports by the colonial government to project an international image during times of colonial occupation was inherited by the African government as a medium to branding her image in global competitions such as the Olympic Games. This international prestige encouraged the government to invest in sports for national unity.

Globalization led to opening up of athletics space in Kenya to international multinational participants with the professionalization of the sport by international sports federations. This led to an avalanche of athletics agents or athlete representatives to court Kenyan athletes to sign with sponsorship companies such as NIKE. This corporatization of athletics shaped the culture of athletics at KapTuiyoot community and eventually foreign athletes began to experiment training at the community, which has evolved to become one of the leading epicenters of distance

running training community in the world. Athletic success has brought current cosmopolitan characteristic of KapTuiyoot today through investment in training facilities, acquisition of land for settlement and displacement of the local community. The community branding as a home of champions reveals the potential of tourism benefits in the future if the communities continue to an athletic Mecca for elite athletes training attraction. However, the success of sport tourism depends on the community's ability to invest in tourist related facilities and programs and the opportunity of athletics participants and stakeholders to co-exist and maintain the advantages that the community provides as an idea training place without negatively destabilizing its socio-cultural balance.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Research on globalization of sporting activities has accelerated over the last four decades. Most of these researches have informed the impact of international sports participation on national identities and particularly the effects of mega events, mostly occurring in Western countries. Research on globalization of sporting practices at the community levels, especially in developing countries is rare. According to Close (2010) the process of globalization has bridged diverse communities to “become a single global social place or space” (p. 2978). Through international sports institutions, Friedman and van Ingen (2011) recognized “the importance of space as a category for analysis, [along] with the intensification of the processes surrounding globalization and the transnational flow of capital” (p. 94). As Weedon (2011) indicated, athlete labor migration is a product of the globalization process, happening in global sports environments. Similarly, Ndee (2010) showed that Western culture played a significant role in the integration of modern sport, especially in African communities through modernization and globalization process, for instance “the globalization of Tanzanian culture” (p. 748). At present, sport has become one of the main focal areas helping in understanding global cultural sphere, particularly as concerns the local community and sports as an engine of globalization (Doczi, 2011).

Most of the findings of in the current study support previous research studies. The purpose of the study was (a) to understand the role of athletics at the community, especially its impact on private and public institutions, and (b) to document how the sports of athletics

contribute to community development. The findings of the study were grouped into four main categories namely; community members as social agents in sport; internationalization of athletics; glocalization of athletics, and reconstruction of social spaces using the sport of athletics. This chapter discusses the following issues as they emerged from this study; professionalization of athletics; social spaces as focal points; government agency; education for athletics; the power of athletic agents' glocalization practices; cultural practices' and future global athletics competitions at KapTuiyoot.

Professionalization of Athletics

This study found that there is unequal power relations demonstrated in the social sporting field, often in a manner in which appropriation of athletics is exercised between the community and foreign athletics agencies. The professionalization of athletics opened up the community to foreign sport marketing practitioners without adequate institutional and legal frameworks to safeguard the interests of athletes and the community. The absence of sport policy, for a long time, led sports to operate without a clear mandate to guide the athletic management, which exposed the athletes and the country to corporate exploitation. The second source of unequal power was experienced during colonialism through the disruption of traditional sports with schools becoming centers of athletics excellence through the establishment of athletics training camps, which effectively promoted specialization of elite athletic culture, rather than the holistic sport skills development. The current study established the significance of community members as social agents in the socialization of youth through the practices of play, games and sports. The participation in indigenous and foreign sports was found to have aided the conveyance of indigenous knowledge and in acquisition of social skills necessary identity formation. This finding corroborates previous research as explained in Ndee's (2010) study, which showed that

“indigenous African population incorporated physical activities into many aspects of their daily lives. They educated their young men and women through specific physical activities and used them for socialization and recreation” (Ndee, 2010, p. 734). So the family and community members, as socialization agents, were involved in teaching the youth social skills that were significant to not only the youth participation in sport and game activities but also in engaging in social activities consistent with their stages of development. This family encouragement corroborates Schinke et al.’s (2010) study that focused on youth sport programming in Aboriginal reserve in Canada. Although the setting is different, it showed that “youth often referred to the importance of their family members providing support and encouragement for sport activities” (p. 163).

