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A Concise History of the Colonial State and Gender Inequality in Sports in Kenya

By

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Abstract

The purpose of this article is to provide a concise history of gender dynamics in sports during the colonia period in Kenya. The interests of the state have structured issues of inclusion in Kenyan sports. Historically, the state has involved itself in the organisation of sports through its departments, notably the various security organs. The interplay of sports with the interests of the colonial state impacted the dynamics of gender inclusion in sports. The dynamics varied depending on prevailing social, political and economic contexts. This article delved into history to understand the interests of the colonial state in sports and how they influenced male domination in sports. It also highlights how the resultant male domination was contested. The researcher examined the colonial sports text preserved in both primary and secondary sources to understand the impact of the intersection of state interests and relations of power in structuring gender inequality in different aspects of sports in colonial Kenya. The researcher argues that the need to align education with the needs of the British Empire as well as the functionality of sports in aspects such as diplomacy, social control and stymieing political agitation were gendered processes. The intersection of these gendered processes with the ethos of sports compounded gender issues in sports colonial Kenya. Understanding the gendering of sports thus requires an investigation into how state involvement in sports structured their meaning and gender issues therein.

Keywords: Kenya, colonial state, gender inequality, sports, intersectionality

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Introduction

The history of modern sports in Kenya has been quintessentially male. Since the introduction of modern sports in the early colonial period, males have continued to dominate most aspects of sports, from participation to decision-making. Even in sports where women's participation has significantly improved and women broke the glass ceiling in management, like athletics and volleyball, gender issues persist to date. This persistence is symptomatic of meanings ingrained in sports during the colonial period. Ideological, social and political meanings were conceptualised in the context of harnessing sports to serve the needs of the state. However, the existing body of literature has not explored the role of the state in structuring gender inequality in sports.

Several scholars have studied the place of women in Kenyan sports. Some scholars have examined the experiences of Kenyan women in sports while others sought to uncover why there are fewer women than men in top decision–making levels of Kenyan sports. Their publications offer glimpses into gender and sports in general, provide sufficient ground for the current study and are reviewed below. Writing in 1996, Njororai Simiyu wondered why Kenyan sportswomen performed poorly compared to men in all but one sport, volleyball. The author attributed the poor performance to the socialisation process during childhood when boys are cultured in instrumental functions like maintenance of security and leadership. Girls on the other hand are socialised to associate with activities devoid of competitive drives such as household chores and expressive aspects of beauty (1996, pp. 24–31).

Simiyu et al attributed women's underrepresentation in sports to conflicting values of sexual beauty and sporting competence prevalent in Occidental sports and the divorce between women and military-oriented indigenous sports of Africa. The authors also associated the paucity of sportswomen with the socialisation process in which physical activities requiring considerable exertion and strength are regarded as masculine. They linked the paucity of women in decision-making levels to their paucity in participation since personalities with good performance records in sports are preferred candidates for administrative positions (2003, pp. 82–93). Janet Mbaha sought to give voice to illustrious women, women who have broken the glass ceiling in sports leadership. The author brought to the fore women's success stories and the day-to-day experience of women in a male-dominated field. The author wondered why success in the field of play had not impacted women role in leadership (2012).

Tom Cunningham identified missionaries, settlers, educators and administrators as the major players in the development of sports before the centralisation of sports management in the early 1920s. According to Cunningham, three forms of sport and physical exercise: drills, games and sports days were introduced by Europeans in Kenya. Missionaries perceived games and

sports as forms of moral instruction that taught unselfishness and moulded a Christian character (2016, pp. 259–288). Writing on women and sports in Africa, John Nauright noted that there were very few academic historians of sports and quality papers published on women and sports in Africa. The author attributed this to hierarchies of significance among historical topics promoted by leading historians from the continent. On participation, Nauright argued that the boundary of who plays what game rests on relations of power (2014, pp. 563–574).

