

THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL STUDIES

Sports as Instrument for Promoting Nigeria's Foreign Policy

Jones O. Aluko

Professor, Department of Political Science and Public Administration,
Babcock University, Nigeria

Ngozi Nwogwugwu

Senior Lecturer, Department of Political Science and Public Administration,
Babcock University, Nigeria

Gbeke Adebawale Adenuga

Doctoral Student, Department of Political Science and Public Administration,
Babcock University, Ilishan-Remo, Ogun State, Nigeria

Abstract:

Since the end of the Cold War in the late 1980s, it has become the acceptable norm to employ instruments of soft power to promote the foreign policies of States in the international system. Sports, given their wide global appeal, are considered veritable soft power instruments and thus, States often use participation in international sporting competitions to project their desired images to other members of the international system. It is no gainsaying that Nigeria suffers image deficit in the international system. Successive Nigerian governments have tried to use various instruments ranging from making Nigeria a frontline participant in peacekeeping operations all over the world to the use of the media to present the country in better lights to other members of the international system with little success. Against this backdrop, this study presented sports as a veritable instrument for promoting Nigeria's foreign policy and by extension, Nigeria's image in the international system. With data drawn from the review of relevant literature on sports and foreign policy in Nigeria, the study concluded that Nigerian governments have not effectively utilized the immense potentialities of sports to promote the country's foreign policy. To correct this problem, the study, inter alia, recommended the urgent review of the 2009 National Sports Policy, the professionalization of sports administration and the creation and strengthening of the synergy between the Ministry of Youth and Sports and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Keywords: Foreign policy, international system, soft power, sports, sports policy

1. Introduction

An analytical study of the literature of Nigeria's international relations since independence will reveal that sports have played crucial roles in supporting Nigeria's foreign policy. A major thrust of Nigeria's foreign policy in the 1960s to the early 1990s was the total eradication of colonialism from the African continent and sports played strategic roles in the achievement of this lofty ideal. Nigeria played a prominent role in ousting Stanley Rous, a former President of FIFA in the FIFA presidential election in 1974 and in replacing him with Joao Havelange who had promised to ban the apartheid regime in South Africa from the activities of the organisation. She was also in the forefront of the boycott of the 1976 Montreal Olympic Games, the 1978 Edmonton Commonwealth Games and the 1986 Edinburgh Commonwealth Games in order to pressurise states and international organisations to denounce every form of colonialism in Africa, especially the obnoxious apartheid rule in South Africa with its policy of racial segregation which treated Black and Coloured Africans as second citizens in their own state (Ndlovu, 2010). Sports also played a major role in the foreign relations between Nigeria and South Africa in the late 1990s. On the grounds that the Sani Abacha regime had committed human rights abuse and indiscriminate extrajudicial killings, especially with the hanging of the Ogoni 9, South Africa withdrew an invitation sent to the Nigerian senior football team, the Super Eagles, to participate in a 4-nation tournament in 1996. Though Nigeria formally complained to FIFA that South Africa was mixing politics with sports and though South Africa was warned by FIFA not to repeat such an action, Nigeria also played a trump card by refusing to allow the Super Eagles go to South Africa to defend the Nations Cup won two years earlier in Tunisia. The perceived hostile stance of South Africa against Nigerians was given as the excuse (Banjo & Omidiran, 2000; Umezurike & Lucky, 2015). The importance of sports in consolidating diplomatic ties can also be observed in the fact that Nigeria was largely a pariah state when General Sani Abacha held sway as her Head of State but with the demise of the tyrannical Abacha in 1998 and genuine commitment of his successor, General Abdulsalami Abubakar to return Nigeria to civil rule in 1999, restored normalcy to Nigeria's diplomatic relations with other state and non-state actors in the international system. Thus, Nigeria bid and was granted the rights to host the

1999 FIFA Under-17 World Cup. She also successfully co-hosted the 2000 African Nations Cup, the All African Games in 2003 and the FIFA Under-20 World Cup in 2009.

At this juncture, it is pertinent to note that despite all the roles played by sports in helping to promote and protect Nigeria's foreign policies, there was no concrete effort to strategically harness the immense potentialities of sports as instrument for promoting Nigeria's foreign policies before an attempt was made in 1989 to put together a national policy on sports which was later revised in 2009. The usage of sports as identified in the paragraph above were not as a result of well thought out strategies but as convenient measures to address immediate problems and issues. However, with the growing realization of the huge potentials of sport for the enhancement of foreign policies, the Nigerian Federal Government, in her National Sports Policy of 2009, aims at using sports to inter alia:

- Become an instrument of national unity.
- Boosts the country's image in the comity of nations through the utilization of her sporting achievements.
- Attracts major international sporting events to Nigeria and exploit their benefits for tourism and the economy.
- Creates enabling environment for sports good manufacturing industries.
- Use sports as an avenue to minimize anti-social behaviour.
- Promotes sports as a means to generate employment and create wealth. (National Sports Policy of Nigeria, 2009).

However, since 2009, these aspirations have remained in the realm of the abstract as nothing concrete have been done to bring them into actualization.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Sports

Sport, just like many other concepts, is difficult to define as it includes several modes of activities which are very divergent in their organisation and performance. As Whannel (2008) notes, there is the tendency to conceptualise sports as competitive physical activities but the problem with this definition is that there are many competitive physical activities, including dance and body fitness exercises such as skipping and push-ups, which cannot be classified as sports. On the other hand, there are also many sporting activities, including shooting and bowls, which do not involve serious physical exertion.

Bogopa (2001) describes sport as "a game-like activity having a set of rules, a competitive element, and requiring some form of physical exertion" (p. 85). Sport is a highly organised physical activity usually guided by rules and regulations with its scientific principles of training, using modern technological, sporting facilities and equipment. Sport is a competitive activity that involves rigorous physical exertion or use of relatively complex physical skills by athletes (Dinnigwa & Ojo, 2014). The Office for Recreation and Sport in the Government of South Australia (2016) defines it as:

a human activity involving physical exertion and skill as the primary focus of the activity, with elements of competition where rules and patterns of behaviour governing the activity exist formally through organisations and is generally recognised as a sport. (p. 1)

Jeroh (2012) provides some definitions of sports as described by scholars. He describes sports as "any competitive human physical activity that is governed by institutional rules" (p. 102). He also sees it as any "competitive physical activity, utilizing specialised equipment and facilities, with unique dimensions of time and space, in which the quest for records is of high significance" (p. 102). He also notes that sports are "institutionalised competitive activities that involve rigorous physical exertion or the use of relatively complex skills by participants motivated by personal enjoyment and external rewards" (p. 102). He further gives a more comprehensive description of sports as any "activity that possesses the five characteristics of play; some elements of competition; physical prowess; involve elements of skill, strategy, and chance; and have an uncertain outcome" (p. 102).

