

‘EVERY MEDAL HAS TWO SIDES’

*Modernization, Dependency and the role of ‘the West’
in Kenyan athletics*

Master’s Thesis Human Geography
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Abstract

In this thesis the author wants to give an answer to the question '*What's the role of 'the West' on Kenyan athletics?*'. In order to accomplish this, the author conducts his research at the level of Kenya's national culture, the national athletic system, and the individual athlete. Three concepts, which he derives from theories, described in the theoretical framework, are applied to the different levels of research. The three concepts are the transition-concept, the growth-concept (based on modernization theory) and the empowerment-concept (based on dependency-theory). In the empirical part of the thesis these three concepts are tested in the case of Kenyan athletics.

On the level of Kenya's national culture it becomes clear that the introduction of athletics by the British colonizer led to the replacement of Kenya's indigenous movement culture. The author concludes, though, that the athletic culture is not full-grown in Kenya. Dependency theorists criticise 'Western imperialising powers', trying to colonise the world with more and more adherents to participation in athletics. The disappointing result is that Kenyan athletics is only growing in long distance running. In relation to Kenya's athletic culture some 'empowerment' strategies are described.

On the level of the national athletic system in Kenya, the author concludes that a modern sports system has been established, but it's malfunctioning. Although there has been a growth in athletic output through the years, it seems that Kenya's sport system is not efficiently using the available talent. In relation Kenya's athletic system, adherents of dependency theories outline threats like the athletes' tendency to defect to other countries.

On the level of the individual athlete transition to modernity is visible in training methods and in the internationalisation of the athlete's lifestyle. Many examples of growth at the individual level can be seen in the economical benefits for successful athletes. Dependency theorists criticise the fact that only in Western countries money can be earned, which make Kenyan athletes highly dependent and vulnerable for abuse.

In the conclusion of the thesis the author states that the processes affecting Kenya have a twofold character, and the perspective from which you look at those processes, determines whether they are problematic or not. If a process can be called problematic, one can discuss which deeper rooted origins there are to blame. A modernization theorist will point at an unfinished transition to modern structures, causing lack of growth and so on, while a dependency theorist will blame the dependent relations to which the country is tied up. The interweavement with the global sports system, in all its facets, is a situation which modernization and dependency theorists both have to face, and the right way to deal with it is probably no matter of 'black or white'. To the author one point is very clear: the world of Kenyan athletics is heavily and irreversibly affected by 'the West' in its origin, its evolution and in its functioning today.

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Preface

In 2005 I wrote a bachelor thesis on the desirability for a transnational league in European professional soccer. I choose this subject because in those days football was a big passion of mine. While doing this research, I was getting familiar with subjects like 'sport and identity', 'sports labour migration' and 'global sports systems'. I became aware of the fact that sports are an important part of just about every society, in every country, in every part of our planet and I got determined to continue to do research in this field, when I had to write my Master's Thesis. Since 2006 I am practising triathlon and this led to an interest for athletics. This is why I choose to write a Master's Thesis on 'athletics in a non-Western country in relation to the role of 'the West'. I planned to give the subjects 'sport and identity', 'sports labour migration' and 'global sports systems' a central place my research.

As easy as the choice for a subject was being made, so difficult it was to implement the right research method. I discovered immediately after I started collecting my first background information that there wasn't too much, although there was some, literature available on sports in non-Western countries. But on the internet, in magazines and in the news papers there was often a lot of attention for Kenyan performances in long distance running. This made me curious about the background of these athletes and I decided to focus my research on Kenyan professional athletes when they would come to Europe to race.

Because 'Kenyan athletes present in the Netherlands' (having in mind that I wouldn't have enough time and money to do the research in another continent) is a relatively small group, a quantitative approach wasn't appropriate. I wanted to combine literature with qualitative interviews anyway, so this wasn't a big problem. But, as I found out, professional athletes don't have much time, when they are in their racing season. They train a lot, they need to rest afterwards and besides that, they all have managers, to which you have to talk first, if you want to approach them. I didn't have time for that, so I had to think of other solutions. This is when I discovered that the Radboud University was offering financial support to students who have to go abroad and I decided to go to Kenya.

I went to Iten, one of the centres in Kenya with a concentration of athletes, for five weeks. I observed hundreds of runners, who were training there usually twice a day, ranging from upcoming to good earning professionals. It was easy to approach them for an interview. I was staying in the High Altitude Training Camp founded by Lornah Kiplagat, a world famous female athlete who changed her Kenyan nationality for a Dutch nationality since her marriage with her manager Pieter Langerhorst. She lives both in Kenya and Holland. The stay at the HATC was comfortable and it offered me the opportunity to life among the athletes. I had an own work place, were I could do the interviews and type them afterwards. In the five weeks I gathered a lot of information; at least enough to finish my thesis. Looking back, though, I wished that I decided earlier to go; so that I could have stayed longer. Than I would have been able to do more research in other places with concentrations of athletes and could have talked to people from Athletics Kenya.

Nevertheless, I wasn't complaining about the results when I came back to the Netherlands and my spirit to continue working on the thesis was good. I expected that the work would go faster from now on, because before I left, it was sometimes an endless waiting for people who promised to cooperate and eventually excused themselves for being not interested after all. After my return from Kenya the work on my thesis went faster indeed, and I was making a lot of progress quickly, till I finally finished it.

So, here is the result of my labour. It took a while and sometimes people had to encourage me to continue, but looking back, it has been worth it. Studying Kenyan athletics has brought me lots of joy and has made me look differently towards African sports. Up till now I find the subject very interesting and I wonder how I'm going to experience the

upcoming marathon season and Olympic Games. Anyhow, I will always keep good memories about my stay in Kenya. I hope the reader of this thesis will feel a bit of the enthusiasm I felt when I had the chance to live among and train with the Kenyan athletes, to whom I want to show my respect and who I wish all the best with their careers.

Luuk van den Boogaard

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OBJECTIVE & STRUCTURE

In this first part of this thesis I will make some comments on the background, the objective, and the relevance of the thesis' subject. Also I will introduce the research questions, the research design and the methodology. To conclude I will define some key words, which play a central role in the thesis.

1. Introduction

1.1 Motive

'Africa is often viewed as an emerging continental giant on the modern sporting stage. Such a view is a gross oversimplification. It is true that there is a growing number of African stars in boxing, football and track and field athletics. Most African countries, however, have not made a significant impact on modern Western sport; the African impact has been made selective and patchy. On the other hand, the occidental impact on African sports has been overwhelming'

(Bale, 1996: preface)

My interest for sport has always been great. For years I'm a spectator of several sporting disciplines. I am supporter of my region's soccer team, which is making me proud for being the national champion, and I'm cheering for many other great athletes all over the world. Besides that I practise sports like football and triathlon.

My enthusiasm for practising sports and being a spectator was absorbing so much of my precious time, that it interfered sometimes with my occupation as a student Human Geography, doing my daily research work at the Radboud University in Nijmegen. While I was ending the bachelor phase of my education - before writing my bachelor thesis and starting my master phase - I was thinking about how I could overcome this problem. The solution was simple. From now on I would combine my passion for sports and my studies of Human Geography; I was going to approach sports in a geographical way.

In my bachelor thesis *'Een grensoverschrijdende voetbalcompetitie: grensverleggend?, Een onderzoek naar de wenselijkheid van een transnationale voetbalcompetitie in het Europese profvoetbal'* I did some research on the desirability for a transnational league in European professional soccer. While doing this research I was getting familiar with subjects like 'sports labour migration', 'global sports systems' and globalisation and I became aware of the importance of teams and athletes in the shaping of identities of regions and nations.

In line with these subjects I was also getting aware of the large number of non-European players who are making a transfer to Europe. In the article *'Economic globalization of sport'* by Andreff is stated that *'The major part of these international transfers is from developing to developed countries. It has been coined a 'muscle drain'. Athletes and talented sportsmen and women were found to leave their country as soon as their sport performance was of an international standard. In many professional sports, developing countries and former Soviet economies are utilized as nurseries for sporting talents and provide a huge pool of sporting labour. The wage gap between the African and the French labour market for player talents is between one to ten and one to twenty'*¹. This awareness made me curious about developing countries in relation with the functioning of their sports system, if there was one, and the way this sports system is influenced by 'the West'. This curiousness made the choice of a research subject for my Master's Thesis easy: I would do research on the influence of 'the West' on sports in developing countries.

Nijmegen, the city I live in, is the base of a company which is doing the management for runners all over the world. In 2007 this company represented 120 athletes from more than 20 countries, but the biggest share of these athletes comes from Africa, namely Kenya and Ethiopia. The management advised me to go Kenya where the athletes usually train when they are not racing. I went to Iten, one of the centres in Kenya with a concentration of athletes, for

¹ Andreff, W., The Economic Globalization of Sport (<http://www.ftd.de/div/link/185692.html>), 31-8-2007

five weeks. I observed hundreds of runners, who were training there usually twice a day, ranging from upcoming to good earning professionals. It was easy to approach them for an interview. It was even so much so that the athletes were approaching me instead of me approaching them, because every European in Iten is expected to be a manager which can help Kenyan runners to race all over the world. So, many of them were thinking that I could give them that chance. This situation in itself reveals already a lot about one of the main problems I discuss in my thesis, which I will explain now.

The quote at the beginning of the previous page is from the book *Kenyan Running, Movement Culture, Geography and Global Change* (1996: preface) by John Bale and Joe Sang. It forms the motive of my research. The quote implies some criticism on the way Africa is functioning in the sphere of sport. When we look at the Kenyan case the record breaking and championship winning performances of athletes are regularly part of the media sports circus. But isn't all this happiness covering up a deeper rooted power structure advantaging 'the West' and disadvantaging Kenya? Isn't sport just another field in which Africa, in this case Kenya, is being made dependent on 'the West'? Is the crisis in the Athletics Kenya (AK) body, the Ministry for Gender, Sports and Culture and Kenya's individual athletes today symbolic of the crisis of individuality, nationhood and identity in Africa's path to the future? Lukalo (2005: 2) Is Kenya just an 'athlete plantation' to, for example Qatar, the United States or European countries or is it really a growing power, with an own identity and culture, in the world of athletics.

In this Master's Thesis Kenyan athletics is being examined. The title '*EVERY MEDAL HAS TWO SIDES, Modernization, Dependency and the role of 'the West' in Kenyan athletics*' refers to my attempt to probe beneath the superficial images of records and results. The 'two sides' are symbolizing the twofold meaning of Kenya's athletic success. On the one hand athletics it's bringing medals, (individual) welfare and national pride to Kenya. On the other hand athletics has dispelled Kenya's indigenous 'movement culture' and has it created just another field in which the country has become dependent on 'the West'.

1.2 Scientific relevance

In 1995 John Bale and Joe Sang wrote the book '*KENYAN RUNNING, movement culture, geography and global change*'. This book explores in detail the emergence and significance of track and field athletics in Kenya. The book adopts an approach in which Kenya is seen as a part of a global system of culture in general and of sport in particular. Although the book is not a conventional study in sports history, it 'far from ignores' the years leading up to the recent decades in which Kenyan athletic power has been so publicly visible. The book concludes with a consideration of the extent to which Kenya's recent athletic history can be viewed as a form of 'cultural imperialism'. In the books a lot of statistical data are used.

In this thesis I want to build on the book of John Bale and Joe Sang. I will do this by adding updated data to their findings and by testing their findings in a qualitative manner. In the book of Bale and Sang, a 'macro approach' is used, whereby hardly any runners and key persons are interviewed; this is just were I'm focussing on in my thesis. In my thesis I try to adopt a 'view from below', by centralizing the opinion of the Kenyan runner to which some information from informal meetings with key persons in athletics and information from literature is added. Also the theories I use differ from the work of Bale and Sang.

With this thesis I hope to contribute to theories of modernization and imperialism/dependency, in relation to aspects like sports labour migration, (national) identity, and (global) sports systems. Also I hope to contribute to a better understanding of Kenyan athletics, especially in relation to the role 'the West'. The thesis will be of interest to students of sports sociology, sports history and African studies. Since I will view local and regional

processes in the case of Kenya in relation to global processes, like for example imperialism and global sports systems, there is clearly a spatial component in this thesis. Because of this spatial component the thesis is also usable for Human Geographers.

1.3 Societal relevance

Sports are an important part of just about every society, in every country, in every part of our planet. Sports are being 'mediatized' and because of this they are playing an important role in communication, whether it is to implement a region's identity or just to sell products. Because sports are globally exposed so much, more and more money is involved in it and its industry is growing rapidly. This is causing for example athletic migration, a global consumption of sport goods, often produced in third world countries and a growing popularity of sporting events. Governments are getting more and more concerned with the field of sports.

In *'Sport, national identity and public policy'*, Barrie Houlihan (1997: 113) examines the phenomenon of governments using sports to manage identity. In the paper he states that almost without exception, industrialised and many developing states have, over the last thirty years, increased their funding for sport at a greater pace than that for most other services. One explanation for this shift in policy has been due to an increasing awareness and suspicion of cultural globalization. The evolution of the debate over the nature and form of cultural globalization has resulted in the emergence of several characterizations of the process, of which one emphasises the imperialist rationale of globalization which stresses the grossly unequal relationship between the culturally dominant capitalist and predominantly Western economies, and the developing countries of the southern hemisphere. The way in which talented athletes from poorer countries are exported to richer clubs in track and field, soccer baseball, cricket and basketball provides evidence in support of this view.

Lukalo (2005) makes in his paper *'(Mis)understanding of Nation and Identity: Re-imagining of Sports in the future of African Development'* clear how the predominantly Western economies in the field of sport play a role in the Kenyan society. He outlines the conception that Kenya has reached a definitive moment in the nurturing and provision of talent in sports globally. *'In Kenya, since 1968 every time the Olympics games are held, the track athletics events become national moments for symbolic dissemination of power and in particular portray socio-economic dimensions of emerging symbols in the globalization arena of sports. Individual athletes' ability is subsumed into a political collectivity for the purposes of nation building: the successful body performs and promises the triumph of the body politic.'* Lukalo explains how the track separates the athletes and the Kenyan spectators in a moment where athletics events have historically embodied the Kenyan nation and its narrative or triumph: paradigm shifts witnessed today are the young Kenyan athletes who negotiate and 'ran' for citizenship in the Middle East countries.

Another outcome of capitalist consumerism in the field of sports, dominated by Western economies are also evident in relation to Kenyan athletics: the international meetings, Olympics, Commonwealth games (The Commonwealth Games is a multinational, multi-sport event, formerly known as the British Empire Games) and athletics agents are all located and controlled in Western capitals. Besides that the whole industry of sports products like clothes, shoes and other materials is in hands of 'the West'.

As a source of information, this thesis can contribute to the construction of appropriate policies to govern processes, that face the societies of developing nations in general and Kenya in particular, for example in the field of the ongoing changing of nationality by athletes.

1.4 Research questions and objectives

1.4.1 Objective

When we think of Kenyan running we think of the record breaking and championship winning performances of athletes that are regularly part of the media sports circus. We might even think that the introduction of modern athletics in Kenya by former colonizing power Britain has led the country to nothing but success and welfare. But aren't Kenya's Olympic medals not just covering up the problems of the dependent role the country plays in the global sports system?

Most African countries have not made a significant impact on modern Western sport; the African impact has been made selective and patchy. This also counts for the impact Kenya has been made. On the other hand, the occidental impact of the attempts to imply modernization in Kenya's society in general, and Kenyan sports in particular, has been overwhelming. With this thesis I hope to induce a debate about the role of 'the West' on Kenyan athletics and to contribute to this debate.

1.4.2. Research questions

The key question to comply with the objective reads:

'What's the role of 'the West' on Kenyan athletics?'

In order to answer the key question, it is subdivided into the following three sub questions:

- *'What's the role of 'the West' on Kenya's athletic culture?'*
- *'What's the role of 'the West' on Kenya's national athletic system?'*
- *'What's the role of 'the West' in the careers of individual athletes from Kenya?'*

In order to comply with the objective, I will systematically deal with these research questions. How this is done I will explain in the readers guide in section 1.6, in which the structure of the thesis is shortly introduced.

1.5 Research design and methodology

The research strategy used in this thesis shows the characteristics of a qualitative design. Qualitative research, broadly defined, means 'any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification'. (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:17) Where quantitative researchers seek causal determination, prediction and generalization of findings, qualitative researchers seek instead illumination, understanding, and extrapolation to similar situations. I used three techniques of data collection associated with qualitative inquiry. The first technique was data collection from interviews, the second technique was data collection from observations and the third technique was data collection from the analysis of documents and literature.

My main method of research was interviewing. Interviews can be done in different ways, dependent on the extent of control one exercises over it. You can say that there are roughly four types of interviewing: informal interviewing, unstructured interviewing, semi-structured interviewing and structured interviewing. The amount of control can vary from chitchatting without the other person knowing you are studying him or her: informal

interviewing; to a structured interview with the help of a questionnaire. In the interviews with the athletes I was especially interested in their personal feelings and opinions about situations. In my opinion structured interviews don't capture this, because the informant is restricted to questions which limit a free conversation. Because of my wish to learn about lived experiences, I chose for a less structured form of interviews. Due to the limited amount of time for me in Kenya, I had to give the interviews a certain direction, though: I only wanted to talk only about certain subjects. This is why I kept the interviews semi structured: I used a small list of topics that I wanted to discuss and within these topics I tried to provoke a free conversation with the interviewee. I used a tape recorder to register these interviews. After the recording was made I typed out the interviews out literally. I was making recordings because they have the advantage of capturing data more faithfully than hurriedly written notes might, and they can make it easier for the researcher to focus on the interview. (Patton, 1990)

Besides the interviews with the athletes I also did 'informal interviews' with former athletes, physiotherapists, agents, trainers and other key persons in the world of Kenyan athletics. I approached these people or just had by coincidence informal conversations in which I asked them about the subjects I was interested, without them knowing I was using this information for my research.

The second technique of data collection I used was observation. I observed the participants in the context of a natural scene, which was mainly the gym at the HATC and the track and roads in Iten, where I saw the athletes training and where I also participated in the training. I also made observations and had conversations in the dining room in the HATC, where I usually was having dinner with the athletes, St. Patrick's High School and one of the churches in Iten, the Kipchoge Keino Stadium in Eldoret and the city of Eldoret.

To supplement the interviews and the observations, as the third technique I used, was data collection from the analysis of documents and literature. The documents I used included official records, athletics magazines, articles and interviews on the internet, newspaper accounts, reports and other literature.

The method I used was to read documents and literature about the 'subject of my interest' first and then compose some temporary research questions, in which I tried not to focus too much on specific issues. To keep the questions applicable to a broader field I was more flexible to change the direction of my research. With the topics lifted out of my temporary research questions I started the first interviews from which I got curious about new topics and questions. This process went on until no new topics emerged and until I didn't get new information about the topics. This was also the point where I formed my final research questions. Back home I linked the information from the interviews and the observations to the collected literature and documents, in order to sketch the, in my opinion, 'true' situation and answer the main questions of my research.

1.6 Readers guide

In this section the structure of this thesis will be shortly introduced to serve as a readers' guide. This first chapter has laid down the objective and the key questions for the thesis. In the second chapter an overview of the theories used, will be displayed. The following theories will be discussed:

- Modernisation theory
- Theories on dependency and imperialism

From these two theories I will extract three concepts; from the theory of modernisation this is the concept of ‘growth’ and the concept of ‘transition’. From the theories on dependency and imperialism the ‘empowerment concept’, as I will call it, is extracted.

In the empirical part of the thesis these three concepts will be applied to the case of Kenyan athletics on three levels; the level of the individual athlete, the level of the athletic system and the level of the athletic culture. In the theoretical part and in the empirical part, in which the theories are tested, I will try to outline the role ‘the West’ plays in the different processes. In each chapter I will start by mapping the modernization of Kenyan athletics, using the concept of ‘growth’ and the concept of ‘transition’ and I will finish each chapter by discussing some ‘dependency-based criticism’ exemplified by processes related to athletics in Kenya. In the last chapter the conclusions of the thesis are presented. In the following schedule the structure of thesis is displayed.

The Influence of ‘the West’ on Kenyan Athletics in the following fields					
		Concept of development	Research level		
			Athletic culture (Chap. 4)	Athletic system (Chap. 5)	Individual athlete (Chap. 6)
Theory	Modernization (Chap. 2)	Transition	Paragraph 4.2	Paragraph 5.2	Paragraph 6.2
		Growth	Paragraph 4.3	Paragraph 5.3	Paragraph 6.3
	Dependency/ Imperialism (Chap. 3)	Critique & alternatives	Paragraph 4.4	Paragraph 5.4	Paragraph 6.4

1.7 Key words

To make the reading easier, this section will shortly explain some words which play a central role in this thesis.

Culture: In this thesis ‘culture’ refers to the cumulative deposit of knowledge, experience, beliefs, values, attitudes, meanings, hierarchies, religion, notions of time, roles, spatial relations, concepts of the universe, and material objects and possessions acquired by a group of people in the course of generations through individual and group striving.

Athletics: When in this thesis is spoken of ‘athletics’ (as they do in The Netherlands) a collection of sports which in English speaking countries is referred to as ‘track and field’ or ‘track and field athletics’, is meant.

Athletics involve running, throwing and jumping. The name is derived from the Greek word 'athlon' meaning 'contest'.

Achievement sport: A culture of sport that reflects the performance-achievement principle, which is dominant in industrial societies. Characteristics are goal orientation, discipline, long-term training programmes, regularity of effort, the necessity for individual effort and responsibility and an orientation to competition.

