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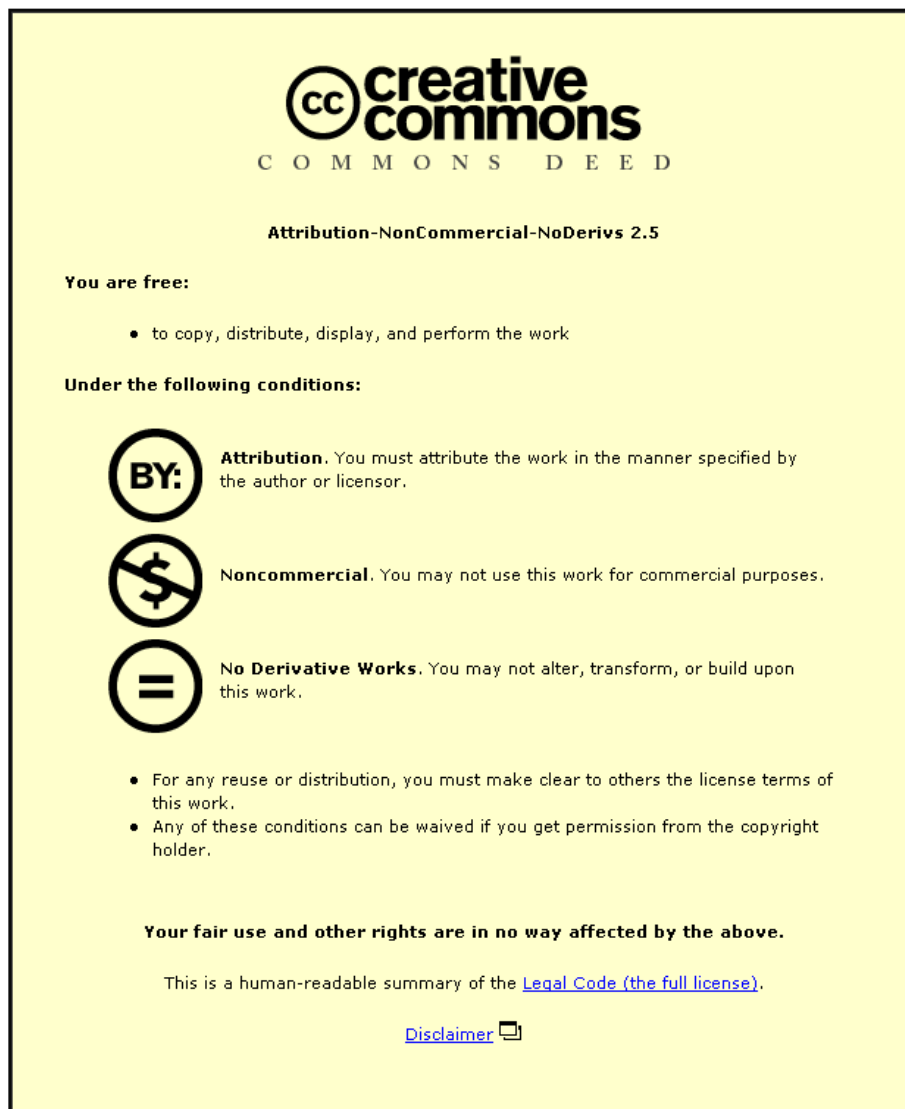
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Sport and the Multisectoral Approach to HIV/AIDS in Zambia

By

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Doctoral Thesis

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Abbreviations

ABC	Abstinence, Be Faithful, and Condom use
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
ANC	African National Congress
BCO	British Colonial Office
BSA	British South African
CAF	Confederation of African Football
CBoH	Central Board of Health
CHAZ	Churches Health Association of Zambia
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CSF	Cultural and Sporting Fund
CSO	Central Statistics Office
DCD	Department for Child Development
DATF	District AIDS Task Force
DEC	Drug Enforcement Commission
DSD	Department of Sports Development
DYA	Department for Youth Affairs
FAZ	Football Association of Zambia
FHT	Family Health Trust
FIFA	International Federation of Association Football
F-MARC	FIFA Medical Assessment and Research Centre
IDEALS	International Development through Excellence and Leadership in Sport
KBFT	Kalusha Bwalya Foundation Trust
KNVB	Royal Dutch Football Association
GRZ	Government of the Republic of Zambia
HDI	Human Development Index
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IMF	International Monetary Fund

MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MMD	Movement for Multiparty Democracy
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoFNP	Ministry of Finance and National Plan
MoH	Ministry of Health
MSF	Multiple Streams Framework
MSYCD	Ministry of Sport, Youth and Child Development
MTCT	Mother to Child Transmission
NAC	National AIDS Council
NASF	National AIDS Strategic Framework
NAZ	Netball Association of Zambia
NDP	National Development Plan
NEC	National Executive Committee
NFL	National Football League
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NOCZ	National Olympic Committee of Zambia
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
NOWSPAR	National Organisation for Women in Sport, Physical Activity and Recreation
NIF	Norwegian Olympic Committee and Confederation of Sports
NPCZ	National Paralympic Committee of Zambia
NSA	National Sports Association
NSCZ	National Sports Council of Zambia
OAU	Organisations of African Union
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OYDC	Olympic Youth Development Centre
PATF	Provincial AIDS Task Force
PLWHA	People Living With HIV/AIDS
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Programme

SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SDO	Sport Development Officer
SFH	Society for Family Health
SiA	Sport in Action
SOC	State-owned Corporation
STD	Sexually Transmitted Disease
TWG	Technical Working Group
PEPFAR	President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNGASS	United Nations General Assembly Special Session on HIV/AIDS
UNICEF	United Nations Childrens' Fund
UNIP	United National Independence Party
VCT	Voluntary Counselling and Testing
ZASSA	Zambia Secondary Schools Sports Association
ZBA	Zambia Basketball Association
ZBSSA	Zambia Basic Schools Sports Association
ZCCM	Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines
ZDHR	Zambia Development Human Report
ZFA	Zambia Football Association
ZSBS	Zambia Sexual Behaviour Survey

Acknowledgements

Abstract

Sport is increasingly being recognised for the contribution it can make to the Millennium Development Goals and, in particular, the response to the HIV/AIDS pandemic. This study is based on Zambia, a low-income country, heavily affected by the HIV/AIDS pandemic in sub-Saharan Africa. The study focuses on National Sports Associations (NSAs), which are quasi- autonomous organisations at meso level of policy analysis. Centring on three NSAs: Football Association of Zambia (FAZ), Zambia Basketball Association (ZBA) and Netball Association of Zambia (NAZ), this study critically analysed the organisational responses of each of the selected cases towards the HIV/AIDS multisectoral approach.

The study adopted a case study approach which utilised semi-structured (face-to-face and telephone), interviews, focus group discussions and documentary analysis for data collection. Comparative analysis of all three cases revealed differences in how each case mainstreamed HIV/AIDS based on power, resources and forms of collaboration. Meso-level analysis was utilised to examine workplace HIV/AIDS policy formulation and implementation. In addition, meso-level analysis also helped reveal forms of health-related collaborations with both internal and external agencies. Macro-level theories of the state were useful in examining power relations between the Zambian state and civil society.

The application of policy network theory, global health governance, multiple streams framework, and the top-down and bottom-up approaches to policy implementation proved useful in drawing attention to how each NSA case responded differently to the mainstreaming of HIV/AIDS. The political power of football as a national sport and the Association's access to foreign resources enabled FAZ to influence HIV/AIDS policy implementation and build of strong collaborative relationships with government than the ZBA and NAZ. The study concludes that lack of political steer from the top has re-introduced a new 'foreign' top-down approach as those with resources from the Global North influenced policy formulation and implementation within all three cases. The conclusion also found useful the application of 'post-colonialism and development' theories when examining international sport-for-development practices. This finding revealed the power imbalances between Global South practitioners and Global North funding partners.

Key Words: HIV/AIDS, Multisectoral approach, HIV/AIDS mainstreaming, sport-for-development, non-governmental organisations, top-down, bottom-up, Zambia, sport policy

Dedication

To my father, Frackson Robert Banda, for his love of knowledge and relentless encouragement.

CHAPTER 1: Introduction

1.1 Research aims, objectives and context

The aim of this thesis is to critically analyse the role of three National Sports Associations (NSAs) in developing and implementing policy towards the Human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) and acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) (or HIV/AIDS as will be referred to throughout the thesis) in Zambia. The three NSAs are those of football, netball and basketball which are responsible for the development and administration of their respective sporting codes. The main focus of the thesis is centred on conducting an analysis of the mainstreaming of HIV/AIDS by each of the three selected NSAs. According to the National AIDS Council of Zambia, the key aspects of the multisectoral HIV/AIDS national response involve mainstreaming of HIV/AIDS in the all workplaces inclusive of the sport and physical activity employment sectors (NASF, 2006). All these policy developments were as a result of the acknowledgement and declaration of the HIV/AIDS epidemic by the Zambian government as a national disaster.

Despite the focus of the thesis being the exploration of policy making and implementation at meso-level, it is important to locate HIV/AIDS policy within a macro-level approach in order to adequately understand the relationship between the state and civil society organisations or non-state actors. The complexity of the HIV/AIDS pandemic has challenged the dominance of the state in public policy making and implementation. Therefore, a look at the macro-level approach is important to gain a good understanding of the power relationships between the state and supranational organisations in a

multifaceted and congested HIV/AIDS policy environment. By so doing, understanding the distribution of power at macro-level will also aid the understanding of the distribution of 'power and power resources' (Dahl, 1961; Dunleavy & O'Leary, 1987) among interest groups within the international and national governance of HIV/AIDS. Marsh and Stoker's (1995) work help explore why certain interest groups would have more privileges in HIV/AIDS decision-making, in whose interest they engage in policy change, and how they bring about policy change. Given the complexities of the HIV/AIDS policy environment and the multi-actor settings at global, national and community level, the purpose of this study is to achieve the following meso-level policy analysis objectives:

1. To provide an account of the development of sport policy in Zambia and to explain the extent to which a cross-cutting issue such as HIV/AIDS has been mainstreamed within the NSAs.

2. To analyse the policy making process in relation to HIV/AIDS and the role of the three NSAs.

3. To analyse the roles of NSAs in implementing HIV/AIDS policies in relation to their association affiliates - clubs or schools.

4. To analyse the extent to which NSAs have developed relationships with other organisations responsible for HIV/AIDS programmes outside the sports sector.

1.2 Rationale for the study

Kidd (2008) terms the recent momentum in sport for development as 'a new social movement' and differentiates it from the 19th century western civilising missions which were part of colonial tendencies and justified as necessary to civilise indigenous populations. In addition, Kidd further differentiates the new social movement as having a plethora of new actors comprising national and international sports organizations, local and international non-governmental

organizations (NGOs), multilateral institutions and educational institutions.

This new social movement which has come to be known as the Sport-for-Development (and Peace)[1] (SfD) is based on core assumptions that sport has the potential to make a significant contribution to a range of complex global challenges such as human development (Burnett, 2001; Webb 2004), human rights (Donnelly and Kidd, 2006), dispute resolution and reconciliation (Sugden, 2008; Armstrong and Giulianotti, 2004).

This thesis uses the term 'Global South' to refer to low-income countries whilst the developed countries of the western world will be referred to as the 'Global North'. Therefore, it is important to mention that a majority of activities comprising of this new movement are conducted in disadvantaged communities in countries located in the Global South. Kidd (2008) locates the impetus for the recognition of the new movement in a humanitarian assistance programme by elite athletes called Olympic Aid formed in 1992 (see also Black, 2010). Thereafter, a series of key decisions involving the United Nations contributed to the growth and recognition of the SfD movement as a viable partner in international development. These milestones consisted of the establishment in 2001 of the post of Special Advisor on Sport for Development and Peace to the UN Secretary General to head the United Nations Office for Sport for Development and Peace (UNOSDP). The appointment of a former Swiss President Mr Adolf Ogi in 2001-2007 was indicative of the recognition of the role of sport-for-development by the UN.

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[1] This thesis will use sport-for-development (SfD) as a term encompassing all other aspects of the use of sport as a tool for development, dispute resolution and peace negotiation or reconciliation.

During Mr Ogi's tenure at the UNOSDP, the UN established the Inter-Agency

Task Force on Sport for Development and Peace in 2002. Assumptions of the

significant role of sport as a tool for development were becoming more

popular within UN documentation. For example, the United Nations Inter-

Agency Task Force on Sport for Development and Peace (2003: 5) stated

that:

> Well-designed sports programmes are also a cost-effective way to contribute significantly to health, education, development and peace as a powerful medium through which to mobilize societies as well as communicate key messages.

Other significant contributions by the UN included the commissioning of a

Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group (SDP IWG) in

2004 and later the declaration by United Nations General Assembly of 2005

as the International Year of Sport and Physical Education (Beutler, 2008;

Kidd, 2008; Levermore & Beacom, 2009; Njelesani, 2011).

It can be suggested that the official recognition and legitimation of the SfD

movement by the UN paved way for several organisations globally to emerge.

Levermore (2011) states that 93% of sport-for-development programmes

were formed from 2000 onwards with 52% located in sub-Saharan Africa.

Njelesani (2011: 436) highlights the research (Brady and Khan, 2002; Brady,

2005; Levermore and Beacom, 2009) which acknowledged the role of sport

for development activities (inclusive of physical education delivered by

NGOs). This research contributed to identifying a range of personal and social

outcomes including personal empowerment, life skills, inclusion for people

with disabilities, and health promotion and awareness when effectively

implemented. This recognition of the value of sport has been the central

driving force in powering the expansion of SfD as an international movement. Governments such as Zambia, which were at some point indifferent to the message of sport for social good (Banda, 2010) started to pay attention to the policy sector. As the growing momentum of the Sport for Development and Peace sector around the world continued, the growth of the sector in Zambia was evident through the unprecedented mushrooming of SfD NGOs particularly in Lusaka's disadvantaged communities.

The first two indigenous SfD NGOs to be established in Zambia were EduSport Foundation and Sport in Action (SiA). The core activities of these two indigenous SfD NGOs were mainly associated with developmental goals focussing on: HIV/AIDS prevention; gender and human rights; and the holistic development of young people. The major impetus for the growth and recognition of the SfD NGO sector in Zambia was the HIV/AIDS pandemic. The use of sport to address HIV/AIDS prevention also provided 'greater coherence' of sport for development work within local and international organisations (Coalter, 2007: 69). However, though the HIV/AIDS pandemic is a global issue, HIV vulnerability and infection just like other social problems have contextual settings which influence the outcome of planned responses to combat a specific problem. Despite the noted contextual or social setting differences, SfD programme design and implementation in the Global South has mainly been dominated by western discourses or ideologically driven by Global North partners (see Banda et al, 2008; Darnell, 2007; 2012; Darnell and Hayhurst, 2011; Hayhurst, 2009; Mwaanga and Kabanda, 2014). This has resulted in skewed power relations and the privileging of western

discourses in the conceptualisation of local problems that sport-for-development attempts to address.

Chapter 3 discusses the provision of sport in Zambia. Specific mention of the role of government in addressing the skewed economic development and its impact on sport provision will show a link to the sport provision gaps that provided impetus for SfD NGOs to emerge as non-actors in delivering public policy outcomes (see Banda, 2010). The central government's meagre funding towards sports has been primarily allocated for achieving sport for sport's sake outcomes and the level of government commitment to use sport for non-sporting outcomes has been low. Instead, EduSport and SIA (SfD NGOs) who had access to foreign resources from international cooperating partners introduced the new social movement of sport-for-development. SfD NGOs deliver physical activities that are a combination of sport and life skills education that contribute to the broader efforts of civil society organisations (Banda et al, 2008). Whereas, the development of sport that central government sports funding targeted was concerned with elements such as improving sports skills, coaching techniques, and progression of players from one level to another. This is developing sport for sports' sake as opposed to using sport as a means to an end.

Coalter (2007) introduced the concepts of *sport plus* and *plus sport* which are helpful to this study as they provide some differentiation in methodological approach. *Sport plus*, is applicable to this thesis' selected case studies since such organisations principally aim to develop and deliver a particular sport (cf Houlihan and White, 2002). In addition, such organisations may use their

respective sport as a vehicle to address wider social agendas such as HIV/AIDS, crime prevention or gender based violence. On the contrary, *plus sport* organisations mainly focus on the achievement of non-sporting outcomes in the form of life skills. These are the type of organisations that deliver combined programmes of sport and life skills which have come to be known as the 'new social movement' or sport-for-development sector.

The conceptualisation of sport-for-development was not yet evident in sport policy documents issued by the Zambian government when the first indigenous SfD NGOs were established. Therefore, there was no central government funding for such sport-for-development activities. The first indigenous SfD NGOs were mainly supported by the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation and the Norwegian Olympic Committee and Confederation of Sports (NIF) (Banda, 2011). Other cooperating partners such as the UK Sports and Commonwealth Games Canada later joined the foreign donor team of international sports agencies supporting SfD activities in Zambia. Therefore, while SfD projects were designed to meet the needs of disadvantaged communities, the projects were influenced both ideologically and financially by foreign partners. And because the sector was funded in such a way, SfD programmes exhibited very weak links to meeting localised strategic policy outcomes such as the Poverty Reduction Strategic Plans (PRSP). Hence some scholars (Darnell, 2007; Hayhurst, 2009; Lindsey and Banda, 2011) have questioned the motives behind such programmes which depicted less local input and alignment to local policy outcomes.

The concern regarding NGOs pursuing international agendas noted among generic NGOs was also noted among SfD NGOs. Apart from the advent of

indigenous SfD NGOs, other international or foreign-based SfD NGOs such as Right to Play (Canada) and Sports Coaches Outreach (SCORE – South Africa) started to partner with local NGOs or operate independently in Zambian communities. However, as cautioned by Lister (2000, p228), that the control of funding which is retained by international donors constrains the development of 'authentic partnerships'. Summing up such practices, Laird (2007, p467-8) indicates that partnerships between donors and recipients in international development contexts are rather rhetorical as Global South NGOs 'generally acquiesce in the development agenda of donors or their northern-based head offices'.

While Lindsey and Banda (2011) noted the existence of collaboration in policy development between generic HIV-focused NGOs and SfD NGOs, they also acknowledged other studies that highlighted issues of fragmentation of the NGO sector and competition for scarce resources as posing perennial challenges for developing effective partnerships between NGOs (see Laird, 2007). This study examines collaborations and partnerships in policy making and implementation among organisations that employ a sport for sports' sake approach. A further distinguishing feature of this study is that the cases used in this thesis are heavily dependent on central government funding for their operation as opposed to SfD NGOs in Lindsey and Banda's (2011) study who tended to depend on foreign donors.

Lindsey and Banda's (2011) study which was funded by York St John University, England, focussed on exploring 'partnerships' that involved sport NGOs and the fight against HIV/AIDS in Zambia. The study concluded that SfD NGOs were not integrated into national HIV/AIDS structures and

partnerships. Despite the decentralisation of HIV/AIDS structures for policy making and implementation, the SfD sector which was classified as relatively 'young' seemed to also reflect wider 'partnership' challenges. Therefore, further HIV/AIDS policy development towards a multisectoral approach prompted the focus of this study to consider organisations whose main funding source was government public funds. Are there any funding obligations towards adopting the multisectoral approach by such organisations due to their dependency on government public funds? The recent policy changes in Zambia warrants exploring the role of government funded voluntary sports institutions in the fight against the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Apart from the adoption of the multisectoral response, other policy changes in favour of the use of sport for development purposes emerged such as the recognition of sport as a social good in the comprehensive national sport policy document (DSD-MYSCD, 2008); inclusion of sport in national development strategies (MoFNP, 2011); and Poverty Reduction Strategic Plans. The 5th National Development Plan (GRZ - 5th NDP) provides unambiguous government political steer for sport as a tool for development by encouraging organisations, particularly state funded actors, to:

> Institutionalise the use of sport, physical education and recreation activities as viable tools for mitigating the impact of HIV and AIDS and substance and rights abuse among children and youth
>
> GRZ – 5thNDP, 2011: 222).

Apart from the noted policy changes at national level, global policy changes in the governance of HIV/AIDS through network approach comprise of entities from the public, private, voluntary/civil society sectors. The multi-actor dimension of HIV/AIDS necessitates a policy analysis approach that utilises

network theory. Policy networks (cf Rhodes, 1997, for self-organising networks) have become the engine-room of the multisectoral framework for the National AIDS Council in Zambia within which agenda setting, formulation and implementation of HIV/AIDS policy is achieved. There are currently no policy studies that have specifically focussed on HIV policy analysis at meso-level involving National Sports Associations. In order to undertake policy analysis in a developing nation which has undergone colonialism, authoritarian rule after political independence, and later plural politics, it is vital to provide a detailed description of the political, social and economic background of the country. The background or context is also enriched by theoretical underpinnings of power, governance, macro-level and meso-level concepts to aid the analysis of HIV/AIDS and sport policy in Zambia.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

Chapter 2 presents the contextual background to the problem of HIV/AIDS in Zambia. The chapter first discusses the country's political and economic profile during and after colonialism. Zambia's colonial past has had an impact on the spread of HIV and also influenced the nation's response to HIV/AIDS. The contextualisation of the transmission of HIV/AIDS in Zambia and the scale of the HIV/AIDS problem are used to discuss the policy choices for tackling HIV/AIDS which include the HIV/AIDS multisectoral framework and key steps for mainstreaming HIV/AIDS. While focusing on national responses, the chapter fully acknowledges the influence of global responses which have in a way eroded the sovereignty of the nation-state (Ashton and Seymour, 1988) in regards to the governance of HIV/AIDS.

Chapter 3 provides a description of the development of sport policy in Zambia (Banda, 2010) depicting the pattern of involvement in sport by the colonial government as well as the subsequent native governments after political independence from Britain. The national development plans (NDPs) are utilised within this section to examine government's sport policy aspirations while the national budgets are utilised to examine government's political commitment to sport. The chapter also discusses emerging sport policy issues in Zambia which include the role of sport non-governmental organisations in the delivery of sport per se and in combating HIV/AIDS.

Chapter 4 presents the theoretical basis of the study which begins by first looking at macro-level theories of the state: pluralism, Marxism, corporatism and elitism. After a discussion of the broad-based concepts and selection of theories of the state most applicable to this study, the chapter then discusses a number of meso-level concepts that are potentially useful to help contribute to the analysis of sport and HIV/AIDS policy. These include concepts of power, modes of governance, theories of globalisation and global health policy. The chapter later specifically reviews the applicable meso-level theories of policy analysis which are policy networks and multiple streams framework and ends by discussing the top-down and bottom-up policy implementation debate.

Chapter 5 provides a description of the research strategy adopted for this study which includes the philosophical assumptions, methodological approach (case study approach) and methods of analysis of data employed. A rationale for the choice of the three case studies is provided within this chapter. The chapter ends with a summary of the research protocol for the study.

Chapters 6, 7 and 8 (football, basketball and netball) are case study chapters which present the findings for each of the three cases. Each of the three chapters comprise similar sections which include: the development of that particular sport in colonial times; development of the sport after political independence, grassroots versus elite sport development; the impact of structural adjustment programmes upon the development of sport; HIV/AIDS responses by the case study which include policy formulation and implementation; and lastly, each chapter draws together the unique features of the case study's response to HIV/AIDS.

The final chapter (9) addresses the key theoretical and methodological insights provided in chapters 3 and 4. The chapter first provides discussion of, and conclusion to, the empirical findings of the study which presents a summary of the similarities and differences between the three cases presented in chapters 6, 7 and 8. The chapter addresses the macro- and meso-levels of theorising. Pluralism and Corporatism are employed to provide theoretical insight at macro-level while policy networks and multiple streams lens are utilised for meso-level theorising. In so doing, the involvement of each of the cases in HIV/AIDS policy-making and implementation is analysed with the help of a respective lens or theory to provide more insight.

Chapter 2: The Problem of HIV/AIDS in Zambia

2.1 Background

Zambia like most countries in sub-Saharan Africa is heavily affected by the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Not a single sector (education, economic, health, social) of the Zambian society has been spared from the impacts of a mature HIV/AIDS pandemic. From the national level down to the domestic level – the home, the social and economic impacts of the HIV/AIDS pandemic have affected national development, weakened the public as well as the private sector, and devastated families. Today, HIV/AIDS remains the country's immediate threat to achieving economic development as it robs the nation of its much needed human resource through long term illnesses and later loss of life.

Zambia is one of the poorest countries in sub-Saharan Africa with an estimated population of 13 million (UNFPA, 2013) and country prevalence of HIV infected people estimated at approximately 1 million Zambians (Global Health Facts, 2007; CSO, 2003a). According to a UNFPA country update, Zambia's national HIV prevalence rate among adults 15-49 dropped from 15.6% to 14.3% from 2008 – 2012 (UNFPA, 2013). However, the pandemic continues to affect women more than men. Women have an HIV prevalence rate of 16.1% whilst men's HIV prevalence was 12.3% (UNFPA, 2013). This indicates a decline of 1.7% for women and 0.3% for men based on the National HIV/AIDS Council framework (NAC, 2006) which had estimated the HIV prevalence rates as 17.8% and 12.6%, respectively. Young people aged 15-24 years of age account for 17.5% of the adult HIV positive population

despite the increase in general knowledge of HIV/AIDS prevention. Young women of the same age range have 4 times higher HIV prevalence than their male counterparts.

HIV/AIDS is said to be a disease of inequalities (Poit, Greener, and Russell, 2007). Social and economic inequalities are faced mostly by women in Zambian society hence exacerbating their poverty and vulnerability to HIV infection. Though the common driver of transmission in Zambia is largely through heterosexual means, anecdotal data indicates that homosexual practices mainly in cities and prisons also contribute to the transmission of HIV/AIDS. Mother to child transmission (MTCT) is the other significant driver after heterosexual transmission. Heterosexual transmission is fuelled by the lack of condom use among non-regular sexual partners, early unprotected sex among young people, sexual violence towards women and prostitution or sex in exchange for money or other basic necessities. Mobile populations also make a significant contribution to new infections each year. These are usually working groups or people engaged in business transactions that take them away from their residential communities as they spend nights away from their families.

Furthermore, research shows that poverty exacerbates the spread of HIV (Cohen, 1998; Barnett, Whiteside, & Desmond, 2001). The prevalence of HIV/AIDS is high in low income countries mostly in sub-Saharan Africa. A high HIV/AIDS prevalence has contributed significantly to most of these countries' economic problems, particularly in Zambia. However, Zambia has had other key factors which have contributed to the economic problems such as the

country's colonial background, fall in copper prices on the world market, privatisation of the copper mines and the world economic global recession (Kandala et al 2008; Lungu 2008; Kapungwe, 2004). These economic problems will be discussed to show their link to HIV/AIDS since the impact of these factors have resulted in misery for the citizenry. The resultant extreme poverty levels have exacerbated the spread of HIV in Zambia.

Zambia's first case of AIDS was diagnosed in 1984. It took the government two years to respond by establishing the National AIDS Prevention and Control Programme. Though this body was established, the effort to combat HIV/AIDS lacked high-level political commitment and strategic management to address the epidemic (NAC/MoH, 2008). Later in 2002, the government showed some commitment to respond to the pandemic in the form of a parliamentary Act No. 10 of 2002 which saw the establishment of the National HIV/AIDS/STI/TB Council (NAC). The NAC is today the main body that coordinates public, private and voluntary sector HIV/AIDS activities. Two years later after the creation of the NAC, President Mwanawasa declared HIV/AIDS as a national disaster, a national emergency in 2004. This pronouncement empowered the NAC to act with strong government steer to build more concerted effort to combat HIV/AIDS.

The national response to HIV/AIDS recognises that HIV/AIDS is not a concern for the health sector alone but a concern for all sectors in society. Hence, a multisectoral response to address the scourge of HIV/AIDS has been adopted. The multisectoral response demands partnership working at macro, meso, and micro levels. Therefore, this study which focuses on the

implementation of the multisectoral approach looks specifically at the role that the sports sector in Zambia has played. Whilst at macro level, the nation has benefited working closely with cooperating partners within the international donor community who fund the nation's HIV/AIDS programmes, it is necessary to examine how meso level organisations have engaged in the multisectoral approach. As a key actor, the government through the NAC has put in place a number of support structures to help halt the spread and impacts of the HIV pandemic. The NAC's multisectoral approach includes measures such as the establishment of a high level committee of Cabinet Ministers on HIV/AIDS and the setup of Provincial HIV/AIDS Task Forces (PATF) and District HIV/AIDS Task Forces (DATF) to ensure the decentralisation of the national HIV response (NAC/MoH, 2008).

Recent policy developments in Zambia towards HIV/AIDS multisectoralism have evidenced the inclusion and acknowledgment of sport as a potential tool for HIV/AIDS prevention. Sport is being increasingly recognised by the Zambian government as a method for HIV/AIDS prevention and also for the contribution it can make towards other Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The Ministry of Sport, Labour and Child Development, the Department for Sport Development (DSD); the National Sports Council of Zambia (NSCZ) and its affiliate National Sports Associations (NSAs); Sport-for-development NGOs and community based HIV / AIDS organisations have used sport as a tool for HIV/AIDS prevention in Zambia. Recently, the Fifth National Development Plan (GRZ - 5[th]NDP) 2006-2011 and the new National Sports Policy document have both stressed the role of sport as a tool for

HIV/AIDS prevention. The section that follows examines the political

background of Zambia by looking at the colonial and post-colonial era.

2.2 The Country's Profile

The Republic of Zambia formerly known as Northern Rhodesia and a member

of the Central African Federation of Rhodesia is a former British colony.

Zambia is a landlocked country which occupies an area of approximately

752,614 square kilometres of the central African plateau from the Zambezi

River in the south-west to the tip of Lake Tanganyika in the north-east (Daniel,

1979; Tordoff and Molteno, 1974; Hall, 1976). Zambia's eight neighbours (see

Figure 1) are the Democratic Republic of Congo on the north, Tanzania on its

northeast, Malawi on the east, Mozambique on its southeast, Botswana and

Zimbabwe on the south and Namibia on the south west. Lusaka, which is

centrally situated, became the nation's capital in 1935 after Livingstone, which

had been the capital since 1907. Zambia gained her political independence

after seventy-four years of British Colonial rule on 24th October 1964. Today,

Zambia is divided into nine (9) provinces namely: Eastern, Western, Northern,

Southern, Lusaka, North-Western, Luapula, Central and Copperbelt as shown

in Figure 1. The map also shows the administrative provincial capital which

coordinates provincial affairs through the Deputy Minister's office of each of

the nine provinces.

Zambia has 72 districts which are spread across the 9 provinces shown on

the map of which two (Copperbelt and Lusaka) are more highly urbanised

than the remaining seven. The two provinces are connected by a good

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transport network which will be discussed later as it happens to be a key factor in the development of Zambia and has implications for policy within this study. There are seven main languages spoken by the main tribal groups namely Nyanja, Bemba, Lozi, Luvale, Lunda, Tonga and Kaonde. However, English remains the main medium of communication or the *lingua franca* since its colonisation by Britain.

Most of the Bantu-speaking immigrants arrived in Zambia during the 15th, 17th and 19th century. Upon arrival, Bantu-speaking immigrants established themselves into groups governed through chieftainships or monarchies (Iliffe, 1995). Later, when the Bantu-speaking immigrants had established themselves, traders and explorers showed their interest of the land too. The first European invasion of the land was not till 1851 when David Livingstone the Scottish missionary whose visit to the area led to more British interest by explorers and missionaries.

The British South African (BSA) Company set up by Cecil Rhodes moved into the region and obtained mineral rights from Paramount chief Litunga of the Lozi people (Tordoff and Molteno, 1974; Rotberg, 1966; Hall, 1976). The obtaining of mineral rights by the BSA was later significant in influencing the economic status of Northern Rhodesia. The BSA ruled Northern Rhodesia from the 1890s until 1924 when it handed over Northern Rhodesia's administrative role to the British Colonial Office (BCO) for economic reasons, having found neither gold nor diamond deposits. Though the territory was handed over, the BSA Company maintained full rights over the mineral deposits of the land. When rich deposits of copper were later discovered in Northern Rhodesia, the mining sector blossomed but still the mineral rights to

the land were in the hands of the BSA Company. Hence, the mining sector developed as a foreign controlled sector which as mentioned before had economic implications for the development of Northern Rhodesia.

When the BSA handed over the administration of Northern Rhodesia to the BCO, the BCO formed the Central African Federation which lasted for 10 years (1953-63) (Oliver and Atmore, 1994). The Federation consisted of three colonies: Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) and Nyasaland (Malawi). It was suggested that the federation was a forced marriage among the three British colonies (see Tordoff and Molteno, 1974; Rotberg, 1966; Hall, 1976; Esptein, 1958). The Africans of Northern Rhodesia such as those led by Harry Nkumbula of the African National Congress (ANC) and those led by Kenneth Kaunda of the United National Independence Party (UNIP) strongly objected to the Federation (Daniel 1979; Tordoff and Molteno, 1974; Rotberg, 1966).

The pressure from indigenous political leaders resulted in the dissolving of the federation in 1963 and later on the declaration of political independence for Northern Rhodesia on 24th October 1964.Kenneth Kaunda was the first republican president of Zambia and held office till 1991 when he lost the general election to Fredrick Chiluba's Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD). Despite her economic struggles, Zambia has remained a relatively stable and peaceful nation. Though its young democracy has seen political party cadre clashes and violence at election time, this has not escalated into bloodshed after the announcement of election results as compared to her immediate neighbours and other African countries. Zambia has since had three democratically elected presidents.