From the above descriptions of what a sport is, it may be safe to define it as any human activity characterised by a display of physical exertion and skills, which is competitive in nature and which is highly regulated by well-established and internationally recognised rules and regulations.

The Invest Northern Ireland report (2012) lists the sports recognised by the Commonwealth Games to include aquatics, athletics, badminton, boxing, cycling, gymnastics, hockey, judo, lawn bowls, netball, rugby sevens, shooting, squash, table tennis, triathlon, weight lifting and wrestling. The Olympic Games, which is the biggest and most comprehensive of all sport meets, holds every four years in two phases, the Summer Olympics and the Winter Olympics. Though there are two years interval between the two Olympics, they are organised by the same international organisation, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and participation is opened to all states in the international system. The Summer Olympics recognises such sports including archery, athletics, badminton, basketball, beach volley, boxing, canoe slalom, canoe sprint, BMX cycling, mountain cycling, road cycling, track cycling, diving, equestrian, fencing, field hockey, football, golf, gymnastics, handball, judo, marathon swimming, modern pentathlon, rhythmic gymnastics, rowing, rugby sevens, sailing, swimming, synchronised swimming, table tennis, taekwondo, tennis, trampoline, volleyball, water polo, weight lifting, wrestling freestyle, and wrestling Greco-Roman. The Winter Olympics recognises sports including alpine skiing, biathlon, bob sleigh, cross-country skiing, curling, figure skating, freestyle skiing, ice hockey, luge, Nordic combined, short track speed skating, skeleton, ski-jumping, snowboard and speed skating (Olympics Committee, 2016).

2.2. Foreign Policy

No state in the world can be an island unto itself. Just as an individual must relate with other people in order to meet his or her basic needs, so also must states interact with other states and Non-State Actors in the international system in order to survive. States, however, devise various strategies in order to ensure that these interactions yield the desired benefits and these benefits and strategies form the core of the foreign policies of states. In this wise, Folarin (2013) sees foreign policy as the strategies employed by states to fully optimise the benefits accruable to them in their relationships with other members of the international system while at the same time reducing to the barest minimum the losses they may suffer in the system. Olasupo (2015) describes it as the objectives that shape the relationships between a State and others in the international system. shaver (2014) and Olasupo (2015) define it as both the objectives a state has decided to achieve in its relationships with other states and the strategies to be used in guiding their actions towards the achievement of the objectives. Chidozie, Ibieta and Ujara (2014) aptly defined foreign policy as "a set of explicit objectives with regard to the world beyond the borders of a given social unit and a set of strategies and tactics designed to achieve those objectives" (p. 50). Ashaver (2014) also refers to it as "a strategy with which institutionally designed decision-makers seek to manipulate the international environment in order to achieve certain national interests" (p. 288).

Nwankwo (2013) describes foreign policy as the "authoritative actions taken by governments or are committed to take, in order either to maintain the desirable aspects of the international environment or to amend its undesirable aspects" (p. 212). Adeola and Ogunnoiki (2015) also describe it as the strategies developed by a state in order to change the behaviour of other states and also to change its own behaviour to become more acceptable to the other members of the international system. Daniel (2014) sees foreign policy to be the actions taken by a state either to get a reaction from its external environment or as a reaction to stimuli from the external environment and they posit that the foreign policy of every state is determined by the domestic needs of the state. Thus, there is a very strong nexus between foreign and domestic policies and in essence, foreign policy is essentially packaged to further the national interests of a state in the international system (Akinboye & Basiru, 2014; Oshuntokun, 1987). Folarin (2013) avers that foreign policy is predicated on domestic policy because the domestic environment of the state, which includes its peculiar internal features, factors and forces, exert a very great influence on the objectives and goals of foreign policy.

Foreign policy is an activity with a purpose because it involves the setting of goals designed to create a needed condition outside the boundaries of a State and the development of strategies and tactics to achieve these goals (Akinboye & Basiru, 2014; Nwankwo, 2013). The basic domestic needs of every state, which can also be construed to mean its national interests, which foreign policy articulates, are security and prosperity (Nwankwo, 2013). Akinboye and Basiru (2014) and Daniel (2014) include the need to maintain political sovereignty, to ensure security and to achieve economic prosperity as the motivating factors or the main national interests that drive foreign policy. Okafor (2009) posits that these interests include security, welfare, autonomy, and status/prestige. For Folarin (2013), foreign policy can help every state achieve four basic goals. Firstly, it is a vital instrument for maintaining national independence as the recognition of a state by others is a necessary and sufficient condition for statehood. Secondly, foreign policy can help to entrench the legitimacy and authority of a government in power. A government that engages in a virile foreign policy that is acceptable to most members of the international system can use such goodwill to enhance its prestige both domestically and internationally. Thirdly, foreign policy is also a necessity for achieving the political and socio-economic development of a state as no state in the world can be self-sufficient and the more a state positively engages in foreign policy, the more it experiences political and socio-economic development. Fourthly, foreign policy ensures global peace and solidarity because it affords states the opportunity to interact and achieve their national interests without making recourse to violence. Wars and other forms of violent conflicts can be described as fallouts of the failure of the States involved in the conflicts to use opportunities provided by foreign policy to settle their differences amicably.

2.3. Sports as Instrument of Foreign Policy

Many scholars have argued that sports have always been instruments employed by states in their relations with one another in the international system. Deos (2014), Padhi (2011) and Pigman and Rofe (2014) date the employment of sporting activities for the enhancement of relations between sovereign States to the 9th century when warring Greek states agreed to a truce treaty called the Ekecheiria which gave legal recognition to the Olympia games as a period to suspend hostilities and which granted official protection to participants of the Olympia during the period of the competitions. Kertesz (2010) also asserts that sport was a major means of international diplomacy as far back as 180 B.C. when Eumenes II, the King of Pergamon vigorously used sports to promote the interests of Pergamon within her sphere of political influence. In the same vein, King Philaetetus, the successor of Eumenes II, to further the interests of Pergamon in Greece, used every means possibly at his disposal to ensure that his nephew Attalus, whom he had designated as his heir, won the 4-colt chariot competition in the Olympics held around 270 B.C. Murray and Pigman (2014) note that sporting contests between states in the pre-Westphalian era were mainly organised to create and cement accords between kingdoms. They point to the sporting meet between England and France in 1520 to further strengthen the accord reached between the two countries in 1514 as a reference.