Invented traditions: A set of practices, which seek to imprint certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, and which attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past. However, insofar as there is such reference to a historic past, the peculiarity of 'invented' traditions is that the continuity with it is largely fictitious. (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983)

Movement culture: (Also 'body culture') With this term is meant the culture of the body (including body movement), rather than the body as simply a matter of biology. Movement culture as a paradigm for the study of sport places sport firmly in the context of culture. This is not to say that culture stops at the surface of the body. With each cultural configuration of sport there is a different biology: there is no one biological view of the body in movement culture. (Bale, 1996:18)

Sports system: (In case of athletics I speak of 'athletic system') With the term 'sports system' I mean the way how within the national or global level sports are organised, including the use of human resources in sports, the level of knowledge of sports science, training systems, sports industry and the efficiency and hierarchy of organizations, competitions, sponsors etcetera.

Lifestyle: In this thesis 'lifestyle' refers to the way a person lives. This includes patterns of social relations, consumption, entertainment, and dress. It also refers to the way it reflects an individual's attitudes, values or worldview. Having a specific 'lifestyle' means engaging in a characteristic bundle of behaviors that makes sense to both others and the self in different times and places.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The purpose of this framework is to serve as a theoretical guideline through my research, determining what things I need to test, and what relationships I should look for in the empirical part of the thesis. The relationship between the theories of modernization, dependency/(cultural) imperialism and globalization is explained here. I will outline the basic features of the literature on the different theories and in addition apply them to the field of sports. Also I will extract some main concepts from these theories.

I will start by explaining the theory of modernization. Then I will pay attention to the theories of dependency and imperialism, which are closely related to each other. Because the theory of modernization and the theories of dependency and imperialism opposite each other in explaining global inequality I will derive some main concepts from both sides. These concepts will later be used to discuss the way Kenyan athletics is evolving.

2. Modernization theory

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will describe the theory of modernization. In the next paragraph I will explain the main features of the modernization theory by referring to several scientists who contributed to this theory. In addition to that I will display some points of criticism to the modernization paradigm. In the following paragraph I will discuss the way modernization is applied to the field of sports. In the last paragraph I will explain which concepts of development in the field of sports can be derived from the theory of modernization.

2.2 Main features

In this paragraph I will outline the main features of modernization theory. I will do this by successively display a review of explanations of modernization theory and by giving an overview of the criticism to modernization theory.

2.2.1 Explanations of Modernization Theory

Until the early 1960s, a big part of the literature on underdevelopment in Third World regions suggested that progress in poor areas could take place only through the spread of 'modernism' originating in the developed world. One predominant line of argument portrayed underdeveloped countries as 'dual societies' with backward-feudal hinterlands and progressive-capitalist metropolises. Since the countryside was seen as having stagnated in a state of feudalism due to isolation from the forces of capitalism, the prescription called for the capitalist penetration of the archaic hinterland. Progress was to be diffused from the United-States and Europe to the national urban centres, from the metropolises to the regional trading centres, and from these centres to their corresponding peripheries. (Munoz, 1981: 1)

The basis for the modernization theory is the distinction between traditional and modern societies. Stated simply, it involves a fundamental proposition that people in traditional societies should adopt the characteristics of enterprise achievement and progress with which the Industrial Revolution has been identified. The straightforward implication is that a society which adopts these characteristics will become modernized. (Spybey, 1992: 21)

Valenzuela (1978) states that 'the 'traditional society' is variously understood as having a predominance of ascriptive, particularistic, diffuse, and affective patterns of action, an extended kinship structure with a multiplicity of functions, little spatial and social mobility, a deferential stratification system, mostly primary economic activities, a tendency toward autarchy of social units, an undifferentiated political structure, with traditional elitist and hierarchical sources of authority, etcetera. By contrast, the 'modern society' is characterized by a predominance of achievement; universalistic, specific, and neutral orientations and patterns of action; a nuclear family structure serving limited functions; a complex and highly differentiated occupational system; high rates of spatial and social mobility; a predominance of secondary economic activities and production for exchange; the institutionalization of change and self-sustained growth; highly differentiated political structures with rational legal sources of authority; and so on.

Valuenza does also outline the fact that it is assumed in the literature that the values, institutions, and patterns of action of traditional society are both an expression and a cause of underdevelopment and constitute the main obstacles in the way of modernization. To enter the modern world, underdeveloped societies have to overcome traditional norms and structures opening the way for social, economic, and political transformations. Valuenza states that according to some authors modernization derives from a greater differentiation of societal

functions, institutions, and roles and the development of new sources of integration. For others, modernization is based more on the actual transformation of individuals through their assimilation of modern values.' But in general, the primary source of change is discussed in terms of innovations, that is, the rejection of procedures related to traditional institutions, together with the adoption of new ideas, techniques, values, and organizations. Innovations are pursued by innovators and the group that assumes this role inevitably clashes with defenders of the old order. The struggle is over two different ways of life.

Also in Johnston (2001: 516) the conception that modernization is a process of social change is outlined. This process, which results from the diffusion and adoption of the characteristics of expansive and apparently more advanced societies through societies which are apparently less advanced, involves social mobilization, the growth of a more effective and centralized apparatus of political and social control, the acceptance of scientifically rational norms and the transformation of social relations and aesthetic norms.

We have seen that many scientists emphasize the social change involved in changing from a traditional to a modern society when discussing modernization. There are also scientists that emphasize economic growth in relation to modernization. A good example for scientists in this approach is Walt Rostow, who presented *The Stages of Economic Growth* (1960) as a blueprint for the implanting of capitalism in all countries as a means to economic growth. In the book, a five-stage sequence of economic and social development is postulated through which, Rostow argues, all societies may pass. Discourses of modernization such as those promoted by Rostow also offer an ideological framework within which the idea and practise of development may be interpreted – not at least the notion that underdevelopment is a consequence of conditions internal to the underdeveloped society.

2.2.2 Criticism on Modernization Theory

Modernization theory is being subject to a lot of criticism. The theory is said to be ethnocentric because it devalues traditional values and social institutions, it ignores increasing inequality within and between countries and it is not a neutral theory because it promotes western capitalist values. Also the subject of education in the developing world was criticized because it mainly benefited small, local elites. Moreover, modernization theory is assuming unlimited natural resources for industrial expansion and ignores ecological issues and historical contexts. A last point of critique is the fact that the theory only focuses on a single way to advancement. (Inglehart and Baker, 2000). In the chapter discussing dependency theories I will refer to the critique on modernization theory again.

2.3 Modernization in sports

In the previous paragraph I've displayed the contributions of several writers in order to explain the concept of modernization, in which the shift from a traditional to a modern society and economic growth are the main features. In this paragraph I will show how sport is related to the concept of modernization.

2.3.1 Sports in traditional and modern countries

In his article '*Sport in developing countries*' Heinemann (1993) makes a comparison between sports in 'modern countries' and in 'traditional countries'. According to 'modern' sports in relation to 'modern' or 'industrial' societies Heinemann states that '*Principles that are dominant in industrial societies as a whole are reflected in sport: the performance-achievement principle with its tenets of freedom, equality, and competition; the institutional autonomy of sport, that is, its differentiation as an independent sphere of existence with the separation of the individual and the organisation, of internal and external roles, and, thus its*

independent organisation according to its own inherent laws and factual necessities and its own specific formalised system of rules. Simultaneously, the institutional autonomy of sport enables it to be a contrasting world to work and to everyday reality, that is, to contribute to relaxation and to provide spheres of tension, risk, and drama in a society that lacks excitement due to its being mainly regulated by norms and being divided into spheres of existence with functionally specific organisation'. Therefore, one can say that value-orientations that form some of the most dominant and determining value-patterns of modern societies are also prevalent in sport. It is even so that in modern societies, sport is organized in such manner that the dominant values of a modern society take effect and are rewarded. In the case of industrialized or modern countries, these effective characteristics found in modern sports are discipline, long-term training programmes, regularity of effort, the necessity for individual effort and responsibility, stress on performance-achievement and an orientation to competition, and partnership such as comradeship, fairness and etcetera.

The characteristics of games, sport, and physical culture in pre-industrial societies are their realisation in a whole variety of different forms. Heinemann (1993) mentions a few features of them. *'In pre-industrial societies, games and sport are related to the respective contexts of family, village, tribe, and affiliation to social positions and classes, etc. Sports and games can, therefore, only be understood in their respective social contexts. Sports and games are interwoven with military, political, religious, and domestic functions, thus forming various combinations. They are often organisationally linked with celebrations, ritual actions, political decisions, and military confrontations. They are dependent on religious and moral orientations and are thus connected to the respective social and political order and its functioning and stability. The functional and institutional nexus of sport and its close dependency on other spheres of social existence is also reflected in the regulation structure of sport in these societies'.*

To sum up, the way sports or movement cultures are implemented and experienced is closely linked to the way a society is functioning as a whole. In an industrialised state sport is thus carrying out values that support the performance-achievement principle which is dictating the every day life of an industrialised state. In a pre-industrialised society people don't practise sports in the way it is defined in 'modern societies'. Their movement cultures are interwoven with celebrations, ritual actions, political decisions, and military confrontations.

2.3.2 Consequences of modernization in sports

Sport is being used to bring 'modernity' to 'traditional' countries. In line with this remark Mahlmann states *'Sport is in many ways connected with the secondary carriers of modernity among which one can enumerate urbanisation, nation building, mass education, and etcetera. In fact the sport system itself can be termed as another secondary carrier of modernity'.* The primary carriers hereby are technological production and bureaucratisation. (Mahlmann, 1992: 128)

In the article *'Sport in developing countries'* Heinemann (1993) tries to map the consequences of the introduction or implementation of 'modern' sports in 'traditional', or as Heinemann refers to it, 'pre-industrial' societies. According to Heinemann the sport of western industrial societies is frequently initiated in those countries that have adopted the Western model of social and political development strategy. The import of European sport often entails the destruction or supercession of a traditional games culture. Heinemann states that in developing countries, the traditional culture of games and sports is becoming increasingly less significant. He explains that first the missionaries frequently exercised a destructive effect, because they regarded traditional sport, especially dancing, as immoral, and felt it was too closely associated with the myths and cults of the traditional society. The

missionaries were also afraid that such pursuits could prevent people from attending church services.

Another consequence of the introduction of modern sports in traditional societies is the fact that the traditional society gets involved in the global sports system, discussed in the chapter on globalization. This involvement results for example in the participation of the Olympics, the world championships and so on.

In addition to these rather acute consequences, one can also distinct long term consequences. These long term consequences are related to cultural imperialism. They place traditional societies, often after being subjected to a colonizing state, in the periphery of the global system in the field of sports. I will discuss this process in the chapter on imperialism.

In line with Heinemann's understanding of development, two concepts of (under)development can be derived from the concept of modernization. The first concept that I will explain here is the 'growth concept':

'Underdevelopment is understood as retardation, development as economic growth. Development aims are aspired to that are oriented toward European and North American examples, such as industrialisation, improvement of industry, specific furtherance of scientific progress, and adoption of technical innovations.'

Although this concept of development accounts for societies in general, it is possible to specify it to the field of sports, in this case track and field athletics. *'Underdevelopment is understood as retardation, development as economic growth'* is perfectly applicable to the world of sports if you simply replace *'economic growth'* by *'growth of athletic production'*. This replacement seems disputable, but it's not unusual to use metaphors borrowed from the realms of economics and industry in considerations about sports or sport success, where often is spoken about, for example, *'national athletic output'* and the *'export'* and *'packaging'* of athletes. I use it basically because the sports system and related sports industry really does approximate to a multi-national enterprise. Hence, athletes do appear to be *'developed'*, *'processed'* and *'marketed'*. Moreover, it is possible to express *'growth of athletic production'* in real money, because of the price money and salary earned.

Another concept of (under)development derived from Heinemann (1993) can be linked with the main features of modernization theory. This one I would like to call the *'transition concept'*:

'Developing countries are traditional societies; development means the transition to a modern society, that is, first an amalgam of both forms and then a gradual decrease in traditional structuring in favour of modern features. Development therefore results in:

- a) *The dissolution of the fundamental meaning of kinship and deep-rooted primary bonds that are determined by language, religion, race, values, customs, social orientation, and obligations of loyalty, that are geographically limited to neighbourhoods, villages, and regions;*
- b) *An increase in social differentiation, that is, the relation of fundamental social functions – such as management of the economy, religion, the military, social security, and other autonomous organisations – to the overall social system.*
- c) *The formation of institutions and forms of control that secure the coordination and collaboration of the various autonomous fields of existence, such as the*

utilisation of money, the increase in the power of the central political authority, the development of mass parties, the emergence of nationalist movements or movements for religious freedom;

- d) *The appearance (in a society in the process of modernisation) of a new personality structure, because only intellectually, geographically, and socially mobile persons will remain capable of action, that is, be able to cope with completely unknown fields of existence and be able to identify themselves with the position, situation, and experience of unknown persons, political rulers, and foreign and new ideologies and be able to experience society as a field of possibilities.*
- e) *Finally, the overcoming of critical situations that initially result from an identity crisis, that is, the lack of a binding national feeling in societies that have developed out a multitude of tribes and culturally and politically divided population groups. In many cases, no formal organisation of state existed until the colonial power established one. (...) The gravity of the crisis will increase if the controlling groups are not able to penetrate every region of their country and effectively enforce their policies and aims everywhere (a 'penetration crisis').*

In order to make these aspects usable, when questioning the development of athletics in third world countries, we should apply the aspects, one by one, to the field of sports or, in the understanding of Heinemann, to the 'pre-industrial movement culture'.

The first aspect of the 'transition concept' is '*the dissolution of the fundamental meaning of kinship*'. When we configure this aspect to the field of sport or 'movement culture', it would mean the dissolution of the function and organisation of the 'traditional movement culture', that is closely tied to or even standing symbolically for daily life with its social patterns, in 'pre-industrial' societies. Western achievement sport and the way it is organized should be implemented and accepted. The adaptation of the second aspect '*an increase in social differentiation*' to the field of sport or, considering the case dealt with in this thesis, the field of athletics, would be the improvement of the relation between the athletic system – and the overall social system. Or to put in other words the recognition of the functions of the athletic system. The third aspect '*the formation of institutions and forms of control*' applied to a sports system would be the introduction and functioning of governments/governing bodies, federations, clubs, etcetera managing and controlling sports by following standardised norms and structures like in Western countries. The fourth aspect '*the appearance of a new personality structure*' would in relation to athletics or sports mean the appearance of well functioning officials, trainers, coaches, managers and athletes, who are recognized as such by society. The last aspect '*the overcoming of critical situations that initially result from an identity crisis*' would in the field of sports mean that a certain sport becomes part of the national identity of a state.

3. Imperialism and Dependency theory

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will describe imperialism and the closely related dependency theory, by referring to several scientists who contributed to these theories. First I will outline some features of the literature on imperialism and the dependency theory. Subsequently I will discuss the way both theories are applied to the field of sports. In the last paragraph I will explain which concepts of development in the field of sports can be derived from imperialism and the dependency theory.

3.2 Main features

In this paragraph I will outline the main features of imperialism and the closely related dependency theory. I will do this by successively display a review on both theories.

3.2.1 Imperialism

Imperialism is according to Johnston the creation and maintenance of an unequal economic, cultural and territorial relationship, usually between states and often in the form of an empire, based on domination and subordination. Imperialism is closely affiliated with colonialism. Both processes are intrinsically geographical dynamics that involve the extension of the ruler or nation-state over the land and lives of alien people through a mixture of military conquest, colonial settlement, the imposition of direct rule, or the creation of informal empires of trade and political supervision. (Johnston, 2000: 375)

The approach of imperialism is more usually associated with Marxist writings which try to explain the colonialism of specific nation-states, especially western nation-states, in terms of its necessity for capitalist expansion. At least three dimensions of these colonial ventures have been noted. These include the search for new markets in which to sell products, the search for new sources of raw materials and the search for new sources of cheap labour. This process is seen to assist western economic development and, at the same time, impoverish the rest of the world. Large business corporations as well as state organizations have played a leading role in imperialism. This leading role is still being played, after the formal possession of empires has largely disappeared and after the concomitant rise in self-governing countries, in which a form of economic neo-imperialism has developed. In these 'neo-empires' western countries are able to maintain their position of ascendancy by ensuring control over the terms on which world trade is conducted. (Bale, 1994: 10)

3.2.2 Dependency Theory

In a number of respects imperialist accounts link with the dependency theory. Both are concerned with the uneven manner and form of global development; further, the origins and nature of the dependency of specific nations varies according to how far a country was colonized and by whom. A definition of dependency theory is given by Johnston: *'Dependency theory is a complex body of theory with structuralist, Marxist and Latin American roots which explains the blocked or 'distorted' character of third world development through powers of external (colonial or post-colonial) metropolitan powers to exploit peripheral satellites'*. According to Johnston dependency emerged as a critique of modernization theory and economic dualism, arguing that Third World poverty was not a function of local failure but rather was a function of history of the dialectical relations between metropole and satellite. At the heart of the theory stands a claim about the dominant

role of external global powers and the super-exploitation by which the metropole subordinates the satellite. (Johnston 2000:164)

There are, according to Bale (1994), a number of strands evident in this metatheory. These include dependent underdevelopment, dependent development and dependency reversal. In the first strand it is argued that the global capitalist system, largely but not exclusively through multinationals, operates actively to under develop the third world. Third world countries' impoverishment is the direct result of their subordinate position in relation to the industrialized countries. The wealth of the industrial countries is at the expense of third world countries, the latter being economically dependent on the former. Exponents of this strand argue that no genuine development is possible as long as this system is in place. But this dependent underdevelopment strand appears unable to account for the growth of some third world countries. Hence, advocates of this overall approach coined the idea of dependent development, that is, the growth of some third world countries is acknowledged, but is viewed as limited in nature. But while dependent development is conceived of as possible, such an approach still does not appear to allow for the fact that certain countries can break out of the 'double bind' of dependent development. In this context, a further revision of the basic approach is evident in which reference is made to dependency reversal. In this approach it is conceived possible that certain third world countries, and/or institutional sectors of third world countries can escape and reverse the previous disadvantageous relations with developed countries. At present, however, no one approach dominates within dependency theory.

Wallerstein draws heavily from dependency theory. In the work of Wallerstein is explained how a world system of commerce and communication has developed dating from the sixteenth century. This world system has produced a series of economic and political connections based on the expansion of a capitalist world economy, dividing the world in a *core*, a *semi-periphery* and a *periphery*. There is a fundamental and institutionally stabilized 'division of labour' between core and periphery; while the core has a high level of technological development and manufactures complex products, the role of the periphery is to supply raw materials, agricultural products and cheap labour for the expanding agents of the core. Economic exchange between core and periphery takes place on unequal terms. The periphery is forced to sell its products at low prices, but has to buy the core's products at comparatively high prices; an unequal state which, once established, tends to stabilize itself due to inherent, quasi-deterministic constraints. According to Wallerstein, peripheral states were until colonial expansion, relatively untouched by commercial development. Their dependency has been established and maintained by the legacy of colonialism and enmeshed them in a set of economic relations which enrich the industrial areas and impoverish the periphery. The 'semi-periphery' acts as a periphery to the core, and a core to the periphery. (Terlouw, 1985).

3.3 Imperialism and dependency theory in sports

In the previous paragraph I've discussed the concepts of imperialism and dependency theory. In this paragraph I will show how sport is related to the concept of modernization.

In '*Sport, Cultural Imperialism, and Colonial Response in the British Empire*' Stoddart (1988) states that the most neglected agency in the process of cultural transfer from Britain to her colonial empire is that which involved sports and games. Sport had a wide-ranging influence, which was consolidated through such avenues as organization and ceremony, patterns of participation and exclusion, competition against both the imperial power and other colonial states, and the strong centralization of authority in England. Dominant British beliefs as social behaviour, standards, relations, and conformity were transferred through sport, all of which

persisted beyond the end of the formal empire. For the postcolonial order the transfer of these beliefs had considerable consequences.

In the article by Stoddart the concept of sport as an important part of cultural power is set in the wider context of a theoretical literature that emanates from the work of Bourdieu and his colleagues, who argue that cultural institutions such as art galleries, museums, and sport play a central part in maintaining and promoting established class relations because of socially shared beliefs, and that those institutions, while largely the preserve of a cultural elite, are also considered valuable by the mass. From this conceptual basis, sport may be envisaged as a powerful but largely informal social institution that can create shared beliefs and attitudes between rulers and ruled while at the same time enhancing the social distance between them. This is particularly the case in the British imperial setting, where sport became a strong determinant of social relations, beginning with the British environment itself, from which the games code was exported.

When we apply the concept of sport as an important part of cultural power in the process of cultural transfer from (former) colonizer to the (former) colonies, to the approach of imperialism in explaining colonialism of specific nation-states, we need to transform the three dimensions of capitalist expansion, which we have seen in the previous section, to the field of sports. When we do this, we must take into account that, as I will outline in the next paragraph, we live in an era of globalization now, in which the nature of sports is altered and a sports industry, involving billions of dollars, has emerged. This means that sports today do not only have a cultural but also have an economical power.