Social Spaces as Focal Points

The community social fields and schools became the focal points for advancing sport practices in this study. This occurrence corroborates previous studies. For instance in, Chepyator-Thomson’s (1990) provided the significance of “play and games... [in society]...adults encourage children not only of the same age but also of different ages to play together” (p. 18), in the community. Relating to socialization of sports in school set up, this study confirms previous research findings that indicate parents and schools to value students’ involvement in sports competition, with the school being “considered to be an ideal early intervention institution” (Xu et al., 2010, p. 184) where sports participation reaches a large number of youth in the community. The emergence of colonialism led to the introduction of imperial sporting culture, which expanded sports practices. The findings in this study showed indigenous play, games and sports were displaced by introduction of colonial sports. Previous research show how colonial sports were used “as part of the process of colonization...via the

destruction and displacement of indigenous sports” (Coalter, 2010, pp. 297-298) in colonized societies such as Kenya. The English public school sports culture was exported to Kenya informed the policies of colonial education, which discouraged African games and sports (Zaslavsky, 1973), advancing the colonial sports participation in schools (Wamukoya & Hardman, 1992). The integration of indigenous and school sports became part of the cultural practices in the colonial times, with schools and missionary and government appropriating sports hence make them essential in cultural reproduction (Wamukoya & Hardman, 1992; Ndee, 2010).

Government Agency

Further, after independence from Britain in 1963, the Kenya government retained sports as important social institutions, purposely using them to meet the political objectives unifying the nation. The findings in this study indicate the government to use sports to enhance national unity and to promote nation’s image through international competitions. This finding corroborates Horton’s (2013) study on the role the government of Singapore plays in sport, pointing out that its significance in the nation because it functions as a feature of public diplomacy via cultural outreach,” [making it critical for]... [that] developing nations [as they] need to demonstrate that they are engaged in international sport, particularly mega-sports festivals such as the Olympic Games” (p. 1230). In this regard Kenya attempted to follow this policy direction in promoting sports in Kenya following independence in 1963, actualizing the policy through schools. The Kenya Government’s policy on sport followed the philosophy of integration, where academic and sports programs were incorporated into the school curriculum. Essentially the school settings became critical spheres, where the development and promotion of sports programs and academic excellence occupied the center stage of government programs. This is similar to Bloyce et al.’s (2008) research on sport development in England, which found government policy on of sport

served as a vehicle of “social policy designed to achieve a range of other non-sport objectives, [making it]... a common feature of government sport policy and sports development-related activity in many countries” (p. 360). Thus the policy frameworks advocated by governments, especially in developing countries were meant to appropriate sports and education to meet social policy goals through sports.

The involvement of Kenya in international athletics competitions is rooted in the country’s history. Although the deliberate efforts made after independence in appropriation of sports in the development of national identity, internationalization of athletics in Kenya was featured during the colonial era, with colonial government establishing Commonwealth Games that involved Kenyan athletes 1950s and early 1960s, which was before the country attained its independence from Britain. The Commonwealth Games were established to bring together British colonies before and after independence. During the pre-colonial era European athletes produced superior performances in international competitions such as the Commonwealth games. MacDonald (2009) corroborates the European dominance in the athletics competitions. For instance the 1954 British Empire and Commonwealth Games ‘were predominantly white affair with...black athletes, primarily from...Jamaica, Kenya...’ (MacDonald, 2009, p. 113) did not fare well. MacDonald’s research indicated superiority of European athletes, which occurred in the decades before Kenya attained independence. Along with Commonwealth games, Kenya was also involved in the Olympic Games, which occurred prior to independence. These two international events provided Kenya with an opportunity to project the country’s image and prestige through athletics. In this study the finding of internationalization of athletics led to the production of a culture of competitive national identity the Commonwealth Games and Olympic Games were the primary venues. This finding corroborates Hilvoorde, Elling and Stokvis’s

(2010) study which showed that a country's use of elite sport became "one of the main vehicles for articulating national pride and stimulating national cohesion" (p. 87). Sport is significant in national development as Green (2007) explained: It acts "as a politically salient cultural institution" (p. 921), indicating how governments' involvement in sports showcases nationality and international prestige.