In the modern era, Whannel (2008) cites some major sports competitions which States and their leaders tried to use to propagate their foreign policies including the 1936 Berlin Olympics which Hitler wanted to use to 'preach' his racial ideology of Aryan supremacy; the use of some table tennis matches to create a bridge between the United States and China in the 1970s which is often referred to as the "Ping-Pong diplomacy"; the intense rivalry between capitalism and communism which characterised the 1980 Moscow Olympics and the suspension of South Africa between the 1970s and the 1990s from many international sporting activities over the apartheid rule policy of her government. For him therefore,

sports provide the arena for States to battle for supremacy and achieve national pride without resorting to the use of weapons.

Deos (2014), Lin, et al. (2009) and Murray and Pigman (2014) also lend credence to the position that sports are instruments of international diplomacy. They cite the efforts of Benito Mussolini of Italy to use the FIFA World Cup of 1934 to showcase the triumphs of fascism and the bid by the Hitler-led Nazi government in Germany to employ the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games to drum support for his racial and political ideologies; the track and field competitions between the United States of America and the Soviet Union during the height of the Cold War to douse political tension; sporting competitions to strengthen the bonds between the Soviet Union and other socialist States in Asia, Africa and Latin America; the boycott of the 1980 Moscow Olympic Games by the United States of America and about sixty of her allies to protest against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan; the reverse boycott of the 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Games by the Soviet Union; and the refusal of the United States of America to sanction the attempted boycott of the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games by some States to protest against allegations of human rights violations by the Chinese government because the United States had established a very strong economic relationship with the Chinese government; the 'wrestling diplomacy' between the United States of America and Iran in 1998 to diffuse political tensions between the two countries and the 'cricket diplomacy' that helps to ensure peace between India and Pakistan. Merkel (2014) also indicates that sports have remained the main bridge between North and South Korea. Many efforts have been to re-integrate the two Koreas to any avail as their political ideologies are drastically opposed. However, the frequent unification matches between these two countries have always kept the window of hope opened to the possibility of a re-unification in the future. As the former Secretary-General of the United Nations, (UN) observed "At its best [sports] can bring people together, no matter their origin, background, religious beliefs or economic status" (Annan, UN press release SG/SM/9579, 2004 quoted in Darnell, 2010, p. 55). Deos (2014) describes the possibilities that sports have for international peace and security when he affirms that:

International sporting events create the possibility for discourse, an exchange of information and the establishment of shared experiences...Moreover sporting events can facilitate cooperation, increase understanding, bridge profound differences, break down stereotypes, and confine conflicts to the playing field rather than the battlefield. (p. 1170)

Murray and Pigman (2014), in agreement with the above position, also posit that international sporting activities help to shape norms necessary for global co-operation, peace, security and development. They state that:

Large international sporting events have a huge public diplomacy impact upon the global public viewing the events either in person or through the media. The public see the assembled nations of the world, represented by their respective competitors, coming together in one place to engage in an organised, safe and non-violent competition, and they take away the impression that international peace is both possible and positive. (p. 1107)

Murray and Pigman (2014) identify four benefits accruable to any state that uses sports as an instrument for achieving its foreign policy goals. Firstly, sports can be employed to rebrand the image of a State from being negative to being positive. Secondly, sports can be used to support the other instruments of foreign policy in the attainment of desired objectives. Thirdly, hosting sporting events draws global attention to the investment possibilities in the host States. Fourthly, sports, just like diplomacy, afford States the opportunity to interact with one another without resorting to open conflict. Frey and Eitzen (1991) posit that because of the high visibility sports provide for the articulation of a state's objectives in the international system and because success in sporting events often enhance the status of a State in the international system, States often see them as means of promoting their foreign policies.

Grix and Lee (2013) also maintain that states engage in intense competitions to host sports mega-events. They note that in time past, international sports governing bodies such as the Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) and the International Olympic Committee (IOC) had to plead with states to host their events but in the recent time, especially after the end of the Cold War, sports have become veritable means of gaining international prestige and recognition and the hosting of sports mega events is seen as a cheap means of showcasing the socio-economic and political development of a State to the international audience. As Adenuga (2003) avers, during the Cold War, the military capability of a state was a major determinant of its power of appeal in the international system. However, with the end of the Cold War, while military power may still be a means of gaining prestige in the international system, it has become much de-emphasized in favour of socio-cultural, economic and political power. In accord with this position, Grix and Lee state that coercive power, which they described as "the influence of the behaviour of others to get the outcome one wants" (p. 6) governed international relations during the period of the Cold War but after the end of the Cold War, soft power which is "the ability to attract and co-opt others to want what you want" (p. 6) has become the prevailing principle governing international relations. The fact that sports possess the ability to transcend global socio-cultural differences (Darnell, 2010) make states see them as major means of gaining soft power and using it to place its users in vantage positions in the international system (Deos, 2014; Pigman & Rofo, 2014). Tomlinson and Young (2006) succinctly portray that, given the political realities of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the modern Olympics was restricted to just a handful of states in the European, North America and South American continents but today, it is open to all the independent States of the world which number over 200. In the same vein FIFA had just 7 founding members in 1904 but today, its membership cuts across all the States in the international system. Murray (1999) informs us that "today, there is barely a flag in the world that does not fly around the FIFA offices in Zurich" (p. 31). These international sports organisations thus "offer a platform to all nations, and most of all, to small countries of the world that is unrivalled by any other cultural or political body, even the UN" (Tomlinson & Young, 2006, p. 2) and states try to hitch a ride on this platform to arrive at specified foreign policy destinations. The case of South Africa is instructive in this regard. As Adenuga and

Hassan (2011) have succinctly discussed, in the wake of the call for the restructuring of the United Nations (UN) to reflect modern political and economic realities which greatly differ from that which obtained at the end of the Second World War in 1945 when it was established, especially the enlargement of the permanent membership of the Security Council, which given its powers, could be described as the most powerful body in the UN. The observation that representation into the permanent membership of the Security Council may be conducted along regional lines has pitted South Africa against Nigeria and Egypt, which were traditionally considered as the powerhouses of the African continent, in a race for supremacy to truly determine who the African giant is and who is worthy enough to be Africa's permanent member in the Security Council of the UN. Thus, aside from using the hosting of mega sports events to gain recognition as a fully-fledged democratic state and to attract foreign investment, South Africa also hoped to use these events to prove that she possesses the requisite credentials to be the leader of the African continent. During the preparations towards the hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, former President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa was quoted to have said that:

We want, on behalf of our continent, to stage an event that will send ripples of confidence from Cape to Cairo – an event that will create social and economic opportunities throughout Africa. [. . .] We want to show that Africa's time has come. (Steinbrink, et al., 2011, p. 17).