The first dimension of capitalist expansion, mentioned in the previous section, is the search for new markets in which to sell products. In the field of sports, we can relate this dimension to the expansion of the sporting goods market, the sport broadcasting market. The second dimension is the search for new sources of raw materials. The search of raw materials can be understood as the search for athletic talent in talent pools (referred to by Lukalo (2005) as the 'athlete plantation'), which can be transferred to the dominant state. The third dimension is the search for new sources of cheap labour. In the field of sports, we can relate this dimension to the labourers, sometimes children, in the sporting goods industry, which is replaced to low wage countries, but also to cheaper athletes. In these dimensions of capitalist expansion, which assist western development and, at the same time, impoverish the rest of the world, large business corporations as well as state organizations have played and continue to play a leading role.

In an effort by Bale (1996: 104) to relate sports with Wallerstein's world system approach he refers to Heinila, who drew attention to the fact that the success of a nation's athletes in international competitions was no longer a matter of individual effort and the resources of the participant but instead a matter of the effectiveness and total resources of the whole *national sports system*'. The national sports system is made up of human resources in sports, the level of knowledge of sports science, the efficiency of organizations and training systems, etcetera. Bale outlines that according to Heinila this is resulting in situation in which international sport has become increasingly more total, a contest between systems of sport. But in the contention of Bale it is no longer tenable to attribute national success or failure in international sports and athletic productivity (the ability of a nation to produce athletes of high quality) to national sports systems alone; instead one now needs to take into account an international or *global sports system*. *'The totalization process in sports has transcended national boundaries and today national sports output often results from the workings of global mechanisms and systems. The global sports system shares several characteristics with the world political an economic system. There exists a three-tiered structure of inequality with a sports-core, a semi-periphery and a periphery. Countries at the core have incorporated those at the*

periphery into a global system of Eurocentric sports competition, sports aid, and the importation of (sporting analogues of) natural resources’.

3.4 Concepts of development applied to sport

When we link the main features of imperialism and dependency theory to Heinemann’s (1993) understanding of development, one major concept of development is eminent. I would like to refer to this concept as the ‘liberation concept’.

Development means liberation from extraneous dependency. *Theories of imperialism bring the developing countries into complete correlation with the inherent laws of the capitalist economic structures prevalent in western industrial nations. Underdevelopment is construed as resulting from extraneous imperialist rule, which develops out of immanent contradictions of the capitalist economic and social systems. Colonialism means economic and political suppression; it leads to an expansion of the markets for capitalist countries, not only securing the supply of raw materials for industrial nations, but also creating new sales prospects. Thus, the dangers of overproduction and the falling rate of profit characteristics of advanced capitalist countries are decreased, thereby concealing the internal contradictions of the capitalist system. Above all, development means liberation from this extraneous dependency and rule by means of an internal revolution and the mobilisation of the cultural, political, and economic resources of a nation – this being the initial stage of a worldwide process of mobilisation and revolution. Economic development and modernisation thus gain a new importance; the adoption and development of modern technology and the increase in industrial production have to be detached from the social, cultural, and political processes of structural differentiation; revolutions, conflicts, and national ideas and ideologies are ascribed with the function of developing a unique cultural identity.’*

Like the concepts of development discussed in the previous paragraph, this concept of development accounts for societies in general. Therefore, it is necessary to specify the concept to the field of sports, in this case track and field athletics, as I will do in this section. In addition to that I will discuss the consequences of the concept for the levels of the individual athlete, the athletic system and the athletic culture of a developing country.

When we apply ‘liberation from extraneous dependency’ to the field of sports in relation to the level of the individual athlete in a developing country, this would mean the athlete’s liberation from the financial dependency on foreign managers selecting them exclusively for foreign events and competitions and the liberation from dependency on foreign trainers, training methods and techniques developed by foreign sports scientist, and sports equipment from extraneous companies.

In relation to a developing country’s athletic system ‘liberation from dependency’ could be achieved when sufficient financial and institutional resources would be on hand to control and reward national athletes in order to prevent them from ‘defecting’ to other countries. Sufficient financial and institutional resources could also contribute to host international sport events in the own country, considering that, according to Andreff, ‘few world sport events are located in Third World countries. Only six out of eighteen football World Cups have been organized in the most-advanced Latin American countries, no one in Africa, the Middle East, Central and South Asia, in spite of the repeated and unsuccessful applications of Morocco and the one of South Africa (for 2006) to organizing the football

*World Cup. About thirty developed countries handle the organization of approximately 95% of all world sport events per year. The rest of the world, basically some 170 developing countries, host no more than 5% of the big sports events.'*²

The application of the 'liberation concept' to the athletic culture of a developing country is problematic since athletics were mostly imported by the former colonizer and can be seen as an expression of dependency in itself. Athletics replaced or 'museumized' the original movement culture of the traditional societies and although in some countries attention is paid to the preservation or the revival of aspects of the original movement culture, the affection by the former colonizer is irreversible. Therefore, to throw athletics out seems to be a very radical measure, since it established itself firmly in most former colonies. An alternative for throwing out athletics would be to connect a countries *own* identity to it, by referring to the history of athletic achievements that have been made by national athletes, and to invest in national athletic events to expose the sport.

² Andreff, W., The Economic Globalization of Sport (<http://www.ftd.de/div/link/185692.html>), 31-8-2007

EMPIRY

In the theoretical part of this thesis I've introduced the theoretical approaches of modernization and dependency. From the theory of modernization I distracted two main concepts: the 'growth concept' and the 'transition concept'. From the theory of dependency I distracted the concept of 'empowerment'. In the now following empirical part of this thesis I will test these concepts in the case of Kenya.

4. Kenya's athletic culture and the role of 'the West'

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter athletics in the context of Kenya's culture is the central issue. I will avoid the discussion about whether there is 'one' Kenyan culture or many and focus on the differences between the Western Movement Culture and the ones which were known in Kenya. In the following paragraph I will try to make clear how the process of transition from movement culture to modern sport developed in Kenya. I will first explain the existing 'movement culture' of pre-colonial Kenya, then I will explain aspects of the movement and sport cultures during colonial times and eventually I will look at the remains of the traditional movement culture and the 'new' modern sport in Kenya. In the subsequent paragraph I will discuss whether athletics has been 'growing' as an 'institute' within Kenya's culture. In the last paragraph I will go deeper into some 'dependency-based' criticism on the concepts derived from the modernization theory and give some examples within Kenya's athletic culture, which are more in line with concepts derived from the dependency theory.

4.2 The transition from movement culture to modern sport

In this paragraph I will try to outline the changes which have taken place in the character of movement culture in Kenya, from traditions of tribal folk activities to those of modern sport and the role 'the West' plays has played in this process. I will do this by looking at data derived from the available literature on the subject. I'll start with a view of the kind of movement cultures which characterized the region of Africa which is today Kenya in the era before the European invasion and colonization. As Bale (1996:47) outlines no written records exist of this pre-European period and therefore we must assume that the forms observed by the early twentieth century imperialists and travel writers were similar to those of earlier times. I will continue by describing aspects of the movement and sport cultures during colonial times and eventually I will look at aspects of modern sport in Kenya.

4.2.1 The traditional movement culture of Kenya

The survival power of the movement culture in the traditional societies was rooted in its functions and organization and closely tied to daily life and daily routine; in fact, it stood symbolically for life. The patterns, norms and values were directed towards its utility function, and promoted the abilities necessary for living fully in the traditional societies. They were to a large degree differentiated, specialized and institutionalized according to age-groups and gender. Kenya had a typical gerontocratic tradition, which means that it was governed by the elders. (Mahlmann, 1992)

Youth expressed themselves through movement patterns. Children's games interpreted life in a playful way. Ocitti describes in Mahlmann (1992:122) how the boys developed a rich games culture in form of make-believe, recreational, 'rompy', and organized plays and games as they found enough time for playing within the institutional frame of herding livestock. By contrast, girls had to work more within the homestead.

In later life, the movement culture was dominated by the demand for high performance, and it mirrored such characteristics of traditional life as fight, rivalry and ambitions. In this context, physical activities engaged in were vigorous and carried a strong competitive element, and direct combat was in fact encouraged. The winners received prized, public honour and respect and were regarded as heroes. All in all, physical prowess and physical beauty were of importance for the position of a man in his society. The adolescent had to prove himself in practice and in combatant games when preparing for initiation. Virtues like courage, bravery

and endurance were stressed. In some societies the man could not marry until he had proved himself successfully in a major hunting or warring expedition. (Mahlmann, 1992)

The elders ruled through 'wise words' or preferred to engage themselves in a few selected dances as a form of movement culture. The physical activities of women, however, were mainly restricted to those connected with securing food (e.g. communal work in the *shamba*, a little farm). If they had a chance to express themselves through movement, then they rather participated in rhythmical dance than in direct competitions often preferred by their male counterparts. (Mahlmann, 1992)

According to Bale (1996:53) various forms of running and racing did exist in pre-modern Kenya. He illustrates this with the example of the Kikuyu (a Kenyan tribe) who during the initiation ceremonies related to the circumcision of teenage boys held a competitive race over a distance about two miles to a tree. The one who reached the tree first and threw a wooden spear over it was elected as the leader and spokesman of the age group for life.

This complex movement culture stood against a background which – from a religious-philosophical view point – moved human being into the forefront. It served especially to regenerate his 'life force' spiritually and his physical sense. This became most evident in the fact that sexuality found symbolic expression in physical movement patterns connected with initiation. An institutional frame like cultural festivals, guaranteed the passing on of traditional norms and values. (Mahlmann, 1992)

The patterns of movement differed regionally according to the topographical surroundings or climatic conditions. Fauna, flora, landscape and the form of economy influenced the moulding of the movement patterns. For example, the savanna helped to develop hunting in the form of tiring the prey through outrunning while forest areas probably hindered the development of ball games. (Mahlmann, 1992)

Other types of differentiation showed a low degree of institutionalization. The role of the spectator, for example, was differentiated; sometimes women or old men could be provoked into getting involved in the excitement of a fight or dance. Rules were handed down verbally and were similarly not much differentiated in regard to the number of participants, the size of the field of activity, or the conduct in relation to the other players. (Mahlmann, 1992)

4.2.2 Aspects of the movement and sport cultures during colonial times

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to explore Kenya, Vasco da Gama having visited Mombassa in 1498. The Portuguese hegemony in the region was clipped by the British, Dutch and Omani Arab incursions during the seventeenth century. The Omani Arabs expelled the Portuguese from the Kenyan and Tanzanian coasts by 1730. Omani Arab colonization of the Kenyan and Tanzanian coasts continued until British interests began to put pressure by the late nineteenth century. The Omani Arabs had little ability to resist the British navy.

However, most historians consider that the colonial history of Kenya dates from the establishment of a German protectorate over the Sultan of Zanzibar's coastal possessions in 1885, followed by the arrival of the Imperial British East Africa Company in 1888. The German's and the British fought over East Africa in the First World War. The German's eventually surrendered in Zambia eleven days after the Armistice was signed in 1918.³

According to Mahlmann (1992:125) the colonization of the country by the British can be seen as the original cause for the introduction of sports into Kenya. The British exported 'their' sports, first of all through the rich, noble and prominent people; and also through

³ <http://africanhistory.about.com/od/kenya/p/KenyaHist.htm> (10-5-2007)

military officers, colonial administrators, teachers, missionaries and settlers. These varied groups brought along different understandings of sport.

The rich introduced for themselves metropolitan upper social class sports, and these seem to have set the trend for the less well-off colonialists who were financially able to engage in such sports in the conditions of Kenya. It was the intention to make sport an element in the functioning of the colonial superiority ideology. Sport served as an integrative factor for the colonialists, and the subject peoples were not permitted to participate on equal terms. Being based on a race concept, it reinforced the race segregation policy.

The colonial administrators and educators allowed those sports to diffuse to the Kenyans which they regarded as 'fit for natives', and these were mainly games. Many of the former had internalized the values expected from playing games, especially personality values, when they passed through the English Public School system; they were, furthermore, influenced by puritanism, and tried to live up to such ideals in the colony.

An important legitimization for the introduction of sports for Africans was their use as an instrument to instil discipline and order. This thinking found expression in the movement patterns, especially in the form of drills. In educational institutional physical training was often synonymous with drills. These were order exercises such as marching and group gymnastics, all performed on command and in uniformity.

The colonial administrator also organized sports for the colonized in such a way as to deliberately break up such traditional social units as the clan; to achieve this objective, teams were formed on a regional basis. The colonialists thus used sport as an effective instrument of domination. Everything was done to reinforce an inferiority complex on the part of the colonized; even refereeing was for a long time a white prerogative. (Mahlmann, 1992))

The missionaries sought to suppress the African way of life insofar as the latter did not conform to western-Christian values, and to implant their own form of 'civilization'. According to Bale (1996:73) the missions had held 'sports days' at least as early as 1906. They featured rather light-hearted events such as climbing the greasy pole or obstacle and sack races illustrative for a culture of laughter. Such laughter was, however, constructed on a deadly serious ideological base and by the early 1920s the missions were organizing more formal and more serious looking events. Eventually standardized sports were practiced.

This endeavour was to have a strong impact on the traditional movement culture. They rejected rituals honouring the ancestors and those usually conducted before hunting, fishing and other types of communal work. They especially opposed initiation dances which, to them, simulated the sexual act. Their assault on these important social institutions and ritual symbols of traditional life led to changes in the movement culture. (Mahlmann, 1992)

According to Bale the bureaucratization of Kenyan Athletics was initiated by the colony's first director of education. In 1924 he suggested that an African native sports association should be formed. Because Kenyan sport was concentrated in the army, the police and the country's missionary schools a working party made up of prominent European members of the police, army, schools and the church met in Nairobi in that same year. The result was the formation of the Arab and African Sports Association (AASA). The first formal athletics meeting for non-Europeans to be held in Kenya under the auspices of the AASA took place in 1925 at the race course in Nairobi. In 1949 the AASA requested the government to appoint a Colony Sports Officer who could be responsible for the development of sports throughout the colony. The successful appointee was A.E. Evans who developed a well-organized system of athletic competitions, organized on a typically modern principle, that of a hierarchical arrangement of competitions at the local, divisional, district, provincial, national and inter-territorial levels. It was Evans who was to initiate the formation of the Kenyan AAA, which precedes today's AK (Athletics Kenya). The Kenyan AAA (Kenya Amateur Athletic Association) was formed in 1951. With a national governing body, competition could now

take place between the Europeans, Asians, Africans and Arabs for the first time. Kenya's acceptance of achievement oriented athletics meant that modern sport had formally replaced the traditional folk-games of tribal Kenyan society. This constituted the beginning of the modernization of Kenyan athletics. (Bale, 1996:77)

4.2.3 Movement culture and modern sports in independent Kenya

The emergence of modern sports, in Kenya overlapped with the decline in Kenyan folk-games. This period of overlap extended from the end of the nineteenth century to the mid-1960s. By then Kenya was becoming highly visible on the world stage of achievement sport. This section is divided in two parts. The first part pays attention to modern sport in Kenya today and the second part will discuss the remains of Kenya's traditional movement culture.

Modern sports today

After Kenya's independence in 1963 the organizational structures of sport established during colonial times were retained, and sport became more institutionalized, differentiated and specialized. (Mahlmann, 1992)

Bale speaks of a 'cultural shift' that had taken place: *'Running was common in traditional Kenyan society and much of it made practical sense. But the subsequent adoption of a particular part of running made an entirely different kind of sense'*. (Bale 1996:63) Bale stated that this cultural shift can be explained through the idea of 'invented traditions'. An example can illustrate this. The coastal town of Kenya, Mombassa, hosted the 35th International Association of Athletics Federation (IAAF) World Cross Country championships on Saturday in March 24, 2007. Mombassa, which was selected from a pool of cities across the world, became the third African city to host the annual event. The slogan of this event was *'Cross country comes home'*. I've we consider the fact that cross country running as a sport is invented by the British this slogan is remarkable. On the website of the event is explained that:

*'Indeed a great tradition of excellence, especially in the world cross-country, is the tag associated with Kenya. And so, Mombassa welcomes you to come and share an absolute Kenyan experience, the opportunity to witness the giants exhibit a spectacular show, and this time, right in their homeland.'*⁴

The organization of the cross country championships in Mombassa and the use of slogans like *'Cross country comes home'* can be interpreted as an attempt to display athletics as a part of Kenya's culture and identity, so that athletic success can contribute to the national identity.

More about modern sport today in Kenya can be found in the next paragraph. In the next paragraph discussing the 'growth' of athletics within Kenyan culture, I will pay attention to the penetration of athletics in regions, social groups and classes (especially gender) and the Kenyan economy, which is strongly related to this paragraph in which the transition of the traditional movement culture to modern sport in Kenya is explained. Also the chapter discussing aspects of the Athletic system in Kenya is relevant in this context.

The remains of traditional movement culture today

According to Bale (1996) the political independence for Kenya did not involve a 'decolonization of the body' and little has been done to revive the nation's traditional folk games. School students today perceive traditional dances to be less attractive than modern sports. But although the centimetre-gram-second model of Olympic sport was readily adopted

⁴ Homepage Mombasa Cross Country Championships (<http://www.mombasa07.co.ke/>), 20-5-2007

in Kenya it does not mean that folk-games have totally disappeared. Instead they have tended to become museumized or, in exceptional cases, quasi-sportised.

Some empirical prove for Bale's statement that the traditional movement culture has become museumized can be found in the fact that in Iten, where I did my research, I didn't see any traces of traditional movement culture. All Kenyans I've spoken to, had a strong Christian faith, which is imported from Europe. In my observation everybody went to church on Sundays. I've attended church services myself, in which there was a lot of dancing and singing, but it was all about Jesus and the bible. Also the athletes I've spoken to didn't use any traditional rituals but prayed to (the Christian) God for good results. The only time that I saw traces of the traditional movement culture it was on television. It was a traditional dance performed in Kenyatta Stadium during the celebration of Kenyan Independence and I interpreted it as an expression of Kenya's cultural identity, that had to symbolize Kenya's 'own-ness' and independence. Men and women were dancing in a non-Western, African style, in traditional clothes and to traditional music. Also I read in travel guides that in some areas traditional dances are performed to entertain the tourists. I think this indicates that Bale's statement about Kenya's traditional movement culture becoming museumised is correct.

4.3 The 'growth' of athletics as a part of Kenya's culture

In the theoretical framework of this thesis I explained that one of the two main concepts within the modernization approach is 'economic growth'. Also I explained how this concept can be applied to the field of sport. In this paragraph I will test the 'growth concept' in the case of athletics within the context of Kenya's culture. My main objective is to find out whether athletics, which is, as we saw in the previous paragraph, a relatively new phenomenon in Kenya, has been 'growing' as an 'institute' within Kenya's culture. To do this I will look in the first section at how athletics is perceived as a part of Kenya's culture within Kenya and in other countries. In the following sections I will explain how athletics has penetrated the Kenyan nation (as far as we can speak of one Kenyan nation) regionally, in gender, and economically.

4.3.1 The perception of Kenyan athletics

In this section I'll try to explain how athletics have been 'growing' as an 'institute' within Kenya's culture. I'll do this by discussing the perception of Kenyan athletics in Kenya and abroad.

The perception of Athletics in Kenya

We should not overstate the significance of athletics to Kenyans. Athletics is by no means the most popular sport in Kenya. In this respect it is far outstripped by football. Team games are being strongly favoured by students in the nation's schools. (Bale, 1996)

To illustrate these remarks by Bale I'll refer to the districts championships which are annually held all over Kenya.. I visited the Kipchoge stadium in Eldoret, Rift Valley, on the second of June 2007, to observe these championships, which took place that day. Although there were a lot of athletes competing, it struck me that there was hardly any audience. This is remarkable, while the Rift Valley is the province in Kenya where people are the most interested in athletics, as I will explain in the next section.

When I spoke to people about athletics, in other places which I visited in Kenya, I was surprised by their ignorance about athletics. They were aware that Kenya was a successful running country but sometimes they hardly knew any of Kenya's famous athletes. Often, their knowledge was limited to Paul Tergat, who is on the posters of Nakumatt, a store chain in Kenya. Also some of them knew Lornah Kiplagat, but she just had won the Mombassa cross

country championships, which was a big event for Kenyan standards. The athletes I spoke to sometimes complained about lack of interest for athletics in Kenya. For example, Philip Sengoei, a runner from the Rift Valley, complained about AK: *'they do the trials somewhere where the people are not interested, like in Nairobi'*. But there were also athletes who were saying that this situation was improving.

In contrast, the inhabitants of Kenya are crazy about European, especially British, soccer. The *'matatus'*, these are little busses which are the main form of public transport, are named after European football clubs, like Arsenal, Liverpool and Chelsea or soccer players. Thierry Henri, David Beckham or Didier Drogba are absolute stars in Kenya.

The perception of Kenyan Athletics abroad

International visibility is important, because it can contribute to attitudes and behaviour in relation to a country. This can help to attract for example tourists or business deals. Especially in nations for whom prominence in events of global newsworthiness are few and far between, like Kenya, it is crucial to get some positive exposure. In the global media the countries of Africa are all too often associated with negative images like drought, war, disease, famine, or natural disasters. National success in sport can create a more positive image and is therefore highly priced.

The images which African countries have in the occidental world are generally communicated through their most visible representatives. In the case of South-Africa for example this is a politician: Nelson Mandela. In Kenya's case its most visible representatives in the global arena tend to be athletes. Athletes do not represent themselves in major sporting festivals such as the Olympics; they are officially selected by national committees and parade in national colours and other means of national identification. If they achieve the status of an Olympic medallist, their national flags and anthems are projected for the rest of the world. It is through runners that the country is most well known overseas. Because Kenyan athletes have a clean image – they are not, to any significant extent, associated with drug scandals – they give Kenya a positive image.