Research on women and sports in Kenya has led to the development of two strands of literature. One strand exposes discrimination against women. It explains the inequality as a consequence of gender imbalance in the wider society. The second strand of literature brings to light experiences of the illustrious women in sports. Such studies make women exemplars visible to inspire young women and girls to pursue careers in various aspects of sports. They demonstrate how women can overcome obstacles to carve out careers in top decision-making levels of sports in the country. However, there is a paucity of studies examining the historical nature of gender inequality in Kenyan sports. There is a need to historicise male dominance in sports and examine in light of the evolving interests of the state if its true nature is to be understood. The current article argues the functionality of sports to the colonial state, the major player in sports development then, structured male dominance in sports and that the legacies persist to date. The article thus uncovers the functionality to understand its impact on the exclusion of women from sports in colonial Kenya.

Methodology

The article adopted the ex post facto design because it examined inequality in colonial sports *post factum*. The researcher examined a variety of primary written sources to understand gender inequality in sports management in Kenya. First, official records such as minutes of meetings, reports, and organisational policies on gender among other documents from the stakeholders of sports management. Second, pictures and video recordings of events in Kenyan sports from different periods. Fourth, relics such as sports goods, trophies and art objects depict the theme of gender in Kenyan sports.

After establishing the validity of sources and accuracy of data, the researcher interpreted information in light of the evolution of sports and gender inequality in top decision-making levels of sports in Kenya. The researcher applied high levels of caution, objectivity, creativity, insight and scholarship. The article's operating framework is thematic and contextualised through narratives.

Sports in Colonial Kenya

There were three phases of the development of European sports in colonial Kenya. The phases were: the period before the establishment of sports organisations in which mission societies provided the institutional framework for European sports; the period after the establishment of the Arab and African Athletic Association (AAAA) which was characterised by the popularisation of European sports across Kenya; and the period after establishment of the Kenya

Olympic Association (KOA) which continued the popularisation project but most important in ushering Kenya into the international sporting scene.

Missionary sports, physical training and the service to the State

The seeds of structural and ideological bias against women in modern sports in Kenya were sowed before the first organisation to manage sports among Africans was established. The transition to colonialism in the wake of the twentieth century was not accompanied by the formation of organisations to manage sports in Kenya. It took up to the early 1920s for the colonial authorities to establish the first organisation to manage sports among Africans. Up to then, missionary societies provided frameworks for managing sports and physical training. Sports and physical training programmes fit missionary societies' pursuit of holistic Christians in terms of body, spirit and mind. Sports and physical training programmes also served as means of legitimising the missionary as a manly therefore able to respond to the needs of the British Empire.

Missionaries' reasons for the choice of forms of sports and physical training for different social groups in Kenya were informed by the ideology of Muscular Christianity. Muscular Christianity was an ideology that encouraged sports programs as a means of instilling manliness among schoolboys. It was first employed in England before spreading to the rest of Britain and the Western and coloniser worlds (Collins, 2013, p. 38). For European adult males in early colonial Kenya, sports and physical training programmes were part of the initiative to bridge the secular and religious realms through what they considered the 'halfway house'. For European youths, the programmes were meant to instill Christian standards of judging recreation. The author did not find evidence of missionaries putting in place sports and physical training programmes for African adults in the early colonial period (*Kenya Church Review*, 1929).

Within the schools, missionaries offered sports to African schoolboys as a means of disciplining and distracting them from African forms of leisure which they considered licentious and retrogressive. However, the domesticity-oriented education formulated by missionaries for African schoolgirls had little provision for sports and physical training. The subject of general play among African schoolgirls is highly suppressed in reviewed missionary texts (Hutcheson, 1917, pp. 3–4). The author argues that missionaries' provision of sports and physical training was driven by the Church's necessity to gain acceptance as an institution capable of responding to the needs of the British Empire, especially in times of crisis.