Figure 1: Map of Zambia

Source: UN Cartographic Section (2004)

2.3 Political Party Ideologies, Ethnic Loyalties and Religion

After gaining political independence, the spirit of nationalism which played a crucial part in ousting colonial settlers was slowly diminishing and its future was uncertain since many Africans lacked the notion of national identity (Phiri, 2006). The spirit of Africanism evident during the liberation struggle was inadequate to forge national unity after 1964. Gertzel, Baylies, and Szeftel (1984) highlight that internal fighting within UNIP itself was one of the early signs of disunity. The divisions within the ruling party were a result of power struggles for dominance among the various interest groups that initially had come together in order to establish a formidable political party to end colonial rule. According to Phiri (2006), tribalism and regionalism were the main challenges that UNIP faced when the strong sense of unity resulting from 'Africanism' begun to fade. Tordoff (1974: 17) argued that the in-fighting within UNIP was emanating from the 'allegiances of political parties' geographical bases of support'.

In order to address the internal conflict within UNIP, ethnic and regional balancing (Simutanyi 2005; Lindemann 2009) were common characteristics of Kaunda's cabinet appointments in order to avoid tribal and regional divisions among Zambia's 72 different ethnic groupings (see Figure 2 below). The main ethnic groups consist of: Bemba; Tonga; Chewa; Lozi; Nsenga; Tumbuka; Ngoni; Lala; Kaonde; Namwanga; Lunda; Ushi; Mambwe; Lamba; and Luvale. However, three main ethnic groups that have fought for political dominance since independence are Bemba, Tonga and Lozi. In order to avoid ethnic conflicts, other political parties after UNIP have continued similar kinds of patrimonialism, distributing patronage for the purpose of regional and ethnic

balancing among political and economic elites (Molteno 1974; Simutanyi 2005; Burnell, 2008; Lindeman 2009)

Figure 2: Tribal, linguistic and provincial cleavages in Zambia
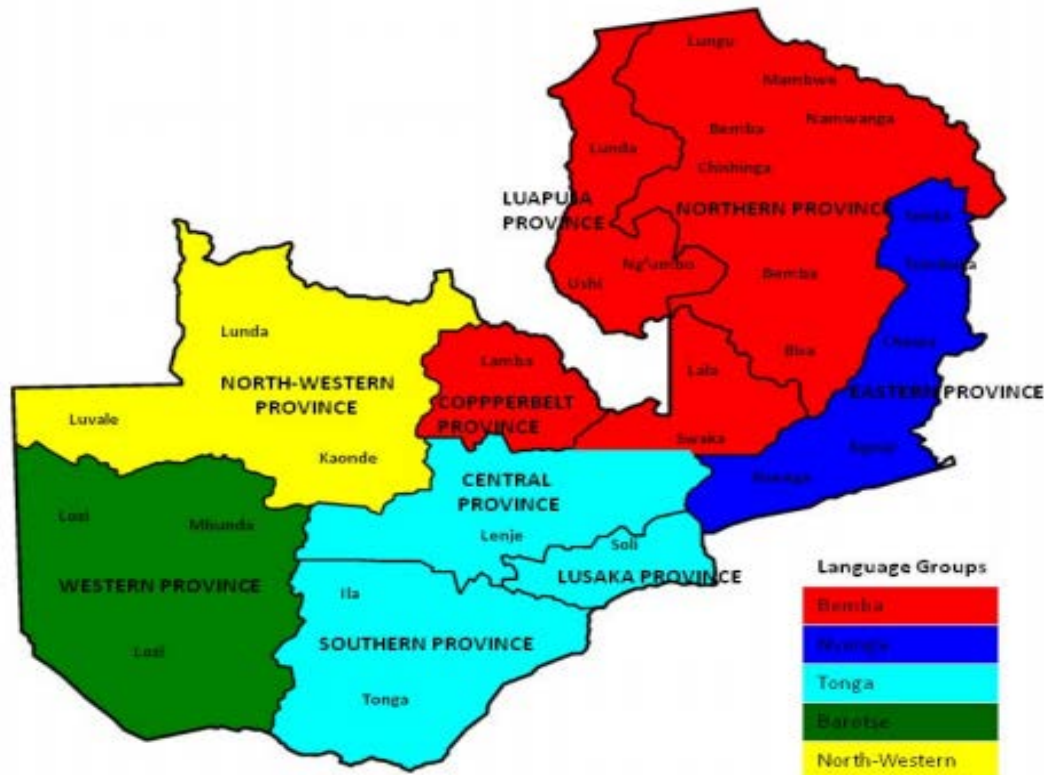
Source: Lindemann, 2010

However, despite having numerous ethnic groups and regional interests, the country was ruled for 27 years under socialist one-party rule by Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, who coined the phrase ''One Zambia, One Nation'' to bring the people together. Zambia has enjoyed political stability despite the fact that 5 of its 8 surrounding neighbours have experienced conflict and war in the past half-century: Namibia, Angola, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Mozambique, and Zimbabwe (Akhurst, Banda and Carstens, 2009). Most political commentators tend to point to President Kaunda's leadership skills which were based on his nationalist political philosophy of 'humanism' as

having played a vital role in Zambia's long standing stability and political order. 'Zambian Humanism', formed the official ideology which was articulated by President Kaunda as:

> 'Man is the centre of all human activity. All of us are God's creatures and this is a firm enough foundation to see us through what we are about to do -- that is to lay down a solid foundation on which to build One Zambia and One Nation. The world, then, and all that is in it must serve man, while man himself is centred on God' (Kaunda, 1967: 4, 29)

Zambian humanism comprised of traditional African values, western socialism and Christian values. However, Roberts (1976: 246) argued that Kaunda's 'humanism' was more rooted in his Christian beliefs and mutual respect among humans rather than socialist ideals. Christian values had an influence Kaunda's interpretation of 'humanism' as he was an active member of the United Church of Zambia (Lungu, 1986). Humanism was introduced officially by President Kaunda in 1967. The ideology echoed non-capitalist views of African society which placed man at the centre and man centred on God.

Zambia being a de facto Christian nation meant that Kaunda's humanism was embraced by the country's 72 % Christian population (Barret, 1982). Apart from a Christian majority, other religious worshippers are in the minority, consisting mainly of Muslims, Jews, Hindus and Sikhs. The political influence of the Council of Christian Churches in Zambia was first witnessed when UNIP attempted to introduce 'scientific socialism' within the education curriculum which was strongly challenged by the leaders of the Christian church. The church leaders' opposition to scientific socialism was due to the ideology's atheistic stance. It is important to note that Christian values and beliefs influenced UNIP's implementation of scientific socialism. The church in

general seemed to embrace the sort of African humanism that Kaunda had introduced since it was also referred to as 'Christian Humanism'. In 1991, President Chiluba officially declared Zambia a Christian nation. This was later enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of Zambia, 1991 (as Amended to 1996). The influence of Christian values and the Christian missionary movement whose main activities involved evangelical work, education and health will be discussed further in this thesis. This will relate relation to development of sport in schools and responses by the church in general to HIV/AIDS campaign messages.

In the recent past, Kaunda's humanist philosophy recognised for its contribution to political stability and order seems to be eroding. For example, Zambia's recent political profile is beginning to show strong forms of ethnic loyalties and biases in elite appointments particularly towards Bemba speaking elites after the 1997 elections under President Chiluba (Hulterström, 2007). Based on the 2001 presidential and general elections, ethnic and tribal loyalties in party affiliation are beginning to emerge, posing a threat to the current stability and political order. The significant tribal tension, which has its historical foundation in colonial times, is a political contest for dominance among the Bemba, Tonga and Lozi ethnic groups.

With the exception of UNIP, all other political parties seem to lack significant differences in their political party policies to reveal a clear distinctiveness in ideology (Burnell, 2001; Simutanyi, 2010). Despite lacking clear policies, the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) which rule for 20 years (1991 – 2011) claim to be social democrats. Similarly, the Patriotic Front (PF) which won the general elections of 20 September 2011 refers to its ideology as

social democratic. However, the absence of clear ideological positions and specific policy development has resulted in patronage systems detrimental to development. For example, voters are not convinced by clearly stated policies in their choice of candidates but have rather shown tribal or regional affiliations in their voting (Hulterström, 2007).

2.4 Economic Profile of Zambia

Zambia is ranked 163 out of 186 countries on the 2012 Human Development Index (HDI) (UNDP, 2013). Despite its HDI[2] poor ranking, Zambia is noted to have recorded 6% economic growth rate within the past decade. Subsequently, the World Bank reclassified Zambia in 2011 as a lower middle income country. The HDI is used to measure the well-being of a nation's citizens based on the standard of living, education and life expectancy (UNDP, 2007). The life expectancy in Zambia has dropped to 49.4 years from 52.4 years: 51.1years for males and 53.6 for females within an estimated population of 13 million from 2008 – 2012 (UNFPA, 2013). Despite the current poor HDI ranking, Zambia had a stable economy that was supported by its copper production and export at independence. The once prosperous nation has since moved from being one of the continent's richest nations at independence in 1964 to being among the poorest nations in the world (Mugerwa, 1990; Phiri, 2006, Lungu, 2008; Kapungwe, 2008).

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[2] The HDI measures service delivery in four main sectors consisting of education, health, agriculture and water and sanitation. Recently this has been revised to focussing on: Life expectancy at birth; Mean years of schooling and Expected years of schooling; and lastly a measure of the standard of living in relation to Gross National Income.

Zambia's economy historically has been heavily dependent on revenue from copper exports and efforts to diversify the economy to agriculture and manufacturing have proved futile. The nation's economy in 1964 was already skewed, showing a less developed rural sector and a more developed urban sector. This issue regarding underdevelopment of rural areas positioned mainly away from the main railway network will be key to the subsequent sections of this study. Hence, after gaining political independence, the newly elected African government purposed to rectify the rural-urban development discrepancies by attempts to diversify the economy to agriculture activities.

The key objective of the Kenneth Kaunda government after gaining political independence was to diversify the economy away from copper mining towards agricultural activities and other local manufacturing activities in order to balance the economy as well as achieve rural development (GRZ, 1966; Lungu, 2008). The mining sector was still under foreign ownership, which prompted the government to propose a 51 per cent ownership of foreign-owned mining companies and other sectors of the economy through the Mulungushi Reforms of 1968 (Turok, 1979; Potter, 1971). Kaunda's purpose in nationalising the mines was to 'direct the profits of the copper mines towards building social and economic infrastructure' (Lungu 2008:544). It has been argued strongly by several authors that the process of nationalisation, particularly of the mining industry in the early 1970s, was ill-timed in that the nation was not yet fully prepared for nationalisation (Daniel, 1979; Lungu, 2008).

Since many governments in Africa considered foreign owned companies or direct investment after independence as a form of imperialism, they opted to

nationalise foreign-owned operations (Rolfe and Woodward, 2004). After

successfully acquiring a majority holding of 51%, the government formed new

parastatal companies or state corporations in an attempt to diversify the

economy from copper. Rolfe and Woodward (2004:10) comment that 'the

Zambian economy was actually more state-controlled than some former

Soviet satellite countries in Eastern Europe' due to over 80% of industrial and

commercial corporations being state-owned in the late 1970s. The

implications of nationalisation for this study will be discussed in detail in

chapter 3.

After gaining political independence, Zambia experienced economic growth

averaging 2.4% a year for, the next 10 years (McCulloch, Baulch and Cherel-

Robson, 2001). However, the economy started to decline in growth towards

the mid-1970s due to the following reasons:

- There were two oil embargoes in 1974 and 1979 which led to the cost of importing the necessary petroleum for mining operations and transportation to rise rapidly.
- Due to the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) of Rhodesia in 1965 in the south of Zambia (see Figure 1), the use of the usual rail line for Zambia's imports and exports was suspended. Alternative road routes through Tanzania on the north proved expensive due to the oil crisis.
- The process of localisation or Zambianisation[3] was costly in training and compromised production due to loss of highly skilled manpower. Other white expatriates voluntarily left to join mines in South Africa and Rhodesia mainly due to the UDI.

(UNDP, 2007)

These economic hardships forced the Kaunda regime to turn to the

International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank for aid. Due to the

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[3] This was a process of replacing foreign manpower by local people or natives in order to redress the income disparities between white mines and natives.

world oil embargoes, Zambia failed to earn substantial income from its principal export, forcing the nation into a severe financial crisis. Through its borrowing from the IMF, Zambia started to implement its first Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in 1983 (Lungu, 2008).

SAP reforms in Zambia imposed economic conditions which demanded a reduction in government expenditure, devaluation of the national currency - the Kwacha and removal of food subsidies (Seshamani and Kaunga, 1999; Young & Loxley, 1990; Callaghy & Ravenhill, 1993).The effects of SAP reforms were extremely harsh across all sectors of the nation. Due to the perceived onerous lending conditions of the IMF's reforms, President Kaunda yielded to pressure from trade unions, other civil society organisations and also from food riots and discontinued the implementation of the IMF SAP reforms in 1987. However, Zambia's economy continued to decline rapidly, causing high levels of poverty among its people, particularly those in rural areas. Besides the oil crisis related problems and SAP conditionalities, Zambia also faced severe droughts which rendered its 'back to the land[4]' plans a big challenge for economic diversification and possible future sustainability from agricultural activities.

As the wave of liberal democracy swept through the region compounded by extreme economic problems faced by the Zambian people, Kenneth Kaunda succumbed to the call for constitutional review. In 1991, the first multi-party

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[4] In the 70s and 80s, Kaunda was encouraging Zambians to go back to the land (rural areas) for farming purposes so as to diversify the economy and be self-sufficient in food production. The campaign also promised people farming equipment which the government was unable to deliver.

elections were held after a return to plural politics. The Movement for Multiparty Democracy under the leadership of Fredrick Titus Chiluba was elected into government in that year. Still at that time, the Zambian economy was state-controlled including the main income sector for the government, the mining sector. The MMD government, upon coming into power, fully implemented liberalisation of the economy which led to the sale of state-owned corporations such as Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines and other state corporations. Because the MMD had promised the electorate to liberalise the economy in order to secure a new democratic political dispensation (Lungu, 2008), they embarked upon a relentless liberalisation of the Zambian economy.

The MMD government's stringent fiscal policy measures from 1992 helped halt the economic decline and showed recorded sustainable economic growth. These measures involved the implementation of the SAP conditions which demanded liberalisation of the market, sale of state-owned corporations to private ownership, devaluation of the local currency and restructuring of the civil service (Kapungwe, 2004). These measures brought about a significant growth of the economy recorded at a rate of 4.6% per year causing a reduction in the incidence of poverty from 70% in 1991 to 64% in 2006. In 2009, the estimated economic growth was expected to be 4.5% compared to 5% projected at the beginning of 2009 (MoFNP 2009). Despite this growth, the effects on poverty levels have been insufficient to change the poor living standards of the majority of the population.

The third chapter of this thesis will discuss theories of the state which will aid understanding of the implications of the liberalisation of markets by the MMD

government as opposed to UNIP's use of the state apparatus to control national investment and fiscal policies. Theories of the corporatist state and Marxism will be useful. The section that follows looks at the profile of HIV/AIDS in Zambia and later provides the NAC's contextualised response to the drivers of HIV/AIDS in Zambia.

2.5 The Country HIV/AIDS Profile

According to the Central Statistics Office (CSO) of Zambia, Zambia's population in 2010 was recorded at 13,092,666 during the 2010 Census of Population and Housing survey (CSO, 2014). This indicated a 32.4% increase since the last official census of 2000. Having a 50/50 gender divide in population, Zambia's 2010 population was divided into 6,454,647 and 6,638,019 male and female, respectively. The population is divided into 60.5% living in rural areas of Zambia whilst 39.5% reside in urban areas.

Out of the 13 million people in Zambia, an estimated 1.2 million people are living with HIV (UNGASS, 2012). Among those living with HIV, women have a higher prevalence of 16.1% compared to men at 12.3% (UNFPA, 2013). Prevalence of HIV infection in women is high between the ages of 30-34 suggesting 'high levels of social and economic vulnerability, inadequate access to life skills and information, low levels of negotiation skills, and unequal protection under statutory and customary laws and traditions' (NAC, 2006:8).

Among women attending Antenatal Clinics (ANC), the highest HIV prevalence has been recorded in the following urban dwellings: Lusaka, Ndola, Kabwe,

Mongu and the cross border tourist and trading centres of Chipata and Livingstone (UNAIDS/WHO, 2004).

2.5.1 Mode of Transmission for HIV

An estimated rate of HIV infection (90%) among the adult population was attributed to have been transmitted through heterosexual sex practices with a casual partner, a long standing partner, or a concurrent sexual partner (NASF, 2010; Fylkesnes *et al.*, 1994; Msiska, 2002; NAC/MoH, 2008). The next main mode of transmission which accounts for 21 per cent is mother-to-child transmission (MCTC) during pregnancy, at birth and through breastfeeding (NAC/MoH, 2008). Inequalities have exacerbated the spread of HIV and such inequalities are suffered more by women than by men (Poit, Greener, and Russell, 2007). For example, income inequalities between men and women have a significant influence on the feminisation of poverty making women more vulnerable to HIV infection through high risky sexual practices. There is less than 1 per cent transmission of HIV through the use of needles, sharp instruments, sex between men and contaminated blood and blood products (see figure 3).

Statistics state that there are homosexual and bisexual practices in Zambia but such relationships are not openly conducted as there is a very strong stigma and discrimination in African culture. Zambia, a declared Christian nation, has zero-tolerance towards homosexual behaviour in society. This is not to say that homosexuality is non-existent but has had limited research since it is difficult to recruit relevant participants as a sample. Usually in southern Africa, homosexuals have been a target of state or police

harassment and often acts of violence against members of gay communities have been fatal (Phillips, 1997). This has caused the information about transmission to inevitably be partial (Phillips, 2004; National Aids Coordination Programme, 1998). The section that follows will focus on the factors that influence the spread of HIV in Zambia.

Figure 3: HIV Transmission Mechanisms
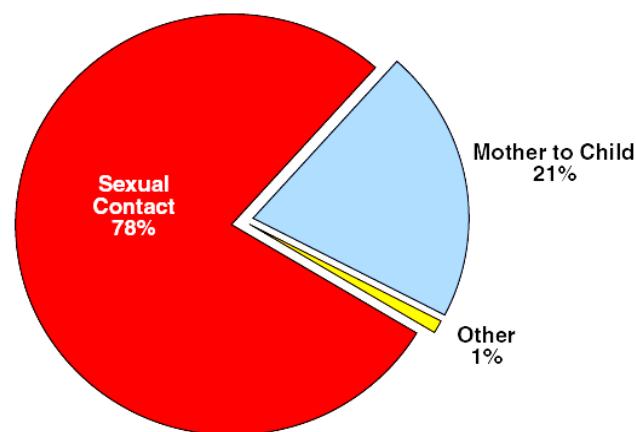
Source: The HIV/AIDS Epidemic in Zambia, NAC 2004

2.6 Factors Influencing the Spread of HIV in Zambia

Table 1 shows the following factors as the drivers of the HIV pandemic in Zambia: multiple sexual partners; high levels of poverty; gender and sexual violence; sexually transmitted infections; high population mobility; stigma/discrimination; literacy and communication; prison confinement; and lastly alcohol and drug use. The NAC in Zambia acknowledges that 'there is a strong realisation that HIV/AIDS is very much inter-linked with poverty, social and economic inequalities between men and women and long-standing cultural behaviours and beliefs' (NAC 2006: ix). This position by the NAC is

similar to that taken by Poit, Greener and Russell (2007) who posit that

HIV/AIDS is a disease of inequalities.

Table 1: Drivers of HIV Infection in Zambia

Multiple sexual partners
High Poverty Levels
Gender and sexual violence
High Population mobility
Stigma and Discrimination
Literacy and Communication
Prison Confinement
Alcohol and Drug Use

Source: NAC (2004) The HIV/AIDS Epidemic in Zambia

2.6.1 Multiple Sexual Partnerships

This and subsequent sections focussing on the drivers of HIV infection will

use information from two key surveys known as the Zambia Sexual Behaviour

Survey 2005 and 2009. According to these surveys, the classification of

sexual partnerships is as follows: a heterosexual husband and wife or wives in

a monogamous marriage or polygamous marriage; cohabiting couples[5] and

lastly, the other recognised sexual partnership is a non-marital sexual

relationship where casual sex occurs between unmarried people or a married

person with either a girlfriend or boyfriend.

According to the ZSBS (2005) in 1998, there were 39.1% males and 16.6%

females who had a non-regular partner compared to 27.6% males and 15.8%

of females having reported a non-regular partner in the last 12 months in

2005. The ZSBS (2009) showed a decline for respondents aged 15-49 who

reported having multiple sexual partners from about 9% in 2000 to 4% in 2009

The common patterns for multiple sexual partner tendencies are polygamy;

extramarital relationships and paying sex workers for sex, rendering such

individuals at risk of HIV infection (Smith & Watkins, 2005; CSO, CBoH and

ORC Macro, 2003; Fieldman et al.,1997). Research has shown that though

the knowledge of condoms is high as a means of preventing HIV infection,

there were more men than women who did not use condoms as preventative

methods with non-regular partners (CSO, CBoH and ORC Macro, 2003;

Gaisie et al., 1993; see also Baggaley et al., 1993). Studies by Do and

Meekers (2009) show that Zambian men are more likely to have multiple

sexual partners compared to women but consider themselves less at risk of

HIV infection (see also Ijadunola et al., 2007; Kohler, Behrman and Watkins,

2007).

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[5] . Cohabiting couples are an emerging trend of a household or sexual partnership
though this trend is not customarily common. These are sexual relations involving an
unmarried couples living together.

2.6.2 High Poverty Level

Though HIV/AIDS has affected both those considered as wealthy as well as those considered poor in Zambia, the NAC (2005) comments that in the early days of the HIV epidemic, the highest HIV prevalence in low income countries was amongst the rich and urban populations. Today, HIV prevalence is high in urban areas compared to rural areas (Kandala et al 2008). This pattern was also evident in the 2001-2002 Zambia Demographic and Health Survey (ZDHS) which showed a 23.0% prevalence of HIV infection in urban areas compared to 10.2% in rural areas (Central Statistical Office & ORC Macro, 2003). Today, poverty causes vulnerability to HIV for low income nations. According to the Rural Poverty Portal (2006), Zambia is globally among the 20 least economically developed nations in the world and a majority of the population live below the poverty datum line. The effects of the pandemic are heavily felt economically and socially by those living in extreme poverty. Not only does the HIV pandemic get exacerbated in poverty conditions but it also exacerbates poverty levels (NAC 2005).

When AIDS robs a poor family of its breadwinner, it forces the family into severe poverty by undermining a family's food and economic security (UN 2005). Cohen (1998) states that the impact of poverty as depicted above leads to outcomes that usually expose such vulnerable groups to HIV risky behaviours. A majority of the poorer Zambian people in rural areas do not have access to professional services or adequate health information which make them vulnerable to HIV. Due to poverty and in search of sustainable living conditions, the poor contribute to numbers of mobile people who are likely to engage in unprotected casual sex relationships.

2.6.3 Gender and Violence Issues

In Zambia traditional culture, particularly adhered to among rural populations, a woman is taught not to decline her husband's sexual advances regardless of any suspicions of extra-marital relations he may have. Mostly women fear that if they deny their husbands sex, then men are likely to gratify their sexual pleasures away from their marital home (Campbell and Kelly, 1995). A woman is also not in a position to demand the use of a condom for her own safety (see Wellings, et al. 2006; Gaisie et al., 1993). One of the early reports by the then Zambia National AIDS/STD/TB & Leprosy Programme (Strategic plan 1994- 1998) recognised that low social, economic and educational achievement of women are factors that have contributed to the high prevalence of HIV infection among women (MoH, 1994).

The ZSBS (2005) revealed that gender inequalities deny women their autonomy in decision making in sexual practices and result in high sexual violence against women. The influence of poverty on risky sexual behaviour affects women more than it does men since women face more economic and social inequalities than men. Women are economically dependent on men which is disempowering in decision making in relationships with regards to family size, condom use and extra-marital sex (Campbell and Kelly, 1995; Jones et al., 2005). The socio-economic factors, psycho-social factors, cultural factors and social status of women in society make women more vulnerable to risky sexual behaviour.

2.6.4 Stigma and Discrimination

Stigma and discrimination are drivers of the spread of the AIDS pandemic in that the negative attitudes towards people living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA) cause people to be secretive about their health status. AIDS is still linked to sexual promiscuity, causing innocent (non-promiscuous) partners within a marriage to remain silent and usually delaying to get diagnosed for early treatment. Living with HIV in Zambia is still considered a shame and viewed as an act of being sexually irresponsible (ZSBS, 2005). Such stigma that surrounds the pandemic leads to discrimination. For the fear of being discriminated against, people chose to remain silent about their condition. A NAC report argued that as the accessibility of anti-retroviral therapy becomes greater, more people are likely to be brave and undergo Voluntary Testing and Counselling (VCT).

2.6.5 High Population Mobility

Zambia has groups of working populations that migrate for work or business purposes. People working away from their permanent residences spend long periods away from their sexual partners (Kandala et. al., 2008). These include truck drivers, sex workers, fish industry traders, cross-border traders, military personnel on international peacekeeping missions or domestic military attachments and seasonal farm traders (Mayer, 2005). Usually such movements are drivers of the spread of HIV when people move from HIV low-prevalence to high-prevalence communities and then back to their families. In some cases, for example, sex workers migrate to active economic zones of the nation usually with high HIV prevalence. When such populations work

away from their usual social settings which help them uphold certain traditional or cultural norms of sexual behaviour, they tend to engage in risky sexual behaviours. This is also applicable to the focus of this study, sports, where sports persons travel regularly and spend time away from home.

2.6.6 Drug and Alcohol Abuse

Sexual Behaviour surveys conducted in Zambia (ZSBS, 2000, 2005; 2009; FHI, 2000) have shown that alcohol and drug use are risk factors which can lead to having casual unprotected sex and usually with more sexual partners over time. In the ZSBS (2000) survey, 23% women and 20% men had use of alcohol before participating in casual sex. There were differences among rural areas and urban areas, 35% of urban women and 32% of urban men had abused alcohol before sex compared to 14% of rural women and 14% rural men. Figure 4, shows data from a NAC survey (NAC, 2004) which compared urban and rural respondents that had sex after the use of alcohol or had exchanged sex for money. There is more evidence of urban males and females having sex with a non-regular partner after use of drugs and alcohol. Such sexual behaviour may involve money transactions which are likely to fuel more drug and alcohol abuse. Alcohol and drug use or abuses as suggested before often contribute to forced sex and domestic violence.

Figure 4: Sex with a non-regular partner
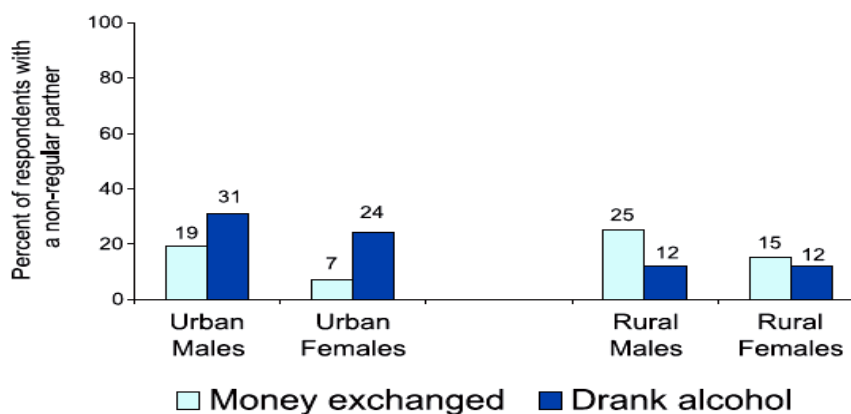
Source: NAC (2004) The HIV/AIDS Epidemic in Zambia

2.6.7 Literacy and Communication

The 2001-2002 ZDHS survey showed that there were significant differences in literacy levels between males and females and also between rural and urban areas in Zambia (CSO, CBoH and ORC Macro, 2003). Literacy levels for men are higher than women. The overall literacy levels for men were 81.6% whereas those for women were 60.6%. Urban areas had higher literacy levels compared to rural areas which had far lower literacy levels, especially among women. Such disparities between men and women, rural and urban areas pose challenges in communicating HIV and AIDS services to risky populations. In sub-Saharan Africa, a wide range of surveillance data shows that despite the high literacy levels in urban areas compared to rural areas, the most urbanised areas have higher HIV prevalence (see Zulu, Dodoo, and Ezeh, 2004; Klepp et al, 1997).

2.6.8 Prison Confinement

Lastly, prison confinement also contributes to the high prevalence of HIV as inmates are vulnerable to homosexual practices. A study by Zulu conducted in Zambia focussed on prison inmates and ex-prisoners as respondents revealing that

> 'young males in prisons are more vulnerable to HIV as they are receptive partners of older men ... and indicated that these experiences do not end when they leave prisons it is extended in their lives, suggesting an ongoing practice whenever chances arise' (2004:8).

Policy makers and other high officials are in denial with regards to such male to male sexual practices. The Zambian law at present prohibits homosexual practices hence distribution of condoms in prisons where same sex inmates are confined is viewed as acknowledging and promoting such sexual practices. Homosexual practices are still viewed as animal-like behaviour in most African countries. It is viewed as immoral to tolerate or accept homosexuality as normal according to Zambian society.

2.6.8 Religious attitudes towards HIV/AIDS

According to the International Religious Freedom Report (2012), the religious demographic of Zambia's estimated population of 13 million (UNFPA, 2013) can be divided as 87% Christian; 1% Muslim or Hindu and 12% other belief systems such as African traditional religion. Religious or Faith-based organizations play a vital role as social organisations in influencing affiliate members' value systems, beliefs and attitudes towards sexual behaviours. As key moral centres within communities, faith-based organisations such as

churches, mosques or missionary centres have been effective in using religion to reduce risky sexual behaviours (Green, 2001). However, some studies have shown that such institutions' opposing stance on contraceptives such as the use of condom for HIV infection prevention has rather increased the vulnerability of contracting HIV (Fieldman et al., 1997).

Religious bodies have played a vital role in promoting fidelity in marriage which forms part of the ABC (**A**bstinence, **B**e faithful and use **C**ondoms) approach to combating the spread of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. However, whilst the focus on fidelity in marriage is applauded, religious bodies have condemned the use of condoms as promoting promiscuity. The church in Zambia only recommends condom use for preventing HIV transmission between married couples despite overwhelming evidence of multiple sexual partners among husbands who end up infecting their faithful spouses. The church has also previously labelled condoms as ineffective in HIV prevention (Fieldman et al., 1997). The implications of the opposition to condom use by faith-based organisations will be elaborated further in this thesis when considering collaborative practices in HIV/AIDS implementation between the selected cases and faith-based organisations.

In addition to opposing some elements of the ABC approach, faith-based organisations also played and influenced negative attitudes of stigma and discrimination of people living with HIV/AIDS. While recent studies have noted a significant decline in the stigma and discrimination perpetuated by religious bodies and their teaching (Patterson, 2010), in the early stages of HIV/AIDS epidemic, faith-based organisations contributed negatively to the stigma and discrimination of people living with HIV. Today, the position of a majority of

faith-based organisations has changed and they play a vital role in the multisectoral approach to HIV/AIDS framework. For example in Zambia, 50% of the healthcare provision is through faith-based organisations (Nussbaum, 2005). The churches have also played a role in looking after vulnerable children and orphans. Their structures and geographical spread to reach people in rural communities cannot be ignored as they play a vital role in combating the spread of HIV and caring for those living with HIV.

2.7 Impact of HIV/AIDS in Zambia

According to the Fifth National Development Plan (GRZ- 5[th]NDP 2006-2011), there are about 1 million people infected with HIV in Zambia and over 200,000 who are in need of anti-retroviral therapy. The AIDS pandemic is among the highest causes of loss of life among Zambians. The impact of HIV/AIDS has profound implications for Zambia in both its social and economic development. The nation's economic growth rate has been set back by the pandemic (Kandala et al. 2008). Apart from huge impact on economic growth through the loss of human capital, the pandemic has greatly affected families and communities. Zambia ranks fourth highest in HIV prevalence among adults in the world and the impacts of the pandemic are felt in all sectors but mainly health, agricultural (food security), education and transport sectors and also broadly due to its impact on family breakdown (UNAIDS/WHO, 2006; Kandala et al., 2008). Not a single sector of society has been spared from the adverse impact of the pandemic. Indeed, it is for this reason that a multisectoral approach has been adopted in an attempt to mitigate the impact of the pandemic. The multisectoral approach will be discussed later in the next section.

The HIV/AIDS pandemic has deprived the nation of the much needed manpower to stabilise the economy. In countries like Zambia, where the pandemic affects people between 15 – 49 years of age who are considered the most productive group, HIV tends to rob the nation of the human capital required for economic recovery. The loss of life of those who are economically productive affects the nation's income tax and increases government expenditure within the public sector through health and funeral costs incurred. Other researchers on the contrary have argued that not every nation affected by HIV/AIDS suffers economically unless that particular nation has an HIV prevalence of 20% or more where the consequence is to experience a GDP loss of up to 2% per annum (Cohen, 1992).