In this section I will answer the question 'How visible internationally is Kenyan athletics?' by referring to two (rather unscientific) surveys discussed by Bale. In the next chapter I will try to make clear how big the 'athletic output' of Kenya is compared to other countries in Africa and in the rest of the world.

The first survey, discussed by Bale, was used in Finland in 1994 and included 25 students of sport who were asked to write down the words that came into their heads when Kenya was mentioned. Sixty-seven per cent mentioned 'running'. This was slightly more than the percentage identifying Brazil with football and twice as many as that associating Sweden with ice hockey. To this result I want to add that we must take into account, that Finland is a country which also has a big tradition in running.

The second survey involved 33 British geography students. Of these only 9 percent associated Kenya with running, though 45 per cent linked Brazil with football. Bale concludes therefore, that Kenya is highly visible as an athletics nation among those members of the public with a serious interest in sports but not so among the broader public. For them Brazil has a much stronger image of football while Kenya's running image is rather weak.

To conclude this section I want to mention one more strong indicator which illustrates that Kenya is associated with running. Several worldwide travel agencies organize running holidays, or running safaris as they often call them, to Kenya. These organizations use slogans like *'Training with Kenya's elite runners'* or *'Running with the champions in Kenya'*. Since they are advertising in magazines like *'Runner's world'*, I conclude that they have the large population of running fanatics as a target group.

4.3.2 The regional penetration of athletics in Kenya

The geographical origins of Kenyan athletes are not evenly distributed across the country, nor are they randomly distributed. There are, in fact, areas which overproduce and others which under produce athletes, compared to the national average. In the case of athletics we have evidence to show that it is not Kenya which should be regarded as the principal geographic unit of 'production' of superior athletes in east Africa but a particular region of Kenya, namely the Rift Valley Province. Although not *all* of Kenya's superior athletes come from this province, a very large proportion certainly do. In effect, one could say that Kenya's positive athletic image is obtained by the athletes from one region. (Bale, 1996)

The 'Rift Valley', is a multipurpose geographical term and it requires some explanation. Depending on the context, Rift Valley can mean any of several things:

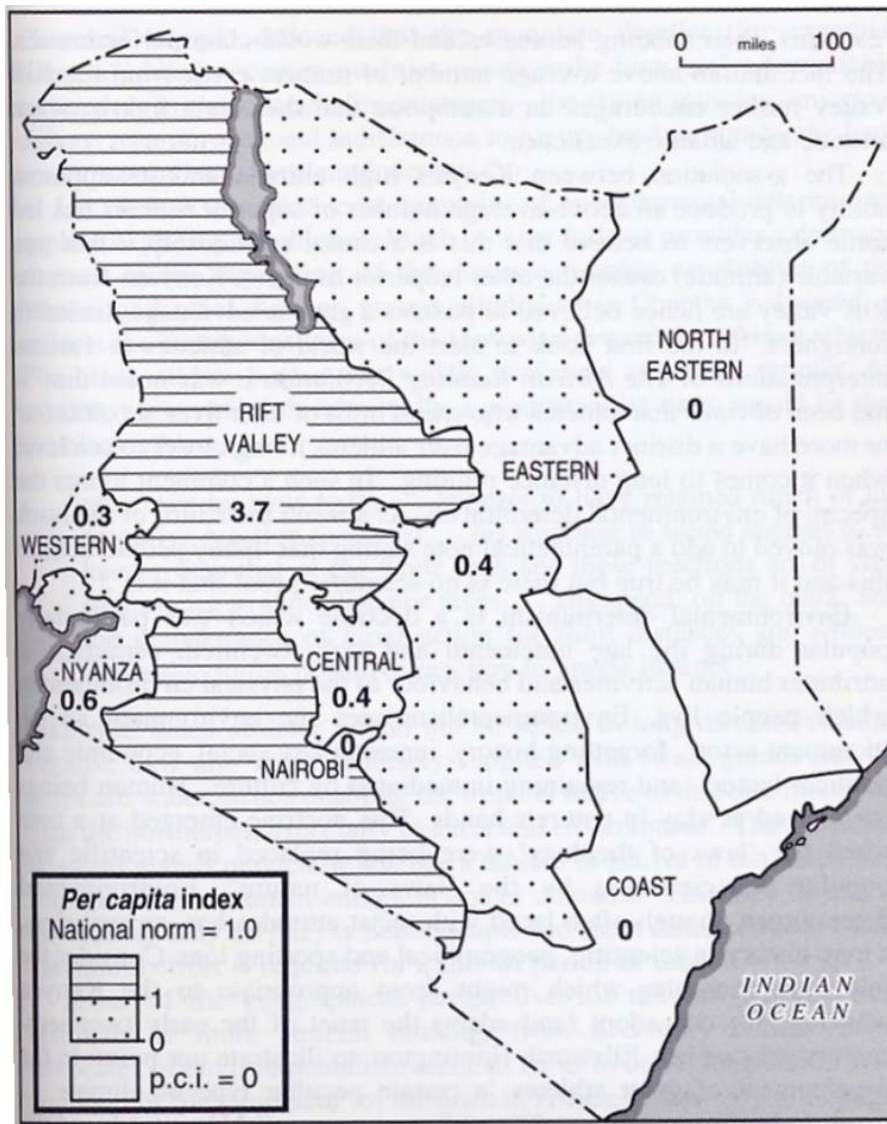
- The Rift Valley is a geological formation, a massive gash in the earth's crust that runs from the Dead Sea down through eastern Africa to Mozambique. It cuts right through Kenya, north-to-south, geologically splitting off the Western third of the country. In its most populous part, it's about 30 miles wide, bordered on either side by steep escarpments that rise 2,000 feet or more.
- Rift Valley Province is the largest of Kenya's administrative regions in both area and population. The province includes practically all of the actual valley, but it also takes in a great deal of territory on either side.
- Rift Valley is increasingly used as a euphemism for the Kalenjin. Few Kalenjin live in the actual valley – most are spread out along its western rim and as much as 70 miles west of that – but the provincial boundary was drawn and redrawn, first by the British and later at the time of Independence, to include almost all of the tribe's territory. The Kalenjin now constitute close to half the province's population.
- Finally, when a runner speaks of the Rift Valley as a place, he's generally referring neither to the actual valley nor to the province, but rather to the Kalenjin homeland, a region of rolling green hills and red dirt cow paths lying at altitudes of between 6,000 and 8,000 feet.⁵

From the interviews and the informal conversations I had with key persons and athletes, it became clear to me that the participation in athletics is the highest in the Rift Valley, and that in many other regions there isn't hardly any interest for athletics. According to Edgar de Veer, who is an athlete manager at Global Sports Communication in Nijmegen, is the Rift Valley the place in Kenya where athletics and athletes are the most common. He told me that if I wanted to research athletics I had to be there. According to Pieter Langerhorst Eldoret, the capital of the Rift Valley, is known as the 'runner's capital of the world'.

In the literature are no statistical data to be found about the regional differences in participation in athletics. Though, one can find data about the provincial differentiation between the per capita 'production' of superior Kenyan runners, which can, to a certain extent, be used as an indicator for the participation or penetration of Kenyan athletics in different regions. The next table and matching figure, which make the provincial difference in the output of superior runners (ranked in the top-100 of Africa in their respective events) within Kenya clear, are extracted from Bale:

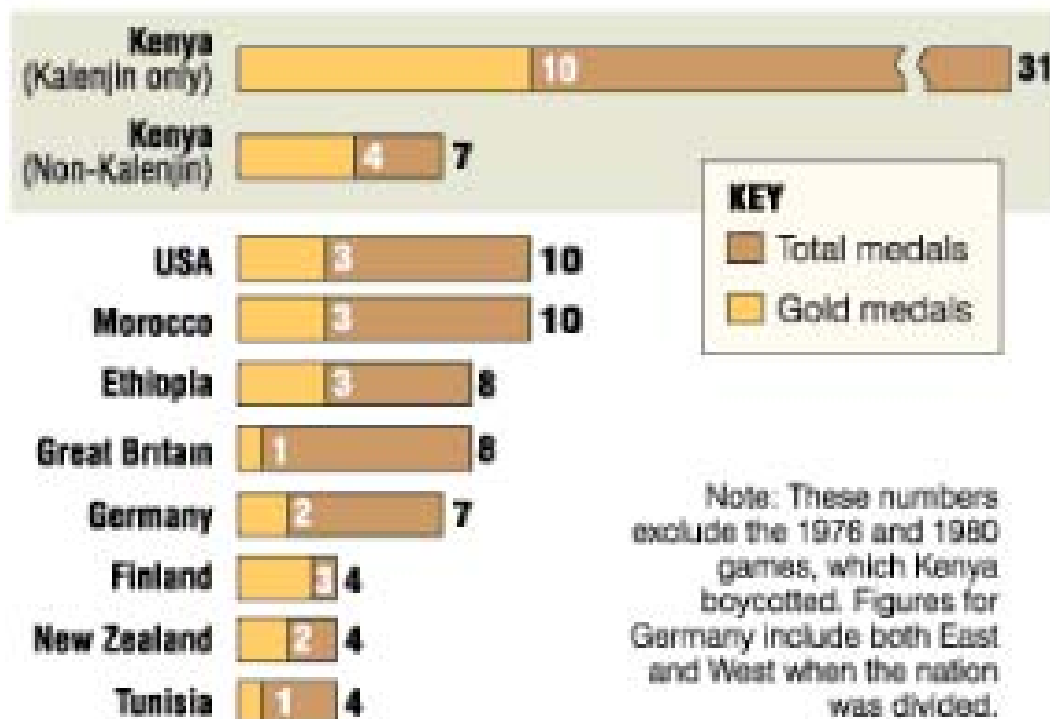
⁵ <http://www.kenyarunners.com>, 22-04-2007

Province	Number of runners	Per capita index
Rift Valley	141	3.7
Nyanza	23	0.6
Central	13	0.4
Eastern	12	0.4
Western	8	0.1
North Eastern	0	0
Nairobi	0	0
Coast	0	0
Kenya	197	1.0



Per capita 'production' of superior Kenyan runners at the provincial level, Kenya, 1991. (Bale, 1996:141)

The participation in athletics in the Rift Valley can be explained by the early sport success of runners from the Rift Valley, mostly the Kalenjin people (among who the Nandi tribe, as I will refer to later, is superior). Many of the athletes I've spoken to, used former Kenyan top athletes from the Rift Valley as an example. They told me their admiration for them was a reason to become an athlete. Benson Kipnaibei states: *'...when I was in school I saw Kipchoge Keino and others and then I wanted to be like those people.'* Samson Chebii states: *'When I was young I liked running, running. I was herding. When I saw Paul Tergat, he was a runner for Kenya, who retired now, I thought I want to be like him.'* Kipchoge Keino and Paul Tergat are both famous former runners from the Rift Valley. Also Bale points at social psychological factors which could explain the enthusiasm for athletics by the Rift Valley inhabitants, especially the Nandi, by referring to the imitative effect of role models on young boys (and later girls, as I will discuss in the next section). He explains how the first Nandi athlete, Kiptalam Keter, who dominated Kenyan half-mile running from 1949 to 1962 inspired Kipchoge Keino, who in his turn inspired others and so on, till running became an invented Nandi tradition. The graph below shows the amount of medals won by the Kalenjin people (among who the successful Nandi tribe), in comparison with other states.



Top winners of Olympic medals in men's track events 800 to 10.000 metres, 1964-2000 (Manners, 1997)

The success of athletes from the Rift Valley, which will be more outlined in the next chapter, where Kenya's 'athletic output' will be discussed, is a topic which has drawn attention from many scholars. I will now summarize some of their conclusions.

- Because of the high altitude of the region, there is less oxygen in the air. In such circumstances the human body tends to adapt itself by increasing the production of red blood cells, which makes the blood capable to absorb more oxygen. Because of this capability the body is able to perform better when it moves to a lower altitude. Besides that the climate on high altitudes is cool, which is good for running. (Manners, 1997)

- The Rift Valley has, next to the ‘*tarmac roads*’ (asphalt), a dense net of ‘dirt roads’, which consists of a kind of red soil with springy qualities. Running on these dirt roads is more injury preventive.⁶
- The lifestyle of the people from the Rift Valley; a diet of ‘complex carbo hydrates’ (‘*ugali*’ which is cornmeal mush) and the herding of cattle which produces a culture of running (with children running to school over long distances as example). This culture of running might have caused a significant shift in a group's genetic makeup (slim and long legged) over the course of a few centuries. (Manners, 1997)
- Poverty limits people choice to do other sports. For running not much equipment is needed. (Manners, 1997)
- Within the Kalinjin, the Nandi are arguably the group in present-day Kenya which has the greatest tradition of individualism and competitiveness. (Bale, 1996)

Manner decreases the influence of the factors by stating that there are more regions in the world with the same conditions that are not successful in athletics. Although all of these factors might contribute in a certain extend to the success of the runners from the Rift Valley, I agree with Bale’s conclusion which states that ‘*in athletics it is culture not biology, attitude not altitude, nurture not nature, which are the crucial variables which explain individual athletic success in the rationalized and regulated world of achievement sport*’. (Bale 1996: 156)

4.3.3 The penetration of gender in Kenyan athletics

In the paragraph discussing the transition from movement culture to modern sport in Kenya I described the physical activities of women in the traditional society of Kenya. These activities were mainly restricted to those connected with securing food (e.g. communal work in the ‘*shamba*’, which is a little farm). If they had a chance to express themselves through movement, then they rather participated in rhythmical dance than in direct competitions, often preferred by their male counterparts.

After the introduction of modern athletics by the British, this situation didn’t really change in Kenya. Until recently, women have only watched from the sidelines as men competed. Although the role of women in sports is increasing, as I will show later, at this moment it is still lacking behind. If we take the production of world class athletes as an indicator for sports participation, the next figure shows data from which we can conclude that this counts for the whole world, but the difference between men and women is nowhere as big as in Africa.

⁶ <http://www.lornah.com/>, 05-05-2007

Continent	Absolute output			Per capita output		
	Overall	Men	Women	Overall	Men	Women
Oceania	85	42	43	6.53	6.00	7.16
Europe	1851	945	906	3.59	3.52	3.79
America	1027	618	409	2.47	2.80	2.21
Africa	303	218	95	1.06	1.52	0.84
Asia	297	117	180	0.20	0.14	0.28
World	3563	1940	1623	1.00	1.00	1.00

Continental variations in the production of world class athletes, 1992 (Bale, 1996:26)

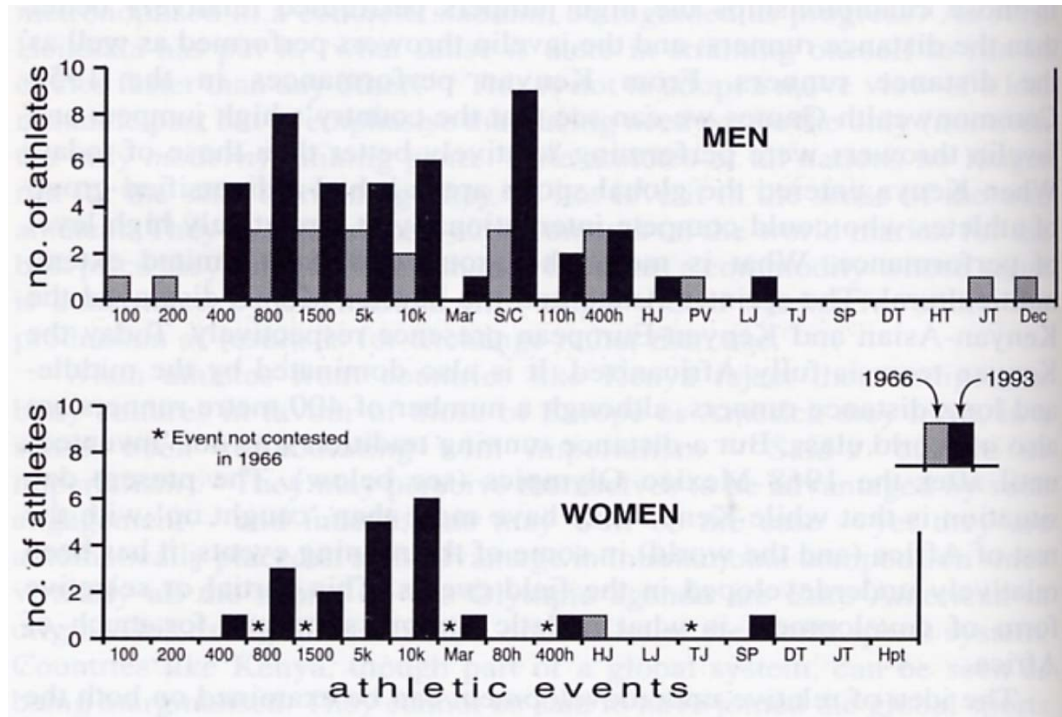
I will now explain this difference within the case of Kenya. Traditionally, Kenyan women are expected to get married and have children at a young age. A girl's parents receive a dowry of cows when their daughter marries; after marriage, women tend crops, fetch water and firewood, cook, clean, and raise children. During my research in Iten I stayed in the High Altitude Training Camp founded by Lornah Kiplagat, a Kenyan female world champion and Olympic gold medallist. Usually I was having dinner with her and her (Dutch) husband. According to Lornah Kiplagat Kenya is run by women. Kenyans are farmers, which means planting maize, planting wheat, milking the cows, getting the milk sold to cooperatives. But the women have to take care of all these things. In the morning, at 6 or at 5, they wake up and make sure the cows have been milked, and the milk taken to the cooperative. They have to make sure the dishes are clean, the house is clean, have to take care of the cows, the food, they have to take care that the maize gets fertilizers and when it's planting time, they have to plant. When it's harvesting time, they have to harvest. They have to take care that the lunch is ready for the kids when they come back from school. In the afternoon, they have to take care of the cows again, because in Kenya you have to milk cows two times a day. So, it's not a man thing.

During my stay in Iten I visited St. Patrick's High School which was established in the late 1960s, by the St. Patrick Brothers from Ireland. St. Patrick's, a boys' boarding school, has seen more than 100 of its students become world-class athletes, among which many world- and Olympic champions. When I was there I spoke to Brother Colm O'Connell, who's the athletics coach and a retired headmaster he stated about woman in athletics:

'As they've seen some role models go ahead — Tegla Loroupe, Joyce Chepchumba, Lornah Kiplagat — as they've seen them make money, build houses, build camps, have farms, the parents are gradually beginning to realize, 'My daughter may be more valuable to me as an athlete than in the form of a dowry from her husband.' And education. More and more girls are gaining access to education, which is good. Also, more and more of them are going to the US on track scholarships. Also, of course, parents have more access to the media, so they see the Olympics, they see competitions from overseas, so that also helps them.'

There are no data available of the total participation of women in sports in Kenya. Though, there are some data available on the production of world class athletes, which we can be used as an indicator, to a certain extend. Today, a few Kenyan women are winning surprising victories in international track and field. Kenyan women hold five of the top ten fastest recorded times in the marathon and three of the top ten (nine of the top twenty) in the half marathon. Besides that Kenyan women hold world records in the 20 km, 25 km and 30 km

track races.⁷ When we compare the Kenyan composition of the all-time world top ten athletes at the African level, as in 1966 and in 1993, we see a remarkable change, which leads to the conclusion that Kenyan female running is upcoming. A conclusion which is affirmed by my observations in Iten.



Changing Kenyan composition of the all-time world top ten athletes, as in 1966 and in 1993 (Bale, 1996: 172)

Lornah Kiplagat and Tegla Loroupe are examples of Kenyan female champions who started foundations to improve the Kenyan society. This is a good illustration of successful female Kenyan runners who serve as role model to others, which will probably lead to a continuation of the growth of sports participation among woman in Kenya and helps to enlarge gender equality. Among the athletes I interviewed was one woman; Helena Kiprop, who was second in the marathon of Rotterdam and second in the marathon of Amsterdam. Helena was also inspired by Lornah Kiplagat. In paragraph 4.4, dealing with athletics as an instrument of empowerment in the context of Kenya's culture, I will again mention the awareness of Kenya's sport governing bodies of the potential of Kenya's women in athletics.

4.3.4 The economic penetration of athletics in Kenya

In this section I will shortly make some comments on the way athletics have penetrated Kenya's economy. The reason I won't go deeply into the subject here, is because a lot of the economical benefits from athletics are gained at the individual (athlete) level. The economical benefits on the individual level are discussed elsewhere in this thesis. Also in the next section, about empowerment through athletics within the context of Kenya's culture, and the chapter about Kenya's athletic system, economical issues will be discussed. This section will be limited to some reflections on the Kenyan sports industry, economical benefits from sports events and some other economical benefits.

⁷ <http://www.pbs.org/frontlineworld/stories/kenya>, 10-06-2007

Industry and trade in sport goods

If Kenya is an important country in athletics and if the sport is popular in some regions of Kenya, than you could expect this to give rise to a certain sports industry or a trade in sport goods. To gain some information about this matter I asked the athletes in Iten about the presence of shops for running shoes in Kenya. Philip Sengoei replies to my question: *'You don't have. The reason is that the shoes are very expensive so even if you have a shoe shop over here nobody can afford to buy them.'* Elkanah Angweni responds to the same question: *'Yes, you have them but they are poor quality, the materials they use in the shoes, mostly.'* Peter Kwalia says: *'They are going to the market to taking this... In Kenya we calling them 'Mtumba' it means without brand.'* Another often heard way of getting shoes for local runners is to buy second hand shoes or to get them as a gift from a friend who's a professional athlete in Europe or America. I saw just one real sport shop in Eldoret, myself. The shop was indeed of a poor quality compared to European standards. In Nairobi I saw more shops and also better ones; the shoes in there were from Nike and Adidas and very expensive, when we take the average income of a Kenyan citizen into account.