Education for athletics

The success of Kenyan athletes at the Commonwealth and Olympic Games led to the expansion of athletics in diverse ways. In this study it was found that many Kenyan athletes received scholarships from universities in the United States, which opened up the internationalization of athletics beyond the representation of the nation at global events. Chepyator-Thomson (2003) provided a context of entry of Kenyan athletes in foreign universities, particularly in the early decade of independence, with 1960s and '70s [when] Kenyan runners began to quench their thirst for education through scholarships to the United States" (p. 33). The athletic scholarships provided an avenue where Kenyan athletes would have access to specialized training facilities and improve the country's future reservoir of skilled athletes. This finding corroborate previous studies for example, Popp, Hums and Greenwell (2009) showed that the recruitment of student-athletes to "compete at US- based NCAA schools has been occurring since the 1950s... These student-athletes have not only been quite successful for their adopted teams... but often represent their home nation's elite athletes....compete for their home country's Olympic or national team" (p. 97). The recruitment of distance runners by top U.S. Division 1 NCAA institutions provided an opportunity to produce stellar performances, which corroborates Chepyator-Thomson (2003) study that showed intercollegiate athletes participated in the United States in the 1970s, among them are "perhaps most notably, two

Kenyan world record holders, Henry Rono...and Samson Kimombwa...who attended Washington State University” (p. 34).

The Power of Athletics Agents

The sport of athletics has a short history as a professional sport. In this study, the finding of arrival of athletic agents, a product of globalization, shaped the perspective of internationalization of athletics in Kenya and particularly at KapTuiyoot Community. The participants of the current study attributed increased presence of Kenyan athletes in international competition to the power of athletic contracts and prize money for competition in global competitions, and to the ease with which agents have had access to local athletes at the Community level. The general perspective among the participants was that sports agents promoted commercialization of Kenyan athletics in global sporting spaces. This confirms findings from a study commissioned by the European Commission (2009) that described the role of sport agents in global competitions: “sports agents act, first and foremost, as intermediaries between sportspersons and sport clubs/organizers of sport events with a view to employing or hiring an athlete or sportsperson” (p. 3) for engagement in global sports industry. The report further indicated sports agents to “bring together the parties interested in concluding an agreement concerning the practice of a sport as a remunerated activity” (p. 3). Given that sport agency in is a recent phenomenon, this study showed the potential for exploitation of athletes by their agents due to lack of a regulatory framework. The European Commission study recommendation of intervention aimed at regulating the activities of sports agents, which is important in the management of athlete-agent relationship at KapTuiyoot Community in Kenya. The commercialization of athletics brought in the corporate sector sponsorship with national federations linking with elite athletes. In Copeland, Frisby and McCarville’s (1996) study, “sport

clearly possesses attributes that are attractive to corporate sponsors, the image of products, services, or brands can be enhanced when a company aligns itself with the positive characteristics of a sport event or successful sport athletes” (p.33). The emergence of professional sports in Kenya has captured sportswear and apparel companies as forms of investment in athletics programs, using agents and this led to the establishment of training camps in Kenya. The finding of increased athletic training camps in KapTuiyoot Community corroborates (Davis, 2006) study that showed fierce competition for elite athlete clients among athlete representatives, with the goal to increase their athletic commission with enhanced investments in sport labor. The athletic training camps have become the centers where the athletic training is concentrated, making it a refinery, a system of preparing the athletes for athletic excellence through intense training dictated by the demands of the global corporate sporting competition. This finding is similar to Laurin and Lacassagne (2011) study in European soccer where each “professional soccer club has to manage a youth academy for players likely to evolve to the highest national level” (p. 55). The objectives of academies and camps are to engage in the development of skilled labor for the benefit of the individual clubs and the athlete management, resulting in revenue generation scheme for corporations and clubs. The training camps have also become centers for foreign athletes to practice and develop their winning strategies.