The impact of HIV/AIDS is believed to be felt more at the household level. The impact at the household level mainly starts with the medical costs required to care for a terminally ill family member. Family savings, if any, are spent on medical costs and funeral costs. Death of a sole breadwinner leaves the surviving relatives short of resources and usually results in poor health and vulnerability to HIV through risky behaviours (see Munthali 2002). Households that are headed by women are the most vulnerable as HIV/AIDS renders such households at risk particularly if they are in a rural area. When families lose a breadwinner, AIDS exacerbates poverty levels and the increase in the number of orphaned children. Widows lose resources through property grabbing and orphaned children are usually withdrawn from school due to scarcity of resources.

Due to the lack of welfare support for orphaned children, they become vulnerable to HIV infection as some fall into the 'street kids' categorisation.

According to a Ministry of Health (MoH, 2005) document, about 700,000 children have lost one of both parents due to the HIV pandemic. This alarming figure of orphaned children has seen some of them drop out of school due to scarcity of resources; some have taken up the guardianship role over their siblings whereas others are cared for by their grandparents.

Within the business sector, the impact of HIV/AIDS is being felt as the pandemic has affected the most productive members of society causing a reduction in the workforce. Experiences of reduced productivity or reduction in the workforce have been through absenteeism of employees who have HIV related illnesses and death caused by AIDS. For example, the education sector has been adversely affected due to the high prevalence of HIV among teachers which has resulted in high mortality rate among this employment group.

Absenteeism by teachers who are HIV positive has affected the quality of education nationally. When employees die, the government or private sector employers usually incur funeral costs and recruitment costs to replace the deceased employees. Productivity in the workplace also gets affected when new inexperienced employees struggle to cope with the demands of the job. Also of concern and impacting more on productivity in all sectors is the traditional practice of attending funerals and burial ceremonies which tends to reduce productivity in workplaces.

There is no sector of the Zambian population that has not experienced the negative effects of the HIV pandemic. The next section looks at the Zambian

government's response to halt the spread of HIV/AIDS and alleviate the negative impacts of the HIV/AIDS pandemic upon its people.

2.8 National Response to HIV/AIDS

Though the first case of AIDS in Zambia was diagnosed in 1984, it was only after two years, in 1986, that the government responded by establishing the National AIDS Prevention and Control Programme. There was neither political commitment to address the epidemic nor any political acknowledgement of the multiplying cases of AIDS-related deaths. Even when Government officials attended funerals in their official capacity, they shunned mentioning the word HIV or AIDS for any AIDS related deaths. Indeed, it was only when President Kaunda announced at the burial ceremony of his deceased son that the cause of death was AIDS that it was possible to discuss the topic in public. Before Kaunda's acknowledgment, no senior government official had publicly spoken about AIDS.

When the MMD government came to power in 1991 under the presidency of Chiluba, there was still a lack of a significant government response to the HIV pandemic. The lack of a high level political commitment was a huge constraint throughout the 1990s (Garbus, 2003). The lack of political will was indicated by the lack of strategic management of HIV/AIDS programmes; the lack of monitoring and evaluation of programmes; and the lack of collaboration or partnership working among public, private and civil society organisations (ibid, 2003).

When Zambia had its first multiparty democratic elections in the early 1990s, the new political atmosphere enabled the establishment of health-based non-

governmental organisations (NGOs) and community-based organisations (CBOs) focussing on HIV/AIDS. The political atmosphere led to mushrooming of NGOs which can also be attributed to the availability of donor funding for HIV/AIDS programmes which was targeted at grassroots level organisations. NGOs and CBOs have been instrumental in both advocacy for HIV policies and in playing a crucial role in shouldering much of the country's response to HIV/AIDS (ibid, 2003). An in-depth discussion about the emergence of NGOs will be dealt with later in this thesis.

In 2001, President Mwanawasa took over from President Chiluba's government and the following year, the National HIV/AIDS/STI/TB Council (NAC) was established by parliamentary Act No. 10 of 2002. Two years later, in 2004, President Mwanawasa declared HIV/AIDS as a national disaster, a national emergency. This pronouncement empowered the NAC to act with strong government support in the fight against HIV/AIDS. The government further responded by putting in place a number of national support structures to help halt the spread and impact of the HIV pandemic. As mentioned before, a high level committee of Cabinet Ministers on HIV and AIDS was established as well as the setting up of Provincial HIV/AIDS Task Forces (PATFs) and District HIV/AIDS Task Forces (DATFs) to ensure the decentralisation of the national HIV response. Both PATFs and DATFs are multisectoral in their composition and are intended to be extensions of the NAC at sub-national level. In addition, the NAC published its first comprehensive National HIV/AIDS/STI/TB policy in 2005.

The NAC is composed of a Council and a Secretariat. It consists of a broad-based representation of government, private sector and civil society

organisations whose vision is to have a nation free of the threat of HIV/AIDS. Within its mandate to coordinate the national response to HIV/AIDS, the NAC is involved in resource mobilisation, strategic planning, coordination of efforts, and monitoring and evaluating the progress in halting the spread and negative effects of the HIV pandemic. Under the leadership of the NAC, the Zambian government has adopted a multisectoral approach in its response to fighting HIV/AIDS. This approach requires building strategic partnerships at all levels to ensure a coordinated effort to combat the pandemic. In order to achieve its organisational objectives, the NAC through the multisectoral approach seeks the support and engagement of five main groupings or sectors of society which are as follows:

- *Civil society* comprising of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), Faith Based Organisations, Community Based Organisations, The Media and Trade Unions
- The *Private Business Sector*
- *Co-operating Partners & Donors*
- The *Public Sector* including all levels of government, state enterprises and the NAC itself
- *Politicians*

Figure 5 below illustrates the multisectoral approach structure adopted by the NAC and depicts sectors and structures consisting of networks of agents for collaborative or partnership working. In the 2006-2010 National HIV / AIDS Strategic Framework (NASF), the NAC (2006) identified six key themes. Based on the six key themes, the NAC developed theme groups which include representatives from the different sectors outlined below. The following are the identified six theme groups:

- The Prevention Theme Group

- Treatment Care and Support Theme Group

- Impact Mitigation Theme Group

- Decentralization and Mainstreaming Theme Group

- The Monitoring and Evaluation Theme Group

- Advocacy and Coordination Theme Group

Figure 5: NAC's Multisectoral Approach
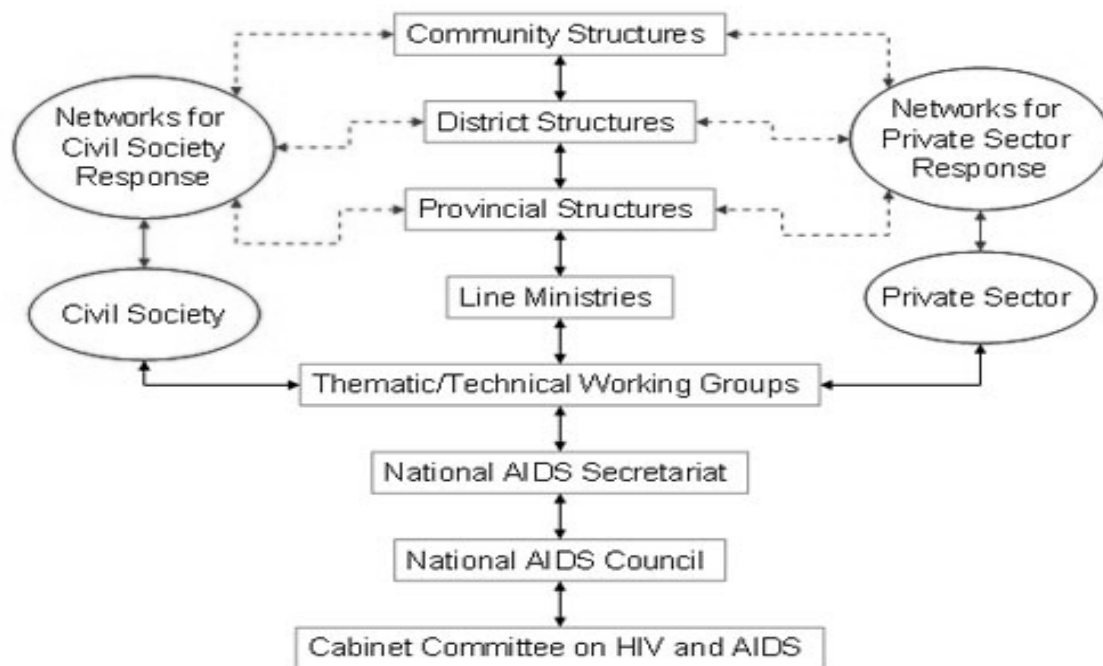
Source: NAC (2006: 48)

All organisations identified under the five main groupings or sectors of society

are each allocated into one of the six theme groups above based on their core

HIV/AIDS activities. For example, politicians belong to the last group –

Advocacy and Coordination theme group. Sports agencies such as National

Sports Associations (NSAs) and Sport-for-development NGOs whose work

focuses more on prevention of infection among sports participants and young

people, respectively, belong to the first group which is the Prevention theme

group. Under each theme group, members work together as a theme and

have within the theme group a Technical Working Group (TWG) whose aim is to advise on planning, monitoring, evaluating and reporting of HIV/AIDS activities within the theme group. TWGs operate a bottom-up and top-down approach within the theme group and between NAC and other theme groups.

2.9 Global Response and the Multisectoral Approach to HIV

In the early 1980s when HIV was in its infancy, its impact was unpredictable and the response to addressing the disease was limited since the disease's global effect was underestimated (Piot, et al., 2009). Hence, the response to HIV/AIDS globally lacked political will, financial resources and a good knowledge base. The global impact of HIV/AIDS worldwide especially in sub-Saharan Africa has since caused several hardships and amounted to huge loss of lives. AIDS is and has been a major threat to development in affected areas.

For the first ten years of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, the World Health Organisation (WHO) was the main organisation globally coordinating AIDS related activities. In1996, the UN formed the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) by bringing together six organisations who were working on AIDS but with little coordination. The following organisations were brought together as a global response to the HIV/AIDS pandemic: the World Bank, WHO, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and the United Nations Population Fund (UNPFA).

Another significant global response to the HIV/AIDS pandemic was a special session of the United Nations General Assembly focussing on HIV/AIDS which was convened in 2001 (Schwartländer et al, 2001; Piot and Coll-Seck, 2001; Piot, et al., 2009). Among the positive outcomes of the UN General Assembly was the establishment of the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria (Piot, et al., 2009). The Global Fund together with the USA government's President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) have both mobilised unprecedented financial resources for prevention, treatment, care and support for people living with HIV.

In Africa, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) convened a special summit on AIDS in Abuja where African heads of state declared a 'state of emergency' on the AIDS situation in Africa (Piot and Coll-Seck, 2001). The OAU special summit resulted in the Abuja Declaration on HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and other related infectious diseases where governments declared to commit at least 15% of the national budget towards health services to help in HIV/AIDS. These important events in 2001 helped create new concerted efforts for a global response to the AIDS pandemic. In Europe, Pan-Caribbean, Asia and Pacific zones significant higher-level events in 2001 also added to the momentum of the global response to the AIDS response.

The Global Strategy Framework on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS, 2001), the first key global response documents on HIV/AIDS, outlined key areas requiring concerted efforts from communities, nations, and regions in order to achieve a global decrease of risk, vulnerability and impact of the AIDS pandemic. The framework demanded the following:

- High-level leadership at all levels of society such as political, business, community and religious.
- A multisectoral approach demanding all sectors of society to be involved in halting the spread of the pandemic.
- Nationally coordinated planning and implementation of HIV/AIDS policies and strategies
- Making central to the response the involvement of people living with HIV (PLWHA)
- And community involvement to reverse the impacts of the pandemic.

After consultations in 2003 with African governments, multilateral and bilateral agencies, the UNAIDS produced the 'Three Ones' principles to help intensify the coordination of responses at country level. The 'Three Ones' approach demanded that each country is required to have in place:

- *One Agreed Common HIV/AIDS Action Framework*: to enable the coordination of stakeholder efforts, resource allocation and accountability, frequent review with all stakeholders, target setting for prevention, treatment, care and support and linking the HIV/AIDS action framework into other local frameworks such as poverty-reduction.

- *One National HIV/AIDS Coordinating Agency or Council:* this legitimate body needs to have a broad-based multisectoral mandate to enable it to coordinate the development, implementation, and monitoring and evaluating of a country's HIV/AIDS action framework.

- *One Agreed Country-level Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) System*: this is a nationally agreed system of M&E of the national HIV/AIDS activities that are designed to achieve the objectives and targets set through the national AIDS action framework. The M&E

needs to be aligned to global HIV/AIDS targets in order to feed into

the United Nations Declaration of Commitment on HIV/AIDS.

(UNAIDS, The 'Three Ones' Key principles, 2004)

To halt the spread and negative impacts of the AIDS pandemic, it is vital that

countries have in place the key principles of the 'Three Ones' to strengthen

coordination of efforts to combat AIDS. The 'Three Ones' are a response to

the lack of coordination nationally and globally. In addition, having

contextualised the HIV/AIDS pandemic, the 2011-2015 National HIV/AIDS

Strategic Framework (NASF, 2011: xi-xii) recommends:

> Mainstreaming and operationalisation of the Three-Ones principles at
> all levels of the response; gender equality; equity; mainstreaming of
> gender; and human rights in all aspects of the response. Other
> aspects of the national response to be guided by the principles include
> mainstreaming of HIV and AIDS in the workplace and in development
> programmes, being culturally sensitive, promoting meaningful
> involvement and participation of PLHIV, and consolidating
> multisectoral and decentralised approaches to the national response.

Table 2: Steps of Mainstreaming HIV/AIDS Action

Step	Description of the step
Step 1:	Development of a sectoral or institutional HIV and AIDS Goal and commitment. These are usually policy statements that are backed up with leadership commitment.
Step 2:	Prepare a HIV and AIDS profile of the sector or organisation.
Step 3:	Develop a plan for mainstreaming HIV and AIDS, and gender into the core business / mandate, policies and operations of the institution
Step 4:	Cost and allocate resources to support the plan you have developed in step 3
Step 5:	Implement and document your experiences, progress and challenges you encounter as you implement your plan
Step 6:	Finally monitor and evaluate your HIV and AIDS mainstreamed plan.

Source: NAC (2010: 49) [Draft version]

The table above shows the guidelines for mainstreaming HIV/AIDS action within the workplace, sector or organisation. Mainstreaming of HIV/AIDS action within the selected case study National Sports Association (NSA) is the focus of this study. Therefore, the description of steps of mainstreaming HIV/AIDS outlined in the table above will be useful in the analysis of findings for each NSA.

The global response to the HIV/AIDS pandemic in the 1980s and 1990s lacked a strong, strategic and well-coordinated response aimed at achieving universal access to HIV prevention and also treatment, care and support of those living with HIV/AIDS. In the early days following the discovery of HIV virus, the dominant view was that the disease was a health sector problem. HIV/AIDS is today no longer simply a health sector concern but a problem that demands the involvement of all sectors: economic, political, religious and social (Solomon and Ganesh, 2000). There are many actors today working in collaboration at the global, national and local level. Mercer, Liskin and Scott (1991) NGOs in developing nations were first to respond to the pandemic pre-dating action by the state through its health services. NGOs mainly promoted access to counselling and care for PLWHA. Furthermore, NGOs were quicker to respond and more effective in reaching communities than the government. It may be argued that the proximity of NGOs to their target groups made them favourable to foreign cooperating partners and this lead to shaping the global response to the pandemic.

NGOs gained much recognition as partners in health care provision in 1993 when changes demanded by the World Bank in health provision called for the inclusion of other civil society organisations in order to promote diversity and

competition (Gilson et al, 1994). This made NGOs alternative health care providers to state agencies. Boone & Batsell (2001:14) state that due to the shrinking of African state health services, the prevailing health care scenarios in most developing nations 'placed much of the burden upon NGOs to fill the gap'. NGOs were seen as less constrained in health care provision compared to government agencies which experienced inefficiencies and lack of resources (Gilson et al 1994; Gellert, 1996; Mercer, Liskin and Scott, 1991). Within such a political atmosphere of favouring NGOs, there emerged a tendency to consider NGOs as powerful agents in the struggle to mitigate the impacts of the AIDS pandemic (see Solomon and Ganesh, 2000; Laird, 2007; Boone & Batsell, 2001; Seckinelgin, 2006).

Table 3 makes a comparison between NGOs and governments showing the strengths and weaknesses of both the NGO and public sector. The table provides some details about the preference of the donor community to work with NGOs as opposed to the state. The Bretton Woods institutions and other international donors favoured working with NGOs rather than African governments because of the perceived corruption of African governments (Laird, 2007). Furthermore, NGOs were favoured in providing health care for HIV/AIDs as they were perceived as: able to reach the marginalised members of society more effectively; able to mobilise resources; more flexible in response; more willing to operate within local communities thus enabling promotion of local involvement in decision making; and promoting democratisation (Mercer, Liskin and Scott, 1991; Gilson et al, 1994; Gellert, 1996; Bebbington & Riddell, 1997; Zaidi, 1999; Solomon and Ganesh, 2000).

Government agencies are perceived as lacking the flexibility of NGOs due to certain bureaucracies within government systems.

Though NGOs were favoured, their disadvantages included deep financial dependence on donor funds which posed a threat to the sustainability of programmes and imposed potential limitations on the scale of service (Mercer, Liskin and Scott, 1991; Edwards & Hulme, 1995; Solomon and Ganesh, 2000). Lorgan (1998: 329) comments that 'NGOs often work in limited geographical areas and do not have the scale or resources to assure national coverage or uniformity'. The services provided by NGOs perceived as an alternative to state services have been questioned due to their 'lack of holistic approach across range of issues' (Zaidi, 1999:268) which may lead to regional disparities (Lorgan, 1998). On the contrary, since NGOs are apolitical organisations and nonpartisan (Gellert, 1996), they are likely to further developments in areas which governments may neglect due to partisan politics. But because of their dependency on donor funds and lack of expertise, NGOs usually lack resources to assure national coverage. Other authors have highlighted the lack of coordination of services amongst NGOs due to competition for resources as another limitation for NGOs.

Table 3 Comparative Features of NGOs and Government

	NGO	**Government**
Strengths	Quick Rapport with the community Motivation Flexibility	Resources Legislation
Weaknesses	Financial dependence Lack or reach to a large geographical area	Outsider Slow

Opportunities	Underserved areas Marginalised communities	Uniform public health programme
Threats	Sustainability Lack of management experience Expertise	Rejection

Source: Solomon and Ganesh (2000)

In 2001, the Bretton Woods Institutions acknowledged that efforts to combat AIDS could not be delivered without the full involvement of government (Boone & Batsell, 2001). The preference for relying on NGOs to mitigate the spread of HIV/AIDS has proved futile as NGOs have failed to fill the gaps in private and public sector provision (Zaidi, 1999). Laird (2007: 468) argued that 'the non-governmental sector is by no means an unadulterated antidote to the ailments of the African state' but that there is need for a strong collaboration of efforts between the state, NGOs and the business sector (see also Solomon and Ganesh, 2000). Laird (2007: 467) further stated that the preference of donors for working directly with NGOs as opposed to supporting state structures has been a disservice which has reinforced 'weak state capacities'. Literature on the capacities of NGOs, the complexities of fragmentation and the lack of accountability shows that 'only the government has the capacity to mount a nationwide response effort, and to harness the expertise of NGOs as part of that effort' (Batsell, 2005:70).

2.10 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the background of Zambia: the economic hardships, the country's HIV/AIDS profile, the common factors influencing the spread of HIV, the impact of HIV/AIDS and lastly the national and global response to the HIV/AIDS pandemic. All these issues are interconnected in understanding the HIV/AIDS scenario in Zambia. There are several factors

that are at play and need addressing in all efforts to halt the spread of HIV. One of the challenges is the economic hardships that the people of Zambia face today. As has been mentioned before, there is a strong link between HIV and poverty.

Social aspects such as gender inequalities embedded in Zambian traditional ways of living also have strong links to the economic well-being of women. Traditionally, women stayed at home whilst men engaged in formal employment. This has drastically changed in urban areas, though is still evident in rural areas where women face many gender-related inequalities. For example, the chapter showed that the lack of employment and poverty are the factors that significantly contribute to the spread of HIV. Indeed, it is women who are the most vulnerable to HIV infection rather than men. Traditional practices that limit the voices of other members within society, mostly women, are vital to comprehend within this policy analysis.

The focus on the country's economic development, pre and post the colonial era, has had a major impact on the spread of HIV and the poor standard life for the majority of Zambians. The nation was and is still heavily dependent on copper production which has hampered diversification of the economy. The Zambian economy under President Kaunda had strong features of corporatism (which will be discussed in chapter 3) driving its fiscal policies. The nation heavily subsidised the corporations to maintain employment levels and provision of public services. The subsidising of the corporations drained the nation of its resources leading to poor overall economic performance. There are still old tendencies prevalent today of centralisation of power in the provision of public services which were common under Kaunda's

governments. Currently having a liberalised economy, the benefits of liberalisation have not benefitted a majority of the Zambian populace. The role of the state will be tackled later in chapter three when the discussion focuses on theories of the state.

The tenets of an effective global response and national response to halting the spread of HIV call for: good leadership, establishing a coordinating mechanism and an informed knowledge of which actions to prioritise. Zambia has shown good political commitment through political leaders' pronouncements regarding their commitment and that of state agencies mainstreaming HIV-related programmes but whether these have been effective is yet to be known.

There is evidence of a multisectoral approach in the response to the pandemic through the strategic framework. However, the preference among donors to use NGOs in the global response to HIV/AIDS proved problematic since there is increasing acceptance that the heart of any response must be state-led rather than NGO-led. The state has structures and agents in place but lacks resources which may have been directed to NGOs who are often preferred for their flexibility and proximity to the target group. Hence, the focus of this study considers the involvement of various sectors of society in combating the spread and impact of HIV. Such involvement need not only be in implementation but throughout the decision making process of policy formulation and implementation. The study will focus on the extent to which government agencies of sport and NSAs engage with government in these processes.

CHAPTER 3: Sport in Zambia

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss the development of sport policy in Zambia with particular focus on the influence of Zambia's colonial past and how it contributed to the skewed development of sport infrastructure that the country experiences today. The British South African (BSA) Company set up by Cecil Rhodes ruled Northern Rhodesia from the 1890s until 1924 when it handed over Northern Rhodesia's administrative role to the British Colonial Office (BCO) mainly for the economic reasons of having found neither gold nor diamonds (Bhagavan, 1978). Though the territory was handed over, the BSA Company maintained full rights over the mineral deposits of the land.

When rich deposits of copper were later discovered in Zambia, the mining sector blossomed with the BSA Company still holding mineral rights to the deposits (Baldwin, 1966; Faber and Potter, 1971). The dominant features of Zambian society before political independence were race, gender and income inequalities between Europeans and African workers in the mining industry as well as other parts of society (Tordoff and Molteno, 1974). In the case of sport, the period between 1936 and 1964 was characterised by inequalities based on race, class and gender in the provision of sport and recreational activities by the colonial government and also by the foreign-owned mining companies. Sports were divided into what were termed 'expatriate sports' and 'African sports'. The white expatriates played golf, rugby, cricket and bowls whereas the native Africans played football, boxing, netball and athletics under separate sports federations or associations for blacks and whites (Banda, 2010).

At the time of gaining independence, Zambia's most serious concern was the lack of trained native manpower. With approximately only 100 African graduates and 1000 secondary school graduates at independence (Coombe, 1967), the new government blamed the situation on colonial practices that were entrenched in the unprogressive and restricted educational policy under the colonial administration (GRZ, 1966). Radical proposals for change to rectify the lack of manpower and income inequalities inherited from colonial practices were implemented. In sport and recreation, the measures involved the upward social mobility of native Africans into managerial positions in the amalgamated sports associations as many sections of society opened up to having natives in managerial roles. Africans took up expatriate sports as racial barriers to participation in sport as well as the administration of sport were removed, leading to natives having influence in sports policy formulation at strategic levels. The new black government's approach to the administration of sport was to ensure that its key objective of inclusion of natives in strategic roles in administration in society was effectively implemented in the sports sector (Banda, 2010).

3.2 Government, State corporations, and Sport Provision

Two years after gaining independence, the government proposed to take 51% ownership of foreign-owned mining companies and other sectors of the economy through the Mulungushi Reforms of 1968 (Turok, 1979; Potter, 1971). In the early 1960s and 1970s many newly formed African governments viewed foreign ownership or direct investment as forms of imperialism and so they nationalised operations such as mining, energy, communication and transport sector companies (Rolfe and Woodward, 2004). Other notable reasons for nationalisation given by Kaunda's government were that 'underdevelopment and backwardness' were a result of a private-dominated economy (Muuka, 1997). A notion that Zambia's

development problems would be resolved by having public control of the economy was widely prevalent in the National Development Plans (NDPs). NDPs will be discussed further in relation to the development of sport policy in Zambia. After nationalisation of the Zambian economy, acquiring a majority holding of 51%, the government formed new parastatal companies or state corporations leading to a state-dominated economy.

The newly formed state-owned corporations (SOCs) were key providers of opportunities for both mass sport participation and elite sport performance. The SOCs formed sport and recreation departments that sponsored teams in various sporting codes at different playing levels (Banda, 2010). For example, in elite sport, approximately 65% of the teams in the football premier league were owned by different mining firms belonging to the SOC - ZCCM. Based on the geographical positioning of most SOCs, in proximity to the original *line of rail*[6] and the mining areas, the provision of sport in Zambia was skewed. The 'ladder of sporting opportunities' (Lyle 2007; Hardman and Fielden 1994) has always favoured those along the line of rail, particularly those in the Copperbelt region.

The structural elements of sports provision and delivery in mining townships enabled the widening of opportunities for all mining area residents. Sport initiatives in mining townships ensured not only quantity and quality but also inclusiveness of people with various sporting abilities. Opportunities to engage or participate in sport at grassroots level in mining townships mainly occurred at what was popularly known as '*the*

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[6] The original Line of Rail was constructed to transport mining natural resources from the Copperbelt (Northern Rhodesia) and Katanga (Congo) region. The Line of Rail links the Copperbelt with Lusaka, the capital, and with the border town of Livingstone to the south borders in South Africa. See map Figure 1.

centre' - the community welfare centres. *The centre* was a place of quality sports coaching manned by personnel designated to develop sport and leisure pursuits within mining townships. Hence, the technical development of athletes within mining communities was of a high standard in comparison to other parts of the country (Banda, 2010).

This difference in coaching standards is usually attributed to the influence of white expatriate mineworkers who volunteered to coach local teams. The technical knowledge in the development of both mass participation athletes and elite performers by such volunteers led to the significant contribution of Copperbelt-based athletes to national teams in football, athletics, racquet sports and other sports. Apart from SOC sponsored elite sportsmen and women, military establishments also had a significant impact on national team composition in various sports. Football, netball, volleyball, judo, boxing and athletics defence forces teams featured significantly at elite level in Zambian sports (Banda, 2010). Both mass sport and elite sport were equally promoted in military establishments as well as in mining townships by SOCs.

The subsequent decline of elite sport performance and in the provision of mass sport in Zambia came about due to economic hard times caused by the decline in copper sales, the frequent devaluation of the local currency in the 1970s and the privatisation process of SOCs. These factors were decisive in shaping the current provision of sport and recreation. The fall in copper prices on the world market contributed to loss of income to finance government expenditure on heavily subsidized SOCs. Since these SOCs monopolised their respective sectors, they faced no competition, were mismanaged and experienced productive inefficiencies. Due to low profits generated from their operations, the SOCs drained the limited state resources. As government subsidies reduced, funding allocations for

departments responsible for sport and recreation within SOCs diminished (Banda, 2010).

The government subsidy cutbacks to SOCs resulted in a shortage of funding for sport development programmes as well as for the maintenance and repair of multi sports complexes which were going through a period of dilapidation. Sponsorship of annual elite sport events declined as SOCs such as ZCCM which funded football tournaments and Zambia Airways which sponsored netball withdrew their sponsorship. By mid1980, Zambia faced an acute foreign exchange crisis that forced Kaunda's government to look to the World Bank and IMF for assistance. The shortage of foreign exchange coupled with the devaluation of the local currency made it extremely expensive to procure sports equipment.

The shortage of funding for sports development programmes as well as elite events was further intensified following the privatisation of SOCs. When the first democratic general elections in 1991 independence brought to power the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) led by Fredrick Chiluba, liberalisation was a top priority for this new government. The Chiluba government established the Zambia Privatization Agency to undertake all privatization operations of SOCs. The MMD relentlessly liberalised the Zambian economy leading to the sale of SOCs such as the ZCCM and other national corporations. Those deemed unprofitable by investors went through liquidation. Elite sport development drastically declined and the funding of grassroots sport development disappeared. Due to the loss of revenue from copper sales, the government failed to offer grants to National Sports Associations (NSAs) (Banda, 2010).

3.3 Sport Policy and the National Development Plans

This section focuses on early government involvement in sport policy formulation which can be traced through the NDPs. Soon after gaining independence, the government decided to draw up long term public policy objectives for each government ministry or department. From 1964 to 2011 the government, through the National Commission for Development Planning (NCDP), formulated seven NDPs. The first six NDPs between 1964 and 1991 were commissioned under former President Kaunda's UNIP government. The current NDP known as the Fifth National Development Plan (5[th]NDP, 2006-2011) was commissioned under the MMD government. Soon after independence, there were two NDPs namely: Emergency National Development Plan 1964 – 1965 and then a Transitional National Development Plan 1965 – 1966. Though sport was not a key government priority in the first two transitional NDPs, it is worth mentioning that the steps taken by government to empower native Zambians with skills had an impact on the administration of sports in the post-colonial era. The integration of natives into leadership roles in sport and recreation organisations was achieved through the amalgamation of separate federations of sport for whites and black native people. The process was not smooth though as there was resistance in some sports (Liwena 2005).

The key objective in the First National Development Plan (1[st]NDP) 1966 – 1970 was to diversify the economy away from copper mining towards agricultural activities and other local manufacturing activities in order to balance the economy as well as achieve rural development (GRZ 1966). Since independence, there has been debate regarding bridging the gap between urban and rural provision of sport which in a way has remained policy rhetoric until this day. Despite the concerns about such

imbalances being raised in government debates and plans to tackle these imbalances, the provision of sport still remains skewed with a majority of rural sections lacking sport provision which is driven by government policy.

Within the 1[st]NDP (GRZ -1966-1970) it was stated that the Ministry of Labour and Social Development was to set up a sporting activities section based at the ministry's headquarters. The sports section was to deal with government responsibilities for sports and act as a link between the Minister of Labour and outside sporting authorities through the newly formed National Sports Advisory Council (NSAC). Intentions to invest in infrastructure such as the building of a 30,000 seating capacity stadium for hosting international sports events and celebrations were listed in the 1[st]NDP (GRZ-1966 – 1970). This was indicative of the government's role in provision of facilities and also their concern for elite performance. It was also within the 1[st]NDP (GRZ- 1966 –1970) that the government stated that they intended to use the facilities to host the All Africa Games in the future.

In order to tackle deficiencies in infrastructure created by the nation's colonial past, the government through the Second National Development Plan (2[nd]NDP) 1970 - 1974 proposed the construction of sports facilities in rural areas (GRZ, 1971). Once constructed, such facilities were mainly utilised for football which according to the 2[nd]NDP was singled out as the government's priority sport. During the implementation of the 2[nd]NDP, the government had proposed to establish a Department of Youth Development and Sport but failed to do so due to inflation and the world recession and the consequent collapse in copper prices (GRZ 1971). By then, the administration of sport within government was conducted under a Directorate of Sports office within the Ministry of Labour and Social Services. At the

time of writing, a stadium in Ndola named after late President Mwanawasa has been commissioned to replace the demolished Dag Hammarskjöld stadium.

Later, the Third National Development Plan (3rdNDP) 1979 – 1983 announced the creation of a Ministry of Youth and Sport to undertake the planning and implementation of Youth Development (GRZ, 1979). The main government sports objectives stated in the 3rdNDP included the government negotiating on behalf of national governing bodies of sport for experts from abroad to train Zambians as sports coaches and administrators. This was indicative of government's concern for the administration of sport and the level of coach education. The government was concerned about maintaining its status as a soccer powerhouse after the nation's success at the 9th African Cup of Nations in 1974 Cup as runners up, losing to Zaire in the finals. The sports courses in sports administration and coaching were targeted at both elite and grassroots level administrators and sports coaches. Sports leaders, teachers, club coaches and community centre sports officers were to be trained to equip them with their necessary skills (Banda, 2010).

The Fourth National Development Plan (4thNDP) 1989 – 1993, proposed the writing of the first ever comprehensive National Sports Policy (GRZ, 1989). This was the first policy document produced by the government to focus exclusively on sport. The National Sports Policy was later officially published in 1994. The 4thNDP (1989 – 1993) continued to show Government's dual approach towards sports focussing on grassroots and elite participation. However, government's funding pattern has always shown its bias towards elite performance and urban provision at the expense of the rural sector (MSYCD, 2009). Despite the publication of the first comprehensive sport policy document, the government, through the Department of Sport Development (DSD), failed to implement the new poliy due to inadequate funding,

poor sports structures, limited sports facilities and the impacts of the economic

hardships experienced since the fall in copper price (MSYCD, 2009).