In an attempt to map Kenya's industry Wangwe (1995) distinguishes one producer of sport goods in Kenya. Orbitsports was established in 1968 and is fully owned by four members of a Kenyan Asian family. At that time the domestic demand for sports items was rising rapidly, met largely by imports, yet leather was readily available and the skills needed to set up and operate such a firm were not prohibitively expensive. Leather production receives low protection domestically. Therefore only foreign subsidiaries, or those linked to export markets through subcontracting, were able to compete effectively. The technological threshold is one of the main factors limiting the entry of more firms. A major breakthrough for Orbitsports occurred in 1974 when it entered into a technical cooperation agreement with Adidas, the world's largest supplier of leather balls. The total employment is 352 persons.

In conclusion we can state that there is some sports industry in Kenya, but it is mainly producing for export. For Kenyans it's hard to buy sport goods because they can't afford them and, in relation to that, there isn't much offer.

Athletic events

In most underdeveloped countries the capital is the only city endowed with appropriate and well-maintained sport facilities. Apart from the Western dominance in the sports organising MNO's, this is one of the reasons why so few world sport events are located in Third World countries. Only six out of eighteen football World Cups have been organized in the most-advanced Latin American countries, no one in Africa, the Middle East, Central and South Asia. (Andreff, 2001).

This situation is also at present in Kenya where few international athletic events are being held. For the organization of road races in running, though, the amount of facilities needed is limited. In present Kenya the Mombassa cross country championships can be seen as an example of efforts being made to organize a race of international status in the country. A race like that gives the country some positive exposure, from which it can benefit economically.

Other economical benefits from athletics

Some other economical benefits, exclusive of those benefits related to individual athletes and the athletic system of Kenya, will now briefly be addressed to:

- Sports tourism – Several travel agencies organize running holidays, or running safaris, as they often call them, to Kenya. Training centres and hotels on a high

altitude, where elite or amateur athletes from Western countries can do a training stage, are on the rise.

- Broadcasting – TV broadcasting of sport events is a major rocket pad to economic globalization of sport. (Andreff, 2006). Kenya's broadcasting cooperations don't play a role in this process, apart from being a client for sports images (especially soccer) to the Western core of the global sports world.
- Sponsoring – According to Pieter Langerhorst Kenyan athletics is mainly being sponsored by Western sport brands like Nike, Adidas, Fila or Saucony. Especially with the athletes who get international exposure there aren't any national companies involved. This point will also be discussed in the next paragraph.

4.4 Dependency based criticism and alternatives

In the theoretical framework of this thesis I explained that the dependency theory emerged as a critique on modernization theory. Modernization theorists argue that the best way to generate a better future for the societies of pre-modern states is to focus on (economical) growth and transition towards modernity. Dependency theorists press alternative approaches forward. An example of such an approach is the 'liberation from dependency' or 'empowerment' concept, which I have described in the theoretical framework. In the first section of this paragraph I will describe processes in Kenya's athletic culture which can be criticized when we take the dependency theory into account. In the second section I will describe examples of the 'empowerment' concept within Kenya's athletic culture.

4.4.1 Criticism

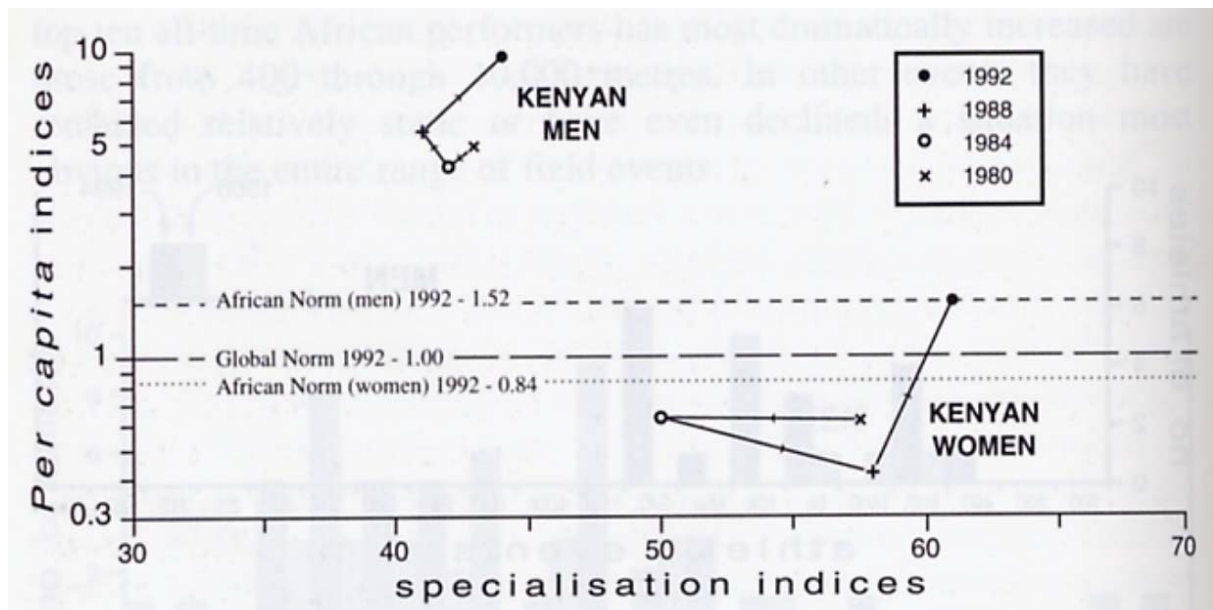
The last decades Kenya has become highly visible on the world stage of achievement sport. In the previous paragraph we have seen that a transition towards modern sport has been made and that there has been a growth of an athletic culture. Though, from the perspective of the dependency theory there are some points of criticism to be distracted from these findings.

The IAAF, the world governing body of athletics, can be viewed as being analogous to a multinational corporation with its headquarters in 'the West'. As an 'imperialising power' its intention is to colonise the world with more and more adherents to participation in serious sports. The erosion of regional cultures is explicit in its ambitions, its aim being to 'help remove cultural and traditional barriers to participation in athletics'; African culture is seen as something to 'remove' in order that Western forms of movement culture may take its place. (Bale, 1996:118) Kenyan indigenous movement culture has indeed been museumized. Sometimes a dance is performed for a group of tourist, but the real functions of it, are vanishing.

Although athletics is growing within Kenya's culture it's mainly practised in one region of the country, the Rift Valley. The rest of the country is relatively ignorant towards athletics. The penetration through gender is also making progress but the gap between male and female practising of sports is still very big. International athletic events organised in Kenya are rare. Although over the last twenty years, Kenyan athletes have won 101 of a possible 186 gold medals awarded in the Men's, Women's, and Junior cross country events, not one medal has been won on Kenyan soil. The organization of the cross country championships in Mombassa was the first time a global athletics event was held in Kenya. In the way athletics are organized or in the decision where in the world events are organized Kenya hardly has any decisive power or influence, also because Kenya doesn't have the economic power to organise big events.

When athletes from countries like Kenya reject their indigenous body cultures in favour of those of Europe or America they are automatically placed at a disadvantage in international competition since virtually all the sports on the Olympic agenda are Euro-American in origin. This exemplifies a hidden dimension of the world sports system. Countries like Kenya, though part of a global system, can be seen as being marginalized. Because no Kenyan (or African) body cultures are included in international athletic competitions Kenya is obviously disadvantaged in the very events in which the so-called developed countries already possess the greatest advantages. In athletics it is those events, which require the most expensive equipment and greatest technological and scientific support, like the high jump and javelin. Therefore some critical remarks can be made when one discusses the composition of Kenya's athletic output, which is diversified on an African scale, but very specialised on a global scale.

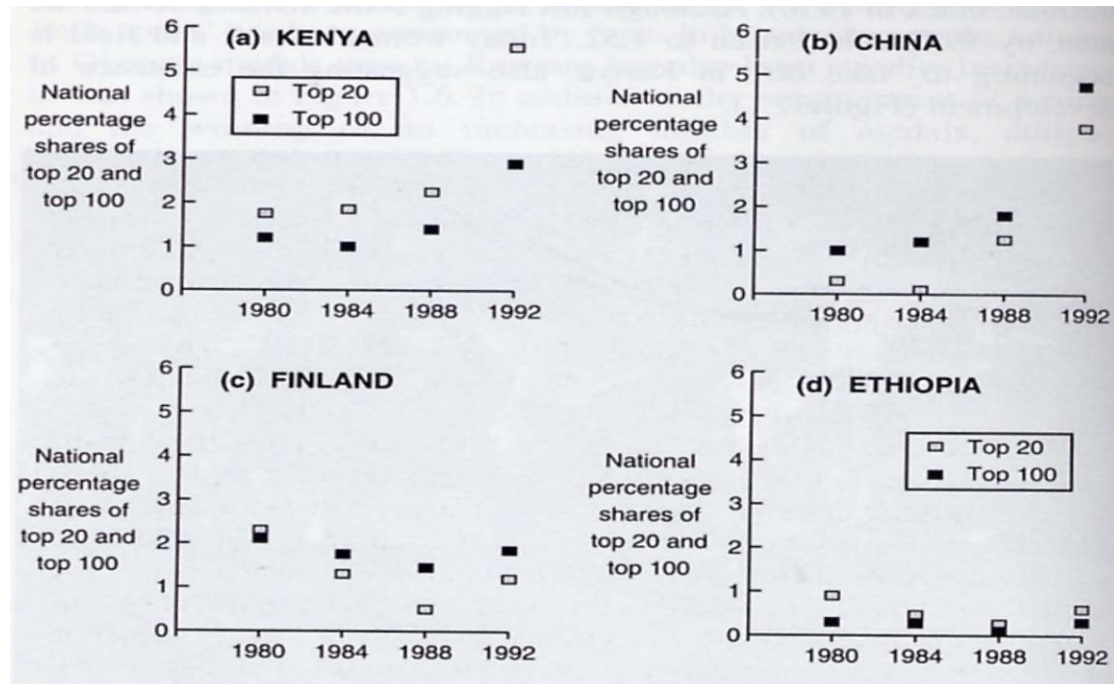
In the last decade, while showing an obvious increase in per capita output, there is little evidence that Kenya's per capita production has become anything but more specialised. The next figure shows the position of Kenyan athletics in two dimensional 'success space'. In the diagram, per capita and specialisation indices (based on the spread of athletic success over different athletic disciplines) are plotted on respective axes at four year intervals between 1980 and 1992. If countries are experiencing an athletic 'evolution' we would expect to see them moving upwards to the left in the graph. It is clear that is certainly not the case for either Kenya's men or women athletes.



Kenyan athletes in 'success space', 1980-1992.

Per capita output has been increasing but so too has the specialisation of that output. (Bale, 1996:173)

Also the differences between Kenya's percentage shares of the world's superior and elite athletes in 1980, 1984 and 1988 was not great. By 1992, however, its share of the world's elite was over 2.5 percentage points greater than its share of superior world output. The growing gap between the nation's share of world elite and superior athletes may indicate an inability of the Kenyan athletic system to produce a balanced output *within* events (that is, it appears relatively 'top heavy'). In China's case, for example, a more balanced output seems to exist. (Bale, 1996).



Kenyan (a), Chinese (b), Finnish (c), and Ethiopian (d) percentage shares of world output of elite (top 20) and superior (top 100) athletes in the world, 1980-92. (Bale, 1996: 166)

A last point of critique goes out to the fact that apart from individual earnings the country doesn't benefit from the achieved athletic successes. As I explained there aren't many big athletic events organised, but also there aren't any popular Kenyan sport brands. Dependency is seen in the necessary adoption by Kenya of products produced by Western firms. In athletics this is exemplified by the producers of athletic equipment, ranging from the athletic shoe to the more selectively adopted forms of equipment used in athletic events. Of the major footwear companies, Adidas and Puma are European-owned; Nike and Brooks are USA firms; Asics is a Japanese company. By adopting Western sports Kenya becomes dependent on Western goods and therefore feeds Western profits. So, apart from the individual level, athletic success doesn't lead to much employment in Kenya.

4.4.2 Alternatives

In the case of Kenya's athletic culture there are also examples seen, which are more in line with the concept of 'empowerment', as explained in the theoretical framework. The concept can be applied in different ways and I will now go deeper into two rather opposite examples.

A revival of Kenya's indigenous culture

Athletics is a movement culture brought to Kenya by the former colonizer. At this point, though, it's hard to resist against this situation even by the most fanatic critics of cultural imperialism; it's impossible to throw athletics out of Kenya. For the government there are empowering policy options, though.

A first example of the 'empowerment concept' is an attempt by the Kenyan government to liberate the state from an absolute dependency on a culture imposed by the former colonizer. This is done by enlarging the self-consciousness of the Kenyan nation and making the people aware of their own indigenous movement culture. An indication for an attempt by the government to prevent the traditional (movement) culture from disappearing,

can be found in the final draft of the Kenyan Youth Policy of 2005⁸ written by the Ministry of Gender, Sports, Culture & Social Services in which is explained that *'the youth in Kenya find themselves at a crossroads between the Western culture and the remnants of traditional culture. Kenya, therefore, faces the challenge of preserving our culture to be passed on to future generations.'* To help preserve and promote culture and art, the Ministry proposes strategies like the establishment of more cultural centres to promote material and non-material aspects of our culture; the establishment of community resource centres to provide information on culture; the facilitation of forums for adults and the youth to exchange ideas and views; the promotion and protection of local arts and culture, etcetera. (National Youth Policy Kenya)

Control over adopted athletic culture

Since it's impossible to throw athletics out of Kenya, Kenyan policy makers should recognize and take control over Kenya's athletic culture and prevent it from being dominated by other states. Athletics can be used in several ways as an instrument for empowerment within Kenya's culture.

The Kenyan government is becoming aware that sport is good way to communicate. To improve this communication it's important that events are organized. The Mombasa Cross Country Championships and the Nairobi Marathon are examples of big events held in Kenya. They were both used to communicate Kenyan identity, good values, etcetera to the people.

In this chapter I explained that in the first years of the modernization of Kenyan 'movement culture' in to Western sports this didn't lead to a big participation of woman in athletics. Last years this is changing, but female participation is still arrear. The Kenyan government is becoming aware of the potential of Kenyan women in society and start to see athletics as a means to empower them. Nowadays, there are Kenyan women runners who provide new opportunities for their families, changing the way women are perceived and pulling up the next generation of runners.

A special case is the example of Lornah Kiplagat. Her High Altitude Trainings Center, situated high above the Great Rift Valley, attracts European runners who want to get away from the stresses of everyday life and train at high altitude. They pay room and board, which subsidizes the Kenyan girls in the camp, who pay nothing. The Kenyan girls, meanwhile, get an unprecedented opportunity to divorce themselves from the daily struggle to help put food on their families' tables and a chance to hone their athletic abilities. During my stay in the HATC was Helena Kiprop among them. In my interview with her she talked about her successes in the marathons of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, how she was now living well of her earnings and how she even provided tickets for her husband Peter Lamuria, who himself is a runner, but less successful. For the girls in the HATC who fall short athletically, the camp provides skills or schooling that might prove useful in pursuing other careers. Lornah's investment in young women mirrors a phenomenon well known among experts working to improve living conditions in developing countries - that the best way to alleviate poverty is to target programs and direct financial resources to women.

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I've discussed athletics in the context of Kenya's culture. We have seen that the British colonizer introduced 'their' athletics to Kenya through prominent people, military officers, colonial administrators, missionaries and settlers and let it replace Kenya's

⁸Homepage Ministry of Gender, Sports, Culture & Social Services Kenya (<http://www.anppcan.org/new/resources/anppcan/national%20youth%20policy%20-%20kenya%202005.pdf>), 8-11-2007

indigenous movement culture, which was closely tied to daily life. After Kenya's independence in 1963 the organizational structures of modern sport, established during colonial times, were retained. In line with the strategy of modernization, one can state that in the field of athletics the transition to modernity is completed. Bale speaks of a 'cultural shift' that had taken place. We have also seen that after the political independence of Kenya little has been done to revive Kenya's traditional folk games. School students today perceive traditional dances to be less attractive than modern sports. Folk games have tended to become museumized or, in exceptional cases, quasi-sportised.

Still, we should not overstate the significance of athletics to Kenyans. Modernization theorists propose a strategy of 'growth' as the path towards a better athletic future. We must conclude that athletics is not full-grown in Kenya. Although in other countries Kenya is associated with running, athletics is by no means the most popular sport in Kenya. In this respect it is far outstripped by (European) football. It's mainly the Rift Valley, where the participation in athletics is high. This can be explained by the early sport success of runners from this region. Kenyan female running is still upcoming and also economically the benefits from athletics are rather small.

Dependency theorists might criticise the IAAF, the world governing body of athletics, as being an imperialising power with its headquarters in 'the West', trying to colonise the world with more and more adherents to participation in athletics. The disappointing result is that Kenyan athletics is only growing in those disciplines in which the athletes have a chance to win (price money) and in which it's affordable to start practising. These disciplines are all related to long distance running. Another point of critique goes out to the fact that apart from individual earnings the country doesn't benefit from the achieved athletic successes.

As an alternative to modernization (or as a different way of modernization) dependency theorists embrace the strategy of empowerment to improve a country's society. 'Empowerment' in relation to Kenyan athletics can be seen in attempts by the Kenyan government to liberate the state from an absolute dependency on a sport culture imposed by the former colonizer. This is done through the enlarging of the self-consciousness and 'own-ness' of the Kenyan nation by making the people aware of their indigenous movement culture. Another 'empowerment' strategy is to take control over Kenya's culture and prevent it from being dominated by Western countries. This can be done by communicating Kenyan historical successes in athletics in order to let it uplift the self esteem of the Kenyan nation (in this I will avoid the discussion about the fact that the idea of a 'Kenyan nation' is Western). As an example, I want to mention the slogan '*Cross country comes home*' which is referring to Kenya's dominance in this discipline and was used to promote the Mombasa Cross Country Championships. The attempt to organise more big athletic events in Kenya, can in itself be seen as an act to take control over the sport in own country, as the Kenyan government becomes aware that sport is useful to communicate certain values, like gender equality and aids prevention to society.

5. Kenya's athletic system and the role of 'the West'

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, which was the first empirical chapter, I've tried to test the three concepts, distracted from the theories presented in theoretical framework, to the field of athletics within the context of Kenya's culture. In this chapter, which is the second empirical chapter, I will test the three concepts again but now I will do this on the level of the national 'athletic system' (see 'sport system': page 15) in Kenya.

In the next paragraph, which deals with the transition concept, I will discuss the establishment of modern sports within the public administration of Kenya and describe Kenya's athletic system. I will go also deeper into the opinion of scholars, athletes and key persons about Kenya's athletic system. In the paragraph which applies the growth concept to Kenya's athletic system, I will use 'the growth of athletic success' as an indicator for that growth. In the final paragraph I will make some critical remarks, illustrated with some examples from the Kenyan case from a dependency perspective.

5.2 Transition towards a modern sports system

In the previous chapter, I explained how the movement culture of Kenya changed after the implementation of modern sports by the British colonizer. By mentioning the establishment of the KAAA (changed in AK in 2002) I already made some comments on the transition towards bureaucratization. In this section I want to go deeper into the subject of bureaucratization, by describing the establishment of modern sports within the public administration of Kenya. My analysis starts from the beginning of post-colonial period.

5.2.1 The establishment of modern sports within the public administration of Kenya

We have seen in the previous chapter that the British, who implemented modern sports in Kenya, also made a start with the bureaucratization of it, with the establishment of the Kenyan AAA as an example. Soon after independence, it was found necessary to establish an umbrella organization to co-ordinate and harmonize the already existing sports organizations. The Government therefore, established the Kenya National Sports Council (KNSC) in 1966 under the Society's Act as the supreme sporting authority to oversee the activities of the sporting organizations that had started coming in the country.

For many years, the Sports portfolio has been in several Ministries. At independence in 1963, sport was in the Ministry of Labour and Community Development. In 1966 Sports was moved to the Ministry of Co-operative Development before being moved, in 1979, to the Ministry of Culture and Social Services, where it stayed as a division within the Department of Social Services.⁹

As an additional measure of ensuring effective and efficient administration and management of sports, the Department of Sports was established in 1987 through a presidential statement, following the successful hosting of the 4th All Africa Games in Nairobi. It serves as a government arm in charge of sports in the country.¹⁰

In 1998, it was moved to the Ministry of Home Affairs, National Heritage, Culture and Social Services before being moved again to the Ministry of Home Affairs, Heritage and

⁹ <http://www.culture.go.ke/>, 19-06-2007

¹⁰ <http://www.culture.go.ke/>, 19-06-2007

Sports in the year 2000. In 2001 it was moved to the Ministry of Heritage & Sports and it is currently under the Ministry of Gender, Sports, Culture and Social Services.¹¹

5.2.2 Kenya's athletic system

In this section I will describe Kenya's national athletic system. I will start with the highest governing body, and continue from there with the lower governing bodies within the hierarchy of the system. I will conclude the section with some notes on the way the competitions are organised and some notes on the available facilities.