Reading in between the lines, it is obvious that South Africa wanted to use the wide media coverage to make the whole world see her as the true African champion. In the same vein, Qatar, a country with just about two million citizens has, through the hosting of sporting events, achieved an enviable status of a regional power, not only in the Middle East but in the whole of Asia. She successfully hosted the Asian Games in 2006 and shortly afterwards, she also successfully hosted the Asian Football Confederation Cup and in 2011, she successfully bid to host the 2022 FIFA World Cup. Pavgi and Kadaba (2012) observe that "by winning the bids for hosting major global sporting events, Qatar had positioned itself as a leading power broker for business, diplomacy, and foreign affairs between Western and Eastern states" (p. 24).

More often than not, the success or otherwise of national teams is often taken to be the sign of the well-being of their nations and it affords States a very resourceful means of establishing international legitimacy (Shor & Yonay, 2010). Lin, et al. (2009) and Yazid (2014) posit that sports serve as a mirror for assessing a State's progress and civilization. As Kobierecki (2014) avers, "sports victories (are) meant to legitimise superiority of a country, both internationally and domestically in respect to its own society" (p. 311). Nations of the world thus try to use sports as avenues to showcase the superiority of their civilizations to others. The victory of the England's football team in the 1966 FIFA World Cup was interpreted as a good evidence of the English superiority over other civilisations (Tomlinson & Young, 2006). Rintaugu, et al. (2011) argue that states in the international system often use sports to achieve political credibility. Yang (2007) subscribes to this position by affirming that during the Cold War period, communist Soviet Union and the capitalist States often try to prove the superiority of their ideologies in international sports competitions. Prior to 1952, the Soviet Union was seen having little sports mettle but it stunned the whole world when it won a total of 71 medals in its first Olympic Games in 1952 and thus enhanced the prestige of communism in the international community. She also hosted the 1980 Olympic Games in order to showcase the socio-economic development recorded since she adopted communism in the early 20th century. The United States hosted the 1984 Olympic Games to sell the glamour capitalism has over communism and South Korea also hosted the 1988 Olympic Games to show the world how she had benefitted from the immense developmental benefits accruable from capitalism (Tomlinson & Young, 2006). Japan was a prominent member of the Axis Powers that lost to the Allied Forces in World War II and she suffered a loss of great prestige as a result of the part she played in the War. To redeem her battered image in order to gain international acceptance and to showcase to the world her socio-economic and political development about a decade after the War, she embarked on the hosting of high profile international sports competition including the 1956 Judo World Championship, the Tokyo Olympics of 1964, the Sapporo Winter Olympics of 1972 and the 2002 Football World Cup which she co-hosted with South Korea (Manzenreiter & Horne, 2005). Grix and Lee (2013) posit that states that had little appeal in the international system, especially as a result of obnoxious domestic policies, often use the instrumentalities of sports to redeem their international image and gain international acceptance. For example, the Chinese government employed the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games to gain more international appeal by showcasing the immense tourist attractions in China and beauty of the Chinese culture. Thus, despite the fact that China still remains a communist state, her prestige has been considerably increased since she hosted the Games. As Bodet and Lacassagne (2012) point out, in the 2005 Anholt Nation Brand Index (ANBI), China was rated poorly especially in the areas of tourism, exports, governance, investment/immigration, culture/heritage and people but by the end of the Beijing Olympic Games in 2008, she had made considerable progress in the ANBI ratings. These scholars also aver that prior to the hosting of the Olympic Games in 2008; China was largely viewed as an isolated country with a subservient populace who employ inferior technology to produce low quality goods. At the same time, China was seen as a country with serious pollution problems. To combat and change these perceptions, the Chinese government adopted a three-fold aim and slogan for the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games. Firstly, they termed it 'the Peoples Olympics' to showcase the beauty of the Chinese people to the international community; secondly, they described it as 'the High-Tech Olympics' to portray China as possessing a technology that is world class and inferior to none; and thirdly they labelled it 'the Green Olympics' to draw global attention to the environmental-friendly policies of the Chinese government. South Africa was for decades a pariah State in the international system because of its obnoxious racial policy of apartheid but after it fully abolished the policy of apartheid in the late 1980s/early 1990s, she also employed the instrumentality of sports to gain leverage in the international system. She embarked on the hosting of various major sports events including the African Nations Cup of 1996, the 1995 Rugby World Cup, the 1996 World Cup of Golf, the 1998 World Cup of Athletes, the 2003 Cricket World Cup, the 2005-2008 Women's World Cup of Golf, the 2006 Paralympics Swimming World Championships, the 2009 FIFA Confederations Cup, the 2010 FIFA World Cup, the 2012 African Cup of Nations and a host of other high

profile sports championships. Grix and Lee (2013) note that despite South Africa's huge domestic problems which include "the fact that 49% of the population live under the poverty line, 25% of its population unemployed, an 18% HIV/AIDS infection rate and an extremely high crime rate" (p. 13), she has become a very respected member of the international system which may be largely ascribed to her participation in and hosting of sports major events. Despite its domestic problems, including widespread poverty and the rampant corruption that characterises its bureaucracy, Brazil has been strategically employing sports to enhance her international prestige. She hosted the Pan-American Games in 2007, the 2014 FIFA World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games. Since the dissolution of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s, Russia has been on the search to regain the international prestige she enjoyed as a superpower during the period of the Cold War and lately she has started using the hosting of sports mega sports as a means of achieving this objective. In July 2013, she hosted the World Students Games (the Universiade) in Kazan; she also hosted the 2014 Winter Olympics in Sochi; the Russian cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg also hosted the 2016 Ice Hockey World Championship; and she is billed to host the 2018 FIFA World Cup (Makarychev, 2013).

States, and even Non-State Actors, employ sports as major instruments of foreign policy because they are relatively low-cost and they involve low risk when compared with other means of foreign policy such as espionage or war, and yet they offer higher profile than most other means of foreign policy (Padhi, 2011).