Glocalization Practices

The practice of global athletics brought together the stakeholders and communities of KapTuiyoot, where the global nature of athletic training and competition resulted in the interactions between athletes and the local communities. This global-local interaction is termed as glocalization. In this study, there are several findings that emanated from the practice of

athletics at KapTuiyoot community. One finding concerns acquisition of social capital through sport participation, which most of the participants' highlighted as significant. The athletes who participated in international competitions received economic rewards that generated economic capital for the community, conspicuously enhancing their upward social mobility, making running the prime motivator for athletic involvement. It was also recognized that most of the elite athletes came from poor backgrounds. This confirms Bale and Sang's (1996) study, which showed many "Kenyan runners' prime motive for running is economic" (p. 167). Athlete earnings have become important assets in the community as most of the participants indicated that there were increased investments at KapTuiyoot with the rise of elite athletes; for instance in residential housing, businesses, and athletic facilities. These earnings are put back to the community, which diversified business enterprises. The injection of foreign capital into the local community contributes to social development in the community. Further, Bale and Sang identified that the "impact of neocolonial relations has provided many opportunities for athletes to earn big money on international circuits" (p.167), a common characteristics in today's globalized sport capitalism. Also, findings in the current study corroborates Houlihan's (1994) study that explained the relationship between multinational corporations and sport, in the indication that there has been manufacturing, production and dispersal of sporting practices in Third World countries. Another significant finding was the emergence of clubs and the elite development of athletes because of globalization, which opened up the community to professional athletic agents and to corporate presence in the sport of athletics. Agents or the managers control athletes' programs and also control negotiation of financial deals with meet promoters, with the agents earning a commission. The practice of athletic agency is yet to be understood since the community desire to have the sons and daughters sign a contract with them

regardless of the age and value of the athletic association. The agents take advantage of the athletes due to poverty and the lack of legal interpretation of the contract and the mystery-shrouded practice of agency and the role of intermediaries.

The presence of large number of athletes, both local and foreign, increased the demand for producer and consumer goods, mainly due to the purchasing power created by circulation of money generated from athletic power. This finding of global connections through the interactions between athletes and the local communities has resulted in mutual benefits in terms of exchange of goods and services in the local economy. The athletes provide a market for domestic goods while they reside in the local communities. This association of athletic practices and society explain the attachment the community has with the culture of athletic production. These findings confirms Coalter's (2007) research findings, which indicated that "social capital is central to the social regeneration/social inclusion agenda...and that social stability and a community's stability to help itself are built upon the vital resources of social capital" (p. 539).

Although the local municipality has positioned itself to earn revenue from the athletic community through tax incentives to local athlete investors, the intense competition from neighboring cities placed KapTuiyoot community with the hard choice of merging business opportunities with athletics in order to retain investment. In context of this finding, the participants explained that with the success of athletes from the community and the growth of athletic culture, there is an expansion of social amenities, which brings more investors to the region. In additional, more foreign athletes have come to train within the community brought about development in the community, which indicates the strengthening of community social amenities or resources and processes resulting from sports activities; these help to develop the

relationships and networks that residents themselves can identify with, making their community a better place in which to live and work.

This study found that having training camps brought benefits to the local community, including employment opportunities for residents. Elite athletes, both local and international, are a source of employment and are considered a plus in the community. Most of the training camps employ the locals as casual laborers. This finding confirms the work of Kobayashi et al. (2011) on his research on football clubs, which provided contributions to the local community:

“Clubs in particular, provided participants with access to employment opportunities that they would not normally have been afforded... In fact, it was the experience of the majority of players who participated in this study that being involved in those clubs led to them securing employment...Football played an important role in securing employment while playing football and after retiring from playing” (Kobayashi et al., 2011, p. 45).

Therefore the training camps have impacted the economic capital of the local people. The income earned from employment represented new income injected into the economy as a result of athletics programs in KapTuiyoot community.

Cultural Practices of Athletics

The other findings in this study relate to local cultural practice. The association of elite athletic dominance with the community's way of life has shaped the identity of the competitive running in KapTuiyoot community. An enhanced running culture of youth engagement in competitive athletics as well as a culture of recreational running has defined the social space. Almost a thousand athletes train every day in the community, which influenced the general attitude of the people of the town toward the culture of running. Significantly, the town council

endorsed the mission of running and learning to represent the identity formation of the town, which is in line with the culture of running in the community. The elaborate nature of the sports day along with the local government involvement demonstrates commitment to community sport development and ensures full participation to engender benefits of social cohesion. The variety of sporting practices, including traditional sports, promotes a cultural renaissance. The adaptation of recreational running contributes to quality lifestyles among the citizens of KapTuiyoot.