Public Administration of Sports in Kenya

The sporting community in general is not gaining enough money to finance its activities by way of membership fees and other financial contributions. Participation in sports, especially at the highest international level, is therefore heavily dependent on the government for financial support and promotion. The government has shouldered this responsibility as it recognises values which can be achieved through sports participation. This is evidenced in speeches by the political leadership in all the National Development Plans, each of which contains a chapter on sports development. The importance given to sports by the government is also shown in its public administration that has been elevated to a department within the Ministry of Gender, Sports, Culture & Social Services. (Mahlmann, 1994)

The Department of Sports is headed by a Commissioner for Sports. The headquarters' staff is assisted by field officers in the provinces and districts. The homepage of the department clearly spells out the objectives of the Department¹².

- I. Promotion and development of all sports in Kenya.
- II. Promotion of good management and fair play in sports.
- III. Advocacy for recognition of sports as an industry which provides an avenue for sportsmen/women to earn a living.
- IV. Encouragement and education of all Kenyans on the importance of participation of sports for good physical, mental emotional and social.
- V. Enhancement of national unity and promotion of international co-operation through sports medium.

The website also enlists how these objectives are elaborated in functional roles.

National sports policies and guidelines are formulated in the National Development Plans. For instance, in the 1970-1974 Development Plan, the following values derived from sports participation are mentioned: physical fitness, health, nation building, co-operation, capacity of Kenyans to excel and positive image abroad. In the 1979-1983 Development Plan, the promotion of sports for such marginal groups as rural dwellers, urban low-income earners and women was emphasized. (Mahlmann, 1994)

Kenya National Sports Council (KNSC)

In principle, the government acknowledges the self-administration of sports. However, the heavy financial reliance on the government of the various voluntary sports associations calls for an intermediate organisation between them and the Department of Sports. For this reason, the Kenya National Sports Council was instituted under the Society Act in 1966.

The KNSC has an executive committee which is partly appointed by the government from among its officers and partly elected by the member associations. Two full-time officers,

¹¹ <http://www.culture.go.ke/>, 19-06-2007

¹² <http://www.culture.go.ke/>, 19-06-2007

supporting staff and offices are provided by the Department of Sports. Its functions, according to the constitution, include:

- to advise the government on sports
- to encourage, develop and control sports at the national level;
- to formulate general sports policies;
- to act as a central body for co-ordinated representation to the government;
- to encourage and facilitate co-ordination and co-operation between national and international associations.

The council distributes the government subsidies to the various sports associations (around 60). The ever-increasing subsidies indicate the importance attached to sports by the government. It seems, however, that the subsidies are not distributed according to a fixed percentage but are annually negotiated depending on fixtures in the national and international calendar.

The connection between the government and the council in terms of finances and personnel allows the government a strong controlling say in the affairs of the member associations despite the proclaimed principle of voluntary self-administration of sports. The history of the Kenya Football Association, for example, is one of government inference by way of appointed caretaker committees. On the other hand, government interference is understandable because of the public money spent. (Mahlmann, 1994)

Associations: Athletics Kenya

Associations are registered either under the Society Act or the Company Act which govern their constitutions and regulate their legal existence. The national associations, like for example the Kenya Amateur Wrestling Association or the Kenya Cricket Association, are affiliated to the Kenya National Sports Council and international sporting bodies. (Mahlmann, 1994)

Athletics Kenya (AK) is the body governing Athletics in Kenya. It was known as Kenya Amateur Athletics Association (KAAA) until 2002. Athletics Kenya is a member of the IAAF and Confederation of African Athletics. AK, the body that administers athletics in Kenya, is responsible for, among other things, scheduling the athletics calendar, ensuring meets are carried out according to the International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF) standards, protecting Kenyan athletes by vetting foreign managers and agents, and selecting and training the teams that represent the country in international events.¹³

The executive committee is replicated in each of the fifteen provincial offices made of the eight administrative provinces, the large ones broken up in entities that have historically produced talented runners in sizable numbers. They are: South Rift, North Rift, Southern (South part of Eastern province), Eastern, South Nyanza, North Nyanza, Central, Western, Nairobi, Coast, North-Eastern, Public Universities, Armed Forces, Police and Prisons. There is a concerted effort to discover talent from all over the country, and in organizations with a culture of recruiting runners and nurturing them.

Clubs and Camps

Clubs can either be private or sponsored by institutions or companies. In athletics there are only two private clubs: Mfae (based in Nyahururu) and Kiptenden (based in Kericho). (Mahlmann, 1994). Since the introduction of professionalism into the sport, shoe companies set up various camps throughout the country and became a factor in the identification of talent.

¹³ <http://www.athleticskenya.com/>, 23-08-2007

There is, for example, a Fila camp, a Nike camp, an Adidas camp, et cetera. Also former athletes sometimes give rise to camps, like for example Kipchoge Keino (the Kip Keino High Performance Training Centre), Moses Tanui (Kaptagat Training Centre) and Lornah Kiplagat's High Altitude Training Centre, in which I stayed during my research. To join these camp athletes need to be selected.

The Military, Police and Prisons

According to Bale (1996:75), the Kenyan Military has played an important role in developing athletics. They have a tradition in Athletics, exemplified by the organisation over their own intern championships, that goes back to the beginning of the previous century.

Many Kenyan runners affiliate themselves with governmental organisations like Army, Prisons or Police, which provide livelihood as well as quality training. Among the athletes I interviewed Ebei Gilbert was working at the prisons and Elkanah Angweni was a police officer.

Schools

Athletics are common in schools, which are often established by missionaries or follow the example of missionary schools. Many schools have their own track, which is not a standardized track, but more a running course in the sand, sometimes around a field. According to Bale (1996:118) it has been alleged, that some schools have willingly accepted students of low academic calibre if they were good athletes, like in the United States. Many of the athletes I have interviewed discovered their talent in school.

During my stay in Iten I visited St. Patrick's High School which was established in the late 1960s, by the St. Patrick Brothers from Ireland. St. Patrick's, a boys' boarding school, has seen more than 100 of its students become world-class athletes, among which many world- and Olympic champions. When I spoke to Brother Colm O'Connell about the role of schools in athletics he told me that originally in Kenya, the identification and nurturing of talent was done largely by schools: the school system was very strong, very dynamic and very well supported. In the first years after O'Connell came to Kenya, school championships were a fantastic spectacle, because schools were competitive. There were five or six schools in Kenya that were producing loads of athletes. These athletes would go to the US on scholarship or into the armed forces. Now the camps by shoe companies have more or less taken over the identification and nurturing of talent.

Competition

There are two seasons: cross country from January to April, and track and field from early November to January. The process for organizing each season is the same. AK schedules five weekend meets during the track and field season and invites the fifteen provinces to bid for them. The provinces bid and five provinces win. These events will be held at least a week apart, sometimes as much as two weeks apart to give athletes a chance to recover. The events provide the stage for runners to show themselves and meet agents and managers. It also enables teams from different parts of the country to compete against each other and gauge their strengths and weaknesses.

AK then opens the calendar for the provinces, organizations and sponsors to co-ordinate events and submits them to complete the calendar. The AK curtain raiser race is open to everyone who can afford to go. Participants have to pay their own transportation and accommodation costs. Individual runners, groups from camps, organizations and universities will all attend bringing together athletes from the breadth of the spectrum. The same applies to the other four AK events held in different provinces during the season. In between the five AK meets are events organized by corporate sponsors such as banks and telecommunications

companies, usually open to all, and events restricted to geographical location and organization, that is races within the province or within the armed forces. The geographical races move from districts to provinces in a bracket that gets smaller as the best runners qualify. The armed forces and all districts will compete on the same day one week. Prisons, police and all administrative provinces will compete on one day the next week. The races are scheduled on the same day so that the same person is not running for Prisons and North Rift, giving the maximum number of people a chance to qualify.

This culminates in the national championship, where the team to represent the country in international competition is selected. Top Kenyan athletes usually attend this event, since those who skip it are likely to miss major championships as well. Since Kenyan runners mostly compete in Europe, national championships is the only event where local spectators can see them competing.¹⁴

Facilities

By observing Kenyan sport facilities during my stay in Kenya, it became clear to me that they are few and in a poor condition. The famous track of Iten, the Kamariny 'Stadium', where so many top athletes have trained, is made of dirt which turns in to sticky mud when it rains. Cows graze on the track, which is not completely levelled, and the spectator seats are demolished. The Kipchoge stadium in Eldoret, which I have visited, was slightly better, but still far from European standards.



The Kamariny Stadium in Iten



The Kipchoge Stadium in Eldoret

The interviews I had with the athletes from Iten and the conversations I had with some key figures in Kenyan athletics affirmed my observations about the sports facilities. Philip Sengoei, for example, states: *'If you see the tracks they are not good. There are only good stadiums like Nyayo in Nairobi but they are very far. There are some tracks here in the Rift Valley; three tracks. There should be more'*. Ebei Gilbert says about the sports facilities: *'Oh, they are very, very, very low. Very minimum. Now take for instance...maybe you don't find five gyms in Kenya...and tracks...training facilities are in a poor condition, they need to be rehabilitated.'*

In athletics international races are held on synthetic tracks. In the whole country of Kenya there are only two of them. They are both in Nairobi; the Nyayo National Stadium and

¹⁴ www.sportanddev.org/data/document/document/258.pdf, 25-08-2007

the Moi International Sports Centre. According to Mahlman (1994) they pose problems in terms of high maintenance costs.

5.2.3 Kenya's athletic system in the opinion of scholars, athletes and key persons

In the previous section I described Kenya's national athletic system. If one wants to find how a system is really functioning, though, one should examine the opinions of people who really depend on the system. This is what I will do in this section.

Despite this impressive institutional framework, the department of sports faces a number of problems. Firstly, funds continue to be scarce. Therefore the staging of international sports meetings is difficult because they are extremely costly as is travelling of national teams to major competitions which all take place outside the continent. The general insufficiency of funds poses also problems at the MISC and Nyayo Stadium complexes in terms of high maintenance costs. Currently, the facilities are underutilised, and the Department of Sport does not seem to have definite plans to change this situation. The inadequacy of funds means also that the sports component of the National Development Plans must be viewed cautiously as there is often a discrepancy between planning and implementation. (Mahlmann, 1994)

Secondly, there is still wastage of the available resources, and spending is often unsystematic and haphazard. The work-load of its officers, for instance, seems to be based on a job description only. Then there are cases of misappropriation of funds and bribery. There seems to be missing a general departmental policy which would lead to a more efficient use of available human and financial resources. Many of the Department's staff seem to have a rather low degree of professionalism (training, prestige, remuneration, etc.), which may have resulted in a low ideal-emotional relationship towards sports. This is aggravated by the notorious problems of nepotism. (Mahlmann, 1994)

The Kenya National Sports Council gives more financial support to internationally successful sports than to those which are less developed. It also seems that such support depends on how successfully representatives of associations lobby for their sport. In the past, this led to situations where more money was granted than needed. Although the KNSC has defined functions, there seems to be a discrepancy between the constitutional provisions and its practical activities. Ideally the KNSC should meet with each sports association and set yearly targets for each sports association, but it appears that its role has been reduced to fighting fires. They only step in when a controversy surfaces in one of the associations.¹⁵ Alternatively, the KNSC did not discipline associations for their insufficient accounting of funds received (e.g. KAAA in 1989). In fact, the KNSC seems not to have the means of controlling funds disbursed and the current laws, strangely enough, do not provide for indicting officials for the mismanagement of funds. (Mahlmann, 1994)

Athletics Kenya maintains a fairly decent website which attempts to give information about Kenyan athletes and AK activities. As AK accounts are audited and published on the website, this can be seen as an attempt to show transparency. But in the interviews with athletes and in the conversations with key persons of Kenyan athletics I heard a lot of criticism about the Kenyan sports system in general and about AK in particular. An often heard point of critique was the lack of support to upcoming athletes and the absence of a system to identify and nurture talent. Samson Chebii comments on the AK: *'They don't recognize local athletes until they become champion. But they don't know where or how far you come from. They are not supportive.'* Mukche Richard says: *'What I would say according to athletic Kenya is that they are only supporting strong athletes but coming athletes, the local athletes don't get much help. Many athletes are helping themselves when*

¹⁵ <http://www.kenyapage.net/sports/comments/kenya-associations.html>, 04-08-2007

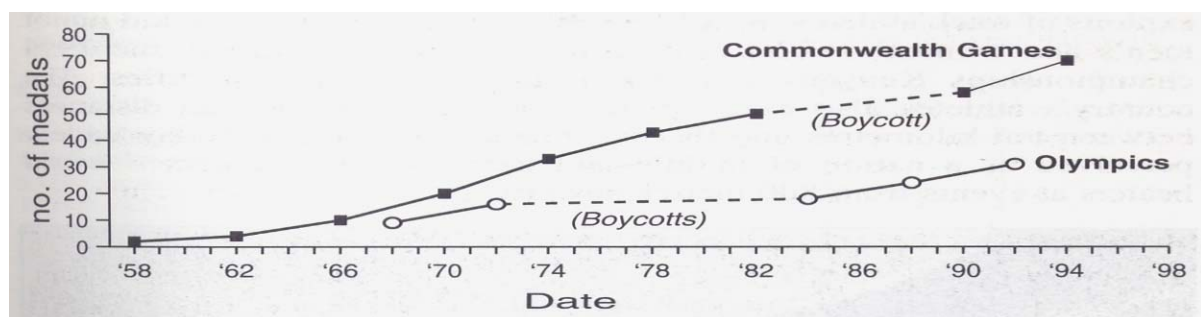
they are starting training, after they qualify for the trials that's the time AK is doing well for the athletes. I think they should help more.' Other mentioned points of critique in the interviews were; no or very little prize money in Kenyan races; races and trials in the wrong parts of the country, like Nairobi; and few and badly maintained facilities. Mahlmann (1994) remarks that the two stadiums in Nairobi are built in the wrong places, because they are too far from where the people live and too far from where the athletes come from. Pieter Langerhorst suspects the AK of corruption, as he told me that once sponsor Nike had sent a container of computers and shirts, which in some days were all gone without traces of a burglary.

There were also some athletes who didn't complain about AK. They were glad that AK organized races and gave papers to athletes, when they had to go to races abroad. When I mentioned this fact to Brother Colm O'Connell and to Rob Higley, an Australian trainer of some Olympic athletes from Kenya, they explained this as fear for AK, who can easily break an athlete's career, for example, in not cooperation in the application of travel documents.

5.3 The Growth of Kenya's athletic system

One of the two main concepts within the modernization approach is the 'growth concept', which I will test now within the context of Kenya's national athletic system. In the theoretical framework of this thesis I referred to scholars who argued that the success of a nation's athletes is a matter of the effectiveness and total resources of a country's whole '*national sports system*'. Therefore I will use 'the growth of athletic success' as an indicator for the growth of Kenya's national athletic system. In this paragraph I will make Kenya's athletic success clear by using several statistical figures, derived from Bale (1996).

Since the Kenyan team first came out in 1954 in the Commonwealth Games in Canada and the Olympics in Melbourne two years later, the country has rallied around sporting events. By the 1968 and 1972 Olympics, Kenyan athletes were winning gold medals and cementing the reputation of Kenyan running in the world, continuing athletic dominance in the successive decades, until present day.¹⁶ Kenya's rapid emergence has become legendary. A highly partial list of the great names of Kenyan athletes includes Kipchoge Keino, Ben Jipcho, Henry Rono, Mike Boit, Moses Tanui, Felix Limo, Paul Tergat and many, many more. I must explicitly, however, the fact that the overwhelming majority of Kenya's great athletes have been men. Last years, though, Kenyan female athletes are upcoming. The next figure shows the Cumulative frequency graphs of numbers of medals won by Kenyan athletes at the Commonwealth and Olympic Games



Cumulative frequency graphs of numbers of medals won by Kenyan athletes at the Commonwealth and Olympic Games.
(Bale, 1996: 13)

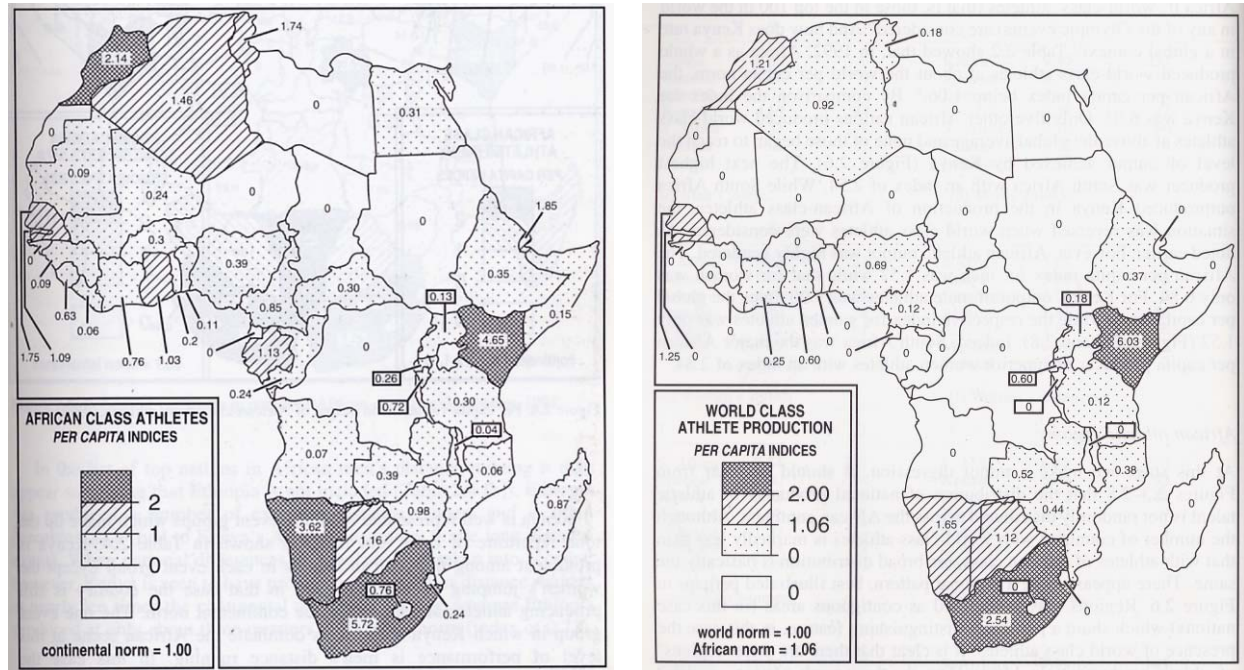
¹⁶ www.sportanddev.org/data/document/document/257.pdf, 05-09-2007

Kenya can be said to dominate the middle- and long-distance track races for decades. In the next figure the growth of this domination is shown.

Event	1964	1974	1984	1994	2007
800 metres	1	4	2	8	4
1.500 metres	1	2	1	4	6
5.000 metres	0	1	2	6	9
10.000 metres	0	2	3	4	12
steeplechase	0	2	2	11	7

Number of Kenyan runners in annual world top 20, 1964-94 at ten-year intervals. (Bale, 1996: 15). Data from 2007 are IAAF website.¹⁷

The next two figures show the geographical relative production of African-class athletes and world-class athletes within Africa, based on the number of rankings in the African and world ranking lists. It becomes clear that the production is not randomly distributed across the African continent. Kenya produces 4.65 times the average of African-class athletes and 6.03 times the average of world-class athletes.