The term acceptance is herein used to refer to the approval of the missionary project by settlers, colonial administrators, and African communities and chiefs. It is noteworthy that the politics of sports defined the relationship between disparate European classes in early colonial Kenya (Cranworth, 1919, pp. 224–245). During the pre-World War I and inter-war periods, missionaries continuously searched for legitimacy, often having to justify their education work among Africans to the settlers and authorities. When Governors visited mission stations, missionaries were excited to demonstrate different aspects of their work. The Boys' Brigade and

Scouts which exemplified drills and respect to order and authority were regular displays during such visits (Arthur, 1916, pp. 4–5).

Mission societies seized World War I as a moment to demonstrate the holistic nature of the education they provided to the Africans. The government issued an order requiring 40,000 Africans for military labour in German East Africa on 26 March 1917. Missionary societies in responding to the service order. The heads of mission societies such as John Arthur and Cannon Burns, the heads of the Church of Scotland Mission (CSM) and Church Mission Society (CMS) turned first to the boy's brigade then to other schoolboys and teachers for their scheme of a missionary carrier corps. Arthur was convinced that sports and physical training offered prepared the groups for this 'call of duty':

> They [have] the opportunity of … walking in the path of duty's call … [to] go forth willingly in obedience to that call. Further, it would be a testimony to the government that they are not afraid to help; to the whole white community that the abuses hurled on the heads of mission boys were untrue, and without foundation; to the chiefs and the whole of their own Kikuyu people that the teaching they received with us was not such to unman them, but rather to make them better and truer men (Arthur, 1917, p. 4).

Gender theorists argue that the invocation of selfless acts and readiness to pay the ultimate price for the state is highly gendered. 'The legitimising of war – of expending young lives to protect the state – has variously taken the forms of explicit reliance on belief in the duty of sons to serve their leaders or their king, and of associations between masculinity and national strength' (Scott, 1986, p. 1073).

Elitism in the Organisation of Sports during the Interwar Period

The state became increasingly a major player in the organisation of European forms of sports from the inter-war period. By this period Muscular Christianity had morphed into amateurism and Olympism in Kenya as was the case in other parts of the world. As an ideology, amateurism propagated a philosophy of sports that rejected payment, espoused fair play and cultivated values such as courage, strong will and respect for authority. The rejection of payment was based on a misinterpretation of Greek sporting traditions.

Sports historians such as David Goldblatt argue that although there were no cash prizes for the ancient Olympians, organisers did not prevent people who made a living through sports from competing as was the case in the early years of modern Olympics. Those who leveraged their sporting prowess to earn money, power, status and even amnesty for wrongs committed were not perceived as threats to ancient sporting values (Hunt & Goldblatt, Podcast). Modern Olympism, on the other hand, combines qualities of the body, will and mind by blending sport with culture and education.

Pierre de Coubertin, the father of modern Olympism, redefined the Olympic movement as a school of nobility, moral purity, endurance and physical energy. The gendered aspects of amateurism and Olympism were significantly influenced by muscular Christianity. (Collins, 2013, p. 38; Dikaia, 2013, pp. 6–7). The adoption of these ideologies led to the propagation of sporting ideals that cemented elitism in sports in Kenya. The resultant elitism was anchored on race, class and gender. The interplay of elitism with prevailing political and social circumstances resulted in male-dominated sports.

Sports as Means of Social Control

During the inter-war period, colonial authorities utilised sports as a form of social control. The concept of recreation and rehabilitation through sports was imported to Kenya as a solution to the challenge of 'spivs and hangers-on. The Colony Recreation Office was created to guide and coordinate recreation activities, especially in the urban and peri-urban areas. The office's duties were outlined to include: organising and improving recreation-leisure activities for Africans, particularly in the urban and peri-urban areas; providing liaison between the central government and local government in all recreational activities for Africans; encouraging government and non-government employers to improve facilities for recreation for their employees as well as assist, advice and encourage all managers of stadia, welfare officers of different entities to provide entertainment to Africans particularly during weekends in an attempt to reduce the number of 'spivs' and 'hangers-on' (Gallant, Sherry & Nicholson, 2014; Community Development Report, 1955, p. 7). Emphasis on recreation was meant to act as a form of social control at a time of fast-growing African urban populations.