There was a clear shift on sport policy by government in the Fifth National

Development Plan (5[th]NDP) 2006 -2010 (GRZ, 2006) where the focus was placed on

the use of sport, recreation and Physical Education (PE) as tools for human and

economic development and also as means of halting the spread of the HIV/AIDS

pandemic (GRZ, 2006). The government acknowledged that the nation is a youthful

one with young people accounting for 68% of the entire population. HIV/AIDS

infections, high levels of poverty and substance abuse are some of the problems

affecting young people in Zambia as a result of economic hardships and peer

pressure (GRZ, 2006). In an attempt to use sport as a tool to address the plight of

young people, the government explained that:

The absence of recreation facilities for young people has worsened their
situation. The deteriorating socio-economic situation has affected the
development of sport, leisure and recreation. Both rural and urban areas in the
country lack the necessary sport and recreation facilities as the available
infrastructure is dilapidated. In addition, physical education is not taught in most
government schools despite being part of the school curriculum. The
Government has recognised the importance of sport, play, leisure and
recreation in human development and character formation of young people by
signing the International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
(ICESCR).

(GRZ, 2006: 218)

This shift in focus from 'sport as an end in itself' to 'sport as a means to an end' has helped firmly established the role of sport-for-development NGOs as potential partners to accomplish sport and recreation objectives set by government. The sport-for-development sector will be discussed later in depth in section 3.7.

The Sixth National Development Plan (6[th]NDP) 2010 – 2015 (GRZ, 2010) acknowledges the great potential which the Child, Youth and Sports Development sector brings towards poverty reduction and economic growth through skills development and promotion of sport. One of the two key objectives of the 6[th]NDP is 'to build and rehabilitate youth and sports infrastructure' by calling upon the private and community sectors to engage in the construction and rehabilitation of infrastructure and also assist in the mobilising resources for public infrastructure development. The sector budget and financing source for implementation of the two key sector objectives was an equivalent of US$ 18,221,400[7]. The budget shows no foreign financing, but rather all projects are to be funded from government resources.

The projects include the construction of two new modern stadia, one in the capital city of Lusaka and the other one in Livingstone, the former colonial capital city. Other new infrastructure construction involves 9 provincial sports complexes and multi-sports facilities. The resources are also meant for the rehabilitation of youth national service camps; mining town sports complexes and 9 provincial stadia. The 6[th]NDP is the most comprehensive policy document on infrastructure development for the Child, Youth and Sports Development sector.

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[7] This estimate is based on converting 91 Billion Zambian Kwacha using Oanda Currency Converter on 1st April, 2013.

3.4 Past and Current Structure of Sport Provision

Zambia changed from a multi-party state at independence in 1964 to a one-party state in 1973. President Kaunda's UNIP which was the only official political party from 1973 to 1991 was supreme over government. The Central Committee, the party's supreme policy making body for both the party and government had a Sub-Committee for Youth and Sport responsible for all sport policy related matters (see Figure 6). Government officials were answerable to the Sub-Committee which had the mandate to appoint or dissolve board members of statutory bodies such as the NSAC. The Sub-Committee also had substantial influence on the distribution of resources for sport to organisations and also viewed sport as a form of nation building. The system was a highly centralised one characterised by a top-down orientation. The Sub-Committee members were political appointees who used their political power to influence the running of sport (Banda, 2010). The system lacked professionalism, with frequent interference by political party members in the running of NSAs executives particularly in relation to the selection of the Football Association chairman. This is typical of any non-democratic political system where the voices of citizens and their preferences are marginalised.

Figure 6: National Structure for Sport under One-Party State
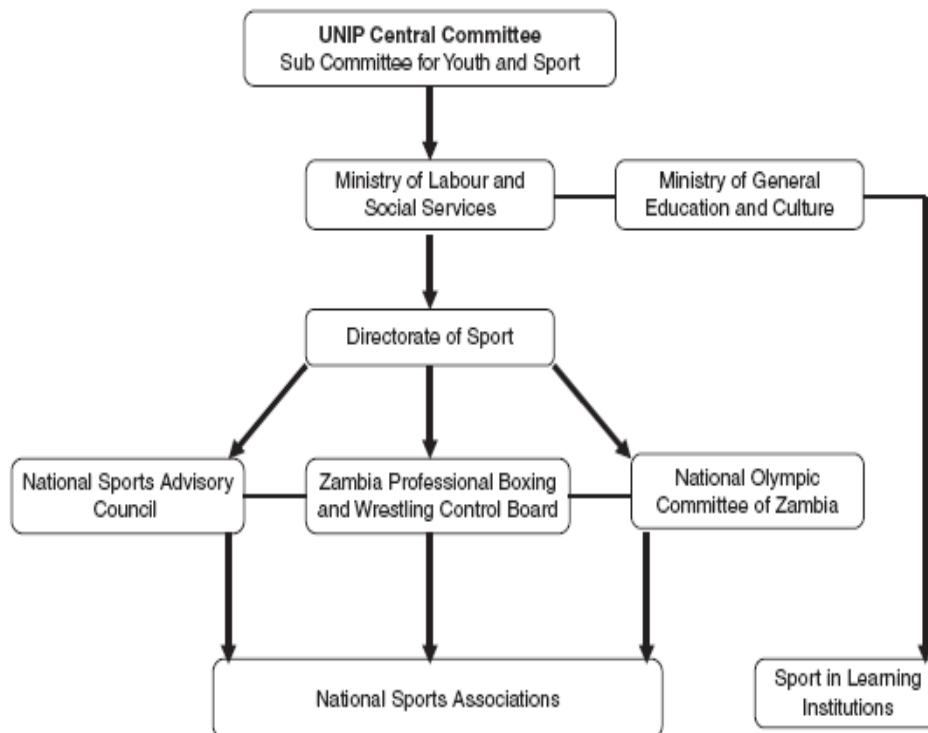
Source: Banda (2010)

Today, under the multi-party political system, the structure of sport has changed (see Figure 7). The Ministry of Sport, Youth and Child Development (MSYCD) is responsible for sport. The ministry has three key departments: the Department of Sports Development (DSD), Department of Youth Development and the Department of Child Affairs. The DSD, as an advisory body to the MSYCD, focuses on policy formulation, coordination and guidance. Responsibility for implementation of sports policy lies with the National Sports Council of Zambia (NSCZ, formerly National Sports Advisory Committee) which was established in 1977. The NSCZ is a professional body mandated to run sport in the country, but unfortunately, it is unable to fulfil its role due to funding complications within sport in Zambia because the Government funding meant for the NSCZ is directed to DSD instead. This renders

the NSCZ powerless to implement policies for sport among its 43 affiliated National Sports Associations (NSAs). NSAs act as key agencies for sport disciplines such as the Football Association of Zambia, the Zambia Basketball Association or the Netball Association of Zambia.

At the provincial level, the DSD has established provincial sports advisory committees headed by provincial sports officers. Similarly, the NSCZ has established district sports advisory committees for sports in a move to 'decentralise the running of sport and promote efficiency in the system' (personal communication 1, Senior Sports Council Official, 3 Sept 2008). The sports advisory committees at provincial and district level are vital for the bottom-up approach and for efficiency in the new decentralised system. The provincial sports committees receive funding from government for provincial sports programmes. The National Olympic Committee of Zambia (NOCZ) established in 1964 has a mandate to organise the entire nation's elite participation at the Olympic Games, the Commonwealth Games and the All Africa Games

Figure 7: Present Structure of Sport in Zambia
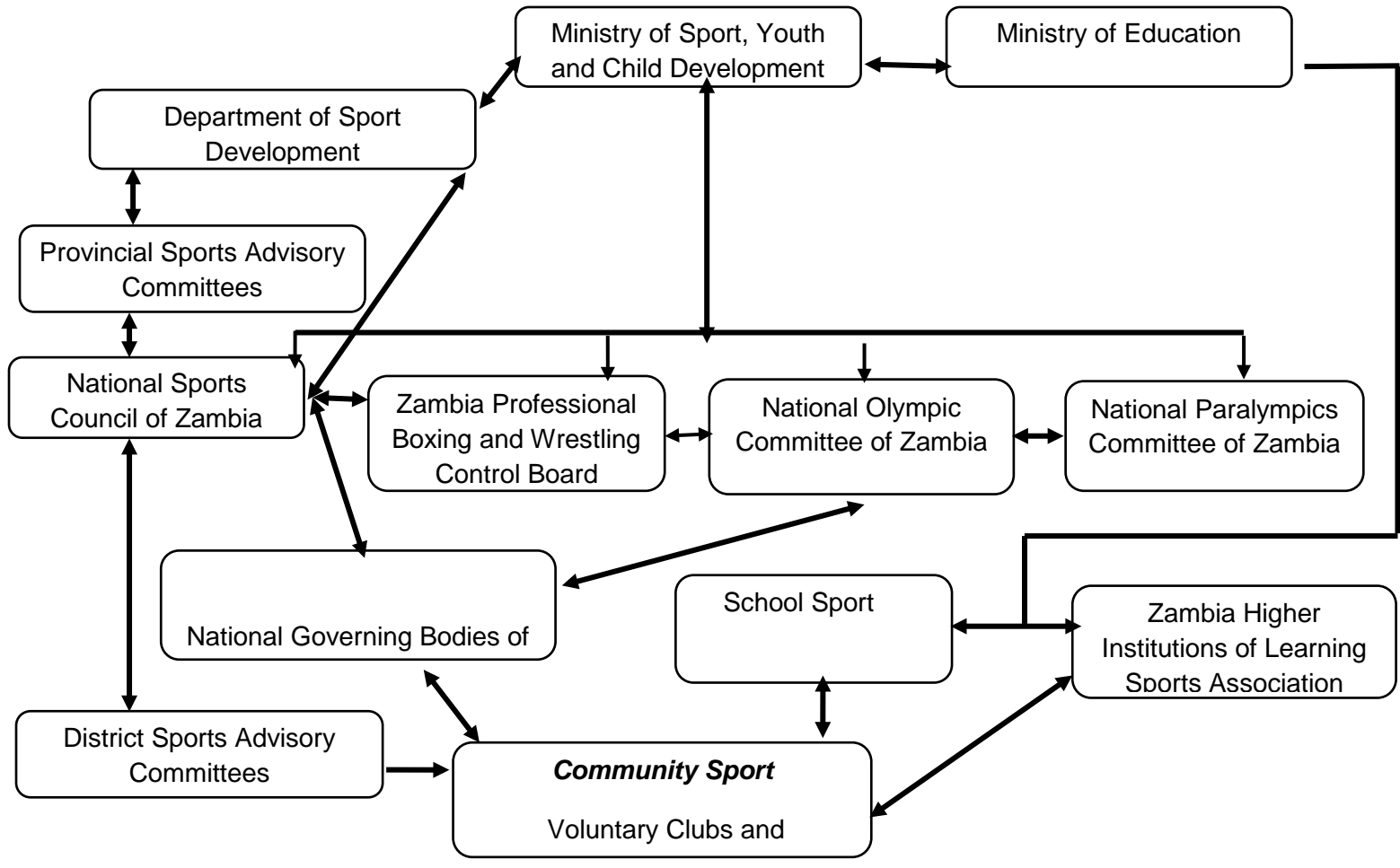
Source: Banda, 2010 (Revised)

3.5 Funding for sport in Zambia

Though public funding is the major source of income for sport in Zambia, sport in general remains a relatively low priority for government. Table 4 shows that Recreation and Culture which directly receives public funding for sport from the national budget is second bottom on government funding priorities. The use of the word 'recreation' is problematic in itself within the Zambian context as this is viewed as 'free unproductive time', hence marginalising the area of sport through small budget allocations within the national budget. The use of terms such as 'recreation' in a national budget for a low income nation heavily influences funding attitudes to such sectors which tend to be treated as 'non-serious' areas undeserving of significant public resources. This notion of treating sport as 'unproductive free time' is common to other low-income economies.

Therefore, resources to fund national budgets in low-income economies nations are heavily dependent on foreign donor funding from cooperating partners who attach strict lending conditions to address government inefficiencies and poor governance. Such donor funding is specifically allocated to services such as health, education and economic affairs. In the years prior to 2008 government spending on sport had been static, the sudden increases in the 2008 and 2009 budgets depicted in Table 4 equivalent to US $10,197,317[8] and US$ 3,047,120, respectively, were due to preparations to host the 2011 All Africa Games.

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[8] Currency conversion (Oanda.com) has been done as at first day of February of each year when the Zambian national budget is presented to the nation by the minister of finance.

Table 4: Budget Expenditure by Functional Classification

	2007		2008		2009	
	Allocation (K'Billion)	% of Total Budget	Allocation (K'Billion)	% of Total Budget	Allocation (K'Billion)	% of Total Budget
General Public Services	3,809.5	31.7	4,514.2	32.8	4,865.5	31.8
Economic Affairs	2,370.6	19.7	2,300.8	16.7	3,021.2	19.8
Education	1807.0	15.0	2,118.5	15.4	2628.0	17.2
Health	1289.5	10.7	1,586.6	11.5	1,823.4	11.9
Defence	798.2	6.6	981.3	7.1	1,068.0	7.0
Housing and Community	802.7	6.7	830.6	6.0	587.3	3.8
Public Order & Safety	455.8	3.8	581.8	4.2	610.7	4.0
Social Protection	460.6	3.8	577.7	4.2	374.2	2.5
Recreation and Culture	**137.1**	**1.1**	**174.1**	**1.3**	**183.2**	**1.2**
Environmental Protection	103.3	0.9	95.7	0.7	117.3	0.8
TOTAL	**12,034.4**	**100**	**13,761.4**	**100**	**15,279.0**	**100**

Adapted from Zambia National Budget 2007, 2008, 2009.

Table 5 shows the budget allocation to the Department of Sport Development (DSD) which sits under the Ministry of Sport, Youth and Child development. The table demonstrates the pattern of government preference for football as the elite sport priority at the expense of developing other sports in which Zambia has been successful in international events. Although other budgets from 2005 – 2009 continually highlighted the dual approach of government towards sport, funding for elite events participation seemed to claim the larger part of the total funding allocation than the development of mass sport or youth sport provision. Of particular importance to government is the national pride gained from continental and regional (southern Africa) success in football.

Despite arguments by some government officials that the preference or funding bias towards football is due to the sport's status as the national sport as well as it being a cheap sport to play compared to other sporting codes, this notion has hampered the development of, and possible medals to be won in, other sports. For example, though it is clear that boxing and athletics have brought home both Commonwealth and Olympic medals, the Football Association continues to receive more funding from both public and private sector sources. It is also common practice for the head of state to lobby the private sector to fund international events for the national football teams - a practice not usually extended to other sporting events. In 2009, 71 per cent of the total budget allocation for the DSD which was approximately US$ 3,251,576 was awarded to the FAZ for their 2010 Africa Nations Cup and World Cup qualifying matches. During the time of writing this thesis, Zambia was crowned Champions of African football in 2012 having defeated Côte d'Ivoire at the 28th Africa Nations Cup.

Table 5: Department for Sport Development Budget Allocation

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Sports Department	11,430,094,531	7,453,270,947	7,435,526,244	38,226,682,851	15,371,501,313
NSA	410,000,000	431,361,245	560,000,000	172,222,222	103,200, 000
FAZ	5,351,714,285	3,362,103,972	1,828,833,333	2,060,000,000	10,907,200,000
Professional Boxing	76,025,422	76,240,592	60,000,000	60,000,000	30,000,000
Sport-for-All	140,000,000	118,978,650	447,236,161	-	365,309,860
Youth Sport	313,650,400	219,472,663	186,000,000	-	73,748,828
SAD	-	111,583,333	60,750,000	-	55,829,946
National budget (K' Billion)	-	10,236.6	12,034.4	13,761.4	15,279.0

Adapted from Ministry of Sport, Youth and Child Development Budgets

Though the government's policy objectives to promote mass participation in sport are clearly outlined, they lack a serious level of commitment of resources necessary to achieve its mass sport objectives. The mandate to develop grassroots sport lies with NSAs who have year after year failed to develop their respective sport at grassroots level due to meagre grant allocations and scarcity of resources to fund youth programmes and also investment in talent identification and development programmes. The grants allocated are only sufficient for administrative costs of running the NSAs. The NSAs have to raise their own funds from the private sector to supplement public funding for participating at international sports events. As has been mentioned before, only football, the national sport, has the support of the head of state as official fundraising partner to lobby the private sector for donations.

3.7 Sport, HIV/AIDS and NGOs in Zambia

In recent years Zambia has experienced an unprecedented increase in the number of sport-for-development NGOs operating within the country. Sport-for-development NGOs use of sport as a means to an end, impart both sports and life skills to improve lives of young people in poor communities in their approaches to address broad problems faced by society. The emergence and growth of this sector in Zambia can be linked to the wider trend in development work in Africa which has seen increases in the level of donor funding available to community-based organisations. The donor community or Global North cooperating partners have shown a preference for working directly with grassroots organisations (Hulme & Edwards, 1997). In Zambia, sport-for-development organisations emerged with the financial support from the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD). The rationale for the preference for working with NGOs is based on the notion that such organisations are well placed to effectively enable aid to reach the

poorest members of society (see Bebbington and Riddell, 1997; Zaidi, 1999). It also reflects the perception that African governments are both failing and corrupt (Laird, 2007; Zaidi, 1999).

As Zambia experienced its worst economic problems during the Structural Adjustment Programme in the early 1980s, the government failed to effectively deliver most of its public services. Sport and recreational activities being low on government priorities experienced a drastic decrease in government funding. Sport provision in schools such as Physical Education (PE) classes suffered considerably and so did the provision of physical activities for young people not in educational institutions. These failures by government due to the shortage of resources to make sport and leisure opportunities available to young populations in deprived neighbourhoods laid the ground for sport-for-development organisations to emerge to fill the gaps left by government inadequacies. Notable indigenous organisations were the Education Through Sport Foundation (EduSport) and Sport-in Action (SIA).

The emerging policy issue of using sport to address social issues has received favourable government response through three key policy documents. The 5[th]NDP 2006-2010 (GRZ, 2006), the 6[th]NDP 2011- 2015 and the National Sport Policy (MSYCD, 2009) which acknowledged the contribution that sport can make to the fight against the HIV/AIDS pandemic and to achieving other Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) such as gender equity. There are challenges for both government and the sport-for-development NGOs. The challenge for government lies in clearly showing its commitment and acknowledgement of the role of the sector through improved funding and full inclusion of sport-for-development NGOs in strategic frameworks.

Though strongly focussed on sport as a tool for development, the sports-for-development NGOs have also been instrumental in developing sport in communities by offering young people opportunities and the right to play. The sport-for-development sector is vital for community sport development and needs to be fully incorporated into strategic frameworks for delivering sport at grassroots level. The efforts by government to provide opportunities for sport and recreation for those in rural areas have not been successful since colonial days as the disparity in provision widened due to the country's economic hardships. There are currently three key international funding partner agencies active in for sport-for-development NGOs in Zambia, namely: the UK Sport Council, the Norwegian Olympic Committee and Confederation of Sport and Commonwealth Games Canada.

3.8 Conclusion

The chapter has looked at the development of sport in Zambia during and after colonialism. The chapter highlighted the provision of sport under colonial rule; the influence of state corporations on sport provision and development, the development of sport through the government's national development plans and lastly the emergence of the use of sport as a social good.

Zambia's colonial legacy has had a negative impact on the provision of sport because the development of sport and recreational infrastructure favoured white settler locations, the provision was skewed between native Africans and their colonial leaders, and there were disparities in development between rural and urban areas. Upon gaining political independence, the newly elected native African government purposed to rectify the disparities as they developed policies that promoted equality for the natives. Despite achievements in equal opportunities between natives and white settlers, the skewed development between urban areas

and rural areas has remained problematic for equal provision of public services. Still today, urban populations along the famous line of railway benefit more than rural areas away from the centre's industrial and commercial development.

Since the implementation of the 1stNDP, plans to diversify the economy away from dependency on copper production to agricultural and also policy intentions to construct sports infrastructure in rural areas remain mainly rhetorical. Therefore, rural areas have remained undeveloped. As the economy collapsed and the provision of sport by state corporations went through dilapidation, and even the high quality infrastructure in urban areas also dilapidated. In 2011, the 6thNDP outlined further plans for infrastructure development to benefit both rural and urban areas. Evidence of these policy developments can be seen from the completion of one elite stadium and the commencement of construction of two more modern stadia. In addition, government financial resources for the sector's budget allocation depict strong political commitment towards sport. However, one can argue that the preference for football as the national sports and an elitist approach to sports development by government still prevails, since provincial stadia which are far less expensive to construct remain political rhetoric.

The chapter has highlighted recent developments within sport emerging as a recognised sport-for-development sector. This sector first emerged through the preference of international donors for working with NGOs rather than government agencies. The preference for such emerging civil society organisations helped shaped the political platform for the provision of sport away from a state centred approach towards a market-driven approach. New forms of relationship between society and government emerged. However, such new relationships were not without their power struggles among those with old resources and those with new resources.

The old resources were infrastructure or facilities belonging to government and the new resources were donor sourced funds among the new actors – the sport-for-development NGOs. The use of sport as a social good is entangled within this conflict between government and society.

The impetus for successful resource mobilisation for sport-for-development NGOs was mainly their activities focussing on addressing the MDGs. As part of the fabric of civil society, access to foreign donor resources was more open for sport-for-development NGOs and not for government sports agencies or the NSAs and their respective affiliates. Therefore, sport-for development NGOs[9] emerged as pioneers of the use of sport as a social good. Innovative ways which were devised to address gender inequalities in sport and beyond sport and HIV/AIDS prevention activities became the cornerstones of their programmes and ability to attract foreign aid - funding. The acknowledgement of the sector and recognition of Zambia as a key actor in Kicking AIDS Out initiatives by the international community of sport-for-development activists was based mainly on NGO-led activities in the absence of state initiatives.

Therefore, as government or state actors started to acknowledge the role of sport in the fight against HIV/AIDS, policy developments reflecting sport as a social good started to emerge. With regards to sport, HIV/AIDS activities were mainly those conducted by sports NGOs rather than government sports agencies or quasi-governmental bodies and their affiliates. As the call for multisectoralism was being

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[9] Oscar Mwaanga and Clement Chileshe, the first indigenous people to establish sport-for-development NGOs were considered 'enemies of the state' as they were deemed to be diverting resources from the Norwegian-funded Sport for All programme under the auspices of the National Sports Council of Zambia.

developed into workplace HIV/AIDS plans as presented in chapter 2, the MYSCD

also reacted to the call. Based on such developments, this study focuses on the role

of National Sports Associations as new actors in the multisectoral approach to

HIV/AIDS as advocated by the NAC in chapter 2.

CHAPTER 4: Theorising the Policy Process

4.1 Introduction

The chapter provides the theoretical context for this study. It begins by generally

discussing the concept of power. The discussion will particularly emphasise how

power is conceptualised and likely to be exercised among organisations involved in

international development settings. The chapter will then discuss theories of the

state. It is important to focus on the macro level since such a context will aid the

understanding of the way power is dispersed through society, particularly power

relationships between government and civil society.

The following theories of the state will examined: Pluralism; Marxism; Corporatism

and Elitism. These macro-level approaches identified above are vital in policy

analysis studies such as the multisectoral approach adopted by the Zambian

government as its response to halting the spread of HIV/AIDS. The previous chapter

contextualised Zambia's historical political behaviour in relation to the role of the

state and also attempted to contextualise the structural positioning of political actors

in both HIV/AIDS framework and the sports structure.

This chapter will aid the understanding of power relationships within society in

general and provide a link between the Macro and the Meso level theories by also

looking at theories of government and modes of governance. The chapter will also

examine theories of globalisation; the global health agenda, policy networks; and

multiple streams theory in order to enable the analysis of the multisectoral responses

to HIV/AIDS. The theories and concepts identified above will be utilised within this

study in relation to how power is dispersed and utilised in policy implementation

within a multisectoral approach to HIV/AIDS. A good understanding of the

implementation of policy is vital for this study. Consequently, this chapter also presents a critical review of the policy implementation literature.

4.2 Concepts of Power

Power as a concept is a much contested idea and debates regarding what signifies 'power' have described it in several different ways. The concept of power applicable to this thesis is drawn from the work of Steve Lukes (1974) and John Scott (2008). Both Lukes and Scott argue that power is the production of causal effects. Beetham (1991), referred to power as an effect that realises a purpose. Scott (2008: 29) postulates that power:

> …can be seen as the production of causal effects, and social power is an agent's intentional use of causal powers to affect the conduct of other agents. At its simplest, then, social power is a bipartite relation between two agents, one of whom is the 'principal' or paramount agent, and the other the 'subaltern' or subordinate agent.

This thesis adopts the use of 'principal' as the paramount in a power relationship, and 'agent' – the subordinate in a power relationship. Within such power relationships, there should be an intention to produce a particular effect or desire. Such effects will be either the use of power to realise intended outcomes (the principal's) or the use of power by agents to resist the power exerted upon them. Hence, Benton (1981:296) states that 'the power of a principal consists in the ability to freely pursue intentions and interests; the power of a subaltern [subordinate] consists in their freedom to resist'. Dahl (1957) emphasised actors' involvement in decision making process as a means of identifying those who hold power in a relationship. He postulated that principals have power over agents only when agents conform to decisions made by principals. Therefore, power consists of the ability of the principal to actually make the agent do something intended by the principal. In

relation to this study, the principal (National AIDS Council) exercises administrative decision-making powers in relation to HIV/AIDS matters to which agents (state and non-state actors) may or may not chose to comply.

Other conceptualisations of power such as that by Max Weber highlight other ways of defining power. Weber (1978:53) defined it as 'the probability that an actor in a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests'. Weber viewed power as a chance to realise one's own will despite the resistance of others within the course of action. According to Weber, to overcome resistance in a conflicting situation is deemed as a good measure of one's relative power. Weber noted that power can exist within sovereign organisations in society such as churches or business enterprises (Scott, 2001). Whether manifest within an organisation or individual, Weber's view of power relations are deemed as asymmetrical or hierarchical, a 'constant sum' or 'zero sum'. This is where some organisations or individuals have more power than others within any given society, thus, the powerful gaining an advantage always at the expense of the powerless. In a similar vein, though not stressing the overcoming of resistance, Dahl suggests that power is the ability to control behaviour. He postulates that 'A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do' (Dahl, 1957 in Lukes, 1986:2).

Both Weber and Dahl's conceptualise power in terms of 'power over', the power that one agent has over another. In contrast, Talcott Parsons (1963) and Nicos Poulantzas (1974) focussed not on a 'power over' conceptualisation but rather 'power to'. This second conceptualisation of power 'focuses on the dispositional

capacity to do something' (Scott, 2001:6). As for Parsons, power is a system resource that enables agencies to achieve collective goals by way of collective agreement of members through a legitimate leadership that attempts to further the agency's goals (Scott, 2001). This perspective of power by Parsons suggests that power has both elements of coercion and consensus as it is portrayed as a phenomenon that integrates pluralism and outputs of political effectiveness (Scott, 2001). Power is viewed as being distributed pluralistically as there is a presence of different actors and interest groups who prevail in decision-making. According to this view, power is exercised within sovereign organisations to influence decision-making processes.

The pluralist view of power has been identified in what has come to be popularly known as the one dimensional view of power. Within this dimension, power can be analysed by focussing on the processes that lead to concrete decisions. This view of power is focused on behaviour in the decision-making process (Lukes, 2005). Lukes argued that this one-dimensional view of power need not be pinned down to pluralist structural perspectives only but can apply also to elitist decision-making structures. Dahl viewed such processes as having an observable conflict of interests in political settings. It emphasised the overt processes of decision-making.

In reaction to Robert Dahl's pluralist view of power, Peter Bachrach and Morton Baratz (1962) proposed that power has two faces. Their two dimensional perspective of power was arrived at by positioning themselves between Dahl's pluralist view and Wright Mills' elitist view. Bachrach and Baratz's two faces of power referred to: the overt face of power and the covert face of power. While the overt face of power

directly relates to activities involved in the process of decision-making, the covert face of power , their central point, pertains to the conscious or unconscious attempt to prevent issues reaching the decision making process. This kind of power is not visible, as agents control the agenda. Lukes (2005) argues that non-decision making, the avoidance or the ignoring of conflicting interests to prevent them reaching the agenda, is similarly a form of decision-making.

Based on the two-dimensional view of power which contends that 'power is totally embodied and fully reflected in "concrete decisions" or in activity bearing directly upon their making' (Bachrach and Baratz, 1970:7), Lukes (1974) developed a third dimension. The third view of power is the ideological capacity to influence, shape or determine the preferences of a subordinate agent so as to secure their compliance to get them to do what the principal desires them to do (Lukes, 1974). Lukes (2005) in his third dimensional view of power argues that because the pluralists suppose that power only manifests itself in settings where there is real conflict, it is deemed that actual conflict is a necessity for power to show up. He suggests that 'the crucial point that the most effective and insidious use of power is to prevent such conflict from arising in the first place' (Lukes, 2005:27). The development of this view of power was a critique of behavioural focus in the two-dimensional view of power. Based on his third dimension, Lukes proposed that 'the power of a principal can be manifest in the ability to make a subordinate agent believe that their interest lies in doing something that is , in fact, harmful to them or contrary to their deeper interests (Scott, 2001:8). He referred to this as 'latent conflict', consisting of the interests of the powerful against the *real interests* of the powerless.

This thesis adopts a conceptualisation of power that focuses on organisational strategies and techniques. Such a view of power conceptualises it [power] as having 'facilitative or productive aspects' and not repressive aspects (Scott, 2008: 30). It applicability will later on focus on how the actors, in responding to the multisectoral approach to HIV/AIDS, have responded as a 'collective property of systems of co-operating actors' (Scott, 2008: 30). The discussion now turns to the theories of state in order to understand the distribution of power between the state and civil society. This section will also help in understanding where power lies in political, social and economic decision-making in Zambia.

4.3 Theories of the State

4.3.1 Pluralism

Within the field of social sciences, studies on the structure of power in society and the concept of power itself are central and contentious. The debate about the power and nature of the state as a social institution has its roots dating back to the 17th century during the English Civil war (Hudson and Lowe, 2004). As a political theory, pluralism is strongly linked to Robert Dahl's 1961 work *Who Governs*? Through Dahl's focus on 'power' and 'power resources', he constructed his pluralist theory of democracy. His concept of pluralism was developed by portraying democratic power in the United States not as a system of elite rule or majority rule but one based on the distribution of power among interest groups (Dunleavy & O'Leary, 1987). Within society, interest groups are not necessarily equal in terms of influencing the decision making process or the implementation of decisions, but no group is absolutely and consistently dominant (Dahl, 1961). Dunleavy and O'Leary (1987) argue that within the complexities of a modern liberal state, no single group, class or organisation can

dominate society. The state is viewed as one such interest group among several other groups in a democratic society, as pluralists argue that there is no central dominant source of power. Hudson and Lowe (2004) elaborate that several centres of power were instrumental for building the foundation of the political system in the American political tradition. It is such multiple centres of interest that are core tenets to the pluralist theory.

Dahl's work in *Dilemmas of Pluralist Democracy* argues for the presence of 'relatively autonomous organisations within the domain of the state' (Dahl, 1982:5). The existence of such autonomous interest groups is considered a vital ingredient for democracy to thrive. It is argued among traditional pluralists that the presence of interest groups helps prevent governmental coercion and acts as a counterforce to the political power of the state. Though some authors such as Smith (1995) state that the policy-making process stage or arena in pluralism is open to interest groups to engage with the process, not all groups will exert the same influence due to resource inequalities. Strong interest groups working together or with the state can marginalise other groups from participation in the public policy process. In addition, Dahl (1982:40) acknowledges such shortcomings of pluralism as problematic and having the potential to result in 'deforming civic consciousness, distorting the public agenda, and alienating final control over the public agenda by the citizen body'.

Since pluralist theory is mainly focused on the distribution of power among interest groups in society, pluralists contend that power is not a commodity that can be possessed in varying amounts by humans but is rather conceptualised as control of resources which are in public demand. Political power, for instance, is widely distributed among several interest groups within society. Hence, interest groups considered as 'strong' or 'powerful' are those in possession and control of resources

(Mann, 1986; Dunleavy & O'Leary, 1987; Ericson and Hall, 1998). Such possession of resources or dispersion of power enables interest groups to partake in policy decisions through advocacy or participation in decision-making forums. According to classical pluralism, the state is the arbiter in power struggles and not a source of power (Hudson and Lowe, 2004). Dahl though did not agree with the notion that all interest groups could be equally represented. Power, according to pluralists, flows from a variety of sources. Interest groups then tend to accumulate resources such as support of the electorate or finances in order for the group to influence government decision making. Hence, some interest groups have more power or resources to influence policy decision making.

In contrast to classical pluralism theory that the state is a neutral player or referee in power conflicts among interest groups, Schattscheinder (1960) argued that the state is in fact a 'domain of powerful political elites' (Hudson and Lowe, 2004:117). Schattscheinder (1960:105) further opined that 'whosoever decides what the game is about will also decide who gets in the game'. Bachrach and Baratz (1970) based their study on race, poverty and politics in Baltimore and questioned Dahl's classical pluralist approach to power by stating that power can be used covertly by preventing certain issues from getting onto the public policy agenda. They postulated that demands for change or needs of some groups can be suffocated before they reach public fora for debate. Powerful groups in the political systems are consequently capable of marginalising the interests of community groups, thus undermining the classical pluralist argument that pluralist political process is essentially about upholding difference and diversity (Hudson and Lowe, 2004).

Some of the main critical ideas levelled against pluralism relate to its view of the role of the state. Classical pluralism neglects the state and attempts to depict a scenario

where democratic consensus prevails and the interests of groups are balanced out (McLennan, 1993). Neo-pluralist and elite pluralist theory are seen as providing a much realistic alternative view of the state. Though Lindblom (1977) and Crenson (1971) believe in the core idea of pluralism that interest groups are the foundation of a sound political system, Lindblom (from a neo-pluralist view) contends that business interests enjoy more benefits than other interest groups and that this privileged position is structured into the system (Hudson and Lowe, 2004). This neo-pluralist stance 'represents a convergence between Pluralism and Marxism' (Smith, 1995:225).