3. Theoretical Framework

3.1. Soft Power Theory

Soft power, as a theory of International Relations, is generally ascribable to the seminal work of Professor Joseph Nye, a Harvard Scholar, titled 'Bound to Lead: the Changing Nature of American Power' written in 1990. Against the backdrop of studies showing that the United States was gradually losing her position as the main superpower in the international system given the shift of attention from military capabilities as a main criterion for measuring influence in the international system and the emergence of great economic powers including Japan and China which were poised to supplant the United States as the global economic giants, 'Bound to Lead: the Changing Nature of American Power' was essentially written to show that even with the loss of her military and economic dominance, which Nye described as being mainly coercive, the United States still possessed various means of generating the power of appeal and attraction that would continue to make her the 'power that be' in the international system (Nye, 1990). This power of appeal and attraction is seen to be 'soft' as compared to the 'hard' power of coercion. The theory of Soft power has gained much currency in the literature on foreign policy since 1990 and States including the United States (Sayama, 2016), China (Wang & Lu, 2008), and South Korea (Lee, 2009) have greatly employed soft power instruments to achieve their foreign policy objectives. Goldsmith and Horiuchi (2010) in a landmark multi-national survey involving about 58 countries asserted that the United States have achieved much with soft power than with the use of hard power.

Kroenig, McAdam and Weber (2010) and Samaya (2016) see soft power as being associated with non-military instruments with which a State can subtly yet greatly make other States to get attracted to help it achieve whatever it wants to achieve in the international system. Soft power is thus be described as the ability of a State to use "non-conscious" means to affect the sentiments and emotions of other States in such a way that they will think it their duty to align themselves with the foreign policy objectives of such a State (White, 2011, p. ii). Nye (2011) gives the classical definition of soft power as the ability to "affect others to get the things you want without coercion or payments but through attraction and persuasion". While many factors, including political institutions and political values, have been identified as basis for generating soft power, the projection of the culture of a State in such a way that it will gain the attention and attraction of global audiences is seen as the most important source of soft power (Samaya, 2016; Wang & Lu, 2008; White, 2011). Lee (2009) thus opines that soft power affords a State the best opportunity of projecting its desired image to other States in the international system and to use such image to shape their actions to give supports to its foreign policy objectives.

3.2. Sports and Foreign Policy in Nigeria: An Overview

Since the inception of Nigeria as a sovereign state, sports have been major instruments of pursuing a vigorous foreign policy in the international system. Aibueku (2011) and Jeroh (2012b) point out that sports played a leading role in helping to achieve reconciliation among Nigerians and heal the Nigerian state after the Civil War of 1967-1970. Anytime there is a major competition, Nigerians irrespective of the educational, cultural, religious, social, economic and political divides, often unite to support the national teams (Jeroh, 2012b) thereby forging bonds of integration and unity. On the international stage, Nigeria, in 1974, was in the forefront of the African delegates who chose to use their votes to remove the then English president of FIFA and install Joao Havelange, a Brazilian because a core campaign promise of Havelange was to ban countries with racist policies such as South Africa from the organisation. In the same vein, she also led some other African countries to boycott the 1976 Montreal Olympic Games and the 1978 Edmonton Commonwealth Games in order to ensure the ostracism of South Africa in the international system (Ndlovu, 2010). However, prior to 1989, there had been no serious attempt by Nigerian governments to formulate and implement a carefully planned sports policy. What obtained were ad-hoc and haphazardly formulated sport policies (Aibueku, 2011, Aibeku & Ogbouma, 2013). To correct this anomaly and properly position sports as instruments of achieving domestic and foreign policies, the Federal Government of Nigeria in 1989 formulated a national sports policy. According to Aibeku & Ogbouma (2014), the broad objectives of the 1989 National Sports Policy included:

- The promotion of an awareness of general fitness, health, recreational and leisure activities of the individual Nigerian citizen whatever his age, occupation and status.

- The provision of a forum for free and fair competition based on approved regulations among Nigerians of different background and extending this forum to the international level with a view to forging a bond of understanding and friendship among people.
- The encouragement of traditional sports with a view to upgrading them for competing at national and international levels.
- Providing the nation with the opportunity of measuring its sporting might against that of the other nations of the world with a view to establishing a respectable position for Nigeria in the sporting community of the world.
- The arrangement of physical activities programmes for all ages and provide the required manpower and sports facilities
- The encouragement of various sports institutions, media bodies and houses to design training programmes for sports journalists and to promote sports development at local, national and international levels and evolve a strategy for collecting information, education and communication data and;
- The utilization of sports as a means for promoting a sense of patriotism and nationalism as well as enhancing the social well-being of the citizenry.

A cursory examination of the above objectives will reveal that they encompass the main domestic and foreign policies of the Nigerian state but this policy was not properly implemented as witnessed in the fluctuating performance of Nigeria on the international stage and in its inability to translate into concrete benefits for the Nigerian citizenry.

In 1997, the Nigerian government designed an economic blueprint referred to as Vision 20:2020 and which has the main goal of transforming Nigeria into one of the most developed 20 states in the world by the year 2020 (Adenuga, 2014). One of the objectives of the Vision 20:2020 is to diversify and strengthen the Nigerian economy to make it more sustainable and competitive and sports are identified as good strategies for achieving this lofty objective because of their immense potentials to effectively harness the talents and energies of Nigerians to drastically reduce poverty and greatly increase income through the creation of business opportunities and employment (Akarah, 2014). Jeroh (2012a) posits that the unprecedented successes of Nigeria at the FIFA World Cup in USA 1994 coupled with the 1996 Atlanta Olympic Games made the Nigerian government to seriously consider using sports as vehicles of achieving her domestic and foreign policies. Thus, through the Vision 20:2020 sports sub-committee report of 1997, the Nigerian government projected to achieve her domestic and foreign policies by:

- Winning the World Cup in Soccer in 1998,
- Becoming one of the top five in Commonwealth Games in 1998,
- Hosting and winning the World Youth Championship in 1999,
- Retaining the Olympic soccer gold in Sydney 2000,
- Retaining the Olympic gold in women long jump in Sydney 2000,
- Winning at least five additional gold medals in Sydney Olympics 2000,
- Raising the standard achieved in all above by 100%. Jeroh (2012a: 265)

Sadly however, none of the above objectives was achieved.