Per capita variations in output of African-class athletes, 1993. (Bale, 1996: 29)

Per capita variations in output of world-class athletes, 1992. (Bale, 1996: 34)

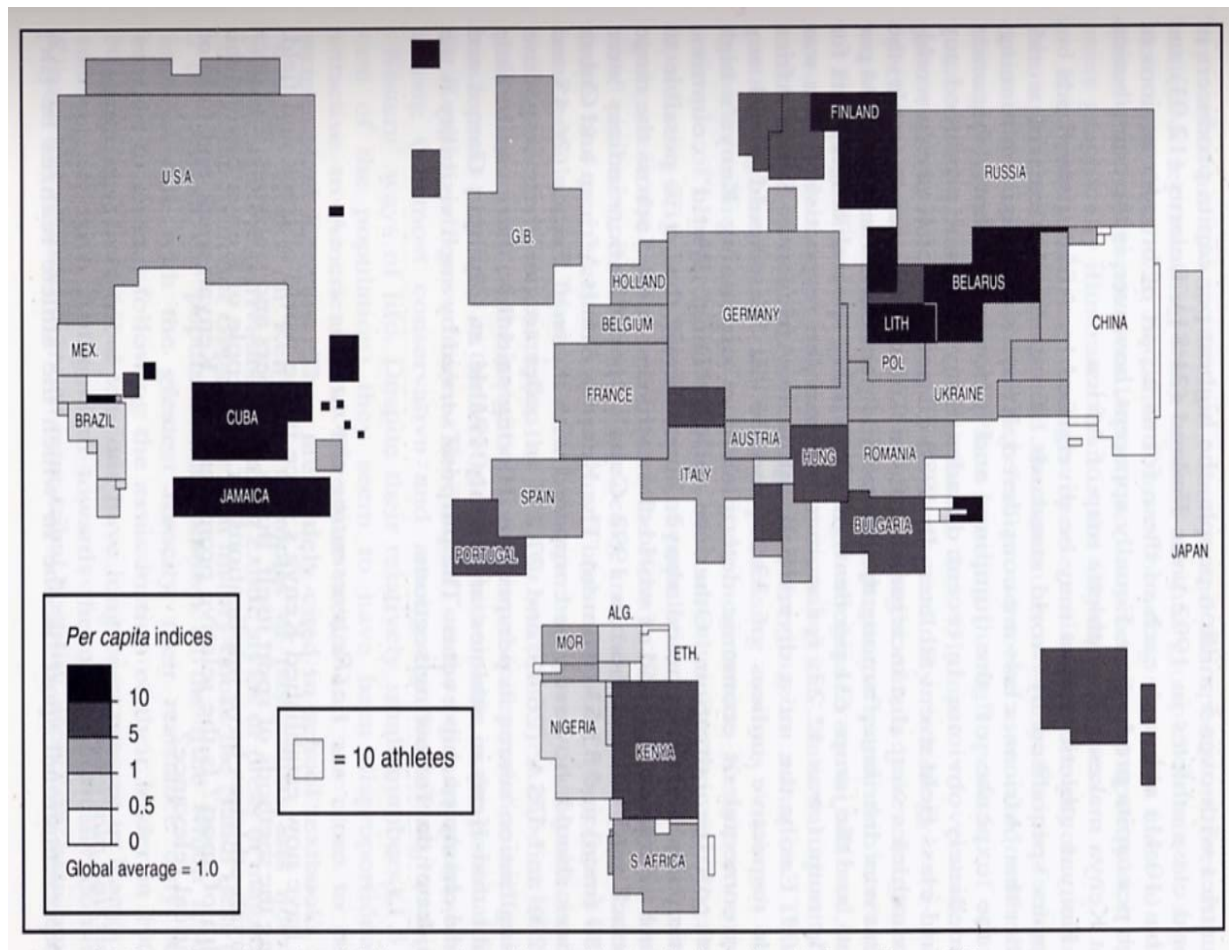
Kenya's relative development can be made clear by statistics which make Kenya's changing *share* of the world's athletic output more explicit. Here we can distinguish between national shares of the world total number of *superior* athletes (i.e. those ranked in the top 100 in the world in any Olympic athletic event) and national shares of the global number of *elite* athletes (that is, those in the top 20 in the world in any of the same events). Between 1980 and 1992 Kenya gradually increased its share of both superior and elite athletes. Next figure clearly

¹⁷ Homepage IAAF

(<http://www.iaaf.org/statistics/toplists/inout=O/ageGroup=N/season=2007/gender=W/discipline=3KSC/legal=A/index.html>), 09-12-2007

shows this process in comparison with some other countries. If one would make the same measurements over the last decade, the outcome would be heavily distorted, because several Kenyan top athletes chose to change their nationality (for example to Qatar or Bahrein). I will address to this situation later.

In order to place the African statistics in some kind of intercontinental perspective it might be worth noting that, at the peak of its international success, the former East Germany was producing superior athletes at 22.04 times the global average. Many countries continue to have a much higher level of per capita output than Kenya. Kenya *is* an impressive producer of world class athletes, but in the next figure its production is shown in its correct perspective. In the cartogram countries are drawn in proportion to the number of world class athletes they produced in 1992; the shading of each country indicates its per capita output. A comparison with a conventional map will show that some of the world's largest are insignificant or even absent in 'athletic space'. The imbalance in global production is immediately apparent. The world of 'athletic space' appears top-heavy; it is almost a surrogate of the more conventional economic 'north-south divide'.



Kenya in world athletic space. A world map of the 'production' of world-class athletes, 1992. (Bale, 1996: 37)

5.4 Dependency-based criticism and alternatives

Like I did in the previous chapter, I will use the last paragraph to display some ‘dependency-based’ criticism and alternatives to the modernization concepts, applied to the central subject, which was in this case of this chapter Kenya’s athletic system.

As I explained, is the success of a nation’s athletes in international competition a matter of the effectiveness and total resources of the whole *national sports system*. In the contention of Bale it is even the international or *global sports system*, which has to be taken into account, since ‘*The totalization process in sports has transcended national boundaries and today national sports output often results from the workings of global mechanisms and systems.*’

Since Kenya’s independency and the replacement of the English functionalists within the Kenyan athletic system, one could think that from that point on, Kenyan athletics would be independent and in control of their own future. Apart from the malfunctioning which has become clear from the opinions of scholars, athletes and key persons about Kenya’s athletic system and the lack of its democracy and financial power, the system isn’t able, although measures are being taken now, to bond Kenyan athletes to the country.

In the 1980’s many Kenyan athletes ran for Western scholarships. Today, earnings in sports have become bigger and more important to the athletes, which have become more professional. The motive of earning scholarships is replaced by the athletes’ tendency to change their Kenyan citizenship for a citizenship of a richer nation, to get financial rewards in return. (Bale, 1996)

The contemporary market oriented glamour dictates of global sports influence athletes’ patterns of training and loyalty to the ideals of nationalism and identity. The example of Kenyan born-Danish citizen, Wilson Kipketer was a starting point for other athletes to critically evaluate the discourses of nationalism, identity and culture in the development of sports as an economic alternative in Kenya.

Kipketer was born in Kapchemoiywo, Kenya, into the Kalenjin tribe. He was a talented runner. In 1990, Kipketer traveled to Denmark as a foreign exchange student, studying electronic engineering at the Copenhagen University. He liked Denmark so much that he applied for Danish citizenship. Kipketer competed for Denmark in the 1995 World Championships. It was there that he claimed his first World Championship title in the 800 metres. Many other successes would follow. Since Kipketer’s ‘defection’, Kenyan athletes have negotiated and ‘ran’ for citizenship in the Middle East, Europe and the United States. A trend which is strongly continuing. In recent years, a number of successful Kenyan athletes have gone to compete for oil-rich Gulf states in return for lucrative packages.

The trend of Kenyan athletes changing nationality has prompted Sports Minister Ochillo Ayacko to call for all defectors to be banned from training in Kenya. Kenyan President Mwai Kibaki has appealed to his country’s athletes to stop defecting to richer nations for financial rewards. The Kenyan government announces tough measures to limit the freedom of its citizens who change their nationalities and will blacklist athletes who defect to other countries. The move will see former Kenyans deal with the bureaucracy of entering their former motherland as foreigners, which include making an advance application from their adopted country two months before travel. Athletes can change their citizenship if they want but once they come back to Kenya they will be treated like a foreigner regardless of whether they are athletes or not. The government is concerned that defectors profit from the high altitude and get opportunities to train with local athletes in Kenyan camps and then compete against them.

At stake is whether athletes, athletics, sports policy and the governing bodies are witnessing an evolution or devolution in autonomy especially when citizenship changes

necessitate identity changes as is the case of the Qatar/Bahrain ‘defecting’ athletes. Therefore the image and perception of the athlete in Kenya today publicly pronounces the hidden relations of consumerism, power and generally illuminates global trends of modernity and the contradictory economic predicaments Africans face today. Athletics, its obsession and allure for economic empowerment (Marathons, World Championships, Golden League track events), unlike any other sport in Kenya has generated debatable contestations in the emergence of national identity. (Lukalo, 2005)

Although on the individual level athletes profit financially from the defections, the identity of the Kenyan state and the functioning of Kenya’s athletic system are at stake when their successful runners take another nationality (whereby, sometimes, they even have to change their Kenyan name). One could say that the long distance runners, Kenya’s pride, Kenya’s ‘exclusive products’ are bought away for amounts of money, which are big to the individual Kenyan, but are ‘peanuts’ to an oil state’s sports association. It feels as if the athletes have been stolen. While, as is usual in Western countries, former (top) athletes, should take up a function as trainer, coach, role model or spokesman in the athletic association. From the perspective of the Kenyan government it is therefore logical and advisable to take ‘empowering measures’ to prevent runners from defecting.

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I focussed on the national athletic system in Kenya. I started by discussing how the establishment of modern sports within the public administration of Kenya took place and how Kenya’s athletic system looks nowadays. Thereby I described the hierarchy of the Public Administration of Sports, Kenya National Sports Council (KNSC), the associations (Athletics Kenya included), the clubs and camps, the military, police and prisons, the schools, the competition and the facilities.

Although the organisation of athletics in Kenya seems solid, in the opinion of scholars, athletes and key persons, Kenya’s athletic system is functioning poorly. Despite the impressive institutional framework, the department of sports faces a number of problems: funds continue to be scarce, there’s wastage of the available resources, international successful sports are been given preferential treatment and support depends on how successfully representatives of associations lobby for their sport. Athletics Kenya gives a lack of support to upcoming athletes and has no system to identify and nurture talent.

We must conclude that a modern sports system has been established in Kenya but its functioning is unsatisfactory. Therefore, from the perspective of a modernization theorist, one can state that the transition towards modernity is unfinished and this problem needs to be solved in order to ensure growth of athletic output. Although there has been a growth in athletic output through the years, it has all been in a limited number of disciplines, probably caused by an enormous talent pool available in these disciplines. In other disciplines there is hardly any growth, so it seems that the Kenya’s sport system is not efficiently using available athletic talent.

Adherents of dependency theories outline threats like the athletes’ tendency to change their Kenyan citizenship for a citizenship of a richer nation. This threat reveals the dependent relationship in which Kenya is tied up, which eventually could marginalize Kenyan athletics. An example of a response that’s in line with the strategy of empowerment is the announcement of tough measures by the Kenyan government to limit the freedom of its citizens who change their nationalities and will blacklist athletes who defect to other countries.

I want to conclude this chapter by pointing at the twofold character of the problem of defection that is harming Kenya’s athletic system. On the one hand the defections provide the individual Kenyan athletes a high income, from which indirectly the whole Kenyan society is

benefiting, via remittances and investments. On the other hand the defections can lead to a marginalisation of Kenya's athletic success and damage Kenya's pride. It feels as if the athletes are being stolen. The effect of losing important athletes is probably bigger then it on first hand seems. As is usual in Western countries, former (top) athletes, with their knowledge and experience, take up a function as trainer, coach, role model or spokesman in the athletic association and thereby play an important role in the continuation of the system.

6. Kenyan athletes and the role of ‘the West’

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapters I have examined Kenya’s athletic culture and Kenya’s national athletic system, whereby I was especially interested in the role ‘the West’ is playing. In this chapter I will go deeper into Kenyan athletics using a third analytic level; namely the level of the individual athlete. Again I will first consider the concepts of transition and growth, derived from the modernisation theory, followed by the concept of empowerment, derived from dependency theory.

6.2 The transition towards a modern sports lifestyle

In the previous chapters I have explained how the transition of the movement culture in Kenya took place and how the sports system modernized. In this paragraph I will try to outline the changes that have occurred on the individual level, by looking at the lifestyle (see page 15) of the Kenyan athletes. In the first section I will discuss training methods, in the second section I will go deeper into the increased internationalisation of the lifestyle of Kenyan runners.

6.2.1 Towards professional training methods

In the pre-sports era of Kenya, in which there was a movement culture closely connected with the daily routine, training like we know it in ‘the West’, didn’t exist. Instead, movement patterns, like for example combatant games, were being practised. After the introduction of modern Western sports this changed. As I have described in the previous chapters modern sports were introduced in the missionary schools and the army. First as a form of physical education, but soon athletics events were being held, in which results were being recorded and quantified.

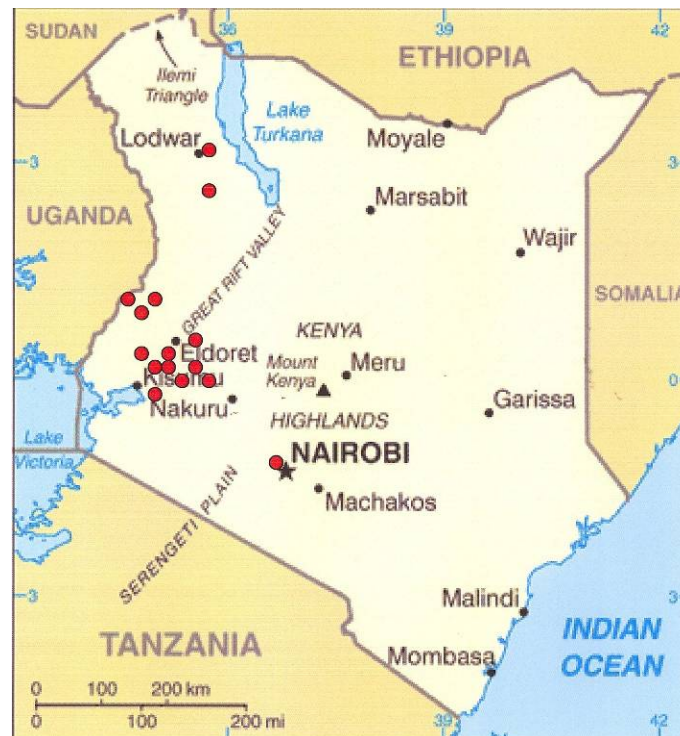
Kipchoge Keino, Kenya’s first famous athlete, whom I have spoken to shortly during my visit in Kenya, did not simply appear from out of nowhere when he made his initial major international appearance in 1962 at the age of 22. He had marked out his own rough running track as a boy and maintained quantitative records of his progress from the age of 15. His training regimen was methodical, not random. He constantly sought superior methods to improve his performance.

As Kipchoge Keino increasingly showed the potential to be a world-class athlete he was ordered by the police force to remain at the Police Training School at Kiganjo, which provided good facilities for training, rather than follow his own wish to become an ordinary policeman and return nearer to his home at Kapsabet. Having resigned himself to staying at Kiganjo he was given preferential treatment and was made a physical education instructor at the school. The prison service and the army have also assisted in providing athletes with sinecures in order to allow serious athletic training to take place. The fact that the majority of Kenyan runners in the 1960s had been indirectly subsidised by state agencies might be regarded as one of the key factors explaining their first successes. (Bale, 1996). I consider the possibility for talented Kenyan athletes to join the police force in order to have good conditions for training, as an early form of Kenyan professionalism, which is at present still common.

Having said this, Brother Colm O’Connell, athletics coach and retired head master of St. Patrick’s, a high school in Iten which brought about many successful runners, states that in the 1970’s, professional training methods and professional sports careers were in its infancy:

*'At that time, coaching was much simpler. The athletes that we were handling, we did not see them representing the country; there were no junior competitions at the time. Sport at that time was becoming prestigious in certain schools like St. Patrick's, like it might be now in certain U.S. colleges that are known for their sports. But now, in a sense, the sport is for representation of the country, the individual concerns. For many athletes at that time, they never went beyond doing it in school. There weren't so many opportunities, except for those who went to the US on track scholarships, or a few who might be absorbed into the forces, particularly the armed forces, to continue with their career. But it didn't have the same options; therefore, it was done at a much more low-key level. We are much more... I won't say professional, but at least more advanced in our approach. We know more about the sport, we know that a lot more athletes can take it up as a career, we know that many of them use it as a stepping stone to education and to track scholarships, so the opportunities are vast compared to what it was at that time. At that time, it was done almost purely for fun, and for the prestige and reputation of the school.'*¹⁸

Nowadays the facilities to train in Kenya are still poor. There are hardly any tracks, gyms and other equipment available. Some upcoming runners don't even have enough food sometimes, which is necessary for their hard training labour. But the natural environment is very suitable for running and from the moment the Kenyans became aware that one can earn good money in running many of them tried their luck and started to train seriously to become a top athlete. Most of the athletes move away from their homes to other places where the conditions to succeed are better. All of the athletes I interviewed in Iten were from other places. Though, most of them were from the Rift Valley, as the following map shows:



¹⁸ Interview by Scott Douglas (www.mensracing.com), 05-09-2007

The runners help each other out by forming groups. Nearly every Kenyan does nearly every run with at least one, and usually several other runners. Every runner I asked about the subject stated simply that she or he wouldn't be able to train as hard, when they would be forced to do so solo. These groups are formed in places which are known for their good training environment and for their rich history in 'producing' athletes. In these places the upcoming athletes hope to get the right contacts and they hope to be scouted by Western agents who, according to Pieter Langerhorst, visit these places regularly. Isaac Kiprop, Benson Kipnabei and Elkana Korir, for example, are upcoming athletes which I've interviewed. They come from various places in the country and move to Iten in the hope to start a professional career. They live together in a group of about eight people, with among them Mukche Richard, who has had his first international experiences and has won some money, which he also uses to support his training group and his family. Mukche who has the chance to train in Lornah Kiplagat's Training Centre advises his group on how to train. So, if one of the runners of a group gets successful or gets the possibility to join a professional training camp he helps the others out with equipment, food and, maybe more important, with information on good ways to train.

An integral part of achievement orientation is a willingness to work hard and to submit oneself to a rational training programme. The Kenyans train a lot, like professionals from Western countries do. When I was interviewing Elias Kiptum Maindi, for example, he stated that *'When I almost have to compete I'm training three times a day. At six in the morning and from 10 to 11 o'clock in the morning and then at four in the evening. That is one month before a race. But when I have two or three months to go I train two times a day. So I wake up in the morning at six run till seven then I have a shower and breakfast and I have an easy run in the evening.'* All of the athletes I've spoken to train usually two times a day, unless their schedule tells them to take more rest, when a race is coming up. The schedule of their races is usually planned in consultation with their manager. These managers are practically always from Western countries because only they can afford the tickets and have the right contacts. In Bale (1996: 157) an example of a week's pre-season training program is displayed:

	A.M.	P.M.
MON.	17-18 km in approx 80 minutes.	9 km high speed. 15 x 200 m hill work.
TUE.	10 km fartlek*, high speed.	Approx. 15 km in 60 minutes.
WED.	20 km easy regeneration. 20 minutes flexibility.	8 km easy running.
THUR.	15 km in 60 minutes. 20 x 100 m at 70% effort.	15 km easy fartlek*.
FRI.	15 km in 65 minutes. 20 minutes gym.	8 km easy jogging.
SAT.	Competition or 13 km at competitive speed.	Rest.
SUN.	10-12 km in 50-55 minutes. 20 minutes flexibility exercises.	Active rest.

* Fartlek is a term used to refer to fast and slow running in a natural setting. It is a Swedish term meaning 'speed play'.

Only the successful Kenyan athletes have a trainer, at least if they prefer to have one. Sometimes these trainers are former Kenyan athletes themselves, like for example Moses Tanui, whom I've spoken to in his home, in Eldoret. Tanui is a trainer for marathoners in the Fila camp in Kaptagat, but in the camp he has been working for nearly a decade with Dr. Gabriele Rosa, an Italian doctor and coach who has established and oversees the training camp, as he did to more camps he established in Kenya. Examples of trainers from Western countries I've spoken to are Rob Higley from Australia who works, among others, with Isaac Songok, world junior champion 1500 meter and Pieter Langerhorst who works in the High Altitude Training Centre in Iten. In these cases you can speak of professional support and coaching which is to a certain degree approaching Western standards.

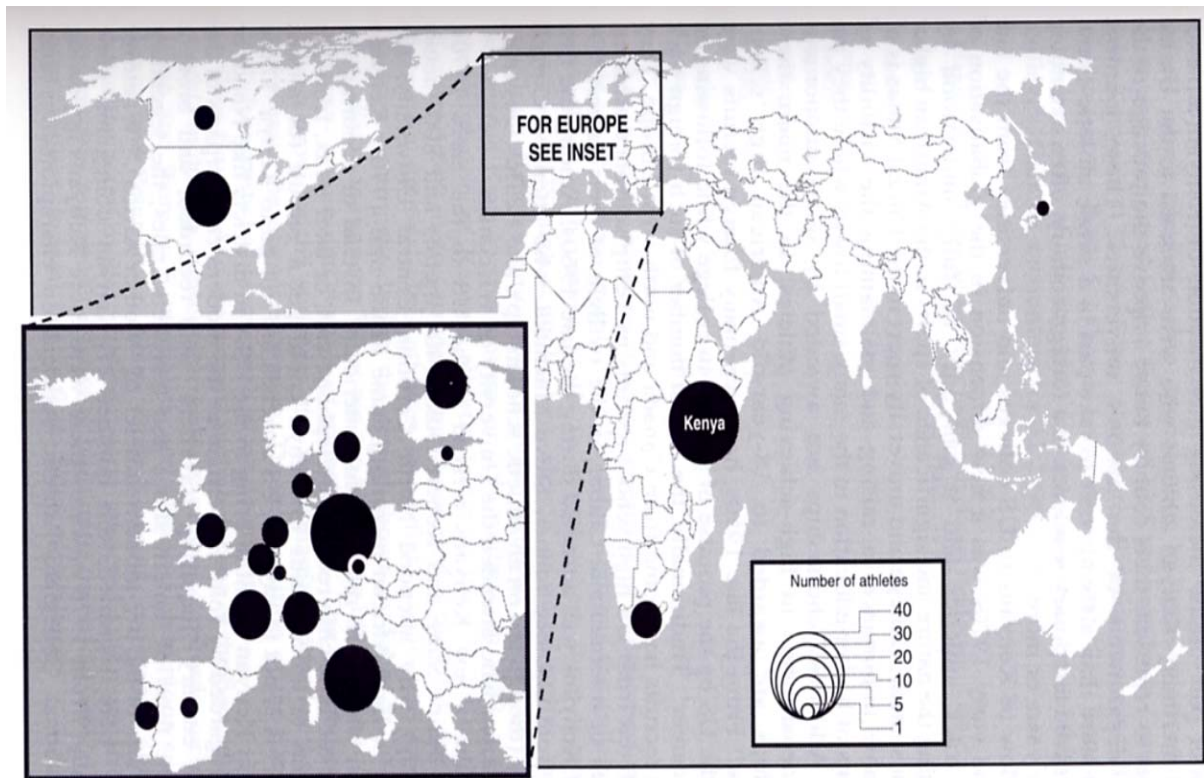
The role of Athletics Kenya in relation to the subject of training and support of individuals, is according to many athletes I've spoken marginal. They only provide training facilities and support to settled athletes who are good enough to represent the country in important international races. Upcoming athletes have to help themselves.