Most athletes, particularly from outside the community found the people of KapTuiyoot to be friendly and respectful. This cultural element of respect among the community members provides an atmosphere where athletes train uninterrupted and can mingle with community members with ease, helping provide KapTuiyoot with credibility among foreign athletes; they can feel safe and can carry out their training activities without fear, helping promote attachment to return in the future. The interactions that take place when athletes mingle with community members enrich the experiences of the community and foreign visiting athletes. In this case athletes, they are seen as role models and are admired because of their competence in a specific social role and assumption of moral standing.

In this study there were negative results emanating from the practice of athletics in KapTuiyoot community. The participants described these aspects as products of modernization that results in importation of foreign cultures that the community tried to cope and in equally foreign athletes who disregarded traditions and cultural values of the host community. Contradictions of success, wealth among athletes, social class dynamics, and economic power became issues of contention in the community.

Some community members alleged that many teenage pregnancies in the community emanated from the actions of elite athletes; this became a big concern in the community. The

local administration investigated the issue, and considered a solution: register all the athletes at the local sports office. No legal was taken against, so far, has been taken against the alleged perpetrators. Such activities in KapTuiyoot community could be ameliorated with appropriate legal measures to safeguard the rights of the vulnerable youth and deter sexual predators from engaging in their wayward behavior. Athletes were accused of using their social standing to sexually abuse the unsuspecting teenagers. The moral standing of the athletes rests with a social contract that indicates the identity of the athletes in times of questionable action. The participants suggested that all athletes be vetted and provide registration with sufficient background information as a necessary condition to be allowed to train in the community to check on athletes with criminal inclinations.

The success of athletes brought economic capital to the community through buying property. The cultural symbol of wealth in the community is land ownership, so it became imperative for athletes to purchase land. KapTuiyoot community has seen a tremendous transaction of land with the native population selling their lands especially to the migrant athletic community, leading to displacement of and emergence of a squatter or landless community. Sometimes the head of the household sold the land secretly, and it usually the father, husband or brother, exemplifying a patriarchal society. The Kenya Government provides in its 2030 vision that “land is a vital factor of production in the economy. In addition it has aesthetic, cultural and traditional value... most of the land in the country... [yet to be] been registered, which hinders people from asserting their rights over land” (p. 21). Thus the sale of lands at KapTuiyoot Community may be a dangerous investment in the years to come.

The global presence of Kenyan athletes has increased tremendously with the addition of global competitive avenues. The attraction of international athletes and training camps in the

community has generated local and international attention. The power of media representation has shaped the image of KapTuiyoot Community. One participant explained how the global media has penetrated the local community with the presence of international athletic icons being accompanied by a battery of journalists. As the stories were written, the context of KapTuiyoot is always featured. Thus the community has been dubbed as the home of champions. This study's finding supports Rowe's (2005) study that indicated media impact on sport, pointing out that with "media power, the reproduction of ideologies of dominance and the position of the sports...in contemporary culture are highlighted as crucial" (p. 5) in the branding of the community. The community took positively the slogan "home of champions," using to project the success of many athletes. Furthermore the role of the media in branding the community via sports corroborates Rein and Shields's (2007) study, which showed that "sports can provide places with both tangible and intangible benefits. Sports receive widespread free media coverage, which generates valuable visibility that can attract tourists, residents, and investors at a low cost" (p. 74). The media hype on Kenyan athletic performance has received international attention following the successes in global events and with it there is publicity, especially in the areas where these athletes come from, as result the country gains international prestige.

Another finding of the study related to branding was marketing of the community through sport performance. Most of the participants saw the slogan of home of champions as an excellent public relations message that served as a useful marketing tool in promoting community values through sports, hence attracting potential clientele in sport and tourism sector. This finding suggests that there is value when media pays attention to local and foreign athletes, hence advertising the community as a home of champions.

The findings of this study revealed sport tourism to have a huge potential in KapTuiyoot Community, especially when the brand “home of champions” is used to attract tourists. The demand of the community as an international training epicenter for foreign athletes is bound to increase as long as the community retains her international appeal, making it a coveted international sport tourism destination. This study’s finding confirms Misener and Mason’s (2006) research findings that found that “one distinct strategy has been the use of sporting events...as opportunity for branding the city externally, potentially attracting new tourism revenues...creating infrastructure in the form of new and renovated facilities that can be accessed by the local community” (p. 384). At the same time, this study’s findings support Kaplanidou & Vogt’s (2007) conclusion that “destination marketers are encouraged to project the event’s images in their promotional materials to benefit from the impact the event can bring about on the destination image and from its indirect impacts on intentions to visit” (p. 201). So the idea of community branding promotes tourism marketing with the sport of athletics serving as the main medium that the community can appropriate to meet her future development agenda and policy.