Public Diplomacy and Stymying Political Agitation

The immediate post-World War II era witnessed a growing wave of nationalism across Africa. During the war, colonial authorities in Kenya sought the service of African men as soldiers and porters on the promise of land and other rewards after the war. The authorities did not honour the promises leading to disillusion among the demobilised porters and soldiers. At the same time, African political associations like the Kenya African Union (KAU) became emboldened in their push for decolonisation. The disillusioned ex-servicemen joined hands with radicals within KAU and members of the Agikuyu community rendered landless by colonial land policies to form the Kenya Land and Freedom Army (KLFA). The Mau Mau movement, as KLFA became popularly known, staged a guerilla war against the colonial forces between 1952 and 1957. In 1954 the government launched Operation Anvil, a military operation aimed at ridding out Mau Mau adherents from the capital, Nairobi. Over 20,000 people were detained during the operation (Rosendo, 1972, p. 21).

In rural areas affected by the Mau Mau struggle, sports competitions were organised as a means of dissuading adherence to the movement. In such areas, sports events took the form of therapeutic recreation. Youthful males were the main target because authorities believed they previously spent much of their spare time in political activities. Beginning in 1955 in Nyeri and

Meru districts, for instance, mass physical recreation schemes were organised in the sub-locations and villages. G. A. Orlos, a rehabilitation officer and physical trainer conducted training courses for African rehabilitation assistants, tribal policemen and two men from each location. The object was to equip trainees with skills to enable them to run sports programmes at the locational level (Community Development Report, 1955, p. 9).

For communities thought not to be burdened by feelings of colonial injustice, sports were organised as a way of lifting their spirit. In this respect, the history of athletics among Nandi makes an interesting read. At the turn of the twentieth century, the community staged the longest resistance against British intrusion. Although it ended with the Nandi's defeat, it was the beginning of a relationship with the British with athletics as a defining factor (Rotich, 2013, p. 18).

Sports competitions among the Nandi took a new turn in the immediate post-World War II period. While competitions had hitherto been organised largely to mitigate cattle raiding and contain the restless youths, the post-World War II saw their organisation as a way of boosting the spirit of the community. Perhaps as a 'reward' for the perceived loyalty, provincial administrators organised what they termed 'sports safaris'. The 'safaris' were soon extended to areas occupied by the Kipsigis and Abagusii culminating in what became known as the Athletics Triangular Meeting. During the 'safaris' the DO traversed locations to preside over competitions. In 1950 the DO praised the Nandi for what he perceived as loyalty and insinuated sports as a means to sustaining the loyalty. The DO wrote: 'It was encouraging to observe and meet such healthy and open-hearted men who certainly do not give any obvious impression of being in the least politically minded, or burdened with a sense of injustice'(Athletics Triangular Meeting, DC/KAPT/1/20/2 Kenya National Archives).

Sports and International Diplomacy

Kenya completed her entry into the Olympic Movement during the Cold War period. The entry added layers of meaning that significantly impacted the gendering of sports. The period saw the United States and the Soviet Union use sports as frontlines in their propaganda wars. The protagonists placed sports ideologies, particularly amateurism and professionalism, at the heart of propaganda through sports. In this sense, amateurism was embodied through athletes' sacrifice for their countries, adherence to fair play and non-monetary motivation. Professional sportspersons were perceived as devoid of these values. To proclaim a high moral ground both protagonists claimed to advance amateur ideals. They also branded sportspersons from the opposite divide of being professionals and being state agents. Such polemics increased as the United States and Soviet Union secret services crafted ways of projecting national character through sports (Hunt, Podcast).