This neo-pluralist theory is useful for this study based on the review of the historical context of political power and its use in Zambia. The current political context exhibits many pluralistic features not just in the number of civil society organisations in policy implementation but, perhaps more importantly, in the number of non-Zambian/external organisations influencing policy and its implementation. However, there is need for caution as the existence of numerous interest groups does not imply that power is widely dispersed (Marsh, 2002; Smith, 2006). Plurality, the increase and proliferation of interests groups involved in the HIV/AIDS sector in Zambia does not necessarily mean that there is pluralism - an equal dispersal of power among the several actors. Nevertheless, this will be a useful concept to use in examining the distribution of power in a multisectoral approach.

4.3.2 Marxism

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels are two theoreticians distinguished for their outstanding work on the symbiotic relationship between structures in class societies. 'Class' according to their work, relates to the ownership of capital. Those who have

ownership of capital also have power due to their being in possession of the means of production. The power over production determines a class's political power in society. The class structure consists of the economic minority, the dominant or ruling class (the bourgeoisie) and the majority working class (the proletariat) who are locked in a struggle to liberate the working class from the exploitation of the ruling class.

Marx's work was focussed mainly on finding solutions that would bring about the liberation of the working class from the rule of the minority. As long as the means of production or the ownership of capital is in the hands of the minority, 'different economic interests prevail and different economic interests demand different political interests' (Henry, 2008:16). In this conflict of interests between the owners of the means of production and the interests of those selling their labour (the working class), suppression of the interests of one of the two is inevitable. Clarke (2005) posits that capital constantly strives to suppress labour in this conflict while labour also continuously resists the powers of those owning capital. The working class by way of resisting the power of capital tend to form collective organisations such as trade unions in order to bring down capitalism and forge a way for socialism (Marx and Engels, 1848 in Fernbach, 1973).

The exertion of power by the bourgeois classes to protect their property or interests over those of the proletariat creates conflict in society which requires the exercise of state power. Political systems and state tools get drawn into such class conflicts. The role of the state is to serve the interests of the bourgeoisie, safeguarding their interests to continue as the ruling-class (Henry, 2008). Lenin (1974:12) in *State and Revolution*, describes the state as being 'an instrument for the exploitation of the oppressed class'.

Miliband (1969:23), a neo- Marxist, in his work *The State in Capitalist Society*, comments that under the Marxist scheme, the ruling class is able 'to use the state as its instrument for the domination of society' through the economic power they possess. What then should be the role of the state in relation to society in Marxism? This question yields a polemic, a passionate argument about the role of the state in society which was not clear from Marx's work but was made popular by the Miliband-Poulantzas debate (1969-76). This debate had two distinct accounts of the state: Instrumentalist and Structuralist (Barrow, 2007).

Miliband (1977:5) claims that in the work of Marx the *Communist Manifesto*, he states that 'the executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the affairs of the whole bourgeoisie'. This instrumentalist account of the state posits that people in strategic positions (the ruling class) instrumentally exercise power over the working class to protect their interests. According to Miliband (1982:54 – 77), the instrumentalist role of the state in a capitalist society is towards 'the containment of pressure' from below. Such a characteristic of a capitalist society makes parliamentary processes toothless, as actual power lies within elite groups such as the executive branch of government (McLennan, 1993). Whereas instrumentalists contend that the state make policy in accordance with the rational interests of the capitalist class, structuralists such as Poulantzas view the state as autonomous from the direct control of ruling-class in order to serve the interests of capital.

Sweezy (1942) was the first to be associated with the instrumentalist theory of the state. He viewed the state as an instrument under the control of the ruling class for

maintaining the status quo, the stability of the class structure. The state, as argued among instrumentalists is the instrument for oppressing of the working class. It is dominated by elites from the dominant –ruling class (Jessop, 1982; Dunleavy & O'Leary, 1987). Miliband argues that those with political power, the political elites, normally act to safeguard the interests of the economic elites – the bourgeois.

The structuralist theory of the state claims that institutions within the state system function independently of the control of the ruling class in the interest of capital. That the state is composed of several apparatuses such as political parties, church, trade unions, the schools and mass media to mention but a few (Poulantzas, 1973). These institutions belong to the state system. Poulantzas referred to these as repressive and ideological apparatuses: meant for repression and the inculcation of ideology, respectively. Instrumentalist such as Miliband do not acknowledge the 'ideological' role of the state (Block, 1977).

The collapse of the period of state ownership and the intervention by the World Bank/IMF introduced a period of neo-liberal capitalism which arguably increased social dislocation and poverty which in turn made the HIV/AIDS pandemic much more difficult to control. The utility of this macro level theory to this study links to what has been presented in the preceding discussion in chapter 2 regarding high levels of poverty and their implications for the exacerbation of HIV/AIDS. Therefore, a new position which asserts the distinction between the 'structuralist' (Poulantzas, 1973) and 'instrumentalist' (Miliband, 1969) role of the state provided by Jessop (1990) argues for a 'strategic relational approach'. This approach resonates with the critical realist approach adopted for this study. Therefore, the usefulness of this neo-

marxist position is based on the significance of groups in the state/society relationship.

4.3.3 Corporatism

In comparison to other theories of the state, corporatism refutes the claim that the balance between the interests of capital and labour can be achieved free of state intervention (Özler, 2004). Schmitter (1979) suggests that when the state of equilibrium between social and economic interests has little relation to reality, the government is bound to intervene to bring about such a balance. The role of the corporatist state in such situations is to bring about economic recovery using state apparatuses through the control of investment and other fiscal policy issues (Block, 1980; Hearn, 1984). Schmitter (1979: 13) defined corporatism as:

> A system of interest representation in which the constituent units are organised into a limited number of singular, compulsory, non-competitive, hierarchically ordered and functionally differentiated categories, recognised or licensed (if not created) by the state and granted a deliberate representational monopoly within their respective categories in exchange for observing certain controls on their selection of leaders and articulation of demands and supports.

Authors such as Wiarda (1981) and Pike (1974) link such monopolistic tendencies to colonial history where centralisation of political power in the hands of an autocratic state was common. Schmitter's definition of corporatism above shows that such officially sanctioned, non-competing groups or peak organisations acting in a regulatory role on behalf of the state, have a special relationship with the state (Nyang'oro, 1986; Schmitter, 1979; Williamson, 1985). This relationship is usually strong where the state directly or indirectly controls the operation of such organisations as corporations. And because such partnership relationships between the state and capital/labour are government imposed, such groups or peak

associations are incorporated into the state political structures (Wiarda, 1997).
Williamson (1985) comments that peak organisations act as intermediaries between
the state and society but that they mainly operate as regulatory agencies on behalf
of the state.

Once peak associations have been incorporated into the state system, the state
tends to have access to the process of investment decision-making and an open
access to internal information among the corporate sector, resulting in an expansion
of state autonomy (Hearn, 1984). The state organises and licences peak
organisations as a controlling mechanism. The activities of the peak organisations
are directed by the state to bring about social stability and economic prosperity
(Schmitter, 1979). As for the participation of members of the public, Jessop (1978.
48) comments that they 'participate through the exercise of voting rights in relation to
a corporation which represents their interests in the formulation of state policy'.
Malloy (1977) and Nordlinger (1981) posit that this is a system of interest
representation imposed on a society which lacks full representation where official
forms of association and interaction are put in place by the state to enlarge the
state's own influence.

Through the corporatist political structures, the state uses the peak organisation to
control and mobilise their members (Hearn, 1984). Such organisations also play a
role in policy making forums at the invitation of the state. The peak organisations are
a good source of internal corporate information and provision of expert knowledge
for policy making decisions by the state. The incorporation of such experts from peak
organisations into the policy making forums depict a representation of views of the
chosen organisations and a way for the state to avoid competition from dominant
interest groups (ibid, 1984). The demand on the peak organisations by the state is

that they enforce and legitimate the policies formulated within such forums where their experts are engaged. Due to the ascribed roles by the state, peak organisations are not allowed to criticise any policies formulated by the government, hence minimising the possibilities of obstruction. By having leaders or representatives of peak organisations on its side, the government mutes the competitive voices of any interest group in society (ibid, 1984).

Other authors (Lehmbruch 1977; Nordlinger 1981) further comment that as national coordinator of economic development, the state has power in the allocation of investment funds and awarding of government contracts mainly to its allies and not those opposing it. Schmitter (1979) warns that though the state has control over economic affairs, it tends to be sheltered from accountability, but puts pressure on the peak organisations.

In sub-Saharan Africa, neo-liberalism ideals and state corporatism have resulted in what Williamson (1989:8) refers to 'liberal corporatism'. This is a blend where civil society organisations have a corporatist pact with the state to deliver public services in return for financial advantages (Fioramonti, 2005). This perspective is vital to this study in understanding the delivery of public health services by government in the fight against the spread of HIV/AIDS. This study adopts the definition of corporatism offered by Schmitter (1979). The state in Zambia has organised constituent units such as those depicted in Figure 5. The adopted organisational structure for the multisectoral approach shows differentiated grouping by the state according to functionalities for interest groups. Though the selection of leaders in some respective categories is done by the interest groups themselves, the state still controls the distribution of monetary resources through state apparatus. However, the capacity of the state to make full use of its corporatist strategy is weakened by its vulnerability

to intervention by global economic organisations such as the IMF, the World Bank and also by the independence of many of the NGOs.

4.3.4 Elitism

Whether a society is democratic or not, elitism states that all societies are led by a group of elites. Gaestono Mosco, Vilfredo Pareto and Robert Michels, are the leading theorists in the development of classical elitism. These strongly made claims that governments led by a minority elite ruling over the majority mass are inevitable (Dunleavy and O'Leary, 1987). Mosca posited that the minority which is usually well organised dominates the unorganised majority. 'Elitism is the belief that government by a small ruling group is normatively desirable...' (ibid, 1987: 137). Classical elitism claimed that democracy, the involvement of the masses in decision making and choice, is impossible in modern society due to the rule by a minority group.

Classical elitist theorists disagreed with Marxist claims about a possible classless society and assert that every society has an elite group. Marx claimed that through the class struggle, the victory of the working class is bound to bring about social harmony, a position that classical elitists strongly rejected. Mosca (cited in Dunleavy and O'Leary, 1987) asserts that in all societies 'two classes of people appear – a class that rules and a class that is ruled' (1939:50). Mosca used the notion of 'public power' as the divide between the two classes, referring to one as the political elite and the other as a majority subordinate class. His use of the term class is not similar to the Marxist use of 'class' to denote social stratification but is in relation to the exercise of authority in society. He described the elite as a group that 'performs all political functions, monopolises power and enjoys the advantages that power brings' (Mosca, 1896: 50).

Lenski (1980) identified two types of elitist theory: normative elitism and analytical elitism. Normative elitism asserts that 'certain people are morally, intellectually, or otherwise superior and therefore entitled' to govern (ibid, 1980:2). On the other hand, analytical elitism focuses on how political systems function - a position such as that taken by Mosca and Michels. Michels categorised circles of elite groups into: political elites; economic elites and intellectual elites (Michels, 1927:106). Michels' work was a foundation for other political scientist such as Mills who suggested that the power elite consisted of those who had control of economic, political and military sections of society leaving no balance of power as a result of competition among interest groups (Light, 1974). Mills in his work, *The Power Elite*, published in 1956, framed his concept of tripartite elite (corporate, government, and military hierarchies of American society) which he suggested dominated all other forms of social organization (Morgan, 2004).

Classical elitists claim that power is cumulative and once possessed, it generates more power. Mills' conceptualisation of the tripartite elite was attacked by pluralists who argued that the tripartite groups were not homogenous but contained internal conflicts of interest. Pluralists viewed such conflicts as potential for allowing other non-elite groups to ascend to positions of power through hard work (Rose, 1967). Elections to public office are also a means through which the masses can bring down an elite group and put another group into the vacant elite position.

Theorists such as Schumpeter (1959), Sartori (1962) and Weber (1968) have advocated the co-existence of elites and democracy through a modern elitism approach known as democratic elitism. Eva Etzioni Halevy, a democratic elitist, asserts that power in society is not divided into dichotomies as postulated by

classical elitism, but is characterised by trichotomous divisions such as: elites; sub-elites and the masses (Etzioni-Halevy, 1993).

4.3.5 Implications for the Study

An in-depth understanding of the power structure in society is necessary for an understanding of the policy processes of a given society. Since policy is seen as a product of the influence of those with political power, an understanding of how power is distributed within a society is vital for this study as it focuses on power relations between organisations involved in global health policy implementation related to HIV/AIDS and local HIV/AIDS agencies enacting policies. As societies become more democratic in sub-Saharan African, the proliferation and involvement of interest groups in the HIV/AIDS sector has been evident over the last two decades. Before then, most nation states in sub-Saharan Africa were authoritarian opposed to multiparty politics. At the time of gaining political independence, a majority of nations in southern Africa had their economies nationalised and corporatism had spread through the African continent as a safeguard against neo-colonialism.

An understanding of developing democracies through the roles played by interest groups is a valuable analytical tool for understanding emerging democratic tendencies in dealing with issues such as HIV/AIDS which transcends social, economic, health and other boundaries. The multisectoral approach to dealing with HIV/AIDS demands that all sectors of society are engaged in halting the negative impacts of the pandemic. An understanding of where power lies in the political system and an understanding of the power or lack of it within civil society organisations is vital for this study. Therefore, an understanding of theories of the state elaborated in this section is required for this study based on multisectoral

approach to HIV/AIDS. Of the four theories of the state presented here, based on Zambia's past colonial history, pluralism and corporatism will be more appropriate to apply to the study than classical marxism and elitism.

As pluralist versions of democracies spread in Africa as a result of globalisation and neo-liberalism, the following section focuses on new modes of governance in Africa and implications of global health governance.

4.4 Government and Modes of Governance

The words government and governance are frequently used interchangeably and treated as synonyms. Though, there is a clear understanding of the concept of government, there are various conceptualisations of the term governance which several academicians of differing disciplines have interpreted in very different and not always entirely consistent ways. Governing is what governments do in processes of formulating and implementing policies. Governing may also refer to the control of resource allocation between public actors. It also involves the building of 'a basic set of relationships between governments and their citizens which can vary from highly structured and state-controlled hierarchical arrangements to those — 'plurilateral' — society-driven ones that are monitored only loosely and informally, (Howlett, Rayner, Tollefson, 2009: 385).

Mayntz (2003:27) suggests two meanings in which the term 'governance' has recently been used away from 'political guidance or steering'. His first meaning of 'governance' relates to new modes of governing that are not in the form of hierarchical control but much more of cooperative processes of governing between state and non-state actors (see also Kooiman, 1993; Rhodes, 1997; Bulmer, 1993). The second meaning Mayntz suggests relates to 'different modes of co-ordinating

individual actions, or basic forms of order' (2003:28). This second meaning has its roots in analysis of markets and hierarchy as other forms of economic organising activities.

Bell and Hindmoor (2009) define governance as ways of governing in partnership with a range of non-state actors and the marginalization of governments within policymaking processes. Peters and Pierre (1998:225) view governance as a way of 'steering society through less direct means' which entails lessened power of the state over the control of policy. Thus, the popular use of the term governance goes hand in hand with identification of new ways of modes of governance. This change is based on the recognition that policy making and administration has changed: no longer a sole responsibility of governments but based on recognised institutional interdependences involving several actors.

Sociologists and political scientists have widely used the term 'governance' to refer to interactions of a range of political actors of which the state is one (Rose, 2005; Kooiman, 1993). Newman (2001:4) asserts that governance refers to 'ways of governing whether of organisations, social systems or the state itself'. Based on Newman's definition, governance can be said to be an alternative term for management or leadership (Bell and Hindmoor, 2009)

Smismans (2008) has commented that the new changes in policy making and administration have been characterised by heterarchy rather than hierarchy. Such new modes of governance are horizontal and comprise a multitude of actors from both the private and public sector. The highlight of such forms of governance has

been the opportunity for participation of several key stakeholders in policy making and administration which is lacking in traditional styles of governing. New modes of governance support the building of relationships between the state or government and non-governmental institutions identified as key stakeholders to a specific policy area. Smismans warns that such heterarchial, horizontal and new modes of governance do not necessarily imply fully fledged participation of non-state actors in policy-making and decision-making forums. Old tendencies deeply entrenched in old modes of governance can still inhibit the participation and inclusion of key stakeholders (See Rayner et al., 2001).

Barnett et al (2009) comment that plurilateral governing occurs in mechanisms of governance that include decisions stemming from centrally held national policy directives to the allocation of decision-making powers at local level. Traditionally, and still prevalent in developing nations, government entails the top-down, hierarchical exercise of power. The World Bank and other supranational organisations relate Africa's poor economic development to such notions of governing where most government conduct is a matter of the state or politicians. Indeed, it is the lack of involvement or marginalisation of non-state actors in the process of policy formulation and implementation that has hampered good governance in several developing states. Rose (2005) argues that today political systems attempt not to govern by way of centralised bureaucracies but through self-organising networks resulting from interactions and interdependencies of both state and non-state actors. Some authors have termed this as 'hollowing out of the state' or 'decentring of government' (Bevir and Rhodes, 2001; Rhodes, 2007; Pierre and Peters, 2000).

Indeed some authors have used terms such as 'governance without government' (Rhodes, 1997).

The state is seen as losing its grip on political power to informal institutions comprising of private actors. Klijn and Koppenjan (2000:136) postulate that the state ceases to be the 'cockpit from which society is governed'. The visibility of the old-fashioned unitary state commonly organised and managed from a legislative headquarters has diminished (Hudson & Lowe, 2004), creating room for a much looser, more fragmented mode of governance that comprises both private and public actors working in partnership. The old-fashioned unitary state has foregone its influence through the changes to the structure and process of the policy-making and implementation. Though the power once held by the old-fashioned state is now exercised by self-organising networks comprising private, public and voluntary sectors, Bell and Hindmoor (2009) argue that governments still play a central role in making new governance a possibility or option for governing. Their argument is more relevant to studies of governance specifically among African states.

Howlett, Rayner, & Tollefson, (2009) advocate for a multi-dimensional conceptualisation of the shift from government to governance; this comprises three vertical dimensions which are: political practices; institutional structures and regulatory techniques. They postulate that changes occur within the identified dimensions moving from government towards governance. Other authors such as Bell and Hindmoor (2009) have argued that discussions of this shift have been restricted to two distinct characteristics: the involvement of a wide range of non-state actors and the marginalisation of the government in governance processes. Studies

focussed on this shift agree that there is a de-centralisation or de-concentration of authority from the state to non-state actors in policy processes (Pontusson, 1995; Haas, 2004). Table 6 sets the variations in modes of governance between hierarchical (state-centric) and Plurilateral (Society- Centred). The shift from government to governance reduces the role of the state in delivery of services to policy making signalling a trickling down of power to non-state actors. This 'semi sovereign' (Katzenstein, 1987) or loss of power at the national power base entails a weakening of the state through the delegation of regulatory functions to a sector of self-organising institutions – a loss of steering on the part of the state.

Table 6: Government to Governance Multi-dimensional Conceptualisation

Dimensions	Hierarchical Governance State-Centric	Plurilateral Governance Society-Centred
Political Practices	State actors exercise power State directed policy networks	Non-state actors exercise power Issue networks
Institutional Structures	Formal institutions Formal consultation Clear lines of authority	Informal institutions Wide range of non-state actors Shared decision making
Regulatory Techniques	State centred Tight regulatory control Legitimate and authoritative decisions	Market oriented Society centred Code of practice Voluntary agreements

Adapted from Howlett, Rayner, Tollefson (2009).

Table 6 depicts that hierarchical governance is associated with top-down systematic planning and implementation of policies (Entwhistle et al., 2007), a system in which political power favours state actors (Howlett , Rayner, Tollefson, 2009). The state's machinery to enact policy is legitimate and authoritative but lacking flexibility and innovation (Bevir and Rhodes, 2003; Frances et al., 1991).

Hyden (1992) developed four key indicators for good governance which he termed as: constitutive, authoritative, participatory, and custodian dimensions of governance. The first dimension refers to how the political system operates and how the distribution of political power is achieved. The second dimension, authoritative, refers to the role played by electoral systems and party politics. The third dimension, participatory, focuses on involvement of the citizenry and the role of civil society in policy decision making and in upholding of the rights of individuals and institutions. Lastly, the custodian dimension relates to the role of institutions such as civil society in conflict management both domestic and relations beyond national borders.

The understanding of governance provides for this study a clear link between the theories of the state (macro level) and their implications at meso level. Within the multisectoral approach, there are several actors (international, public, private and civil society) involved in the implementation of policy. The multisectoral approach calls for collaboration and partnerships in achieving a concerted effort to curb the spread of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. In the global response to the pandemic, power is viewed as dispersed among the multi-national organisations, national agencies, public institutions, private and civil society organisations. The scourge of HIV/AIDS in Zambia demands 'new forms of governance' that transcend the authority of state and its meagre resources but demands international interdependence. The next section provides an argument regarding the struggle in most African countries to move from governing by the state to good governance through several actors.

4.5 Governance in Africa

Liberal Democracy is vital for good governance to be a reality. After thirty years of political authoritarianism in most African states, a wave of political change swept

through the continent. The political reforms were a result of both domestic and international factors precipitated by the economic hardships faced by citizens resulting in riots or protests and also by democratic change in Eastern Europe, China and South Africa (Bratton & van de Walle, 1997; Hyden, 1992). Other authors (Lehman, 2008; Lindberg, 2001) termed the pluralist approach to democracy in Africa as a product of globalisation as well as neo-liberal policies. Democratisation in sub-Saharan Africa has 'weakened the corporatist hold of the state and has strengthened and expanded civil society' (Lehman, 2008:116). Autonomous civil society institutions, free of state control are vital for participatory democracy and good governance to flourish.

The growth of liberal democracy that is rooted in broad-based participation of civil society organisations in public policy decisions, social justice and accountability (Ford Foundation, 1990) is evident from Table 7 which shows that in 1975, 43 African nations were ruled by authoritarian rulers with minimal or non-existent civil society involvement in decision making and autonomy from state control. By 2001, only 4 nations were still under authoritarian rulers and 44 nations had forms of democratic rule with 20 of those having an autonomous civil society sector enjoying civil and political rights of participation in governance.

Before the political reforms in most African states, the World Bank had strongly condemned the political environment of Africa as not being conducive for economic growth (World Bank, 1989). The World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) (also referred to as the Bretton Woods institutions) castigated the lack of observance of human rights, corrupt governments and unstable political climate for investment as some of the problems attributed to poor development in Africa. According to Hyden (1992: 23), bad politics or governance in Africa has been caused by: the

personalised nature of rule; the frequent violations of human rights; the lack of

delegation by central authorities; and the tendency for individuals to withdraw from

politics.

Table 7: Liberal Democracies and Authoritative states in Africa

Institutions	Criteria	Liberal Democracy	Partial Democracy	Authoritarian
State	Accountability to Citizens	High	Limited	None
	Elections	Free, Fair, Competitive	Not free, unfair, competitive	None
Civil Society	Civil & Political Rights	High	Limited	None
	Associational Autonomy	High	Compromised	Non-existent
Sub-Saharan Africa	1975	3	2	43
	1995	12	16	12
	2001	20	24	4

Source: Extracted from Olowu, 2002

The structural adjustment policies of the World Bank have been a failure in Africa

causing more misery for the people of Africa (Leys, 1994). Through the structural

adjustment imposed on African states, the Bretton Woods organisations and their

allies (Western governments; Western political, business and intellectual elites) put

the blame on African elites. Even after implementation of structural adjustment

programmes which called for the downsizing of the composition of governments or

cabinet, streamlining the civil service, privatising of state corporations or parastatal

firms and increasing the effectiveness of aid distribution (Lancaster, 1990), Africa still

is the poorest continent where the majority of the population still face poor economic

growth, poverty, high levels of illiteracy, poor health services and are ravaged by

diseases such as HIV/AIDS. Good governance is essential to alleviate such

problems as stated above. The discussion turns to how pressure on Africa to

promote good governance has been viewed as one-sided, with double standards on poor economies by the Bretton Woods institutions and their allies.

Contrary to the Bretton Woods organisations, claims of mismanagement by Africa's corrupt governments for the economic failures in the region, Osabu-Kle (2000) condemned the Bretton Woods organisations as playing politics of one-sided adjustment in Africa. He argues that the treatment of African states by the Bretton Woods organisations and its allies is a form of colonialism. He further argues that the economic mess referred to by the Bretton Woods organisations as a form of mismanagement by Africans is a result of actions by the imperialist West. Through harshly imposed policies of structural adjustment in Africa, most economies got trapped into cumulative breakdown (see also Brett, 2005). The process of liberalisation of African economies led to the 'West to own assets in Africa, control economies, and hence levers of political power in Africa' (Osabu-Kle, 2000: 523). And more recently, policies of liberalisation were discredited as having failed to create sustainable economies and political systems in Africa (Brett, 2005). The acknowledgement of failure was accompanied by calls for domesticating the programmes and the need to create institutional frameworks since previous programmes fell on institutionally barren grounds.

Lofchie (1989) argues that African states have been denied the power to determine the distribution of resources as such power rests with the Bretton Woods institutions. The power to shape decisions of economic adjustment programmes are dictated by the Bretton Woods institutions who own the programmes. Bratton and Rothchild (1992: 265) point out that 'political authority can be vested outside the formal-legal institutions of the state'. They further add that the IMF and World Bank have hampered the sovereignty of African state elites to make independent decisions

about economic growth. African governments though lacking sovereignty in decision making, still remain accountable through elections to the citizenry for decisions that are out of their hands (Osabu-Kle, 2000). Though the World Bank's definition of governance is 'the exercise of political power to manage the nation's affairs' (World Bank, 1989 cited in Bratton and Rothchild, 1992: 265) its practical approach has not been democratic in dealing with African states (Shatz, 2002).

According to Mkandawire (1999) most democracies may have emerged during the era of SAP were forced to seek assistance from the Bretton Woods Institutions and adopt the standards of their programmes. Therefore, Mkandawire posited that 'the conditionalities that come with such aid severely limit the choices of new democracies, tending to push them toward one standard set of policies and producing, in effect, "choiceless democracies" (2006: 22). Exclusive politics are not conducive for good governance which requires a commitment to open and responsive politics (Hyden, 1992).

As more societies within sub-Saharan Africa responded to the democratic wind of change, institutions such as interest groups deemed autonomous from the state's influence have been vital for the fully-fledged transition to democratic practices. These civil society organisations blossomed amidst authoritarian rule and some lobbied governments to respond to societal pressures demanding to be heard by African elites. Bujra (2002:35) comments that civil society organisations in Africa 'consist of small urban-based political parties, organized labour movements, rural workers and peasants, and civic non-governmental organizations funded from external donors'. Strong and independent voluntary groups are vital for liberal democracy to stabilise. However, when civil society is integrated in government it

makes such institutions a liability to stabilising liberal democracy (Thomas and Hrebenar, 2008).

In support of the role played by civil society organisations in liberal democracies, the Ford Foundation cut back direct assistance to governments in Africa's developing countries and opted to deal directly with civil society organisations as a means of effective provision of services (Bratton and Rothchild, 1992). The Ford Foundation unlike the World Bank, recognised that governments need checks and balances by an engaged and organised civil society sector. Governance according to the Ford Foundation (1990) involved the consent of the governed to legitimate state activities. The actions by the Ford Foundation later led to the Bretton Woods institutions and donor community preference for working with non-governmental organisations as a solution to perceived corrupt practices and state failure of African governments (Zaidi, 1999; Seckinelgin, 2004; Laird, 2007).

Though civil society organisations were viewed as vehicles for democratisation (Hulme & Edwards, 1997: 6) and for providing pluralism (Zaidi, 1999), ignoring state involvement in delivery of development programmes in Africa became problematic. According to Bebbington & Riddell (1997), civil society organisations were more effective in delivering services to the poorest of the poor than government agencies, but Lorgan (1998: 329) strongly challenged this assessment pointing out the geographical limitations of such institutions in delivering services because they 'do not have the scale or resources to assure national coverage or uniformity'. Batsell (2005) argues that only government machinery has the capacity to reach out to wide areas of the nation through a uniform national response whilst engaging the expertise of civil society organisations. Laird (2007: 467) adds that 'NGOs do not complement weak state capacities'. As a response to such fragmentation between

state agencies and civil society agencies, there has been a call for collaborative or partnership working instigated mostly by international actors rather than directly by local actors (Webb, 2004).

The discussion now turns to theories of globalisation in order to put into perspective the concepts of governance and global health policy. Understanding theories of globalisation is required for this study which focuses on the response of a nation-state to a global threat such as HIV/AIDS. For example, the response of a nation-state's strategic framework and structural response HIV can be understood better through understanding the theories of globalisation. Theories of globalisation are essential as they illustrate globalisation as being the interconnectedness between individuals, communities, nations and regions of the world.

4.6 Theories of Globalisation

'Globalisation' has become a major topic of study in social sciences and a frequently used 'buzzword'. However, not only is it widely used inaccurately in political and economic debates, but happens to have several different meanings attached. A commonly held conceptualisation of globalisation refers to the rapidity of worldwide integration or the increased worldwide interconnectedness in various areas of human activities which are happening at a pace the world has never experienced before. Waters (1995) views globalisation in terms of the rapid increase in transnational economic processes, the creation of transnational organisational structures, and the massive influence of the mass media. Held and McGrew (1999) provide more insight in the conceptualisation of the term 'globalisation' using five elements:

1) They view globalisation as not having a simple linear developmental logic, but as a process or set of processes propagated through interregional networks, interactions and exchange,

2) The spatial reach between communities, states, and transnational relationships. This kind of interconnectedness creates networks which either empowers or constrains states and communities.

3) Globalisation needs to be viewed as being a multifaceted or differentiated social phenomenon occurring as a multidimensional process. Held and McGrew argue that it should not be viewed as a singular condition but as a result of the continuous interaction caused by global interconnectedness at different levels within key domains of social activity.

4) Globalisation is aterritorial, in that it cuts through and across political frontiers. Globalisation can either cause de-territorialism or re-territorialism of both socio-economic and political power.

5) Globalisation relates to how power is organised and exercised in social systems or networks. Decision-making on action to be taken of policy issues within multinational or transnational organisations may have consequences for nations or the whole continent. Globalisation is viewed as having shifted the exercise of power from locales to more distant sites of power.

Held et al (1999:3) proposed a framework utilised in theorising the term globalisation. The framework includes the following five elements:

- Conceptualisation – focusing on how to define 'globalisation'
- Causal dynamics – focussing on what forces drive globalisation

- Historical trajectory
- Socio-economic consequences
- Implications for the state and governance

Based on the above grid of analysis, Held et al (1999) unpack contemporary globalization discourses in terms of hyperglobalist, sceptic and transformationalist perspectives.

4.6.1 Hyperglobalists

The hyperglobalists argue that 'contemporary globalisation defines a new era in which peoples everywhere are increasingly subject to the disciplines of the global marketplace' (Held and McGrew, 1999: 2). Hyperglobalists view this from an economic perspective that welcomes the emergence of a single global market or market civilisation (Gill, 1995). This school proposes that globalisation will diminish the role of the nation-states as their power to make decisions shifts to local, regional and global mechanisms of governance (Ohmae, 1990: 1995). This new era as proclaimed by hyperglobalists which brings about the decline of the nation states' authority over markets is due to the emergence of the single global market. Such a single global market 'denationalises' economies since it is driven by neo-liberal economic ideals. Within the global marketplace, key political actors regulating activities such as inter-governmental organisations and multi or transnational corporations can be identified. These organisations cause the nation-states to lose their dominance in regulation and control of policy. Hyperglobalists further claim that the authority of nation-states is bounded territorially and politically (Michael, 2003). They argue that the nation-states' attempt to take control of markets again have been rendered powerless as the power of key actors of the world market is very influential compared to that of the nation-state (Stranger, 1996; Steger, 2003).

The hyperglobalists have on their side both neo-Marxist and neo-Liberal scholars whose views differ on the outcome of the globalisation process. Though both neo-Marxist and neo-liberal scholars agree that national sovereignty is inferior to the economic forces of globalisation, they both have different explanations of the outcomes of the process of globalisation. According to neo-liberals, globalisation is a good thing as national economies have a comparative advantage within the global economy (Ohmae, 1990). As a result, some nations will be favoured by global market forces whereas others will be not. As with the neo-Marxist school, they view neo-liberal ideals of comparative advantage or global capitalism as simply reinforcing inequalities that already exist within and between national economies.

Critics of the hyperglobalists argue that the national state still has a vital role to play rather than being completely denationalised in issues of policy and law. For example, Michael (2003) in his critique of Held et al.'s 'transformations' argues that the capacity of the state to regulate trade or shape policy, particularly welfare policy, has not decreased as claimed. Sceptics, the next type of globalists to be discussed argue that government still remains central to policy design and the control of economic activities (Weiss, 1998; Hirst and Thompson, 1998). Hence, political power that still resides within nation-states is believed to have been instrumental in 'unleashing the forces of globalisation' through political decision (Steger, 2003).