Future Global Athletic Competitions at KapTuiyoot

With international publicity and attraction of KapTuiyoot as global athletics training center in athletics, the community has attracted the construction of modern sporting facilities. Some of the participants suggested the possibility of the community becoming a future sports city, especially in the area of track and field. The establishment of all-weather training and running facilities to cater for the athletes has received the support of the national government and the local community. The community sports leaders suggested that in hosting local and national sports events, helping boost the possibility of KapTuiyoot becoming a future national and

international sport city. The finding corroborates Kaplanidou's (2007) findings that "communities are attracted to hosting sport events to draw marketing benefits that will contribute to the success of the destination in the long run by creating awareness, improving their image with visitors, and attracting tourism business to generate future in bound travel" (p. 161). Although this is a policy issue, investments in public sports facilities to generate economic returns has been shown to produce very minimal economic effects for the city or the local community. According to Zimbalist (2000) "few fields of empirical economic research offer virtual unanimity of findings. Yet, independent work on economic impact of stadiums and arenas has uniformly found that there is no statistically significant positive correlation between sports facility construction and economic development" (p. 98). In contrast, Santo's (2005) study showed that the context of where the facility built is important because "a facility's ability to impact its local economy is tied to its context" (p. 190). Therefore, these study findings show the community's attachment to perceived future earnings is based on the positive attitude of the people that more benefits will be gained as a result of the new infrastructure. The difference with KapTuiyoot Community is that if there will be economic benefits, it will go to the private investors rather than the public since the facilities are privately owned, but with government subsidy and not tangible public economic rewards after completion.

Implications

There is scant research on global sports and community in Africa, particularly athletics. African track and field athletes have shaped global athletics discourse. This study adds to the existing literature on the effects of global sporting practices on local communities, and also provides unique perspectives on the impact of multinational sports corporations on local economies and lives. Also important addition to the literature is the global impact of athletics on

modern corporate sports, a phenomenon that has become transcendental and transnational in sport competitions and has influenced the dynamics of capitalism as happens through borderless sports bodies. Thus defining the power of glocal-local connectivity through the consumption of foreign sports and leading to the usurpation of traditional sporting practices.

Conclusions

There are two conclusions derived from this study. It is imperative that national and county governments through the respective sports federations implement the sport policy to mitigate the negative impacts of sporting practices experienced as a result of globalization and to enhancing the economic benefits that result from professional sports. The Sport Act 2013 will provide an avenue to create opportunities for efficient athletic management and for equal participation of local and foreign athletic agents and managers in the sport to reflect the international presence of local athletic performance.

This study also concludes that schools are still dominant in the production of global athletic champions, although faced with inadequate facilities. Thus the significant positive benefits that the community has accessed in the social, cultural and economic spheres from the global-local interactions of athletics can be protected while ensuring that the negative aspects are checked and eradicated. Therefore, the increased visibility of KapTuiyoot community through global athletics practices in the local social spheres in the context of globalization explain the contemporary framework of sport as a neocolonial reproduction of domination through the appropriation of athletic bodies in sport labor economics in Third World communities.

Recommendations for Future Research

The research questions in this study investigated the effect of globalization of athletics at the local community. In this regard, the following research questions are recommended for future research.

1. In what ways has the sport policy impacted local sport institutions and environment, particularly the sport of athletics?
2. What are the economic impacts of sport tourism on KapTuiyoot Community?
3. Scholars can investigate the effectiveness of sport institutions on the management of athletics at the national and local levels.
4. What negative effects result from sport of athletics as connected to transgressions associated with athletes' economic power?
5. What foreign-based investments practices and economics bring benefits to the community?