For the colonial masters in Africa, sports presented opportunities for continued influence as colonialism began to cede ground to self-determination. They fashioned sports competitions as a part of the change from an empire system to a relationship of friendship and 'assistance' to Africa. Britain, for instance, opened doors for athletes from its colonies like Kenya to participate

in the 1954 British Empire and Commonwealth Games 1954. In the early 1960s, France organised two editions of the Friendship Games for Francophone territories and later allowed non-Francophone countries to participate in the competitions. Colonial powers like Portugal that were unable to stage mega events for their colonial subjects allowed sportspersons, especially footballers, to join teams in the metropole and even play for the Portuguese national team. But this interest in sports in Africa was also a means of checking the Soviet Union's influence in emerging nations after Guinea Bissau aligned with the Union after independence in 1958. Even the IOC was an anti-Soviet organisation. During the Presidency of American Avery Brundage (1952–1957), it took an interest in offering technical and logistical support during the All-Africa Games right from its inception in 1965 (Hunt & Centrowitz, Podcast).

Olympic competitors acquired ambassadorial status. This role subordinated sporting prowess to social and political functions during international sporting events. Authorities were desperate to create the image of a racially tolerant administration, especially after mishandling the Mau Mau freedom movement and the communities associated with it. The government organised sports competitions as a means of easing hostility between the Mau Mau and colonial authorities and settlers on the other (*KOA Newsletter*, 1956, p.2).

The need to legitimise the colonial state made authorities prioritise deportment over sporting skills in the selection of teams for international competitions. For instance, during the selection exercise for the team for the 1956 Olympics KOA's Chairman stated, 'We are looking to behaviour off the field with more stress than behaviour in the field … The eyes of the world will be on Kenya in Melbourne, and so anybody with fancy ideas or peculiarities has no place in the Kenya side' (KOA Newsletter, 1956, p.2). Speaking to the team that was to represent Kenya in the 1960 Olympics in Rome, Governor Renison asserted, 'You will be judged not only on your prowess at the Games but, infinitely more important, on your sportsmanship, your bearing and your conduct. It is not so much you who will be judged, but Kenya which will be judged through you' (*Kenya Olympic Review*, 1960, p. 1). Those who 'failed' the deportment test, such as Surjeet Singh, the captain of the Kenya hockey team who spoke to the press about racial divisions within Kenya's contingent to the 1956 Melbourne Olympics were sanctioned (A2G1/30/1, Kenya National Archives).

The Gender Nexus in Sports from the Pre-colonial to the Post-World War II Period

As management of sports seeped from the confines of Mission Societies to the AAAA and its affiliates in the 1920s, so did the values of Muscular Christianity. This took the form of missionaries like John Arthur of the CSM and Canon Burns of the CMS who became key players in AAAA decision-making processes. The Association allowed some missionary societies to carve out their spheres of influence as far as sports administration was concerned. The CSM, for instance, 'carved out' the entire Dagoretti-Kabete area from Central Province as far as athletics and football administration was concerned (Native Association PC/NZA/2/1/90 Kenya National Archives). The areas were recognised as 'provinces'. Therefore, the missions' spheres of influence could operate with limited surveillance by provincial administrators who became

patrons and managed sports from the divisional to the provincial levels. The gender implications, this study suggests, were that missionaries continued to impart muscular Christianity values in school sports. Mission schools remained key catchments for athletics and football.

After the establishment of secular schools, mission societies remained important pillars of education and infusion of athletics and football among Africans. So central were the mission schools that a contemporary described the so-called secular schools as 'mission schools in a new form … I can answer from Maseno experience that not a particle of difference has been made' (Britton, 1923, p. 44; *East African Standard*, 1927, p. 2).