With the growing realization of the roles sports play in the enhancement of domestic and foreign policies and the continuous downward slide of Nigerian performance in international sporting competitions, especially in the Olympic Games and the FIFA World Cups coupled with the ineffectual ability to strategically use sports to enhance the well-being of Nigerians, the Federal Government of Nigeria in 2009 reviewed the 1989 National Sport Policy and developed the 2009 National Sport Policy. The main objectives of this Sport Policy include:

- To develop sports to become an instrument of national unity.
- Utilise achievements in sports to boost the country's image in the comity of nations.
- Develop Athletes, Coaches, Technical Officials, Sports Scientists, Sports Medicine Practitioners and Administrators to be among the best in the world.
- Attract major international sporting events to Nigeria and exploit their benefits for tourism and the economy.
- Create enabling environment for sports good manufacturing industries.
- Use sports as an avenue to minimize anti-social behaviour.
- Promote sport as a means to generate employment and create wealth.
- To give opportunity to the physically challenged person to participate in sports of their choice.
- Encourage private sector investment in all sectors of sports.
- Ensure utilisation of Information Technology to collate sport data for effective planning and dissemination of information.
- Encourage the provision of recreational and sporting facilities by the three tiers of government.
- Ensure adequate and proper funding of sports at all levels.
- Promote School and Institutional Sports Development and Competitions at all three tiers of Government.
- Ensure that Sports is an integral part of the curriculum of Educational Institutions at all levels (Nursery, Primary, Secondary and Tertiary).
- Encourage mass participation in sports and recreation with a view to using exercise for the improvement of the general health and fitness of citizens.

Since 2009, Nigeria has been to three FIFA World Cups and two Olympic Games and her performances at these sporting competitions could be best described as being very dismal. As stated earlier, she could not progress out of the

group stages at the 2010 South Africa, the 2014 Brazil and the 2018 Russia World Cups. The Nigerian contingent to 2012 London Olympic Games came back home empty handed and at the 2016 Rio Olympics, Nigeria could only manage to secure a bronze medal in the male football event of the competition. Using the 2016 Rio Olympic Games and the 2018 Russia World Cup as templates, the reasons for the inability of Nigeria to actualise the aspirations contained in the 2009 National Sports Policy become very obvious.

A common axiom states that 'he who fails to plan, plans to fail'. In order to win laurels at sporting events and through these achievements, enhance their prestige and status in the international system, States prepare and prepare hard. The financial resources and all other resources to develop and motivate their sportsmen and women are provided early enough in order to make them give their best to their motherlands. A case in point is Great Britain. At the 1996 Atlanta Olympic Games, she only managed to win 15 medals with just one gold medal to place a dismal 36th position on the medals table but at the 2016 Rio Olympic Games, she confirmed her status as a sporting "superpower" when she got a total haul of 67 medals, 27 of which are gold to place second next to the United States of America and a place above China at the top of the medals' table (Yorke, 2016). This achievement was not as a result of strokes of luck but as a result of adequate preparations right after the London 2012 Olympic Games and the intense commitment of both the British government and her sportsmen and women to achieve a landmark success at the Games. Herbert (2016) reports that about £274m was spent on preparing the British contingent to the 2016 Rio Olympic Games and that the feel-good-effect that accrued to all the citizens of Great Britain as a result of the exploits of country men and women at the Games was worth every penny spent on the Games.

It was however a different story for the Nigerian team to the Rio Olympic Games. The preparations for the Games began some months to the Games and the preparations, despite their lateness, were very shoddy (Ajom, 2016; Ebgujo, 2016; Ubani, 2016). Fasan (2016), The Nation Newspaper and the Daily Trust both in their editorial of August 30, 2016 lamented that the image of Nigeria, and by extension, all Nigerians, suffered a very serious bashing during the 2016 Rio Olympic Games which may be very difficult to redeem. Nigeria became a laughing stock in the international sporting arena, not only because of the poor performance of her sporting men and women, but majorly because of the gross incompetence of her officials. For example, they noted that the official ceremonial outfits the Nigerian contingent was supposed to wear during the opening ceremony of the Games did not arrive at Rio de Janeiro until three days to the end of the Games and that the Nigerian contingent had to appear before the full glare of global spotlight dressed in old tracksuits! More pathetic, however, is the fact that many of the Nigerian athletes who trained outside the shores of the Nigerian state were not adequately mobilised to travel to Brazil for the Games and many of them had to resort to begging on the social media in order to raise funds to cover their travelling expenses. The male football team was stranded in Atlanta, USA, and had to rely on the philanthropy of strangers to travel to Brazil where they arrived few hours to the commencement of their first match at the Games. It is also disheartening that the team had to also resort to threats of boycotting a crucial match at the Games before their earned bonuses were paid. Given this morale defeating treatment of the male football team, Ajom (2016), concluded that the bronze medal won by the team could best be described as a miracle of sorts. A major causal factor of Nigeria's woeful performance at the Games could also be ascribed to inadequacy and delay in the release of budgetary allocation for preparations towards the Games (Ebgujo, 2016; Ojo, 2016). In the 2016 Appropriation Act, a sum of about ₦416m was budgeted for the Games. If a comparative analysis of the sum spent by the British in preparing for the Games (about £274m) and that of the Nigerian contingent (₦416m which is about £1m) is carried out, then the inability of the Nigerian contingent to win more laurels becomes understandable. The preparations for the 2018 Russia World Cup also followed a similar pattern. As at early December 2017, the Minister for Youth and Sports, Solomon Dalung, was still discussing plans to make money available from public and private sources to fund the Super Eagles campaign in the sporting fiesta starting in June 2018 (Ameh, 2017) and it was only in May 2018 that tangible efforts were made to raise fund from private sources (Jannah, 2018; Okpara, 2018). Small wonder the campaign was short-lived as the Super Eagles was bundled out in the group stages. Umeifekwem (2013) provides a broader list of causal factors responsible for the inability of Nigeria to use sports as instrument for promoting domestic and foreign policies to include:

Defective preparation mechanism for international sports competition; incessant allegations and accusations of suspected mismanagement of dedicated resources for sport development; lack of the state-of-the-art training facilities; hijack of sports administration in Nigeria by unprofessional administration; disconnect between existing sports research institutions and the ministry of sports. (p. 260)

4. Conclusion

The realisation of the immense benefits of sports as instrument for the promotion of Nigeria's foreign policy was a major impetus for the formulation of the 2009 National Sports Policy. However, since the formulation of the Policy, Nigeria has performed woefully in major international sporting events, particularly in the Olympic Games and the FIFA World Cup Finals (Senior Category) with negative consequences for her foreign policy as she continues to suffer from image deficit in the international system. This is a great pointer to the fact that the formulation and implementation of the Policy are problematic and that the Policy must be reviewed to ensure the usage of sports as instrument for promoting Nigeria's foreign policy.