To conclude this section you can say that since the introduction of athletics in Kenya the way the athletes train and live has become more professional. We can come to this conclusion when we consider the fact that the runners nowadays have a training schedule, use stopwatches, and leave their hometowns to live in places where the opportunity to succeed is bigger. The more successful an athlete gets the more help and support he receives from coaches, trainers and institutions. Though, the standard of this support is still not at a Western level and facilities to train are still scarce in Kenya. For the upcoming athletes there is no support at all, which leads to survival strategies like group forming among them.

6.2.2 The internationalisation of the athlete's lifestyle

All the athletes I've spoken to agreed to the statement that an athlete can't live from races in Kenya, because there is no, or at least not enough, money to be earned. The settled athletes use the races in Kenya to train, because the level of the competitors is high and the upcoming athletes use them to get some exposure. For the money the athletes have to run abroad and this is what they are all aiming for.

In Western countries is a high demand for Kenyan runners by the organisers of races, because the Kenyans are fast, cheap and there are many of them. When you look at the results of road races all over the world very often there are several Kenyans in the top ten and it's also not unusual that the places one till five are all Kenyans. Also on the distances in the stadiums and in cross country the Kenyans are successful. The next world map shows the location of best performances by Kenyans in 800 – 10.000 metre events.



National locations of competitions where African-class Kenyan 800-10,000 metre runners achieved their best performances in 1993 (Bale, 1996:123)

According to Bale (1996:120) the globalisation of athletics is reflected differently by the various groups in Kenyan (athletic) society. At one end of the spectrum there are the ‘jet setters’: the globally known athletes who can command where and when they travel and, through their agents or managers, the amount of money they receive wherever they appear. A good example of a Kenyan jet setter is Lornah Kiplagat. According to Bale the ‘jet setters’ live overseas and visit Kenya infrequently. The second group Bale describes is also involved in a good deal of physical movement but is not quite so ‘in charge’ of the process as the jet-setters. Bale calls them the ‘journeymen’ athletes – those who have to travel in order to achieve the performance which will shift them into the ‘jet set class’. The third class is the group of athletes that have a pair of second hand running shoes and are unknown. They are struggling to survive and try to draw the attention from a foreign agent who hopefully gives them an opportunity to race abroad.

In my observation Bale’s division in various groups of athletes is wrong, or the situation has changed the last years. In my findings there *are* ‘jet setters’ but they maintain to live in Kenya to take advantage of training conditions like the high altitude. Lornah Kiplagat, for example, does have a house in Holland, because here husband is from this country and because she has got the Dutch nationality, but she lives and trains mainly in Kenya. According to Edgar the Veer who is an athletes manager at Global Sports Communication in Nijmegen, the Kenyan athletes used to live together in houses in Europe or the US in the past, but nowadays Kenyan athletes prefer to live in Kenya. A week or so before a race they come to the place to be and stay in a hotel or in a house that’s arranged by the manager. Although I spoke to runners who lived abroad for some months and did a series of races in this period, they didn’t do this because they were ‘jet setters’. They lived together with other runners in houses, provided by their manager, for logistic reasons.

The most of the athletes interviewed during my research were from the group, which Bale calls the ‘journeymen’. Sometimes they went abroad for a longer period and sometimes

just for one or two races, so in relation to the amount of travelling or living abroad, there is, in my opinion, not much difference between the 'jet setters' and the 'journeymen'. Although it's true that the journeymen are less 'in charge' of their annual racing program, the difference between the categories mainly exists in the reputation and the fame of the athletes, which expresses itself financially.

From my observations concerning the international lifestyle of the Kenyan athletes it becomes clear that Kenyan runners have to travel all over the world to run their races, but apart from that, most of them prefer to live in Kenya, even those who changed their nationality. From the interviews with the athletes I also conclude that when the Kenyans are abroad they are pretty isolated. Some of the athletes I interviewed complained about language problems. Because of these problems it's hard to find their way in foreign countries. Especially finding out when and where they could attend a church service and the understanding of what the priest says was mentioned as problematic. To find a shop with ingredients for Kenyan food was also a problem for most of the runners that I interviewed. The fact that runners are hardly meeting other Kenyans abroad is disappointing for them as well. Sometimes they saw some Kenyans who were living in the foreign country where the race was held. They were cheering during the race or they had a small talk with them afterwards, especially if they were from the same region. Besides that there is hardly any time to make visit at their homes.

This doesn't most mean that the lifestyle of the athletes isn't more and more internationally affected. The fact that successful Kenyan athletes generally have foreign sponsors and foreign agents proves this. Communications with these managers and sponsors are stretching worldwide, whereby cell phones and internet are used. Foreign equipment and clothes are being sent to Kenya and money is wired.

6.3 The growth of individual earnings

In the early days of modern athletics in Kenya, the prize money wasn't much and of minor importance to the athlete, who was racing for honour and to represent the nation. Nowadays one can state that Kenyan running continues to evolve into an increasingly professional sport from nationalist beginnings in the 1960s. Although, the prize money that is earned in running in Europe, Asia, America is still nothing compared to what a professional player in soccer, tennis, basketball or golf earns, within Kenya it is a fortune. This is why many young people turn to running.

In Eldoret many examples are seen of how the city economically benefits from the earnings of successful athletes. The five-story Komora Shopping Centre, is a large building in the middle of town that covers almost an entire city block. It is owned by Moses Kiptanui, the runner who dominated the 3000 m steeplechase races for about five years in the nineties. Kiptanui, one of Kenya's most successful athletes, is now one of the largest athlete-investors in Eldoret.

Eldoret is experiencing a property boom, with growth rates of almost 8%, three times the national average. The changing skyline shows the continuing investment of runners in commercial real estate. I've visited a new hotel belonging to Moses Tanui at the edge of the town. The two adjoining buildings of Sakong House in the middle of town belong to Sammy Korir, who clocked the second fastest marathon time ever. The athletics stadium was build and named after former runner Kipchoge Keino and he also owns a book store in Eldoret.

This is why many young people with little opportunity available to them have turned to running. The barriers to entry are low and, although not all of them will become elite athletes, there is a chance of finding an agent and breaking into the lucrative European circuit. After four, five years on the circuit with average earnings of one million shillings a year, an athlete can build a house, buy a farm and join the mainstay of the area – agriculture. Or they

can start a business with the running winnings and, if managed properly, it can sustain them and their families for the rest of their lives. Nowadays a hot item in Kenyan athletics is the defection to rich oil states: athletes receive a big amount of money and a salary for life when they change their passport into one from for example Qatar or Bahrein.

Eldoret was for many years a farming town and many enterprises are farming related; the feed and fertilizer shop, the seed shop, the tractor shop are prominent. One of the young runners I met, Elias Kiptum Maindi, is in the process of buying a small farm with the winnings he earned on the European circuit. But he is also looking for other ways to keep and grow his earnings. The word of the moment is 'investment,' and the younger athletes talk more and more of putting their earnings into shares of companies traded at the Nairobi Stock Exchange. At a recent investment forum organized by Keino Sports Marketing, a sports management company run by Martin Keino, a professional runner for ten years, Fine Touch Communications, a company run by Paul Tergat, world marathon record holder, and a facilitated by one of the biggest investment firms in Kenya, 100 runners attended to learn what they could do with their money.

At stake is the approximately 500 Million shillings a year that is earned in running prize money abroad, in Europe, Asia, America, that comes back into the local economy. The exact numbers of how the money is spent once it comes into the country are not known, but by what can be observed, a large portion goes into real estate and agriculture.

Apart from investing in farming or real estate, other athletes have invested back into running. Kip Keino's Training Center, located within of several hundred acres of farmland that Kipchoge Keino owns just outside Eldoret, is setting new standards in training facilities. The centre is listed by the IAAF (International Association of Athletic Federations) as one of seven High Performance Training Centres in the world. It represents an investment in the third and fourth generations of Kenya running. In contrast to the camps scattered around Eldoret and Iten which focus on road running, the centre focuses on developing middle and long distance track champions. Currently the athletes in the centre are preparing for the Beijing Olympics in 2008. Another notable training facility is Lornah Kiplagat's High Altitude Training Centre in Iten. It offers opportunities for aspiring women athletes to succeed by sponsoring them at the centre and providing food, accommodation and a state-of-the-art gym, which enables the athletes to focus on training.

Kenyan running continues to evolve into an increasingly professional sport from nationalist beginnings in the 1960s. This has turned running into a viable line of work, and an alternate to the university education leading to middle-class professionalism that was desirable and for many years thought to be the surest way to achieve a successful life.¹⁹

There are also some problematic aspects that go along with the earnings of the athletes. According to Colm O'Connell, five-time world cross country champion John Ngugi and 1992 Olympic 800m silver medallist Nixon Kiprotich are just two former world-class Kenyans living in poverty, owing to their inability to manage their money. Some runners develop a problem with alcohol. Less drastic but still cautionary is the story of someone like Daniel Komen. *'Daniel is someone who quickly came into money and did not know what to do with it,'* says O'Connell. *'He had to have a fleet of cars and the best suits from London. At his wedding, there were 3,000 guests, with choirs from Tanzania. He had to have the biggest house in Eldoret — if someone built one bigger, he'd build another one.'* According to O'Connell Daniel is now still nattily dressed, as always, but one can start to see the cracks. Komen has rabbitied the Chicago Marathon five years after retirement. According to O'Connell he only had to do that because he's running out of money.

¹⁹ The things runners have built (<http://www.sportanddev.org>), 03-08-2007

According to Renato Canova, an Italian athlete manager, another problem presented by money is that it can distract runners from reaching their potential. O'Connell cites 1,500m runner Cornelius Chirchir as someone with 'fabulous talent' who has never achieved what he might have. *'Cornelius sees that he train for a while, win a few races in Europe, get a lot of money,'* says O'Connell. *'Then he would spend it lavishly, fall out of training. When his money is used up, then he sees he needs to win again, and starts training.'* Canova and Langerhorst both speak of runners who win money in marathons, start businesses in Kenya, and either stop training or try to train before and after spending all day tending to their investments.²⁰

6.4 Criticism and alternatives

Like in the previous chapters I will discuss in the last paragraph some 'dependency-based' criticism and alternatives to the modernization-concepts, which were in this chapter applied to the field of the individual Kenyan athlete.

How does dependency-based criticism manifest itself at the level of the individual Kenyan athlete? An associated outcome of the Kenyan dependence on Western countries (when we take the Arab oil states into account it is better to speak of rich countries) has been that, because of the geographical distribution of major athletic competitions, Kenyans must spend a considerable time away from home, thus reducing the number of domestic role models available for aspiring athletes. Those who continue to reach the top increasingly tend to see their future outside their own country. As we have seen, Kenyan athletes sometimes seek foreign domicile, even a different nationality, principally in the interests of achievement sport.

Another outcome of the Kenyan dependence on Western countries is seen in the management of Kenya's top athletes. Almost all of the management firms, organisers of events, agents, sponsors etcetera are from Western countries. For somebody from Kenya it is difficult to start a career as a manager, for the simple reason, that he hasn't got the money to buy the athlete's ticket to fly to a race. The dependence on Western managers sometimes leads to an abuse of the athletes. In Iten I heard stories about managers who didn't pay the agreed amount of money or wouldn't pay athletes' tickets back to Kenya before they had won enough prize money. They had let athletes live as prisoners (or as slaves) in a house somewhere in Europe.

As I stated before, from the individual athlete there aren't much complaints about the dependent relationship with Western countries, since the prize money the athletes get paid is more than welcome. Still, I believe that the athletes can empower themselves in a way that they can profit more and with them the whole athletic society in Kenya. An empowering measurement could be that Kenyan athletes together start up their own management agencies or, rather, large management associations and training camps, which unite hundreds or thousands of Kenyan athletes. In that way they can negotiate better prices to the organisers of events, make 'package deals' whereby a group of athletes can be contracted for a race, support each other systematically, spread the income and spread the risk. In that case measurements which make sure that athletes don't make deals individually have to be taken. Examples of athletes who did things to empower Kenyan athletics are Lornah Kiplagat and Kipchoge Keino, who I've mentioned before.

²⁰ <http://www.mensracing.com>, 16-07-2005

6.5 Conclusion

In line with the ideas of modernization theorists, transition towards modernization should also be aimed for at the individual level. In this chapter I have tried to map the progress of that pursuit, in relation to the Kenyan athlete.

The first main field in which the transition towards modernity becomes clear in the lifestyle of the Kenyan athlete is, in my observations, the transition towards professional training methods. Since the introduction of athletics in Kenya the way the athletes train and live has become more professional. The runners nowadays have a training schedule, use stopwatches, and leave their hometowns to live in places where the opportunity to succeed is bigger. The more successful an athlete gets the more help and support he receives from coaches, trainers and institutions. Though, the standard of this support is still not at a Western level and facilities to train are still scarce in Kenya. For the upcoming athletes there is no support at all, which leads to survival strategies like group forming among them.

The second main field in which the transition towards modernity becomes clear is the internationalisation of the athlete's lifestyle. In Western countries there is a high demand for Kenyan runners by the organisers of races, because the Kenyans are fast, cheap and there are many of them. As a result of the fact that Kenyan athletes have to go abroad to live from their sport, the athletes have to live as modern nomads. Also, successful Kenyan athletes generally have foreign sponsors and foreign agents. Communications with these managers and sponsors are stretching worldwide, whereby cell phones and internet are used. Foreign equipment and clothes are being sent to Kenya and money is wired. On the other hand, in my observations comes forward that the Kenyans are pretty isolated when they are abroad.

In the opinion of modernization theorists, (economical) growth should also be strived for at the individual level. In this chapter I've shown many examples of how the region of Eldoret economically benefits from the earnings of successful athletes. Apart from investments in farming or real estate, there are also athletes who have invested into running. Some runners, though, don't know how to deal with their wealth and get into trouble.

From a dependency perspective criticism can be expressed to the fact that only in Western countries money can be earned, which make Kenyan athletes highly dependent and vulnerable for abuse. Therefore, an 'empowering measure' could be an unification of a large groups of Kenyan athletes, who take care of their own management and can form power blocks in order to negotiate better deals and spread risks.

7. Conclusions

The objective of this thesis was to induce a debate about the role of 'the West' on Kenyan athletics and to contribute to this debate. To make this contribution I formulated some central questions and subsequently I've tried to map those processes affecting Kenyan athletics, in which I thought the answers to my central questions were hidden. Of course, the key question to comply with the objective reads: *'What's the role of 'the West' on Kenyan athletics?'*. In the subquestions I applied notions of athletics at three different levels. These are the levels of Kenya's national culture, the national athletics system, and the individual athlete. I chose these levels because in my opinion these are all the levels to which athletics can be researched within a country. The process I was mainly interested in, was the process of modernization, because this is the process Kenya has been experiencing, voluntary or not, since 'the West' began to play a role in the country. I also chose the dependency theory, which emerged as a critique of modernization theory, to serve as an opposite point of view. In this way I could look at processes in Kenya from different angles. In this final chapter I will display the conclusions from my research and I will try to formulate an answer to the central questions.

At the level of Kenya's culture we have seen that the introduction of athletics by the British colonizer led to the replacement of Kenya's indigenous movement culture. After Kenya's independence in 1963 the organizational structures of modern sport, established during colonial times, were retained. In line with the strategy of modernization, one can state that the in the field of athletics the transition to modernity was completed. The fact that after the political independence of Kenya little has been done to revive Kenya's traditional folk games, also proves this. Folk games have tended to become museumized.

Still, we should not overstate the significance of athletics to Kenyans. As modernization theorists propose a strategy of 'growth' as the path towards a better athletic future, we must conclude that athletics is not full-grown in Kenya. Although in other countries Kenya is associated with running, athletics is by no means the most popular sport in Kenya. It's mainly the Rift Valley, where the participation in athletics is high. Kenyan female running is still upcoming and the economical benefits from athletics are, apart from the individual level, rather small.

Adherents of the dependency theory might criticise the IAAF, the world governing body of athletics, as being an imperialising power with its headquarters in 'the West', trying to colonise the world with more and more adherents to participation in athletics. The disappointing result is that Kenyan athletics is only growing in those disciplines in which the athletes have a chance to win (price money) and in which it's affordable to start practising. These disciplines are all related to long distance running.

As an alternative to modernization, dependency theorists embrace the strategy of empowerment to improve a countries society. 'Empowerment' in relation to Kenyan athletic culture can be seen in attempts by the Kenyan government to liberate the state from an absolute dependency on a sport culture imposed by the former colonizer. This is done by enlarging the self-consciousness and 'own-ness' of the Kenyan nation by making the people aware of their indigenous movement culture.

Another 'empowerment' strategy is to take control over Kenya's athletic culture and prevent it from being dominated by Western countries. The organisation of more big athletic events in Kenya, can be seen as an example of this. The Kenyan government becomes aware of the usefulness of sport in communicating certain values, like gender equality and aids prevention to society. Also are Kenya's historical successes in athletics being communicated in order to let it uplift the self esteem of the Kenyan nation.

At the level of the national athletic system in Kenya, the establishment of modern sports within the public administration of Kenya evolved through the years and led to Kenya's contemporary athletic system. 'The West' played a big role in this process.

Although the organisation of athletics in Kenya seems solid, in the opinion of scholars, athletes and key persons Kenya's athletic system is functioning poorly. Funds continue to be scarce, there is a wastage of the available resources, internationally successful sports are been given preferential treatment and support depends on how successfully representatives of associations lobby for their sport. Athletics Kenya lacks support to upcoming athletes and has no system to identify and nurture talent.

We must conclude that a modern sports system has been established, but because of its malfunctioning, one can state from the perspective of a modernization theorist, that the transition towards modernity is unfinished. To ensure growth of athletic output, this problem has to be solved.

Although there has been a growth in athletic output through the years, it has all been in a limited number of disciplines, probably because of the enormous talent pool available in these disciplines. In other disciplines there is hardly any growth, so it seems that Kenya's sport system is not efficiently using available athletic talent.

In relation Kenya's athletic system, adherents of dependency theories outline threats like the athletes' tendency to change their Kenyan citizenship for a citizenship of a richer nation. This threat reveals the dependent relationship in which Kenya is tied up, which can eventually marginalize Kenyan athletics. An example of a response that's in line with the strategy of empowerment is the announcement of tough measures by the Kenyan government to limit the freedom of its citizens who change their nationalities and will blacklist athletes who defect to other countries.

In line with the ideas of modernization theorists, transition towards modernization should also be aimed for at the individual level. In my attempts to map the progress of that pursuit I recognized two main field in which the transition is visible.

The first main field is the transition towards modern training methods; the way the athletes train and live has become more professional. The runners nowadays have a training schedule, use stopwatches, and leave their hometowns to live in places where the opportunity to succeed is bigger. The more successful an athlete gets the more help and support he receives from coaches, trainers and institutions. Though, the standard of this support is still not at a Western level and facilities to train are still scarce in Kenya. For the upcoming athletes there is no support at all, which leads to survival strategies like group forming among them.

The second main field is the internationalisation of the athlete's lifestyle. In Western countries is a high demand for Kenyan runners by the organisers of races, because the Kenyans are fast, cheap and there are many of them. As a result of the fact that Kenyan athletes have to go abroad to live from their sport, the athletes have to live as modern nomads. Also, successful Kenyan athletes have foreign sponsors and agents. Communications with these managers and sponsors are stretching worldwide. Foreign equipment and clothes are being sent to Kenya and money is wired. On the other hand, in my observations comes forward that the Kenyans are pretty isolated when they are abroad.

In the opinion of modernization theorists, (economical) growth should be strived for at the individual level. I've shown many examples of how athletes economically benefit from their athletic success. Apart from investments in farming or real estate, there are also athletes who have invested into running. Some runners, though, don't know how to deal with their wealth and get into trouble.

From a dependency perspective criticism can be expressed to the fact that only in Western countries money can be earned, which make Kenyan athletes highly dependent and vulnerable for abuse. Therefore, an ‘empowering measure’ could be an unification of large groups of Kenyan athletes, who take care of their own management and form power blocks in order to negotiate better deals and spread risks.

Every medal has two sides and there are two sides to every story. The processes affecting Kenya have a twofold character, and the perspective from which you look at those processes, determines whether they are problematic or not. And *if* a process can be called problematic, one can discuss which deeper rooted origins there are to blame. A modernization theorist will point at an unfinished transition to modern structures, causing lack of growth and so on, while a dependency theorist will blame the dependent relations to which the country is tied up. Besides that, processes which can be disastrous at the cultural level, can mean prosperity for the individual. Anyhow, the interweavement with the global sports system, in all its facets, is a situation which modernization and dependency theorists both have to face, and the right way to deal with it is probably no matter of ‘black or white’.

There is one point, to which I hope everybody agrees, after reading this thesis: the world of Kenyan athletics is heavily and irreversibly affected by ‘the West’ in its origin, its evolution and in its functioning today. I hope my thesis has made clear how the role of ‘the West’ has been and how it is today, so it can contribute to debates about the subject and it can help with the implementation of right policy measures in Kenya and in ‘the West’.

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