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APPENDIX A:
IN-DEPTH INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Hello, my name is Kipchumba Byron and I am a PhD candidate at the University of Georgia. I am pursuing a doctoral degree in the area of Kinesiology with a concentration in Sport Management and Policy. I am conducting a research study on Globalization and sporting communities in Kenya: A case study of Iten athletics Community. The purpose of this study is to examine the role of sports in Kenya and I am focusing on KapTuiyoot Community's (KC) institutions and community leaders, with specific focus on the sport of athletics. With your permission, I would like to interview you today about your experiences as an athlete/community leader on the role of athletics in Iten community.

Throughout the interview, I will ask you questions related to your personal background and your experiences with athletics. I will also ask you about your personal motivations for engagement in athletics. All of the information that we discuss will be confidential and your identity will not be revealed on any documentation associated with this study. You may be called to participate in a group discussion regarding the role of athletics in Iten. No identifiers will be used for this research with exception of a pseudonym to ensure your confidentiality and the documentation of your demographic information.

I anticipate this interview will last between 60 minutes to 90 minutes. You may end the interview at any point. You may decline to answer any questions you do not feel comfortable answering. You may also feel free to take a break during any portion of the interview. Also, feel free to let me know if you need additional clarification or explanation about any of the questions. Do you have any questions for me before we begin the interview? If you have no question I would like to proceed with the interview.

Thank you.

APPENDIX B:
IN-DEPTH INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Tell me about your role as an athlete/sports administrator/coach/athletics training camp director/community leader/community businessperson/community youth leader.
 1. Describe the role of traditional sports played in the community
 2. How did school promote school?
 3. What kinds of sports did you participate in?
2. Think of a time when you realized that athletics participation/administration was making a difference and walk me through it.
3. Think of an instance when athletics has contributed to development of KapTuiyoot community and tell me about that.
4. Talk a little bit more about the relationship between the sports and KapTuiyoot community.
5. Think of a significant community and athletics training camps partnership and tell me about that relationship.
6. Tell me about what being part of KapTuiyoot sports community means to you.
7. Tell me about challenges that result from athletics in KapTuiyoots community.
8. Talk about the relationship between international athletes and the community.
9. How are sports developed in the community/how do you expect the government to develop sports in the community?

That concludes our interview. Is there anything else you would like to mention or talk about? If not, I would like to thank you for participating in this interview. The information you provided

me will be extremely useful to my research. Please feel free to contact me if you have any questions, comments, or concerns pertaining to this interview. Thank you again for your participation.

APPENDEIX C:

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND DATA COLLECTION STRATEGIES

Research Question	Data Collection Strategies
<p>1. What was the role of sports in KapTuiyoot indigenous community and how did colonial sports influence the traditional sporting practices?</p>	<p>- <i>Interviews</i> with</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * sports administrators * coaches * community leaders and business people * international athletes * Athletics training camps directors <p>- <i>Documents</i> including</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * sports policy * County development plans * Secondary schools sports constitution * The Constitution of Kenya
<p>2 How has globalization of KapTuiyoot athletic community shaped global athletics?</p>	<p><i>Interviews</i> with</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * sports administrators * coaches * community leaders and business people * international athletes * athletics training camps personnel

	<p><i>- Documents</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * sports policy * County development plans * Secondary schools sports constitution
<p>3. How has athletics reconstructed the future of KapTuiyoot community? .</p>	<p><i>Interviews with</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * sports administrators * coaches * community leaders and business people * international athletes * Athletics training camps personnel <p><i>- Documents</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * sports policy * Sport Act * sports organizations' meeting minutes * County development plans * Secondary schools sports constitution * Athletics Kenya constitution

APPENDIX D:**EMAIL SCRIPT TO OBTAIN PARTICIPANTS FOR INTERVIEWS**

My name is Kipchumba Byron, a doctoral student at the University of Georgia in the Department of Kinesiology. I am conducting a research study on Global-local examination of athletics in Kenya: A Case Study of KapTuiyoot Community.

The purpose of this study is to examine the role of sports in KapTuiyoot community's (KC) institutions and community leaders, with specific focus on the sport of athletics.

It is my hope that you would allow me to conduct an interview with you. Your name will not be used but pseudonyms will be used for interviews to ensure confidentiality. Following the analysis of the interviews, all audio recordings will be destroyed and the interview transcripts will be retained for analysis with no identifiers connecting you to your name to ensure confidentiality.