The major implication of the politics of globalisation as has been stressed is that within any state's key political decisions, inter-governmental organisations or multi-national corporations play a major role. This is because nation-states have no other option but to respond to global market forces by reducing welfare benefits in order for the particular state's fiscal policy to attract international investment (Ohmae, 1990). On the other hand, Ohmae (1990) still believes that external forces such as

multi-national corporations are still constrained by the power of nation-states in home country regulations with regard to cross-border business. The national state still has a vital role to play, as is argued by the sceptics.

4.6.2 Sceptics

The sceptics dispute the novelty of globalisation as expounded by hyperglobalists. To the sceptics, globalisation is not a new phenomenon as the early 19th century had similar if not more interconnected economic activities (Hirst and Thompson, 1999). These two authors also argue that the claims about the globalisation process must not be viewed entirely as globalised but regionalised. Hirst and Thompson (1999) argue that globalisation has been occurring for centuries but such occurrences have been confined to certain regions, for example, among the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) member states. The sceptics argue that such forums as the OECD which co-ordinate domestic and international policies of its member states tend to affect regional areas only and not developed nations as claimed by the hyperglobalists (Martell, 2007). Instead, terms such as internationalisation and regionalisation provide a better conceptualisation of the processes that the hyperglobalists define as globalisation. Hirst and Thompson (1996:185) further attempt to make a differentiation between the global economy and the international economy by stating that:

> There is a vast difference between a strictly global economy and a
> highly internationalized economy in which most companies trade
> from their bases in distinct national economies. In the former
> national policies are futile, since economic outcomes are determined
> wholly by world market forces and by the internal decisions of
> transnational companies. In the latter national policies remain viable,
> indeed they are essential in order to preserve the distinct styles and
> strengths of the national economic base and the companies that trade
> from it.

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Sceptics see the world as internationalised and not globalised since the state still has power to regulate economic activities. To sceptics, globalisation is merely a myth which conceals the reality of three actively economic regional blocs which are Europe, Asia-Pacific and North America (Hirst and Thompson, 1998). Waltz (1999) shares the same thoughts as Hirst and Thompson by stating that:

> "Economic globalization would mean that the world economy, or at least the globalized portion of it, would be integrated and not merely interdependent. The difference between an interdependent and an integrated world is a qualitative one and not a mere matter of proportionately more trade and a greater and more rapid flow of capital. With integration, the world would look like one big state. Economic markets and economic interests cannot perform the functions of government. Integration requires or presumes a government to protect, direct, and control.

Waltz (1999) in the same way as Hirst and Thompson (1999) disputes that globalisation has taken place, as such a process needs to involve all regions of the world. But the fact is that there are some parts of the world such as Africa and developing nations in Asia which have minimal participation rates in the global economy. More generally, the third world or Global South countries also lack participation in global governance structures and culture. In summary, tested against evidence, sceptics have refuted claims of evenly received globalisation because they have unearthed signs of differentiation in its spread due to the process of globalisation not being globally inclusive (Martell, 2007). Hay and Marsh (2000) reaffirm that state interventionism is still, effective unlike hyperglobalists who focussed on the decline of the nation-state and loss of national sovereignty.

4.6.3 Transformationalists

Contrary to the two theses presented above on notions of globalisation, Held and his colleagues in their book *Global Transformations* (1999) propose a modified view of globalisation which conceptualises globalisation as processes that involve the

"*reconstituting* or *re-engineering*, the power, functions and authority of national governments" (Held and McGrew, 1999: 8). Transformationalists, as the third scholars of the globalisation thesis are known, view such processes as a "central driving force behind the rapid social, political, and economic changes that are reshaping modern societies and world order" (Held et al., 1999:7).

Held and his colleagues see contemporary globalisation as historically unprecedented. They argue that technological and political changes have had an impact on the unprecedented advance in global economic activities, media communication, interdependence among nation-states and emergence of multi-national corporations and inter-governmental organisations. As such, transformationalists claim that national economies are becoming de-territorialised, stretching globally and transforming as transnational. This is being propagated, for example, through economic activities of multi-national corporations or interdependence between economies of member states to forums such as the OECD. However, according to Held et al., (1999) territorial boundaries are still important even when economies have been de-territorialised.

Transformationalists argue that though legally sovereign, the nation-state tends to lose its self-governing powers and autonomy due to their 'powers, functions, and authority being reconstituted by international governance and law' (Martell, 2007:185). According to Held and McGrew (1999), a new 'global political order' emerges as world order is no longer conceptualised in terms of state-centric authority but is a form of diffused authority through, for example, regionalisation of politics or inter-regionalism (Michael, 2003:11). The power of the nation-state is viewed as having been reconstituted and restructured in accordance with demands of the emergent forms of global governance in an interconnected world (Held et al.,

1999). Transformationalists still view states as agents, legally sovereign to reconstitute themselves to maintain or enhance their powers.

4.7 Implications for the Study

Since globalisation describes the interconnectedness between individuals, communities, nations and regions of the world, issues such as HIV/AIDS are a global problem that demands a global response. The hyperglobalists proclaim the decline of the nation-state's authority and posit that the new key political actors are inter-governmental organisations and multinational or transnational organisations. This thesis of globalisation proposes that the political decision making power of the nation-state shifts to local, regional, and global mechanisms of governance. This shift of power is vital for explaining how HIV/AIDS has accelerated the interdependency of the world epidemiologically and the new demand for more global cooperation. Such measures have seen the emergence of organisations such as UNAIDS. However, the 'diminished' role of the nation-state as portrayed by hyperglobalists makes the usefulness of their conceptualisation of globalisation problematic for this study because the state still plays a key role in the fight against HIV/AIDS despite the proliferation of transnational agencies and HIV/AIDS related policies.

The conceptualisation of globalisation by the sceptics is also less applicable to this study based on its focus on states and markets which applies mostly to developed countries. In relation to HIV/AIDS, the countries identified by sceptics as marginalised in the governance of global markets such as Africa, parts of South America and parts of Asia are the most affected areas with HIV/AIDS. Therefore, due to its focus on economic activities, the sceptics' thesis of globalisation is less useful for this study.

The third thesis of globalisation, transformationalists, will be key in providing comprehensive insights in focussing on the global approach to combating HIV/AIDS as the power of the nation-state is deemed to be reconstituted and restructured in response to the governance of HIV/AIDS. Therefore, the transformationalists' conceptualisation of globalisation is more useful for this study than the other two. The section which follows affirms the position taken by this study which is similar to that of the transformationalists positing the reconstituting or re-engineering of the power, functions and authority of national governments in relation to the governance of a global pandemic such as HIV/AIDS.

4.8 Global Health Policy and Governance

The UNDP states strongly that to achieve an effective response to HIV/AIDS, consensus in global public policy is vital (UNDP, 2006). This section will discuss issues such as: what is global health policy and global health governance; in which environment is it applicable, and which actors (private or public institutions) are involved in the formulation and implementation of such policies? Reinicke (1998) explains that global public policy entails governance without the influence of the nation-state and government. The nation-state agencies which are core to policymaking within a sovereign state cease to be the focal point of operation in global public policy (Stone, 2008), rather the expertise of actors and institutions from the public, private and voluntary organisations is enlisted to engage in the global policy process (Reinicke, 1998).

Hein and Kohlmorgen (2008:84) define global health governance 'as the totality of collective regulations to deal with international and transnational interdependence in the context of health issues'. Bartsch and Kohlmorgen (2007) postulate that the lack

of global regulation and governance by state actors on health issues such as HIV caused non-state actors to lobby governments for political action. Bartsch and Kohlmorgen (2005) indicate that intergovernmental or international interactions between different public, private and civil society actors influenced the agenda-setting and framing process of global health policy making. Within such a constellation of actors are varying distributions of power or resources to influence global governance (see Mayntz, 2003).

Global public policy or specifically Global Health policy (Hein, et al. 2007) in relation to this research are policy spaces that have come about as a result of globalisation creating what has been referred to by several authors as: a global public sphere; global public field; transnational public sphere; a public domain; and global arena (Dryzek, 1999; Nanz and Steffek, 2004; Drache, 2001; Ronit and Schneider, 2000). The concept of globalisation was mainly related to having impacts on economic issues and not seen as relevant to other areas such as social, health or political global fields. Though today, globalisation impacts on most aspects of our lives, Hudson and Lowe (2004) argue that the establishment of new global governance bodies to oversee global public policy issues have not matched the expansion of the global arena or global public sphere. They give lack of consensus among nation-states as one of the reasons for inhibiting the growth of transnational governance on specific social issues. Like Bartsch and Kohlmorgen, Hudson and Lowe point to the unequal distribution of power and economic resources as hampering the growth and implementation of global governance (Hudson and Lowe, 2004; Bartsch and Kohlmorgen, 2007).

Similar to hyperglobalists, Ashton and Seymour (1988) contend that globalisation transcends internal sovereignty of nation states as it is beyond restrictions of territorial boundaries. Ashton and Seymour (1988:286) identify the health public policy field as an arena where nations 'are losing sovereignty over policies related to health'. To qualify this, they suggest that there is a noticeable increase of actors within global health arena and a decrease of nation states' internal sovereignty. Whereas the formation of supranational entities (Scharpf, 1997) and international capital markets (Peters, 1998) has diminished the autonomous of nation states to protect their economies or societies, such new modes of governance as a response to HIV/AIDS have aided low income nation states to respond effectively and reverse some negative impacts of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. This resonates with transformationalists who view the state as a legally sovereign agent with the capacity to reconstitute itself to maintain its powers and also enhance effective response as it contextualises the global response to the pandemic to fit conditions within its territorial boundaries.

4.9 Policy Networks

Building on the global health policy discussion, it is important to look at network theory in relation to agenda setting and delivery analysis (Hudson and Lowe, 2004). Public policy making is becoming more pluralistic due to the doors to policy making fora being opened to actors other than public or state actors (Heclo, 1978). Political processes recently have seen more non-state actors interacting with public actors (Adam and Kriesi, 2007). The concept of policy networks grew out of such interactions among a variety of actors. This section will discuss the network approach, particularly typologies of policy networks and impact of networks on the policy process.

Smith (1993) theorises that network relationships arise when an exchange of information occurs between groups and government and such exchanges usually reveals the interest of a group in a specific policy arena. The theory of interdependence of actors for resources in order to realise organisational as well as network goals lies at the core of the network approach (Marsh and Smith, 2000). This dependence is rooted in interorganisational theory (Thompson, 1967; Benson, 1978; Scharf, 1978). Thus Rhodes, based on Benson (1982:148), defines policy networks as:

> '...a cluster or complex of organisations connected to each other by resource dependencies and distinguished from other complexes by breaks in the structure of resource dependencies'.

According to Rhodes (1988:77-8), there are the five key dimensions of networks:

1. Constellation of interests – the interests of those involved in a network vary according to service, function, territory or client group
2. Membership – who are the members, are they public or private groups?
3. Vertical interdependence – to what extent is a policy network dependent or independent of actors above or below it?
4. Horizontal interdependence – what are the interconnections between networks?
5. The distribution of resources – what resources do participants have to exchange?

Rhodes (1997) articulates that network members are interdependent on each other for resources to achieve their goals (see also Rhodes, 1981). Smith (1993) clarifies that the relationships within policy networks between private and public bodies vary according to the context of a particular policy sector. He also argues that interdependence among organisations in a network applies more readily to intergovernmental relationships unlike public/private relationships. Hence, public

agencies tend to have a dominant role in a policy process arena due to government having more resources than other members. The dominance of government in networks is based on government's possession of more resources, which translate into power within the resource exchange process. Laumann and Knoke (1987:13) comment that 'an organisation's power and influence in a system is a function of its position or location in the overall resource exchange network generated out of the dyadic resource exchanges'.

More recently, due to the composition of policy networks increasingly characterised by informal, decentralised and horizontal relations, governments are no longer the main actors in the policy process (Kenis and Schneider, 1991). However, such developments in network composition should not be taken as a novel phenomenon since in some regions and developing countries, governance and policy making still has public agencies/officials as the main steering actors in the policy process. Some societies in developing nations are still faced with the challenge of overcoming unitary state-centred authoritarian political systems.

Today, in most developed societies, governments are no longer able to impose their will within networks but are simply part of the joint memberships of the network approach to decision making and delivery. Kickert, Klijn and Koppenjan (1999: 6) comment that policy networks are '(more or less) stable patterns of social relations between interdependent actors, which take shape around policy problems and /or policy programmes'. Government actors are no longer the dominant members within networks. On the contrary, Rhodes (1988:92) insists that government creates the networks and has control over who is allowed access to the network. This study will employ a participatory policy analytical approach (deLeon and Varda, 2009), to understand the engagement of various sports agencies in HIV policy networks. A

close look at the policy network approach can be helpful in understanding the roles

that partners undertake to contribute towards the formulation and development of the

contextualised national policies/strategies for scaling responses to HIV/AIDS. An

examination of the characteristics of policy networks using Table 8 adapted from

Marsh and Rhodes will be utilised.

Table 8: Types of Policy networks: characteristics of Issue networks and policy communities

	Dimension	*Issue Network*	*Policy Community*
Membership	Number of Participants	Many	Limited
	Type of Interest	Wide range	Economic/professional
Integration	Frequency of Interaction	Contact fluctuates	Frequent, high quality
	Continuity	Fluctuating access	Membership and values stable
	Consensus	Variety of views	Shared basic values
Resources	Distribution of resources within network	Often groups have few resources	All participants have resources to exchange
	Distribution of resources within participating organisation	Varied and variable distribution	Hierarchical
Power	Nature of power	Unequal power, Zero-sum	Power is positive sum

Adapted from Marsh and Rhodes (1992)

Having discussed theories of the state in chapter 3, pluralist approaches tend to view

the scenario of policy networks as reflecting, and emerging as a result, of the

multiplicity of interests among public and private actors. In contrast, corporatists refer

to the limited number of economic actors often found within networks who are

usually in alliance with the state within a closed system unlike an open system

favoured in pluralism (Fuchs and Koch, 1991). Such connections in the application

of these theories at the macro level between the state and civil society are vital for this study.

As mentioned earlier, the central ideas of the policy network approach are based on interdependency and the exchange of resources. Rhodes (1988) made a distinction between the types of networks in order to elaborate what networks are and how they function. He categorised the five policy networks ranging from highly integrated policy communities to loosely integrated issue networks. In between policy communities and issue networks are professional networks, intergovernmental networks and producer networks. The top end of the continuum has policy communities which tend to have stable relationships, limited restrictive memberships and vertical interdependence. At the other end, issue networks tend to have unstable relationships, a wide range of membership and a limited degree of interdependence.

Marsh and Rhodes (1992) later abandoned their five-fold categorisation of networks but still held on to the notion of a continuum and devised a table simply distinguishing policy communities from issue networks. In their new typology (see Table 8), policy communities are characterised as having: a small number of hierarchical groups, representative of economic or professional interest; frequent interaction through bargaining and negotiation; shared basic values; resources to exchange; and a balance of power. Policy communities have highly restricted membership, thus Laffin (1986: 6-7) comments that:

> Those within the community generally operate quite stringent entry criteria, these vary among issue areas but include such criteria as possession of expert knowledge; occupancy of a senior position in a relevant organisation; what civil servants call 'soundness', meaning that the person can be trusted to observe the norms of the community; and a reputation for getting things done.

Rhodes (1986) refers to restrictions as 'rules of the game' which participants must observe to gain access to the community such as: being trustworthy, reasonable in their demands; following the constitution of the community; and not challenge the final decision of government. Policy communities tend to have primary and secondary member communities (Laumann and Knoke, 1987; Knoke, 1993). The primary community within a policy community consists of those who set rules of the game and shape the direction of the community. On the periphery of the policy community are secondary members not involved in the daily operations of the network, have occasional access to the policy process but do not have resources which match those of the core primary members. These practices of exclusion within the policy community occur in global policy forums such as HIV/AIDS (Hudson and Lowe 2004; Perkin and Court 2005; Tantivess and Walt, 2008)

In contrast to policy communities, issue networks are characterised as having a large memberships with a variety of structures and operating within an open system that attracts a substantial number of policy actors within a policy sector. Whilst the benefits of substantial inputs of information are evident, deLeon and Varda (2009: 63) recognise that failure in achieving policy development and implementation is inevitable 'when the mixing of values, norms, power, trust, and experience might clash and produce undesirable conflict and tension'. Heclo (1978) posits that the large number of members within an issue network makes it impossible to identify dominant actors. Groups in an issue network unlike a policy community can easily move in and out which is termed problematic due to varied 'degrees of mutual commitment' (ibid, 102). Smith (1993) adds that due to the sheer number of groups, reaching a consensus in an issue network becomes practically problematic. Conflict

in responsibility and accountability is inevitable as issues or problems become political.

4.10 Multiple Streams Framework

The Multiple Streams Framework is based on the work of John Kingdon (1995) who stated that public policies comprise four phases: agenda-setting, determining possible choices, authoritarian selection of a choice, and implementation of decisions. However, Lemieux (quoted in Ridde, 2009) argues that there are only three recurring sub-processes namely: agenda-setting, formulation and implementation. He further states that the authoritarian selection stage as proposed by Kingdon is not part of the process of public policy creation. Ridde (2009) in support of Lemieux adds that public policies which are supported by the international community do not necessarily involve intense debate but are rather ritual ceremonial procedures since policy decisions are made beforehand by experts (Grindle and Thomas 1991). The argument put forth by Lemieux is relevant to this study which though focusing on national policy approaches to HIV/AIDS; such policies are however influenced by global health policy and governance.

Zaharidis (2007) termed the multiple streams approach as a lens which explains how governments formulate policies under conditions of ambiguity. Kingdon's work involved the investigation of cases that were all related to contentious public problems in the fields of transportation and health at federal government level in the United States. Kingdon proposed a theoretical response to two questions often raised by public policy agenda-setting scholars: First, what determines the emergence of some ideas over others? And secondly, why are certain ideas used by governments to formulate public policies, and not others? Houlihan (2005: 171) states that the multiple streams approach takes as its starting point the metaphor

coined by Cohen et al. (1972), the 'garbage can'. This emphasises the anarchic character of organizations and the policy process. According to Kingdon (1995) agenda setting is the first stage in the policy process and in order to move an idea onto the public policy makers' agenda or higher up the agenda involves the intersection of three processes or 'streams': *problems, policies, and politics.* The three streams operate independently with their own dynamics and rules.

In reviewing Kingdon's multiple streams approach, Zaharidis (2007) suggests that the 'problem stream' consists of problems that policy makers and citizens want to be addressed. Houlihan (2005) further adds that there are also problems which the government policymakers chose to ignore. The chances of a policy proposal rising on the agenda are higher if the proposal is attached to a problem considered as serious and needing to be addressed. The way that policymakers find out about such problems is through indicators (number of children who are HIV positive at birth), focusing events (impact of AIDS-related illnesses on teacher absenteeism or the cost of replacing deceased teaching staff by Ministry of Education) and from feedback (effective HIV preventative approaches from other high HIV prevalence countries).

The policy stream consists of a "soup" of ideas that compete to win acceptance in policy networks (Zaharidis, 2007: 72). The ideas which are sponsored by particular policy communities are depicted as floating around and occasionally combine and rise to the top of the agenda. These ideas are in the form of policy proposals pushing for change and usually there are a large number of such ideas floating around competing for a chance to get the attention of policy-makers. Policy ideas are likely to be considered or be successful when they are deemed technically feasible and conform to the values of policy makers. For example, policy recommendations to

promote male circumcision as a viable preventative means for HIV infection were more easily considered by communities who traditionally practiced circumcision than those who did not value it traditionally.

The politics stream consists of political factors that influence agendas such as the national mood, changes in elected officials and advocacy by interest groups. In order to have successful agenda setting, at least two of the elements must come together at a critical moment in time resulting in what is referred to as a 'policy window' or 'as fleeting 'opportunit[ies] for advocates of proposals to push their pet solutions, or to push for attention to their special problems' (Kingdon, 1995: 165). Furthermore, John (1998: 174) states that 'policy windows' are 'the circumstances under which these three streams combine to make a policy happen' making such windows or opportunities crucial to this framework. Thus, critical points in time that enhance the chances for a specific policy to get adopted are when all three streams are combined.

Figure 8: Policy Stream Convergence
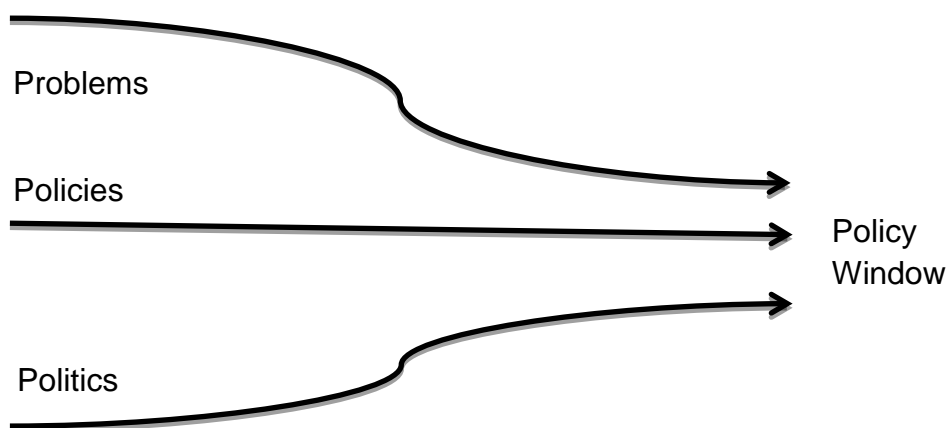
Adapted from Zaharidis (2007)

The act of 'coupling' of the streams is brought about by the working of policy entrepreneurs – power brokers or manipulators of problematic preferences who seize opportunities when the policy window opens (Zahariadis, 2007: 74). Policy windows are usually open for a short period and sometimes can be created by policy entrepreneurs (individuals, corporate actors or interest groups who attempt to couple the streams). For example, in British sport policy, Baroness Campbell has been described as a policy entrepreneur (Houlihan and Lindsey, 2013). The most successful of these actors are those that have greater access to the corridors of power or to policy makers. For example, organisations or individual leaders of NGOs working closely on the multisectoral approach with the NAC in Zambia are likely to be influential and successful in influencing agenda setting due to their access to decision making forums. However, it is only those with more resources who are usually capable of influencing the agenda setting.

As to the value of the multiple streams to this study, Ridde (2009) points out that the framework has been proven useful in empirical studies focusing on agenda-setting in health policy (Odom-Forren and Hahn 2006), international aid (Travis and Zahariadis 2002) and education (Lieberman 2002), concepts which are relevant and strongly linked to this research. However, there was no low income country used in the agenda setting studies mentioned above which is comparable to the location of the case studies within this research. However, Ridde (2009) focused his implementation study on a Bamako Initiative (BI) health policy in Burkina Faso, a low-income sub-Saharan African country. His focus on implementation rather than agenda setting enabled the application of the MSF to gain credibility. Due to the focus of this study on agenda setting, formulation and implementation, the ability of the multiple streams approach to provide a link between macro- and meso-levels of

analysis is useful. In addition, Houlihan (2005) identifies the concept of 'spillover' of policy implications (Kingdon, 1995) from stronger to weaker policy areas as a potential value given the vulnerability of sport policy to manipulation in this case to addressing Millennium Development Goals. Houlihan (2005) further elaborates that the strength of the multiple streams framework lies also in it being applied successfully in a number of policy areas inclusive of sport. The metaphors require clarification and their usefulness will become clearer through the empirical case studies.

4.11 Understanding Public Policy and Implementation

4.11.1 What is Public Policy?

Hill (1993: 47) defines policy as 'the product of political influence, determining and setting limits to what the state does'. Fox and Meyer (1995: 107) view policy as formal authoritative statements that are formulated by legitimate public institutions stipulating how 'they propose to deal with policy problems'. For instance, the HIV/AIDS policy in Zambia which advocates for a multisectoral approach as an effective means of dealing with the problems of HIV/AIDS is spearheaded by the National AIDS Council, a publicly funded institution. This section will therefore focus on policy implementation literature which will contribute significantly to the understanding of the approach adopted by the Zambian government in the governance of HIV. The formulation and implementation of HIV/AIDS policies are influenced globally by the international cooperating partners who consists of key actors such as funders/donors or health experts.

At national or local level, the influence on policy emerges from various actors from public, private, voluntary or faith-based institutions. The purpose of looking at policy implementation within this section is to aid the understanding of the role that national governing bodies of sport play in the implementation of the HIV/AIDS policy within the multisectoral approach. The study focuses on three (3) cases involving implementation of sport based strategies within their sports association and cooperatively beyond their associations.

When governments implement programmes designed to mitigate the spread of HIV/AIDS such official guidelines are referred to as public policies. Traditionally, public policy has been seen as a domain of the state. The concept of public policies has always been tied to 'those policies developed by governmental bodies and officials' (Anderson, 1975: 3). For instance, in this study, the formulating of guidelines for combating the HIV pandemic in Zambia is spearheaded by the National AIDS Council a public institution. Moreover, public policies, according to the above definition, are those formulated and generally implemented by public institutions. They relate to activities confined within the domestic environment of a nation state conducted mainly through state processes.

Public policies are activities undertaken by public servants within public institutions (see Hill and Hupe, 2002). Hill and Hupe (2002: 5) quote Dewey (1927) who referred to public policies as 'the public and its problems'. On the contrary, HIV/AIDS policies, as is the case with an increasing number of policies, transcend nation/state boundaries as such problems have had a global impact. Though Zambia has its own policy specifically contextualised to the nation, there has been a huge global

influence on its formulation and implementation. Thus, a focus on the approaches to implementation is vital to understand the multisectoral approach in Zambia which involves a complex pattern of international relationships. William Jenkins' 1978 definition (cited in Howlett and Ramesh, 1995: 5) defines public policies as:

> A set of interrelated decisions taken by a political actor or group of actors concerning the selection of goals and the means of achieving them within a specified situation where these decisions should, in principle, be within the power of these actors to achieve.

As highlighted previously, the implementation of HIV/AIDS policy in Zambia is in the hands of several sectors of societies such as the civil society organisations, public bodies, voluntary sector or the private sector. The focus of this study is to understand the role played by national sports associations in implementing the HIV/AIDS policy. This focus leads to a concern with the political activities of policy action (Hall and Jenkins, 1995); the chosen course of action and means of implementation (Dye, 1972; Frederich, 1963; Brooks, 1989); and the policies adopted by national sports associations in relation to HIV/AIDS policy implementation.

Hill and Hupe (2002) endorse Mazmanian and Sabatier's definition of implementation as:

> …the carrying out of a basic policy decision, usually incorporated in a statute but which can also take the form of important executive orders or court decisions. Ideally, that decision identifies the problem(s) to be addressed stipulates the objective(s) to be pursued and, in a variety of ways, "structures" the implementation process. The process normally runs through a number of stages beginning with passage of the basic statute, followed by the policy outputs (decisions) of the implementing agencies, the compliance of target groups with those decisions, the actual impacts of agency decisions, and,

finally, important revisions (or attempted revisions) in the basic statute. (1983: 20 -21)

Mazmanian and Sabatier's definition encompasses the full range of activities that relate to the concept of implementation. In the preface to their book, Pressman and Wildavsky (1984:xxvii) describe implementation as 'the ability to forge subsequent links in the causal chain so as to obtain the desired results'. Mazmanian and Sabatier's definition of policy sees the policy process as consisting of 'complex chains of reciprocal interaction' (Pressman and Wildavsky (1984: xxv). This complexity of the process of implementation comes about due to the involvement of numerous actors engaged in a range of links in the vertical line of implementation in order to achieve the intended policy goals. Such complexity is mainly related to the degree of cooperation among actors and the possible difference in interpretation of what actually are the policy goals as the process permeates through the layers of implementation. In order to attain 'perfect implementation', Hogwood and Gunn (1984) argue that a condition of perfect communication between, and co-ordination of the various elements involved in the programme is necessary. Conversely, they also warn that in real-life there is often a lack of unity within organisations, associations or institutions which are often characterised by division according to departments, values, goals, agendas or interests of various parties involved.

The multisectoral approach to HIV/AIDS demands the involvement of all sectors of society. Hence, the policy formulation and implementation space is congested with a range of different actors. Cooperation and clear understanding of what the HIV/AIDS policy demands of the actor are vital for effective policy implementation. The coordination of several actors and monitoring of the activities of such actors by the

National AIDS Council is a challenge in ensuring that several actors contribute to the achievement of the policy goals. Such complexity as posed by the several actors within the HIV/AIDS policy in Zambia needs to be well coordinated in order to realise intended policy goals.

Within policy implementation literature, there is a well-known controversy which dates back to the 1970s and 1980s. The controversy relates to the contrast between top-down theorists (Pressman and Wildavsky 1973) against the bottom-up theorists (Barrett and Fudge, 1981; Hjern and Hull, 1982). The top-down school has a quintessentially managerial view of the policy process based on a Weberian paradigm of society. The top-down theorists state that there are policy makers 'up there' at the top of the government legislative structure. Such policy makers or designers are the central actors within the hierarchy of bureaucratic institutions. Meanwhile, the bottom-up theorists argue that the act of policy making often takes place at the micro level, the local level. The bottom-up approach focuses on target groups and deliverers of policy at the local level known as 'street-level bureaucrats' (Lipsky, 1980). It is vital for this study to review the top-down and bottom-up approaches and consider the attempts to synthesize the two approaches.

4.11.2 The Top-down, and Bottom-up Approaches Debate

The top-down view depicts a clear assumption of rationality according to which where policy goals are decided upon in a legitimate and therefore binding way (Hupe, 2011). This view proposes that if policy intentions are not attained when essential resources have been supplied, the failure lies within the implementation level and its actors and not the central level actors who are the policy designers (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1973). Matland (1995) articulates that the starting point

for implementation takes place when the authoritative decision by central actors is made stating the desired policy goals. Mazmanian and Sabatier (1983: 20) term this manner of implementation as 'the carrying out of a basic policy decision, usually incorporated in a statute but which can also take the form of important executive orders or court decisions'.

Mazmanian and Sabatier also view implementation as the coincidence of the actions of those implementing the policy with the goals set by the authoritative decision makers. There is a clear distinction between policy formulation and policy implementation among top-down theorists. Hill and Hupe (2009: 4) argue that 'implementation follows formulation and decision theorem'. One key criticism of the top-down approach to implementation is that it 'take[s] the statutory language as their starting point' (Matland, 1995). Matland claims that by concentrating on the statutory language, the broader public objectives are likely to be missed. Official statements regarded as policy do not just appear within a vacuum but have come to be regarded as policy due to a process of negotiation during the initial stages of policy making.

The top-down approach views implementation activities as a series of vertical links between the policy designers at macro level and the implementing officers at micro level. Indeed, it is within such chains of vertical activities in implementation that Pressman and Wildavsky's (1973) study in Oakland raised issues with regards to delivering policy. Their findings noted that congestion or complexity of joint action is likely to lead to failure in attaining policy goals. Hupe (2011) contends that if there is a limitation on the number of actors involved within the chain of interaction, it

enhances implementation congruency. Due to a lack of coordination among the various actors in the implementation of the urban regeneration project, Pressman and Wildavsky noted such complexity as inhibiting the realisation of project goals. Clear lines of communication as well as the provision of the required resources are vital to enable good coordination among the various elements for successful implementation.

Gunn (1978) proposed a 'best practice' list of conditions necessary for successful implementation as consisting of the following: the availability of sufficient time and resources; the avoidance of major external constraints; the establishment of a clear and simple chain of command; single implementing authority; clearly communicated projects outcomes; understanding of, and agreement on, objectives; and perfect communication. Incongruent implementation is likely to happen where there is a greater institutional distance between those at the top who formulate policy and those at the bottom who implement or deliver policy, leading to a higher chance of an 'implementation deficit' (Hupe, 2011; Pressman and Wildavsky 1973). Hupe (2011) expounds that if within the process of implementation there is less than 100% cooperation, then there is a possibility of having a number of smaller deficits that are likely to accumulate into a large shortfall. Should failure occur in achieving intended outcomes or outputs does the blame within the top-down approach fall within the implementation stage and not the formulation stage? Hence, failure to implement effectively is caused by human fallibility in agency and demands a stricter enforcement response from those at the top (Dunsire, 1990). The implementers are to blame as they have not fulfilled their subordinate tasks as required (Hupe, 2011).

The top-down approach has stimulated significant debate and criticism with Bowen (1982: 3) arguing that implementation takes place in an 'open system' and hence, inter-agency interaction is common in public policies leading to the involvement of a variety of actors. This makes it difficult to limit the layers of vertical involvement. This is a point to consider as it is truly reflected in the multisectoral approach to HIV policy in Zambia where many different types of actors are present from the public, private, and non-governmental agencies at different levels: macro, meso and micro levels.

Top-down theorists have also been criticised for dismissing street level bureaucrats as impediments to successful implementation and needing strict control from the top (Matland, 1995). Due to this top-down view of street level bureaucrats as impediments, central actors tend to ignore strategic inputs from the grassroots/street-level agencies, street level bureaucrats and other lower tier implementing actors. Elmore (1980); Barrett and Fudge (1981) and Hjern and Hull (1982) all bottom-up theorists criticise the top-down approach as neglecting other actors and over-concentrating on policy designers. Their argument goes further to state a normative perspective that street level workers have expertise and knowledge of true problems and are better placed to contribute meaningfully to policy solutions (Matland, 1995).