Missionary societies such as the CSM anticipated the coming of secular education. To secure their decades of investment in education among Africans, the missionaries strategically expanded the training of African teachers and the village school systems on which they expected to convince the government to build. The strategy was based on the fact that since there were no government teacher training institutions and schools, the logical move for the government was to build an education superstructure on the existing missionary system. Furthermore, mission-educated Quality Assurance Officers continued to police sports in schools. Thus, for the better part of the colonial period, children in government schools were socialised in ways that reinforced athletics and football as male sports. Schoolgirls were left out of the two sports even after the education system formed the pillar of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) programme of education on amateurism. Although the IOC promoted Olympism as a means of breaking barriers to inclusion in sports and other aspects of life, gender was not central to its definition of equality and inclusion (Supervisor of Technical Education, AV/7/7/7 Kenya National Archives).

The study has also established that elitism and patronage at the AAAA top positions and African agency at the locational level converged to marginalise women in sports management. The British colonisers imported the Victorian public/private nexus into Kenya. And because political office and prominence defined role designation in sports management, women of all races were sidelined. The enshrining of the position of African chiefs and LNCs in the British system of administration in Kenya provided another avenue of gender exclusion. Because women were not appointed as chiefs and played a limited role in LNCs, their opportunities to impact sports management were greatly reduced.

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

The evolution of sports in post-World War II Kenya provided fertile grounds for continuities in male dominance in management and participation. But the period also saw the beginning of the conversation on the place of women in sports. There was incipient advocacy on the girls' rights to sports. The decision to organise athletics competitions for girls, in part, resulted from advocacy by female teachers who were keen on sports. In 1950, these women convinced the DO Nandi Division, for instance, to convince his peers to start including female events in the school competitions at the district level. They made the case that sociological values would go beyond the events themselves (Nandi Locational Sports, DC/KABT/1/3/21 Kenya National Archives).

The formative years of women's participation in sports were characterised by a sense of obligation by the male sports managers to protect the presumed fragile female body from the extreme physicality of sports. However, the keenness with which girls took to track and field events was subversive in the way that it undermined the notion of physically weaker sex. In the coastal region, where adult male and female enthusiasm for athletics was notably low, the most notable aspect during competitions was the girls' enthusiasm (Athletic Sports, CQ/1/34 Kenya National Archives).

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

> [T]he type of young man – women will not be considered – the sponsors wish to attract is someone interested … in sport or physical education, both from the organising and philosophical points of view, a young Kenyan who will derive benefit from the course and who will be in a position in the years ahead to pass on the experience and knowledge acquired for good amateur sport and physical education in Kenya, thereby furthering the Olympic ideals of improving sport and human relationships (Athletic Sports, CQ/1/34, Kenya National Archives).

This advertisement illustrates the limited role women were expected to play as custodians of the Olympic ideals in Kenya. However, it does not in any way indicate a lack of interest on the part of women. On the contrary, the author suggests, that the fact that the sponsors saw it necessary to bar women from applying indicates an existing interest. It also indicates the reactions such interest elicited from the stakeholders accustomed to associating Olympism with manliness. Perhaps, they could not foresee a future in which women would become integral in the cultivation and protection of Olympic ideals. Within numerous AAAA and KOA documents examined by the researcher, only two women seem to have attended the KOA executive meetings. The two were identified as Miss B. Dodds representing the Education Department and Mrs Northrop who attended as an ordinary member. The researcher could not obtain further details about the two and their contribution to KOA. The barring of women highlighted herein exemplifies the structural and ideological difficulties that women faced as they attempted to cross into male-defined realm.

The training programmes conducted by the Colony Sports Office also allow insights into the place of gender sport in colonial Kenya. The training programmes were designed to achieve

attributes generally associated with males. For instance, as Kenya prepared for its debut British Empire and Commonwealth Games in 1954 the Colony Sports Officer called for professional training of athletes. The officer observed: 'Something much more will be required … to build up strength, speed, endurance, flexibility and technique needed to make the international champion today' (Evans, 1954, p. 6). Women were not believed to have the capacity for such attributes, neither were the attributes desired of them.