5. Recommendations

This study recommends the urgent review of the 2009 National Sports Policy. The reviewed National Sports Policy must become the manual for every sports administrator and the sections for the promotion of foreign policy objectives must also become an important policy guide for foreign policy decisions. It is believed that strict adherence to the

provisions of the reviewed National Sports Policy will drastically solve the problem of funding, lack of training facilities, inadequate preparations for international sports competitions, especially the Olympic Games and the senior FIFA Men World Cup and it will make it possible to use the platform provided by the excellent performances of our national teams in these international sports competitions as leverage to achieve foreign policy objectives.

This study also calls for a strong synergy between the Ministry of Youth and Sports and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The study has established that sports are veritable instruments for achieving foreign policy objectives and thus it becomes imperative to tighten the bond between these two ministries in order to use sports to promote Nigeria's foreign policy objectives.

This study also advocates that only people with specialised training in sports administration be allowed to be at the helms of affairs in the Ministry of Youth and Sports and other sports institutions and organisations. As it has become a norm for the Ministries of Finance, Medicine and Justice to be headed and administered by professionals and experts in these Ministries, so also must it be for the Ministry of Youth and Sports.

6. References

- i. Adenuga, G. A. (2003). Global relations in the new world order: The implication for the international security system. An unpublished M.Sc. thesis submitted to the Political Science Department, University of Ibadan, Ibadan.
- i. Adenuga, G. A. & A. K. Hassan (2011). The new partnership for Africa's development (NEPAD) and the quest for a new world order: problems and prospects. *Religions' Educator*, 14 (2), 107-114.
- ii. Adenuga, G. A. (2014). Political education as a panacea for sustainable development in Nigeria. *Beacon*, 2 (1), 140-146.
- iii. Adeola, G. L. & Ogunnoiki, A. O. (2015). The pursuance of Nigeria's domestic and foreign policy in the fourth republic: complementarity or contradiction. *Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, 1 (4), 434-444.
- iv. Aibueku, S. O. (2011). A comparative analysis of Nigeria's sports development policies: 1989 and 2009. *Ozean Journal of Applied Sciences*, 4 (2), 115-120.
- v. Aibueke, S. O. & Ogbouma, S. (2013). Extent of implementation of the 2009 national sports policy of Nigeria: implications for sports science, exercising science, and sport medicine. *Social Sciences and Humanities*, 4 (2), 541-549.
- vi. Aibueke, S. O. & Ogbouma, S. (2014). Historical analysis of Nigeria's sports development policy. *Asia Pacific Journal of Education, Arts & Science*, 1 (1), 70-72.
- vii. Ajom, J. (2016). Rio Olympics: Nigeria's pathetic medal run. *The Vanguard Newspaper*. August 30
- viii. Akarah, E. O. (2014). Sports marketing in Nigeria: governments' funding and sports development recommendations. *Academic Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies*, 3 (1), 297-282.
- ix. Akinboye, S. O. & Basiru, A. S. (2014). Foreign policy analysis: conceptual and theoretical logic. Allen: Wits Publishing Ltd.
- x. Ameh, C. G. (2017). 2018 world cup: Nigerian government budgets N3bn for Super Eagles. *The Daily Post*. December 5
- xi. Ashaver, T. B. (2014). Continuities and discontinuities in Nigeria's foreign policy. *International Journal of Development and Sustainability*, 3 (2), 286-305.
- xii. Banjo, W. S. & P. O. Omidiran (2000). Politics in international sports: The Nigerian experience. Lagos: Afreb.
- xiii. Bodet, G. & Lacassagne, M. (2012). International place branding through sporting events: a British perspective of the Beijing Olympics. *European Sport Management Quarterly*, 12(4), 357-374. DOI: 10.1080/16184742.2012.693114.
- xiv. Bogopa, D. (2001). Sports development: obstacles and solutions in South Africa. *The African Anthropologist*, 8 (1), 85-95.
- xv. Chidozie, F., Ibietan, J., & Ujara, E. (2014). Foreign policy, international image and national transformation: A historical perspective. *International Journal of Innovative Social Sciences & Humanities Research*, 2 (4), 49-58.
- xvi. Daniel, I. U. (2014). Foreign policy and national interest: a case study of Nigeria-Cameroon border dispute. *World Journal of Management and Behavioural Studies*. 2 (1), 6-11.
- xvii. Darnell, S. C. (2010). Power, politics and "sport for development and peace": investigating the utility of sport for international development. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 27, 54- 75.
- xviii. Deos, A. (2014). Sport and relational public diplomacy: the case of New Zealand and Rugby World Cup 2011. *Sport in Society*, 17 (9), 1170-1186. DOI: 10.1080/17430437.2013.856588.
- xix. Ebgujo, U. (2016). 2016 Olympics: team Nigeria, failure foretold. *The Vanguard Newspaper*. August 20.
- xx. Fasan, R. (2016). The Rio Olympics, Nigeria and the sports ministry. *The Vanguard Newspaper*. August 10.
- xxi. Federal Government of Nigeria (2009). National Sports Policy of Nigeria.
- xxii. Folarin, S. F. (2013). Nigeria and the dilemma of global relevance: foreign policy under military dictatorship (1993-1999). *Covenant University Journal of Politics and International Affairs*, 1 (1), 21-47.
- xxiii. Frey, J. H. & Eitzen, D. S. (1991). Sport and society. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 17, 503- 522.
- xxiv. Gill, B. & Huang, Y. (2006). Sources and limits of Chinese 'soft power'. *Survival > Global Politics and Strategy*, 48 (2), 17-36.