Contrary to the top-down approach which views policy decisions as emanating from top government or central actors and carried out by street level bureaucrats, the bottom-uppers recognise the network of street level actors' goals, strategies, activities and contacts (Hearn, 1984). The bottom-up approach recognises that both professionals and street-level bureaucrats have a major influence on policy

outcomes. This model, unlike the top-down model, acknowledges the mediating influence of street level actors through their contacts within the environment where policy is implemented. Since the bottom-up model starts from a lower level of administration, it does not initially fix its focus on the achievement of set policy goals or objectives but on a variety of unintended outcomes. Whereas top-down literature tends to stress the division between policy and practice, the bottom-up approach sees policy making as still in progress even at the street level (Hudson and Lowe, 2004). Human agency determines in reality how the policy will be implemented in line with policy designer intentions.

Elmore (1980) uses the terms *forward mapping* and *backward mapping* to refer to top-down and bottom-up approaches to implementation. He proposes that backward mapping begins at the last possible stage where street level actor actions intersect private choices. Elmore (1980:1) defines backward mapping as:

> 'backward reasoning' from the individual and organisational choices that are the hub of the problem to which the policy is addressed, to the rules, procedures and structures that have the closest proximity to those choices, to the policy instruments available to affect those things, and hence to feasible policy objectives.

Elmore criticises the top-down theory as being a myth as it assumes that having policy directives from the top, strict control and clear statement will lead to congruent implementation. The myth is that forward mapping views implementation as controlled from the top. This weakness of forward mapping makes an 'unquestionable assumption that *policymakers control the organisational, political, and technological processes that affect implementation*' (Elmore, 1980: 603 italics in original). It is proposed that authority within this approach is delegated to

implementers and controlled by central actors who themselves are either elected or appointed top officials.

According to Elmore's concept of backward mapping, the process begins at the lowest level with a statement of required behaviour which generates the need for a policy unlike forward mapping which begins with a statement of intent (Elmore, 1980). Having described behaviour, an objective is then stated emanating from the common organisational operations shared among implementing agencies. Hence, according to the bottom-up approach, policy can be defined as what happens during implementation. Whereas the top-down model views those closer to the source of policy making as possessing greater influence and authority, the bottom-up theorists on the contrary views those closer to the source of the problem as having greater ability to influence (Elmore, 1980). In relation to the observation that those closer to the source of the problem have greater influence on the outcomes, deLeon and deLeon (2002) advocate for a more democratic theory and practice of implementation. The authors argue that the process of implementation brings both the policymakers and citizens together allowing a discussion about policy to occur.

The bottom-up argument, that policies are decided at the micro level by interactions of street level workers, is in tune with Foucault's conception of the dispersal of power in society. Whereas in a democratic system power in policy control is exercised by actors who derive it from their accountability to sovereign voters through their elected representative (Matland, 1995: 149), Foucault argues that such traditional models of governance are inadequate for understanding contemporary society and forms of social organisations. Statutory actors responsible for policy formulation derive their

power by being elected or by receiving a mandate from duly elected officials, a power base that street level bureaucrats do not possess. Apart from the conceptualisation of power derived from democratic theory, there are other conceptualisations and sources of power such as the specialist knowledge of professions, legal authority such as that of the police and power derived from control over access to resources such as the Global Fund in the case of HIV, tuberculosis and malaria all of which are relevant to this study.

Within the HIV/AIDS field in Zambia, there are a number of agents from the cooperating donor community, public, private and civil society organisations involved in complex relations of power. Based on a Foucauldian concept, 'power comes from below; that there is no binary and all-encompassing opposition between rulers and rules at the root of power relations, and serving as a general matrix (Foucault, 1980: 119). Foucault states that 'there are no relations of power without resistances' and those resistances 'are formed right at the point where relations of power are exercised' (Foucault 1980: 142). In reference to the different range of actors involved in HIV/AIDS policy process interactions, it is inevitable that power is exerted or imposed by one actor(s) on other actors. Such power should be understood as being a complex and constantly changing sets of relations. Resistance is also to be expected from those on whom power is imposed (Prior and Barnes, 2011).

Lipsky (1971) argued that policy is not the product of central actors but rather the outcome of street-level bureaucrats' actions who, during implementation modify their action to suit local settings. He further argued that the 'decisions of street level bureaucrats, the routines they establish, and the devices they invent to cope with

uncertainties and work pressures, effectively become the public policies they carry out (Lipsky, 1980:xii). His understanding and promoting of the thesis of the 'street-level bureaucrat' clearly broke with prevailing positivist positions of policy implementation, which depicted those implementing policy mainly public service staff as simply rule-following actors operating within defined organizational contexts. His thesis redefined the role of service delivery workers as actors interacting and engaging in making vital decisions that shape policy outcomes (intended and unintended).

Lipsky proposed that street-level bureaucrats made their own interpretations of what they faced within the process of implementation and such interpretations resulted in either congruent or incongruent policy implementation outcomes. His work has significant, potential value for this study as he puts a stronger emphasis on the role of the street-level workers than upon the policy input. Furthermore, his work focussed on street-level workers exercising discretion under intolerable pressure from above to meet high service ideals also resonates with conditions in Zambia. Lipsky identifies one of the paradoxes of street-level work when he expounds upon how such workers view themselves as cogs in a system who are oppressed by the bureaucracy within which they work but though feeling oppressed, the workers often seem to experience a great deal of discretionary freedom and autonomy.

However, Hill (1997) criticises Lipsky for being inconsistent when he portrays street-level workers as either spearheading service delivery or as begrudging cogs within a complex system. In response, Lipsky states that resource constraints compel street-level workers to devise defensive mechanisms to protect self-interests or simply to

enable the provision of basic services. However, there is a risk of overemphasising the level of local autonomy that is proposed by the bottom-up approach. Matland (1995) argues that central actors can still curtail such local autonomy by structuring the goals and strategies of all active agents at local level. He claims that when 'the institutional structure, the available resources, and the access to an implementing arena are predetermined centrally and substantially', this can affect policy outcomes (Matland, 1995: 150)

Adding on to Lipsky's street-level bureaucracy thesis, Barrett and Fudge argue that 'policy cannot be regarded as a constant. It is mediated by actors who may be operating with different assumptive worlds from those formulating the policy, and, inevitably, it undergoes interpretation and modification and, in some cases, subversion' (Barrett and Fudge 1981: 251). Hence, these authors reject the normative assumptions embedded in the traditional top-down literature. They also argue that there is a tendency in the top-down approach to depoliticise the policy-action relationship. Given the political nature of the process of HIV/AIDS policy formulation globally and nationally in Zambia and the proliferation of different actors it would be naive to ignore the influence of politics in policy formulation and implementation. Hence, policy authors such as Matland (1995) criticise top-down theorists as portraying implementation as a purely administrative process and ignoring the influence of politics.

In relation to this study, the HIV/AIDS policy in Zambia prior to the introduction of the multisectoral approach had health sector front-line workers as the only actors implementing HIV/AIDS policies. This is no longer the case today due to the

transformation of the governance of the pandemic at global, national and local level which has introduced a proliferation of new actors. Within the field in Zambia, frontline delivery now involves members of public, private and voluntary bodies as identified in chapter 2. As each of those actors engages in the multisectoral policy approach, they face a challenge of attempting to reconcile the objective factors that frame the NAC's organisational ideals with their own personal, value-laden assessment of HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment. Such engagement and interactions by street-level bureaucrats is likely to shape to some extent at least the outcome of policy goals. Thus, policy implementation must be viewed as rather a field of complex interactions between reflexive subjects, the outcomes of which are necessarily contingent and not simply rule-following.

4.11.3 Third Generation Implementation Studies: Synthesising approaches

Goggin et al (1990) attempted the question to answer 'why behaviour varies across time, across policies, and across units of government and by predicting the type of implementation behavior that is likely to occur in the future. In a word, the objective of third-generation research is to be more *scientific . . .*" (ibid, 171; italics as in original). The third generation of policy implementation studies seeks to synthesise tenets of the top-down and bottom-up approaches.

As previously discussed, Elmore (1980), used his concept of forward and backward mapping, and attempted to combine the top-down and bottom-up perspectives on implementation. However, Matland (1995: 151) criticised Elmore's model as failing to provide predictions for behaviour and for not providing 'hypotheses to test'. Matland further added that Elmore's model was useful as a theory however lacked explanatory power. Matland (1995) therefore aims to provide a model which has

explanatory power and provides a more theoretically grounded approach to policy implementation. His model presents the 'ambiguity and conflict matrix' which combines the top-down and the bottom-up perspectives. He states that this model is a contingency model that provides more clarity and coherence in comprehending implementation. The model does not advocate the simultaneous combination of top-down and bottom-up approaches but rather explains when the two approaches are most appropriate to be utilised in specific policy contexts. He argues that his model is a solution to implementation studies which are already saturated with diagrams, flowcharts and lists of variables which he deems have only exacerbated the problem of comprehending implementation.

In reaction to a literature review by O'Toole (1986), Matland commented that: 'A literature with three hundred critical variables doesn't need more variables: it needs *structure'* (1995: 146). He challenges implementation theorists to specify 'the conditions under which these variables are important and the reasons we should expect them to be important' (ibid: 153). He calls for such theories to identify 'dependent variables' for successful implementation.

Based on studies by Ingram and Schneider (1990), Matland noted the following characteristics which define successful implementation: compliance with statutes' directives and goals; achievement of specific success indicators; achievement of locally specified goals; and improvement of the political climate around a programme. Related to these characteristics, is whether the values of the policy designers are accorded primacy over those of implementers. Of vital importance to

such questions is the explicitness of or lack of stated policy goals within official policy documents. Matland argues:

> ...then based on democratic theory, the statutory designers' values have a superior value. In such instances the correct standard of implementation success is loyalty to the prescribed goals. When a policy does not have explicitly stated goals, the choice of a standard becomes more difficult, and more general societal norms and values come into play. (1995: 155)

Matland's model suggests that policy types are differentiated by the degree of ambiguity in goals and means of a policy and the degree of conflict. According to Matland, conflict and ambiguity affect decision making in policy studies. Where there is interdependence among actors, conflict exists and affects decision making. This happens when there are incongruent views on a specific policy among organisations whereas at the same time other organisations view the policy as directly relevant to their interests. Matland further states that when there are incompatible concerns and increased perceived stakes for actors, the intensity of conflict increases. He argues that actors can easily access the implementation process when there is a low level of conflict and that actors will encounter high resistance at high levels of conflict. Matland states that there is a tendency for top-downers to choose relatively clear policies and the bottom-uppers tend to focus their studies on policies with greater inherent uncertainty.

Policy ambiguity takes two forms - ambiguity of goals and ambiguity of means (ibid, 1995: 157). Matland comments that ambiguity is vital for limiting conflict in that if goals are clearly stated within a policy, the more likely the goals are to lead to conflict. Ambiguity also relates to the means of achieving the policy goals. Ambiguity usually occurs when appropriate mechanisms to attain goals are non-existent or

when there are no specific roles for actors to undertake in the implementation

process. Matland comments on how the degree of ambiguity inherent in a policy

affects several aspects of implementation including: the monitoring of activities for

central actors; the interpretation of policy by the main actors; and the significance of

the local contextual setting. Matland identifies four combinations of ambiguity and

conflict (see Table 9)

Administrative Implementation: this is a low policy ambiguity and low policy conflict

area. In this type of implementation, "the central principle is that *outcomes are*

determined by resources" (ibid, 1995:160 italics in original). Desired outcomes are

assured as long as the resources for implementing plans are sufficient.

Administrative implementation is suitable for rational decision-making processes

common in top-down approaches. In this type of implementation, there is a

hierarchical line of authority which spills from the top downwards with explicit policy

outlined at each level. The actors know exactly what their responsibilities and tasks

are within the chain of implementation.

Political implementation: this is a low ambiguity and high conflict area of political

decision making. Within this type of implementation "the central principle is *that*

implementation outcomes are decided by power" (ibid, 1995:163 italics in original).

Decision making in this type of policy undergoes a bargaining process commonly

exhibited in political arenas. There is explicit policy which is incompatible within

actors and leads to conflict. Matland comments that resources for implementation

are usually positioned in the hands of those opposing the proposed policy. In the

bargaining process, the compliance of those holding vital resources is a key concern

of implementers. Sufficient power or sufficient resources are vital for successful

implementation by forcing other actors to agree or bargain for an agreement on

means.

Table 9: Matland's Ambiguity-Conflict Matrix

	Low Conflict	High Conflict
Low Ambiguity	Administrative Implementation ~ goals are given and a means for problem solving is known ~ a central authority has the information, resources and sanction capability to enact the desired policy ~ implementation is hierarchically ordered with each link receiving orders from the level above ~ policy is spelled out explicitly at each level and there is agreement on responsibilities and tasks ~ relatively uniform outcomes at the micro-level across many sites	Political Implementation ~ there is conflict over both goals and means ~ the implementation process is a key arena for conflict ~ implementation outcomes are determined by the distribution of power ~ compliance is not automatically forthcoming ~ low ambiguity ensures that monitoring of compliance is relatively easy
High Ambiguity	Experimental Implementation ~ outcomes depend largely on which actors are involved ~ variation in outcomes from site to site ~ outcomes are hard to predict ~ opportunities for local entrepreneurs to create local policies ~ compliance monitoring mechanisms are of limited relevance ~ the policy may become a low priority	Symbolic Implementation ~ ostensibly implausible combination ~ salient symbols can produce high levels of conflict even when the policy is vague ~ outcomes will vary across sites ~ outcomes will depend upon the balance of local coalition strength ~ policy ambiguity makes it difficult to monitor activities

Adapted from Matland's Ambiguity-Conflict matrix (Matland1995: 160)

Experimental Implementation: this is a high policy ambiguity and low policy conflict area. For experimental implementation, "the central principle is *that contextual conditions dominate the process*" (ibid, 1995:165 italics in original). The policy outcomes are influenced by those actors who are actively involved in the implementation and also by the availability of resources. Matland refers to this implementation type as a 'garbage can' due to having streams of actors, problems, solutions and choice opportunities to attain outcomes which cannot be easily predicted (ibid, 1995:166).

Symbolic Implementation: this is a high policy ambiguity and high policy conflict area in which the central principle is that "local level *coalitional strength* determines the outcomes" (ibid, 1995:168 italics in original). There usually is a coalition of actors at the local level who possess and control important resources which will determine policy outcomes. There are variations in relation to the composition of coalitions and their strength from differing policy implementation sites. Hence, coalition strength at the local level influences policy outcomes.

Among the four implementation types presented above, the Administrative implementation type seems most compatible with this study. The study will examine the extent to which HIV/AIDS policy is characterised by low policy ambiguity and low policy conflict and the consequences for the policy outcomes stipulated by the National AIDS Policy. How can Matland's matrix help in understanding how NAC as a central authority which has HIV information, donor and local resources and sanction capability instructs actors within the chain? Using the matrix, how can the strategic framework on HIV/AIDS be utilised to examine outcomes of given goals and means of achieving the goals? Within the multisectoral approach to HIV in Zambia, are the stakeholders, the actors involved in implementation clear about their responsibilities and tasks? Do the actors know explicitly what is required of them at each level in the chain? In order to effectively tackle these questions in this study, the administrative implementation will be utilised as a starting point for the analysis.

4.11.4 Implications for the Study

The multisectoral response to HIV demands the involvement of sectors beyond the health sector. In Zambia as in other nations deeply affected by the HIV/AIDS

pandemic, the national structures put in place to halt the spread of HIV are composed of both private and public actors.

Power relation theories and the exchange of resources in policy network theory are important for this study. As has been mentioned in chapter 2, the donor community was more in favour of working with non-state actors than state agencies. However, recent experience of major donors has shifted their approach to working again with governments in combating HIV/AIDS. The recognition has brought both state and non-state actors to the decision-making table. As most of the resources are sourced externally rather than from national budgets, it is interesting to focus on power relations in policy networks between state and non-state actors during the exchange of resources. This study will utilise the concept of policy networks in understanding the link between macro level analysis and micro level analysis.

CHAPTER 5: Research Strategy and Methods

5.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the research methodology for the investigation. The purpose is to elaborate the ontological and epistemological positions adopted for this study and describe in detail the methods that were employed. Having established the ontological and epistemological positions, the chapter will clarify the adopted research design and the data analysis techniques used. The aim of the study is to critically analyse the role of three National Sports Associations (NSAs) in making and implementing policy towards HIV/AIDS in Zambia. In order to achieve the research aim, the following four research objectives have been identified:

1. To provide an account of the development of sport policy in Zambia and to explain the extent to which a cross-cutting issue such as HIV/AIDS has been mainstreamed within the NSAs

2. To analyse the policy making process in relation to HIV/AIDS and the role of the three NSAs

3. To analyse the roles of NSAs in implementing HIV/AIDS policies in relation to their association affiliates - clubs or schools.

4. To analyse the extent to which NSAs have developed relationships with other organisations responsible for HIV/AIDS programmes outside the sports sector.

5.2 Ontology and Epistemology

Ontology and epistemology are basic meta-theoretical concepts which need clarification before one proceeds with one's research inquiry. Marsh and Stoker (2002:11), state that, 'ontology is concerned with what we can know about the world and epistemology is concerned with how we can know it'. Blaikie (2000: 8) suggests that ontological claims are

> 'claims and assumptions that are made about the nature of social reality, claims about what exists, what it looks like, what units make it up and how these units interact with each other. In short, ontological assumptions are concerned with what we believe constitutes social reality'

Ontology refers to what exists in the social world, concerning 'the nature and the structure of the world' (Wand and Weber, 1993: 220). It concerns the nature of the phenomenon whilst epistemology is concerned with the theory of knowledge relating to 'possible ways of gaining knowledge of social reality' (Blaikie, 2000: 8). The relation between the ontological and epistemological issues is based on the sense that the latter concerns how researchers or inquirers may go about their inquiry about the former and making sense of such. Guba and Lincoln (1994:108) used three questions to outline the distinction between ontology, epistemology and methodology:

(i)   Ontology – what is the form of and nature of reality and therefore, what is there that can be known about it?

(ii)   Epistemology – what is the nature of the relationship between the knower or would-be knower and what can be known?

(iii)   And finally, methodology – How can the inquirer go about finding out the nature of reality out there?

As stated above, it is important to set out clearly the interrelationship between ontology, epistemology and methodology. Thus, a researcher's choice of methodology should reflect the researcher's ontological and epistemological assumptions. In relation to the questions above by Guba and Lincoln, 'ontological positions are those contained within objectivism and constructivism' (Grix, 2002: 177). Objectivism 'asserts that the social phenomena and their meanings have an existence that is independent of social actors' (Bryman in Grix, 2002: 177). Duffy and Jonassen (1992: 2) comment that 'meaning is something that exists in the world quite aside from experience' of human beings. Thus, reality which refers to the external world exists independently of the researcher's knowledge, beliefs or feelings.

On the other hand, constructivism is a 'view of human knowledge as a process of personal cognitive construction, or invention, undertaken by the individual who is trying, for whatever purpose, to make sense of her social or natural environment' (Taylor, 1993: 268). Constructivism asserts that human beings actively construct their social reality through interactions within their own context. As opposed to an objectivist view which insists that the truth or reality is 'out there' to be discovered, a constructivist views reality as something that is socially constructed, as resulting from an interaction with one's environment.

Epistemological positions may be linked to two contrasting perspectives 'positivism' and 'interpretivism' (Grix, 2002). Positivism 'is an epistemological position that advocates the application of the methods of the natural sciences to the study of social reality and beyond' (ibid, 2002: 178). Positivism relates to what can be observed and measured. If a phenomenon cannot be observed or measured, then such knowledge is considered as impossible to possess. For the positivist, the social

world is independent of an individual's understanding of it (Sparkes, 1992). This is rooted in empiricism which holds at its core – observation and measurement of phenomenon as key to science.

Interpretivists are anti-foundationalist in that they believe that 'not all social phenomena are directly observable, structures exist that cannot be observed and those that can may not present the social and political world as it actually is' (Grix, 2002: 183). Within the interpretivist perspective, knowledge is derived from everyday social contexts. As the researcher interacts with the social context, concepts are constructed and meaning is attached to data gathered within a social setting. This paradigm adopts mainly qualitative approaches for investigating phenomenon, and it is shaped by a tenet in reality as being subjectively- based and influenced by culture and history. The assumptions underlying research are thus both ontological and epistemological can be grouped into a number of traditions or paradigms. The following section outlines positivism, realism and interpretivism.

5.2.1 Positivism, realism and interpretism

The positivist position according to Sparkes (1992: 10) views the social world as a 'real world made up of hard tangible and relatively immutable facts that can be observed, measured and known for what they are'. Positivist assumptions are that the world exists independently and has no deep structures as claimed by realists. The world is real and does not depend on our sensory conceptualisation of it. Logical positivism demands a very straightforward characterisation in one's approach to scientific investigation as can be interpreted from Hollis and Smith (1990: 50) who assert that:

To detect the regularities in nature, propose a generalisation, deduce what it implies for the next case and observe whether the prediction succeeds. If it does, no consequent action is needed; if it does not, then either discard the generalisation or amend it and test the fresh predictions.

The positivist position argues that social scientists must study social phenomena 'in the same state of mind as the physicist, chemist or physiologist when he probes into a still unexplored region of scientific domain' (Durkheim in May, 2001: 10). Positivists believe that it is possible to have generalisable theories which can help in explaining and predicting the social world (Blaikie, 1993; Remenyi et al., 1998).

Positivists have a foundationalist ontology 'arguing that there are essential differences of 'being' that provide the foundations upon which social life is built' (Marsh and Furlong, 2002: 18). They believe that a phenomenon is subject to natural laws that can be discovered through empirical research: observation and measurement. This entails that positivists attempt to establish 'cause and effect' relationships which leads to development of laws. The key focus is identifying causes of social behaviour in an objective manner free of the intrusion of the researcher's values, beliefs or feelings. Positivists contend that the world is real and not socially constructed as posited by interpretivism (see Table 10 for differences). Hence, positivists have a strong adherence to direct observation as a key for objectivity and testing of the validity of theories or hypotheses.

Table 10: Tenets of, and differences between Positivism, Interpretivism and Critical Realism

Positivism	Interpretivism	Critical Realism
Holds a foundationalist ontology	Holds an anti-foundationalist ontology	Holds a foundationalist ontology
The world is always external, independent of our knowledge of it and objective	Adopts a phenomenological paradigm, holding a view that the world is subjective	The world exists independently of our knowledge of it
Theories are tested, confirmed or falsified by the quantification of observations and by the use of statistical analyses.	Social realities are constructed as a product of theorizing	Social reality is a construction of both observable and unobservable features
The physical world and social events are analogous in that researchers can study social phenomena objectively as they do physical phenomena.	Subjectivity is inevitable as researchers have various interpretations and understandings of the social phenomenon	Structures cause social action: focussing on explanation and understanding.
Disputes the existence of unobservable 'deep structures'.	There is no 'real' social world beyond discourse	There are deep structures which cannot be directly observed
Quantitative methods are used to generate or prove facts	Qualitative methods are used to construe the world from the subjects' point of view	Acknowledges the use of both quantitative and qualitative methods
There is no dichotomy between appearance and reality: reality is not dependent on sensory experiences or socially constructed	Knowledge is not a pursuit of 'hard or objective facts' but rather interpretative understandings of the social world	Knowledge is generated through a combination of scientific and interpretist positions

Source: Marsh et al. 1999; Remenyi et al., 1998; Sparkes, 1992; Smith, 1983; Walker & Evers, 1999).

Hollis and Smith (1990) provide a critique of the positivist paradigm using the work of Quine (1951). Quine in his article 'Two Dogmas of Empiricism' argued that reliance on the five senses does not and cannot give us 'unvarnished news'. In order to derive knowledge using the five senses, it is inevitable to develop concepts without interpreting findings. There is no way of describing or classifying experience independently of its interpretation. Quine contends that inconsistent facts during experiments are often discarded as being wrong rather than pointing to the theory as being wrong. Paradigms in natural sciences tend to influence empirical observation in that scientists are likely to discard observations which do not support particular paradigms. Social scientists (for example those using interpretivism) believe that social structures unlike natural structures do not exist independently of those activities they have an influence upon. Hence, actors within social structures are capable of changing the social structures. A further discussion on structure and agency is provided later.

The interpretive paradigm contends that the world is socially or discursively constructed and rejects the claim that the world exists independently of the knowledge of humans. This is an anti-foundationalist position. Bryman (2001: 12–13) comments that interpretivism 'is predicated upon the view that a strategy is required that respects the differences between people and the objects of the natural sciences and therefore requires the social scientist to grasp the subjective meaning of social action'. The main principle of interpretivism is that individuals construct meanings of their social world through their experiences as they interact with phenomena. The socially constructed meanings which are a product of interpretations are not fixed but are constantly refined or constructed (Bryman, 2001). Subjectivity is inevitable as

researchers have various interpretations and understandings of the social phenomena. Blaikie (1993: 96) regards social reality 'as the product of processes by which social actors together negotiate the meaning for actions and situations'. Knowledge according to this paradigm is not a pursuit of 'hard or objective facts' but rather interpretative understandings of the social world (Marsh and Smith, 2001).

The positivists' major criticism of interpretivists is that such interpretations made from within the interpretivist tradition are mere opinions of individuals about the world (Marsh and Furlong, 2002). Positivists argue that there is no basis to build upon the validity of claims of knowledge generation obtained through interpretation. The positivist methodological position is that the systematic empirical testing of a theory is vital using quantitative tools, whereas the interpretivists contend that such tools can be blunt and may generate misleading data. Interpretivists rely on qualitative methods in an attempt to construe the world from the participants' point of view (Sparkes, 1992). The qualitative tools that are used such as interviews or focus groups gather data on interests, opinions, values or purposes of various groups of people to enable the researcher to construct or reconstruct social reality (Smith, 1983). Research, therefore seeks not after hard observable facts as in positivist research practices but rather research is based on interpretive understandings of particular phenomena (Marsh and Smith, 2001).

Realism has a similar ontological position to positivism and its modern version has common links with relativism. Bhaskar (1989) refers to this paradigm as critical realism (see also Sayer 1992, 2000). Critical realism attempts to create a middle ground between tenets of positivism and those of interpretivism. Critical realists like positivists have a foundationalist ontology. Again just like positivists, the critical realists contend that the world exists independently of man's knowledge of it (Marsh

and Furlong, 2002) but differ from positivism in that critical realists deny that all phenomena can be observed. The ontological position of critical realism asserts that social reality is a construction of both observable and unobservable features. The essence of this paradigm is based on the notion that what the human senses show us as reality is the truth. Positivists deny the claim by critical realists of the existence of unobservable structures. Hollis and Smith (1990) posit that the unobservable 'deep' structures have a causal effect and the distortion of findings is likely to occur if only observable structures are considered since all structures (seen or unseen) and objects have cause-effect relations with one another. Ontologically, this paradigm adopts a position that distinguishes between the real, actual, and empirical. It places emphasis on both internal and external relations within and among these dimensions.

There are two key points advanced by Marsh and Furlong, (2002) in support of critical realism. First, they posit that while social phenomena exist independently of our interpretation of them, an attempt to interpret or understand such phenomena affects outcomes. Critical realists assert that structures and objects do have an impact on the outcomes of our understanding or interpretation of social phenomena (Smith, 1993). The impact is not based on determining outcomes but rather constraining or facilitating (Marsh et al., 1999). Hence, within this paradigm, there is a focus on the study of reflective agents who interpret and change social structures. And second, there is need to identify and explain the external 'reality' and what constitutes the social construction of that 'reality' in attempts to comprehend relationships between social phenomena. The debate between structure and agency relationship is a crucial one for social inquiry and will be discussed in the following final part of this sub-section.

5.2.2 Structure and Agency

Since social structures are dependent on human actors to reproduce them, actors are then deemed to be in position to bring about transformation in the social world. McAnulla (2002: 271) defines *agency* as 'individual or group abilities (intentional or otherwise)' affecting their environment and *structure* 'as referring to the context; to the material conditions which define the range of actions available to actors'. Not all actors in society have equal options to bring about change due to pre-existing structures enabling or constraining their ability to affect situations. Hay (2002: 166-7) identifies the relationship between structure and agency as follows:

> Agents are situated within a structured context which presents an uneven distribution of opportunities and constraints on them. Actors influence the development of that context over time through the consequences of their actions.

Sayer (1992: 92) defines social structures as 'sets of internally related objects or practices' existing at a range of levels. The social structures are said to be dependent on actors to bring about transformation. The theory of determinism against free will is fundamental: do we determine our future or are we simply products of our environment. The debate about 'structure –agency' is significant to this study since as agents, people can shape their future, but they can also be constrained by circumstances. Critical realists argue that actors through outcomes of their action have the ability to change structures. Cassel (1993: 12) posits that it is 'agents who bring structure into being, and it is structure, which produces the possibility of agency.'

The debate between structure and agency reached its height of complexity in the 1980s with the work of British sociologist Anthony Giddens. His theory of structuration posited that the duality of agency versus structure was a false dichotomy. Instead, his structuration theory is based on the ontological assumption or notion of the duality of structure and agency. For example, Giddens views structure and agency as faces of the same coin and argues that it is not possible for one to observe the effect of both structure and agency at the same time. According to Giddens (1984), structure are sets of rules and resources that either constrain and facilitate social action and sees individuals as skilled actors using the rules and resources to reproduce social order.

Giddens' basic argument is that the two concepts are mutually dependent and internally related. Giddens' model is deemed to lack ontological depth because his work treats structure and agency in isolation, focusing on one whilst bracketing the other within the same time frame (Jessop, 2005). Hay (2002) criticises Giddens' structuration theory for its weakness of only focusing on either structure or agency separately from the other. Other criticism of the structuration theory has been based on its inadequacy with regards to application as it is argued that Giddens mostly adopted an agency-centred analysis at the expense of a structural analysis (Hay, 1995).

The second dialectical approach essential to the development of critical realism is that by Margaret Archer (1995) known as the morphogenetic approach. Archer regards structure and agency differently from Giddens in that she sees both as ontologically and analytically distinct. She contends, unlike Giddens, that structure and agency are distinct and do require a clear analytical distinction. Archer (1995: 1) argues:

structures, emergent entities are not only irreducible to people they pre-exist them, and people are not puppets of structures because they have their own emergent properties which mean they either reproduce or transform social structures rather than create them.

Archer's morphogenetic approach proposes a basic model signifying a three-part cycle of change namely: structural conditioning (T1); social interaction (T2 –T3) and structural elaboration (T4). At T1, actions take place within an economic, social, political and environmental context or set of pre-existing structural conditions (McAnulla, 2002). At T2 – T3, groups or individuals being constrained or facilitated by conditions react to affect events using their own abilities or skills. Through interaction with other agents at T2 – T3, individuals or groups can change structural conditions affecting outcome at T4. Archer stresses that those individual or group actions at T2 – T3 may fail to bring about change or may reinforce the status quo.

The third identified dialectical approach used in the debate between structure and agency is the work of Colin Hay (1995, 1996, 2002) and Bob Jessop (1990). They propose the strategic relational approach which treats both structure and agency as distinct phenomena as opposed to Giddens' view as two faces of the same coin (McAnulla, 2002). Jessop advanced his work on the strategic-relational approach by focussing on theories of the state. Since the state is central to political studies and a key actor in this study, the dialectical approach for understanding the relationship between structure and agency will be adopted. The ontological position advocated within this dialectical approach is that structure and agency are interwoven. This approach considers 'strategy' to be a key feature of agency. McAnulla (2002:280) comments that 'actors are reflexive and formulate strategy on the basis of partial knowledge of the structures. Hay (2002) demands a replacement of the terms structure/agency with 'strategic action and strategically selective context'. Actors

upon reflection formulate strategy based on their knowledge of the structures (McAnulla, 2002). The structure-agency relationship postulated by Hay (1996) and Jessop (1990) offers a clearer way of how structure and agency interact and affect each other.

Though both Hay (1996) and Archer (1995) identify themselves with critical realism, this study adopts the strategic relational approach (Hay, 1996; Jessop, 1990) for its understanding of the debate between structure and agency. Since the multisectoral approach to combating HIV/AIDS is driven by government HIV/AIDS agencies, the state is one of the key actors surrounding the debate between the relationship of structure and agency. Within the critical realist paradigm, social forms are seen as pre-existing individuals and deemed a necessary condition of their activity. Jessop (2005: 44) asserts that 'social forms do not exist apart from agents' conceptions of what they are doing and, in this sense, are discursive as well as material. Social actions reproduce or transform social forms'.

The state as a key actor in the fight against HIV/AIDS in Zambia is the leading policy formulating actor. It sets the national framework for combating the pandemic and distributes resources from central government and international cooperating partners. By so doing, the state produces structure as a key actor, since its actions help transform the HIV/AIDS landscape at both national and international level. Several actors (public, private and civil society) to be considered within this study have their actions influenced by the national HIV/AIDS frameworks produced by the NAC.

5.3 Research Methods

The research questions for this study are as follows:

1. What is the role played by NSAs in the policy making process in relation to HIV/AIDS policy?

2. What are the roles of NSAs in implementing HIV/AIDS policies in relation to their association affiliates - clubs or schools?

3. Have NSAs developed relationships or partnerships with other organisations responsible for HIV/AIDS programmes outside the sports sector?

Considering the research questions above, this research adopted an interpretivist, qualitative approach to form the basis of the research design. The decision to adopt such an approach was based on the type of data to be collected which was mostly in the form of opinions, beliefs, ideas and values. The research questions demanded that the researcher focused on the implementation of the multisectoral approach and the mainstreaming of HIV/AIDS. The study explores accounts of how the selected NSAs have attempted to participate in HIV/AIDS policy making and implementation as a response to their role in the multisectoral approach and the mainstreaming of HIV/AIDS by all sectors.