The ideological foundation of sports, muscular Christianity amateurism and Olympism meant that for the better part of the colonial period, women in Kenya were not singled out for training as competitors or roles in sports management. Although this masculine thinking was advanced by local sports officials, it was also reinforced from the outside. One external vessel for the infusion was the invitation of international athletes to give lectures to players and trainees in management. One such athlete was an African-American Mal Whitfield, then the record holder in the half-mile race and the winner of the 800 metres race in the 1948 and 1952 Olympics. In his column appearing in the *Pittsburg Courier* in 1955, Whitfield reported: 'In Africa, I saw fine specimens of physical manhood. These men ran as much as twenty-five miles daily … in remarkably good time' (Sports Report 1955, AB/4/15 Kenya National Archives). Whitfield's report is indicative of an obsession with physical manhood that characterised sports in the post-World War II United States. It is little wonder then that all sports scholarships abroad for Kenyan athletes and managers between the 1950s and 1970s were accorded to men. Scholars agree that as a consequence of the masculine hold, Kenyan women, alongside American counterparts, had to wait until the passing of Title IX legislation to get athletics scholarships in universities in the United States (Sport Report 1955, A/4/15, Kenya National Archives).

There is strong evidence indicating that training for competitions and sports management in Kenya was done by men for men up to the eve of independence. It took up to 1959 for the sports office to organise the first Women's Championship and the first course in sports management for women. Most provincial administrators hesitated to send competitors to the Women's Championships. Such administrators considered women-only competitions as a waste of time and resources. Various districts comprising the Southern Province were particularly notorious for failing to facilitate female competitors (Sports Officers Conference, QB/20/24, Kenya National Archives). As Kenya emerged from colonialism, males had decades of head starts in participation and exposure to different aspects of sports management. The products of the Colony Sports Office training courses since its establishment in 1954 were ready to take charge of sports in the emerging nation. In addition, some among the early generations of athletes and footballers were already absorbed in management in different capacities by the eve of independence. Thus, women missed out on the rapid Africanisation of sports management in the wake of independence.

The practice of diplomacy through sports further deepened the gendered orientation of sports management in Kenya. After World War II authorities endeavoured to use international competitions as opportunities to enhance Kenya's competitive image. Because competitiveness has historically been associated with masculinity, so has diplomacy through sports. The adoption

of *Ekecheria* further reinforced the male hold on top decision-making levels of Kenyan athletics and football. George Orwell's dictum that sport is war without shooting underlines the gendered nature of diplomacy through sports. The idea of the world attaining peace through sports was constructed as a binary opposite of war. Thus conceptualisation of peace through competitions reproduced the association of sports with maleness. It is little wonder then that Kenya's sports diplomats (competitors and accompanying officials) were male. The convergence of government interest in sports as part of cultural and public diplomacy with ideologies of muscular Christianity, amateurism and Olympism cemented the hold of the white male political elite on AAAA, KOA and other sports governing bodies. Stakeholders made little effort to reverse elitism in sports management at as Kenya edged towards independence.

Conclusion

As a construct, gender was used to reinforce elitism and ideologies of sports in every step of the development of European sports in colonial Kenya. Bourdieu's concept of habitus applies to how deportment and disposition took primacy over talent and competence in the selection of competitors and officials in colonial Kenya. Authorities customarily selected the presumed loyal athletes and officials for international assignments. Meanwhile, school curricula and sports were used to indoctrinate children into ways of thinking about sports that consolidated impressions of manhood and womanhood. This was also achieved through school inspections during which inspectors condemned what they considered gender inappropriate sports and plays.

Recommendations

This article has established that gender advocacy in Kenyan sports have been low key and largely not institutionalised. It thus recommends structured and coordinated efforts between sports disciplines and alliance with women movement in Kenya. It also recommends speeding up the formulation of a policy on gender and sports management to tame misogynous practices in sports management and politics. It further recommends for nuanced study of the intersection between stakeholders' interests and the meaning of sports that were outside the scope of the current study. Such studies would allow comparisons of variations in dynamics of exclusion in respective sports. It would also enable policy interventions that take into account the specificity of gender inequality in each sport.

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