The interview will last between 60minutes and 90 minutes. The purpose of the interview is to understanding the role of athletics in Kenya by focusing on Iten athletics. There will be an informed consent form for you to review and sign before the interview begins.

If you are over the age of 18 and willing to be interviewed, please respond to this email with dates and times you are available and I will respond with a confirmed date, time, and location.

Please feel free to contact me if you have any questions, comments, or concerns. I hope to hear back from you soon in response to my request. Thank you in advance for your time and consideration.

Kipchumba Byron
Ph.D. candidate
University of Georgia
Department of Kinesiology

APPENDIX E

CONSENT FORM-Interview

UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

GLOBAL-LOCAL EXAMINATION OF ATHLETICS IN KENYA: A CASE STUDY OF “KAPTUIYOOT” COMMUNITY

Researcher’s Statement

We are asking you to take part in a research study. Before you decide to participate in this study, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. This form is designed to give you the information about the study so you can decide whether to be in the study or not. Please take the time to read the following information carefully. Please ask the researcher if there is anything that is not clear or if you need more information. When all your questions have been answered, you can decide if you want to be in the study or not. This process is called “informed consent.” A copy of this form will be given to you.

Principal Investigator: *Dr. Jepkorir Rose Chepyator-Thomson*
Kinesiology
365 Ramsey, 330 River Rd, Athens, GA 30602
Jchepyat@uga.edu

Co-Principal Investigator: Mr Kipchumba Byron, 346 Ramsey, 150 Viking Ct, Apt 4 Athens, GA, 30605
byronk@uga.edu

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to examine the role of sports in Kenya via KapTuiyoot community’s (KC) institutions and stakeholders, with specific focus on the sport of athletics

Study Procedures

If you agree to participate, you will be asked to answer questions in an individual interview about engagement in athletics, and answer questions about your experiences in the role of athletics in Kenya. This process should take approximately 60-90 minutes. In addition to the individual interview, you may also be asked to participate during focus group discussions during this time.

Risks and discomforts

You might experience fatigue from completing this interview, and therefore this interview is voluntary.

Benefits

Personal benefits include reflecting back on your previous athletics experiences. The societal benefits include: providing insight to the academic research community and society about the experiences of athletes and managers in track and field in Kenya, and providing insight into effective measures and key strategies for improving athletics performance and policy implementation in Kenya. Findings from this study may prove useful in enhancing and creating programs that improve sports development in Kenya.

Incentives for participation

There will be no incentive for this study.

Privacy/Confidentiality

No individually identifiable information about you, or provided by you during the research, will be shared with others without your written permission, except if required by law. You will be assigned an identifying pseudonym at the start of the interview and this pseudonym will be used on all transcriptions, reports, and results. The individual interview will be audio taped. The primary researcher will hear this recording, and will use the recording for purposes of transcription. Pseudonyms will be applied to participants prior to the third party receiving the audio-taped interviews, therefore at no point will there be any direct identifiers linked to the participants besides the voice recording. During transcription and analysis, all interview recordings and paper transcriptions will be kept in a locked filing cabinet in a locked office. The non-paper transcriptions will be saved on a password-protected computer. After transcription and analysis is completed, the audio recordings will be destroyed. The non-paper transcriptions will still be saved on a password protected computer and the paper transcriptions will be kept in a locked filing cabinet in a locked office until five years has passed, at which time they will all be destroyed.

Taking part is voluntary

Your involvement in the study is voluntary, and you may choose not to participate or stop at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. If you decide to stop or withdraw from the study, the information/data collected from or about you up to the point of your withdrawal will be kept as part of the study and may continue to be analyzed.

If you have questions

The main researcher conducting this study is Kipchumba Byron, a doctoral student at the University of Georgia, under the supervision of Professor Rose Chepyator-Thomson. If you have any questions, you may email him at byronk@uga.edu or call 0718826748 or 0738626126 (Kenya) and (000)17064612044 (USA). Please ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, you may contact Dr. Jepkorir Rose Chepyator-Thomson at jchepyat@uga.edu or at (000)1706-542-4434 (USA). If you have any questions or concerns regarding your rights as a

research participant in this study, you may contact the Institutional Review Board (IRB) Chairperson at 706.542.3199 or irb@uga.edu.