- xxv. Goldsmith, B. E. & Horiuchi (2010). In search of soft power: Does foreign public opinion matter for U.S. foreign policy? A presentation at the School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, University of California, San Diego, Feb. 2.
- xxvi. Grix, J. (2014). The attraction of sport mega-events to states of all political hues. In Hofmeister, W. (ed.). *More than a game: sports, society and politics*. Singapore: Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung Ltd. P. 17-22.
- xxvii. Grix, J. & Carmichael F. (2012). Why do governments invest in elite sport? A polemic. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, 4(1), 73-90
- xxviii. Grix, J. & Lee, D. (2013). Soft power, sports mega-events and emerging states: the lure of the politics of attraction. *Global Society*, 27 (4), 521-536
- xxix. Herbert, I. (2016). How many millions each Olympic medal has really cost Britain. *The Independent*. August 21.
- xxx. Invest Northern Ireland (2012). *Global supply opportunities for international sporting events, 2012-2022*. Belfast: Invest Northern Ireland.
- xxxi. Jannah, C. (2018). Russia 2018: Nigerian govt backs mobilization of private fund for Super Eagles. *The Daily Post*. May 6.
- xxxii. Jeroh, E. J. (2012a). Grassroots sports: conveyor belt for sports development in Nigeria. *AFRREV IJAH*, 1 (1), 265-276.
- xxxiii. Jeroh, E. J. (2012b). Sports as an instrument for social cohesion in Nigeria. *AFRREV IJAH*, 1 (2), 101-111.
- xxxiv. Kertesz, I. (2010). The connections between Pergamon and the Delphi (sport and politics in the Hellenistic period). *International Quarterly of Sport Science*, 1, 17-24.
- xxxv. Kobierecki, M. M. (2014). International sport in the struggle for political cooperation. *Polish Political Science Yearbook*, XLIII, 311-330.
- xxxvi. Kroenig, M., McAdam, M., & Weber, S. (2010). Taking soft power seriously. *Comparative Strategy*, 29 (5), 412-431.
- xxxvii. Lee, G. (2009). A theory of soft power and Korea's soft power strategy. *Korean Journal of Defence Analysis*, 21 (9), 205-218.
- xxxviii. Lee, K. & Ok, G. (2015). A war without weapons: rugby, Korean resistance, and Japanese colonialism, 1910-1945. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*.
- xxxix. Lin, C. Y., Lee, P. C. & Nai, H. F. (2009) Theorizing the role of sport in state-politics. *International Journal of Sport & Exercise Science*, 1 (1), 23-32.
- xl. Makarychev, A. (2013). The politics of sports mega-events in Russia: Kazan, Sochi, and beyond. *PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo*. No. 288.
- xli. Manzenreiter, W. & Horne, J. (2005). Public policy, sports investments and regional development initiatives in contemporary Japan. In Nauright, J. & Schimmel, K. S. (eds.) *The political economy of sport*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. P. 152-182.
- xlii. Merkel, U. (2014). The politics of sport and identity in North Korea. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 31 (3), 376-390.
- xliii. Murray, B. (1999). FIFA. In Riordan J. & Kruger, A. (eds.). *The international politics of sport in the twentieth century*. London & New York: E & FN Spon. P. 28-47.
- xliv. Murray, S. & Pigman, G. A. (2014). Mapping the relationship between international sport and diplomacy. *Sport in Society*, 17 (9), 1098-1118.
- xl. Ndlovu, S. M. (2010). Sports as cultural diplomacy: the 2010 FIFA world cup in South Africa's foreign policy. *Soccer & Society*. 11 (1-2), 144-153.
- xli. Nwankwo, O. B. C. (2013). Shifting the paradigm in Nigeria's foreign policy: Goodluck Jonathan and Nigeria's Vision 20:2020. *Social Sciences*, 2 (6), 212-221.
- xlvii. Nye, Jr., J. S. (1990). The future of power. A presentation at the 1967th stated Academy meeting, Feb. 16, at the House of the Academy.
- xlviii. Nye, Jr., J. S. (2011). *Bound to lead: The changing nature of American power*. New York: Basic Books.
- xlix. Ojo, S. (2016). Rio 2016: lack of budgetary allocations hindered Nigeria's Olympics performance-Are. *Nigeria Today*. September 4.
- l. Okpara, C. (2018). Super Eagles' world cup fund committee targets N3billion. *The Guardian Newspaper*. May 7
- li. Olasupo, O. (2015). Nigerian foreign policy in the fourth republic: an assessment of the impact of Olusegun Obasanjo's civilian administration's foreign policy (1999 to 2007). *Peak Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, 3 (5), 58-63.
- lii. Osuntokun, J. (1987). The thrust of Nigeria's foreign policy in the future. *Nigerian Forum*, 6 (5), 1-5.
- liii. Padhi, B. (2011). Sports diplomacy: South Africa and FIFA 2010. *Insight on Africa*, 3 (1), 55-70.
- liv. Pavgi, K. & Kadaba, N. (2012). From stadiums to shuttle diplomacy: Qatar's emergence as a regional diplomatic power. *SURFACE*, 24-29.
- lv. Pigman, G. A. & Rofo, S. (2014). Sport and diplomacy: an introduction. *Sport in Society*, 1 (9), 1095-1097.
- lvi. Rintaugu, E. G., Munayi, S., Mwangil, I. & Ngetich, E. D. K. (2011) The grand coalition in Kenya: a recipe for sports development. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 1 (18), 305-311.
- lvii. Shor, E. & Yonay, Y. (2010). Sport, national identity, and media discourse over foreign athletes in Israel. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 16 (3), 483-503.

- Iviii. Steinbrink, M., Haferburg, C. & Ley, A. (2011). Festivalisation and urban renewal in the Global South: socio-spatial consequences of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. *South African Geographical Journal*, 93 (1),15-28. DOI: 10.1080/03736245.2011.567827.
- Ixi. The Federal Government of Nigeria (2009). The National sports policy of Nigeria.
- Ix. The Government of South Australia (2016). Community recreation and sport facilities program, 2017-18. Office for Recreation and Sport. www.ors.sa.gov.au
- Ixi. Ubani, T. (2016). Rio 2016 Olympics: more controversies, no gold. *Nigeria Today*. August 29.
- Ixii. Umeifekwem, J. E. (2013). Systematic review of team Nigeria's performance in Olympic Games: causes, concerns and remediation strategies. *JORIND*, 11 (1), 258-263.
- Ixiii. Umezurike, S. A. & A. E. Lucky (2015). Exploring diplomatic crisis of Nigeria and South Africa between 1994 and 2013. *Academic Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies*, (4) 1, 65-73.
- Ixiv. Ushkovska, M. & Petrushevika, T. (2015). Sports diplomacy: development and practice. *Research in Kinesiology*, 43 (1),89-93.
- Ixv. Wang, H. & Lu, Y. (2008). The conception of soft power and its policy implications: A comparative study of China and Taiwan. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 17 (56), 425-447.
- Ixvi. Whannel, G. (2008). *Culture, politics and sport: blowing the whistle, revisited*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Ixvii. White, D. (2011). The affect-emotion gap: Soft power, nation branding, and cultural administration in Japan. A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Rice University, Houston.
- Ixviii. Yang, L. (2007). Politics of the sporting body: a study of sport as a political tool under communism. *Deliberations*, 2007-2008.
- Ixix. Yazid, L. I. (2014). Sports development; the Nigerian way: a review. *International Journal of Physical Education, Sports and Health*, 1 (4),20-24.
- Ixx. Yorke, H. (2016). How many medals did team GB win at the Rio Olympics and how did they beat China? *The Telegraph*. August 22.