The first question sought to establish the role played by the three NSAs in the policy making process in relation to HIV/AIDS policy. The second question focussed on examining the roles played by NSAs in implementing HIV/AIDS policies in relation to their association affiliates - clubs or schools. The third question explores the operation of existing collaborative work between the sport sector members to mitigate the negative impacts of HIV/AIDS. This required capturing accounts of forms of partnership working with other organisations. Such actions demand the adoption of a qualitative approach which according to Denzin and Lincoln (1994; 1998) is a

suitable approach to interpret and to gain an in-depth understanding of such phenomena. The use of a qualitative approach provided this study with in-depth information regarding each case's account of implementing HIV/AIDS national strategies and collaborative working of the NSAs with other sectors.

Marshall and Rossman (1995) contend that qualitative methods are valuable for empirical research activities that seek to explore linkages and processes in organisations. Miles and Huberman (1984: 10) comment that this approach produces data that 'focuses on naturally occurring, ordinary events in natural settings, so that we have a strong handle on what "real life" is like.' Qualitative research enables researchers to make connections between processes, relationships and performance (Skinner et al. 2000).

However, positivists have pointed out the limitations of qualitative research. These include: problems of reliability due to the subjectivity in interpretations (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Patton, 2002); data collection and analysis in qualitative research is deemed to be very time consuming; the knowledge generated might not be generalisable to other populations; there is a risk of collecting useless or meaningless information; there are concerns in relation to objectivity and detachment as results are more easily influenced by researcher bias; and lastly, qualitative research poses strict ethical consideration upon entering the field. The strengths and weaknesses of the specific qualitative research methods utilised for data collection in this study will be discussed as procedures for data collection using each of the tools are further elaborated.

Table 11: Proposed Research Data Collection Tools and Analysis Techniques

Research Question	Research data Tools	Key Issues to consider	Analysis technique
1. What is the role played by the three NSAs in the policy making process in relation to HIV/AIDS policy?	Documentary analysis Constitutions; Strategic sport development plans Semi-structured interviews with selected cases (Appendix 1)	The response of each case to the multisectoral demands Involvement of each case's members in high level or community level HIV/AIDS decision making forums	Thematic analysis and explanation building
2. What are the roles of NSAs in implementing HIV/AIDS policies in relation to their association affiliates - clubs or schools?	Documentary analysis Constitutions; Strategic sport development plans Semi-structured interviews with selected cases (Appendix 1)	Evidence of in-house HIV/AIDS policy within each case Interaction between the NSA and its affiliates regarding implementation of HIV/AIDS polices Mainstreaming of HIV within each NSA selected case	Pattern matching, thematic analysis and cross case analysis
3. Have NSAs developed relationships or partnerships with other organisations responsible for HIV/AIDS programmes outside the sports sector?	Documentary analysis Constitutions; Strategic sport development plans Semi-structured interviews with selected cases (Appendix 1)	Collaboration with other sectors Involvement in programmes organised by other sectors Use of the power of sport as a medium whilst collaborating with other sectors	Pattern matching, thematic analysis and cross case analysis

5.4 Research Strategy

In order to critically analyse the role of the three NSAs in making and implementing policy towards HIV/AIDS in Zambia, the research strategy for this study utilised a case study approach, document analysis and semi-structured interviews as methods of data collection. As stated above, the following section will elaborate in detail how each of the chosen methods contributed to the gathering of data designed to answer the research questions outlined earlier. Furthermore, the section will focus on each

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method's strengths and weaknesses and how each method will complement other methods' shortcomings in providing a current 'world view' (Skinner et al. 2000: 166).

5.4.1 Case Study Approach

The qualitative case study approach enables a researcher to explore phenomenon within its own particular context. The effectiveness of this approach depends on the use of a variety of instruments to capture data that the researcher intends to gather. Such use of a variety of data collecting tools ensures that multiple facets of the phenomenon are revealed and understood. (Baxter and Jack, 2008). The case study approach is a process that involves the studying of individual, group or organisational cases in their own natural environment, and mainly for a long period of time (Stake, 1998). Yin (2003: 23) provides an appropriate definition for this study when he states that a case study is:

> An empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context when the boundaries between the phenomenon and the context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used.

Another appropriate definition of a case study is that by Merriam (1988:16) who states that it is 'an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a single entity, phenomenon or social unit. Case studies are particularistic, descriptive and heuristic, and rely heavily on inductive reasoning in handling multiple data sources.'

The strength of the case study approach compared to other types of research strategies is based on the following: it studies whole units and not simply sections of such units; employs several methods of collecting data ensuring triangulation; and perceives the respondent as an expert (Sarantakos, 1998:192). Although it is acclaimed as a distinctive method, the case study approach when compared to

either experiments or surveys is considered less desirable (Yin, 2003). Critiques for this approach are mainly based on three traditional prejudices: its lack of rigor; very little basis for scientific generalisation; and the time-consuming nature of data collecting/analysis which results in massive documents (ibid, 2003: 21). Therefore, Yin advises that theoretical propositions should guide both data collecting and analysis, thus enabling the researcher to ignore other irrelevant data so as to avoid accumulating massive amounts of information. The study also specifically used brief but informative descriptions of the case studies to paint the contextual conditions of each case study and avoid collection of large amounts of data. In order to avoid bias in reporting findings and conclusions, the data from all the three case studies in this particular study were analysed systematically using the theoretical approach identified later in this section.

The adoption of the case study approach is mainly favoured when the research questions focus on answering 'how' and 'why' aspects (Yin, 2003). The research questions listed within this chapter attempted to provide a description of the role played by the three NSAs in policy making and implementing the multisectoral approach to HIV/AIDS adopted in Zambia. The study examined forms of partnership or collaboration focussed on implementing HIV/AIDS policy within the sports sector and across sectors. The nature of the data sought was qualitative which required in-depth investigation which was achieved through a case study approach, document analysis, field observations, focus groups and semi-structured interviews. This approach brought the researcher into close collaboration with the research participants as their stories were unfolding (Crabtree & Miller, 1999). The case research design enabled the exploration of complex relationships between actors

and their context (Stake, 1994). Within the sports sector, effective implementation of the HIV/AIDS policy requires certain necessary conditions to be made available such as networks, collaboration with expert organisations, and availability of resources.

There are several typologies of case studies that have been proposed (Stenhouse, 1985; Merriam, 1988, Stake, 1994; Sturman, 1999). Stenhouse (1985) identifies four types which are: ethnographic, evaluative, educational and action research based, whereas Yin (2003) proposed three categories: exploratory, explanatory and descriptive. This study falls within Stenhouse's evaluative category and Yin's descriptive category since the study comprises description, explanation and judgment. The multiple cases which will be explained later in this section enabled this study to explore differences within and between cases in HIV/AIDS policy implementation. The multiple case studies also enabled the explanation of real-life interventions that tend to be difficult to study through quantitative methods (Yin, 1984). According to Miles and Huberman (1994: 25), a case is 'a phenomenon of some sort occurring in a bounded context.' It is a unit of analysis. Yin (2003: 5), like Miles and Huberman also confirms that a case can mean a phenomenon within a context. As a unit of analysis, this study considers a National Sports Association as a case. Such organisations are bounded systems with certain behaviour patterns (Stake, 1998). Gillham (2000) also contends that a case may be in the form of an individual, a group, an institution and also a community which fits with the characteristics of NSAs.

5.4.2 Multiple Case Studies

This study used purposely selected multiple cases using the criteria discussed within this sub-section. Hammersley (1992: 184) warns that when one decides to focus on multiple cases, such a decision poses 'in particular, the choices that we have to make about how many cases to investigate and how these are to be selected'. A clear understanding of the critical phenomena demands that the researcher picks the cases well (Patton, 1990; Yin, 2003). Purposive sampling was employed in selecting the cases. The rationale to use multiple cases is based on the purpose of the study which is to investigate how the sports sector has responded to demands of the multisectoral approach to HIV/AIDS. The data collected from the selected multiple cases were used to examine how each case is involved in making and implementing of HIV/AIDS policy and also how the cases reveal the contribution of the sector in mitigating HIV/AIDS. The use of multiple or collective case studies of National Sports Associations enabled this study to explore phenomenon within each setting and across settings. Yin (2003) recommended multiple case studies as this strategy results in more compelling findings. In addition, Yin (2003) suggests that using multiple cases enables the researcher to use the logic of replication where the procedure of data collection is replicated in each case.

Stake (1994), advises that the selection of cases should be based on providing balance and variety, rather than representativeness. The selected NSAs were those responsible for football, basketball and netball, namely: Football Association of Zambia (FAZ); Zambia Basketball Association (ZBA); and Netball Association of Zambia (NAZ), respectively. The selection criteria were as follows:

- The selected sports are high in profile countrywide and enjoy high rates of participation and spectator interest.

- The selected sports are part of the school Physical Education curriculum and school sport programme

- The selected sports cater for the variation in gender popularity between males and females.

- The selected sports are competitive sports at both casual and organised competition levels held at local, regional/provincial and national level.

In order to achieve the aim and objectives of this study, a clear understanding of these identified individual cases provide a better understanding of what role NSAs play in the making and implementating of HIV/AIDS policy within the adopted multisectoral approach. This type of study, the use of case studies, is considered to be robust and reliable; however it can be time-consuming and costly to conduct (Baxter and Jack, 2008).

When using multiple cases approach, the analysis of data may involve three dominant analytic techniques namely: pattern –matching, explanation-building, and time-series analysis (Yin, 1984). The process of 'data analysis consists of examining, categorizing, tabulating, or otherwise recombining the evidence to address the initial propositions of a study' (Yin, 1984: 99). The theoretical orientation guiding the analysis focussed on data related to: HIV/AIDS national policy; role played by NSAs in policy making process; implementation role taken by NSAs and identified forms of partnerships and partnerships working within the wider sports sector.

5.4.3 Interviews

One of the primary modes of data collection in empirical qualitative research is interviews. Generally, interviews are believed to be 'relatively economical in terms of time and resources' (Silverman, 2006: 133). There are two common types of interviews known as: semi-structured and unstructured interviews. This study conducted both face-to-face interviews and telephone interviews (see appendix 2 - list of face-to-face and telephone interviewees). Only single participants were involved in telephone interviews whilst face-to-face interviews involved either a single participant or a group of participants. The interviews conducted used open-ended as opposed to closed questioning technique. Byrne (2004: 182) makes a distinction between open-ended and closed questioning in interviewing:

> Qualitative interviewing is particularly useful as a research method for accessing individuals' attitudes and values – things that cannot necessarily be observed or accommodated in a formal questionnaire. Open-ended and flexible questions are likely to get more considered response than closed questions and therefore provide better access to interviewees' views, interpretations of events, understandings, experiences and opinions

Both the semi-structured and unstructured interview employ open-ended questions but the two differ in regards to the degree of standardisation and freedom of the interviewer to probe further, or latitude that is accorded to the interviewee. This study used semi-structured interviews due, in part, to the complexity of the issues under investigation, for example, the strategies that the participating organisations have put in place in implementing HIV/AIDS policy. The specific case study interviewees were probed by the researcher for more detailed responses regarding specific examples or clarification of how HIV/AIDS has been mainstreamed with their association.

The flexibility of semi-structured interviews lies in the fact that during the interview, the contents of subjective theory of the interviewee can be explored further through

confrontational questions (Flick, 2006). The researcher has an opportunity to seek both clarification and elaboration on issues raised by the interviewee. This gives the researcher 'latitude to probe' further beyond what has been said and gather more information regarding a particular phenomenon, view, belief, opinion or experience (May, 2001:123). Semi-structured interviews also give researchers the freedom to adapt the data collection process to the individual respondent (Fielding and Thomas, 2001).

The relative popularity of semi-structured interviews lies in the 'expectation that the interviewed subjects' viewpoints are more likely to be expressed in an openly designed interview setting than through questionnaires' (Flick, 2006: 149). Scheele and Groeben (1988) use the term 'subjective theory' to refer to interviewees' understanding of the phenomena under study. In this case, an investigation of the understandings and strategic plans and roles of the participants in the making and implementing of HIV/AIDS policy within a multisectoral approach, semi-structured interviews were considered appropriate to achieve such a research task. This type of data collection helps the researcher in contextual analysis as Lane (1962:9) comments:

> An opinion, belief, or attitude is best understood in the context of other opinions, beliefs, and attitudes, for they illuminate its meaning, mark its boundaries, modify and qualify its force.

May (1993: 109) elaborates the above point further by stating that the use of interviews provides a 'means of analysing the ways in which people consider events and relationships and reasons they offer for doing so'. Interviews yield rich insights

into people's biographies, experiences, opinions, values, aspirations, attitudes and feelings.

5.4.4 Sampling Criteria

Research sample selection has a profound effect on the output of the research process beyond the data collection stage. A variety of sampling methods were necessary for this study to capture the data required. Having identified the three mentioned sporting codes, the purposive selection of interviewees (see appendix 2 for list of interviewees) was based on seniority within the selected NSAs and serving experience in a senior role. Seniority of officials within a NSA was based on their being part of the Executive Committee or a higher level decision making committee and possessing experience within the association for more than 5 years in a senior role - a managerial or technical directorship role. Where a senior member of the organisation was deemed not to have sufficient experience within the organisation, an alternative interviewee was sought. For example, some associations had recently elected new members of the executive committee into office. In such a case, a member of the old committee still playing an active role within the association was selected for an interview. Patton (1990: 169) states that the:

> …logic and power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases for study in depth. Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research, thus the term purposeful sampling.

The purposeful sampling of the interviewees (see appendix 2 for list of interviewees) took into consideration those individuals presumed to have knowledge or experience of policy making and implementation with the NSA. This type of sampling may be

referred to as 'stakeholder sampling' (Given, 2008) since the sampling process involved identifying stakeholders within the sports sector who are likely to be responsible for designing or administering the mainstreaming of HIV/AIDS within their association.

Other purposely selected participants within this study were officials from the Ministry of Sports, Youth and Child Development; officials from the National Sports Council of Zambia; colonial era sports administrators and journalists, and lastly, six executive committee members of the Physical Education Teachers Association of Zambia (PETAZ). Snowball sampling (Gratton and Jones, 2010) through the PETAZ executive committee members interviewed led to a focus group with PE teachers at a PE conference. Similarly, the purposively selected MSYCD focus group interviews lead to snowball sampling of the PE specialist at the Curriculum Development Centre. However, there are problems with snowball sampling in that the method usually yields questions of representativeness and sampling principles. The criticism is focussed on the quality of the data which is usually gained through snowball sampling sources which are deemed as biased and having limited validity. This view is tied to the subjective selection or referral to other network members by the purposively selected participants (Griffiths et al, 1993). There is a danger of participants' bias by way of inclusion of fellow social network members at the expense of those isolated from the network (Griffiths et al, 1993; May, 1993). However, in this case, such limitations of snowball sampling were minimised in that not only were snowball sampling interviewees recommended by one source but happened to be recommended by other NSA participants too as suitable sources of data.

5.4.5 Data Analysis

Data analysis is a vital part of the research process which involves the attempts to reach conclusions so that results may be presented to the wider audience (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Qualitative research seeks to understand the world of the subjects through listening to their voices. The voices of the subjects for this research were captured through semi-structured interviews/focus groups and recorded using a digital voice recorder. Informed consent to conduct and record interviews was obtained from all the participants before commencement of interviews. Information sheets were given to subjects informing them of their rights as individuals. The recordings of the interviews were transcribed and the rich or thick descriptions (Geertz, 1973) from interviews were organised into theoretical concepts. The recordings and transcripts were kept securely on the researcher's laptop which required password access.

Qualitative interviews usually yield large volumes of data when well conducted which then require to be analysed in order to condense the volume of data. Miles and Huberman (1994) suggest that the process of analysis involves three distinct stages namely: data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing. The data for this study was analysed as it was being collected, iterative analysis. This was essential to enable fine tuning of the research tools regarding the rest of the interviews. As data were being collected, they were organised according to theoretical concepts (May, 1993). For Fielding and Thomas (2001: 137) the analysis of interviews involves the development of a 'practical system that enables rigorous comparison to be made between interviews while retaining the context of data within each interview'.

The study utilised thematic analysis for the semi-structured interviews data from all cases. This involved treating sets of themes within the interview guide as separate items for analysis (Hall and Hall, 2004). During the interviews and early stages of analysis care was taken to identify themes which emerged in addition to those covered by the interview guide. No significant additional themes were identified. A qualitative data matrix was drawn up to show each case's response to particular questions from the semi-structured interview. This proposed matrix facilitated comparison across the three national sports associations. Silverman (2001) and Gibbs (2002) argue in favour of the data matrix comparison process as a means of 'hypothesis testing' and claim that the process brings rigour to qualitative analysis. This process helped reveal how each of the main organisations in the three case studies engaged with the process of policy making and implementation of the national HIV/AIDS policy, how as organisations they mainstreamed HIV, and how each case related to the wider community in combating HIV.

Further coding of data was done for participants' responses which did not fit with the themes suggested above in the thematic analysis. Words, phrases or sentences from subjects' responses were identified to form new themes not originally included in the semi-structured interview guide. This process of coding was in accordance with the precepts of 'grounded theory' made popular by Glaser and Strauss (1967). This process of looking at the interview transcripts for new themes or categories to emerge was conducted till theoretical saturation occurred.

5.4.6 Documentary analysis

Having adopted a case study research strategy, documentary information was vital for this study in order to corroborate and augment evidence from interview sources.

In order to develop a thorough understanding of the multisectoral approach to HIV, national HIV/AIDS policy and strategic framework, and the requirements of various sectors at macro, meso and micro organisational level, it was vital to undertake an extensive documentary analysis. Documentary analysis is a common form of data collection when conducting case studies of particular organisations or institutions, and is especially useful when attempting to gain insight into matters within a particular period of time (Bryman, 2001). MacDonald (2001: 197) states that 'documents' consists of a vast range of materials found in all sorts of places. Based on the themes identified above, the document analysis process focussed on government HIV/AIDS policy documents such National HIV/AIDS Strategic Framework (NASF) documents; organisational HIV/AIDS focussed documents and. academic resources. Both the 2006 – 2010 NASF and the 2010 – 2016 NASF by the Zambia National AIDS Council were analysed.

According to Jupp (2006: 79), documentary analysis consists of the 'detailed examination of documents produced across a wide range of social practices, taking a variety of forms from the written word to the visual image'. Bryman warns that documents should not be taken as objective accounts but 'they have to be interrogated and examined in the context of other sources of data (2001: 377). Punch (2005:226) shares Bryman's concerns by stressing that researchers as users of documents need to be aware that 'all documentary sources are the result of human activity, produced on the basis of certain ideas, theories or commonly accepted, taken-for-granted principles'. Users of official documents must be aware that such documents are shaped by the powerful influence of the state and/or other powerful organisations and hence reflect the interests of such agencies (Scott,

1990). Hence, Punch (2005) advises that document analysis should focus on the social production and contextual background to the writing of the documents.

Several authors have illustrated four key issues that need attending to when using documentary analysis: authenticity; credibility; representativeness and meaning (cf. MacDonald, 2001; May 1997; Scott, 1990). Authenticity relates to whether the document is genuine and Forster (1994: 155) supplies checks to verify authenticity of documents:

> Are the data genuine? Are they from primary sources or secondary sources? Are they authentic copies of originals? Have they been tampered with or corrupted? Can the authors be validated? Are the documents dated and placed?

The documents utilised in this study were official government documents and those of other agencies appearing as both hard and electronic copies held by the National Archives Museum, national parliamentary commissioned reports and debates, academic resources and documents obtained from official government or organisational websites. For example, other documents considered in relation to the cases were specific Association Constitutional documents (of FAZ, ZBA and NAZ), the Zambia Draft Constitution and Special parliamentary sports committee reports. .

Credibility refers to the sincerity of authors or extent to which the evidence is undistorted (Scott, 1990). It is vital that the social and political context within which the document was written is established as one considers the life and political orientations of the authors. Questions about the author of the document, the purpose of writing the document, and circumstances under which the document was produced are considered. For example, the National HIV/AIDS Strategic framework is written to provide direction to all stakeholders on matters related to mitigating the

spread of the HIV pandemic. The document further stipulates in detail how partner

agencies can collaborate in use of resources. However, sometimes policy

documents are written to disguise a lack of action e.g. a failure to commit resources.

Representativeness of documents refers to 'typicality' (May, 2001: 190). It is helpful

to know if documents used are typical or untypical records. For example, typical

records used such as epidemiological reports or strategic frameworks are within this

study are those from main actors in HIV/AIDS at local, national and global level.

Finally, the meaning of the document refers to the clarity and comprehensibility of

the identified document to the researcher (May, 2001). MacDonald (2001:205)

proposes that meaning can occur at two levels: surface or literal meaning and then

deeper meaning through some form of interpretive understanding or structural

analysis. Scott (1990) adds that documents can have three meanings: 1) meaning as

attached to the document by the authors themselves; 2) meaning as attached to the

document by the readers and 3) an 'internal meaning' referring to the unstated

values or beliefs strongly influential in shaping the document. As this study adopts a

critical realist perspective, both literal and deeper meanings were vital to

comprehend both seen and unseen structures relating to phenomena under

investigation. The data from interviews enabled a deep understanding of unseen

structures which might lie behind the literal meaning gained from, for example,

organisational structures or frameworks shown in documents.

5.4.7 Research Protocol

The beginning of this section established the primary research objectives and the

research design – the means of data collection. The final section in this chapter

focuses on outlining the research protocol (Yin, 2003). The habit of using a research

protocol is vital for improving the rigour of qualitative studies such as this which used multiple case studies. The research protocol is essential as a schedule for the implementation of the research methods. Various case study protocols have been suggested such as those by Eisenhardt (1989), Stake (1995), and Yin (2003). This study utilised a research protocol develop by Yin (2003) where he proposes the following tasks:

Phase 1   Case Study Design: this stage involved the initial selection of cases for this research. The case study design comprised of multiple cases. There are three cases that were purposively selected. The three cases used in this study are all team sports national associations. The three are the most popular sports activities based on participation rates in organised settings and casual play or leisure pursuits. They also featured as organised competitions at school level and tertiary education level. These sports events have a large gathering where messages about HIV can possibly be disseminated.

Phase 2   Preparation for Data Collection: this stage involved desk study of policy documents relating to HIV/AIDS policy. These consisted of global HIV policy documents and national HIV/AIDS documents. The process focussed on strategic development plan documents from national sports associations that explained how the associations hoped to develop the sport while at the same time respond to cross-cutting issues such as gender equity and HIV/AIDS. The policy documents helped show the strategic approach at global, national and

organisational level. The individual case study documents for each of the identified cases were compared to the national strategy and to each of the other cases. Email and telephone communication with each of the cases were conducted to arrange for face-to-face interviews.

Phase 3   Collecting Evidence: this stage involved travelling from the United Kingdom to Zambia for data collection. The identified key players such as those at the National AIDS Council; the National Sports Council of Zambia; the Department for Sports Development; and the Schools Sports Association were contacted for face-to face interviews. The interviews with the National AIDS Council were designed to obtain clarification about the approach that the council adopted and more importantly, the expectations upon each identified sector. The interview conducted with the Department for Sports Development was designed to gather information about the formulation and implementation of workplace HIV policy within a key government sports agency. The interviews with the PETAZ officials and Higher Education PE Departments intended to gather information on awareness and collaboration between the selected NSA cases and the educational institutions/sports associations at grassroots level. Detailed field notes focussing on HIV/AIDS mainstreaming were taken together with recorded proceedings of interviews. Initial analysis after the first set of interview data was collected was conducted to identify key emergent themes.

Phase 4   Collecting Evidence: this stage was a continuation of activities

               conducted at phase 3 but with the three main cases for the study. The

               collection of evidence was conducted among the three national sports

               associations identified above. The face-to-face interviews gathered

               information about individual cases' strategic plans for mainstreaming

               HIV/AIDS and their contributions towards the multisectoral approach to

               HIV/AIDS. Interviewees were asked to elaborate how the association

               had been collaborating with other sectors as partners in combating the

               spread of HIV/AIDS.

Phase 5   Preliminary Analysis of Evidence: this stage of the research determined

               the appropriate strategies for the analysis of the evidence. The process

               involved the use of a theoretical proposition for the case studies; cross-

               case analysis of the cases; the grouping of interview data according to

               themes in interview guide; and coding and recoding of all interview

               transcripts so as to enable the emergence of new themes. The

               transcripts and the original recording were listened to again to enable

               the researcher to check for any relevant issues that may have been

               omitted.

Phase 6   Reporting Cases: this stage involved the writing –up of the report

               based on findings from all cases. Cross-case comparison and

               adjustment of the theoretical frameworks were considered for the final

               analysis and report writing phase.

Phase 7   Final analysis of empirical data in relation to the aims and objectives of the thesis was conducted.

5.4.8 Limitations and Self-Reflection

This section discusses the challenges and successes that were experienced during the research process. The section reviews the nature and procedures of the adopted data collection tools. The section also discusses the role of the researcher within the study. The tools for data collection consisted of focus groups, face-to-face semi-structured interviews, telephone semi-structured interviews and documentary analysis. The theoretical underpinnings that influenced choice of these data collection methods and procedural challenges will be discussed below. This section will also consider how the identified challenges were resolved or minimised.

One of the main challenges encountered in the research process was the geographical distance between the researcher's permanent residence, workplace location and the geographical location of all three case studies. The researcher resides in England where he is employed as a senior lecturer at York St John University. Though a Zambian national, he last worked in Zambia permanently in 1998. However, the researcher has been active in conducting research in Zambia since 2004 which has consisted of traveling annually between England and Zambia. The previous research trips taken before the data collection for this particular study commenced posed both as an advantage and disadvantage towards this study. The trips were advantageous in the sense that the researcher remained constantly in touch with the sports development and sport-for-development sector activities in Zambia. Therefore, identification of key actors and gatekeepers was done prior to commencing on this study.

However, the disadvantages were that during the previous field visits to Zambia, the researcher had entered the field whilst accompanying members of the Institute of Youth Sport at Loughborough on a UK Sport Council commissioned monitoring and evaluation (M&E). Due to this association with UK Sport Council's M&E related activities, research participants particularly sports NGOs and sports associations were extremely cautious in their responses during interviews despite the researcher making it clear that this research was independent of all other previous interactions the researcher had had with their respective organisations. In order to avoid this limitation, interviewers were re-assured of the researcher's position and assured that the study was not related to external funding reporting. Field notes and documentary analysis were used for triangulation of data. In addition, multiple entries into the field during different periods throughout the duration (6 years) of the study were useful for triangulation and validation purposes since some participants were willing to provide updates on their HIV/AIDS programme implementation. The cost of travelling between the UK and Zambia was covered through the researcher's development partnership project with a Zambian university.

The adoption of a qualitative approach to data collection was driven by the sort of data that was to be unearthed in order to achieve the study's research objectives. All objectives stated in section 5.1 sought to gather data relating to the interests, values, views or opinions of key actors representing the selected cases studies (Sparkes, 1992; Smith, 1983). The use of multiple cases in a case study approach enabled the gathering of thick descriptions of data which were vital for validity purposes. However, not all cases responded favourably to processes of data collection that the researcher had designed and intended to uniformly apply to all cases. For example, FAZ was unwilling to release its current football strategic development plan

document. In the case of the other two cases, the associations' secretary generals willingly provided both hard and electronic copies of their strategic development plan documents. In order to enable cross-case analysis of development plans, telephone interviews were conducted to in order to gather information which may not have been gathered through documentary analysis.

Through the process of iterative analysis of data, gaps were established in the collected data. Where it was not feasible to conduct face-to-face interviews with participants during the period when the researcher was conducting research fieldwork in Zambia, telephone interviews were instead utilised. The telephone interviewees were notified of the research through email and a possible date was suggested when a telephone interview would be conducted. In some instances, snowball sampling resulted in participants providing telephone contacts for potential interviewees who had no email contact. Such instances were deemed ethically problematic as contact details obtained in such a way were utilised by the researcher to make contact with potential telephone interviewees.

When contact was established with the potential participant, information regarding the research was explained to the telephone interviewees (see appendix 2 for list of telephone interviewees) and their verbal consent to proceed with and permission to record the interview were obtained. In instances where the potential participant asked the researcher to call back later, some officials or former officials had decided to avoid answering the follow-up phone calls. The researcher resorted to sending text messages to make sure that the potential participant had received the voice message. Some who chose not to proceed responded by suggesting and providing contacts of other former NSA office bearers whose views or experience they deemed suitable to the research than themselves. Some of these referrals proved useful. For

example, the contact details of the first indigenous ZBA chairperson who is currently residing in England were obtained via such secondary referral procedures. Most of the telephone interviews were conducted as outgoing international calls from UK to Zambia. The international mobile charges for such calls influenced the duration of the calls. Skype calls were considered as an alternative to offset such costs but none of the targeted telephone interview participants had access to Skype.

The duration of the face-to-face interviews varied considerably. Those which were conducted at the residential address of the participants or at their workplace mainly lasted between 30-45 minutes. However, face-to-face interviews which were conducted either within a hotel restaurant/cocktail bar or café lasted longer as there were usually less time constraints on the participants to get-on with their duties. All focus group discussion were conducted either at a workshop or conference venue where access to participants was through the workshop/conference organisers as gatekeepers. Each of the focus groups lasted between 45-60 minutes.

Finally, researcher biases and their effects on the process of data collection were considered. First, the researcher had previously worked closely with sport-for-development NGOs and less so with quasi-governmental organisations. Second, the researcher had values built from previous interactions with sport-for-development NGOs as more effective in programme design for tackling HIV/AIDS preventative campaigns compared to sport associations such as NSAs. Therefore, as Marshall and Rossman (1989: 147) warn researchers regarding their position and interpretation of data '…how can we be sure that the findings are reflective of the subjects and the inquiry itself rather than the product of the researcher's biases or prejudices?' Therefore, rather than make attempts to exclude or deny the existing biases, the researcher acknowledged and accepted that influence that such biases

if unacknowledged were likely to have on the research process since '*research*

cannot be value free' (Bryman 2004:22).

Chapter 6: Case Study 1 - Football Association of Zambia

6.1 Introduction

This chapter is based on the Football Association of Zambia (FAZ), the first of the three NSA case studies to be presented. The chapter begins by providing a historical account of the development of football in Zambia during and after colonialism. It then goes on to discuss the power structure within FAZ and later discusses challenges faced by the association in the development of football in Zambia. This will consists of the political influence upon the association by the government of the day, inadequate funding, poor infrastructure, and the slow process of the modernisation of football.

The chapter will then describe the findings related to how the FAZ has responded to the HIV/AIDS multisectoral approach. This will comprise of sections which cover the initial involvement of the FAZ in HIV/AIDS policy formulation such as the development of work-based HIV/AIDS policy. Approaches adopted towards the implementation of the multisectoral approach to HIV/AIDS will be explored thereafter. The discussion at that point will focus on collaborative HIV/AIDS initiatives between the association and other generic HIV/AIDS focussed organisations.

To begin with, this chapter looks at the overall status of football in the lives of Zambians. Football is the national sport of the Republic of Zambia. Due to its public status in the lives of Zambians, football and politics are inseparable. Football is highly politically influenced and very intimately involved with government. Recurrent conflicts between the FAZ executive committee and the government have frequently

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affected the freedom afforded to the executive committee to administer football affairs. In order to comprehend the politics in the running of football in Zambia, it is vital to provide a historical background to the development of football in Zambia both pre and post political independence.

Before political independence, football was used as a political tool for maintaining the British Empire hegemony in Zambia. However, when political independence was gained football was also used as a political tool by the African liberation leaders to demonstrate their new political power. Therefore, it is important to have an appreciation of the historical context that has contributed to the shaping of the administration of football today as a political tool for both the ruling party and those politically in its opposition. Ever since gaining political independence, the influence of politicians and political parties has affected the freedom of FAZ officials in the national administration of football affairs. For example, the world football governing body, International Federation of Association Football (FIFA) has intervened a number of times to help facilitate conflict resolution between the Zambian government and the FAZ.

Football as a national sport attracts more financial support from the commercial sector than any other sport in Zambia. Hence, the position of FAZ President is considered a position of power in society. However, government as a stakeholder demands submission to its policy demands from each incumbent FAZ executive committee member. Whenever the government sensed opposition against its wishes, it has on several occasions used its power (related to resources) to withhold financial support meant to facilitate the national teams' elite participation as a

weapon to demand submission. Therefore, the historical context provided in this chapter has implications for the provision of football activities today and also for the use of football to address other wider social agendas such as HIV/AIDS. Because football occupies a special place within government and politics, any decision made or action taken by the FAZ is closely scrutinised by the government. Therefore, as stated before, it is vital to appreciate the significance of history and its contemporary importance in relation to political influence and the power structure within football in Zambia.

The chapter provides a discussion of the challenges faced by the FAZ affecting the development and provision of football countrywide. The chapter attempts to show the relative prioritisation between grassroots and elite football provision awarded by the government and by the FAZ. Since elite football tends to be favoured over grassroots participation by both the organisations, there are implications for the effective implementation of the HIV/AIDS multisectoral policy within the association. Such implications relate to the level of programme implementation and impact considering that FAZ's focus was more on elite sport than community sport. Recent developments will be discussed later which show a shift in emphasis on the use of sport for social change. If sport is meant to have a social impact and gain political recognition as a tool to address wider social agendas then football, which is the national sport, has a key role to play. In addition, with regards to HIV/AIDS, mobility is identified as one of the drivers of the spread of the pandemic. Therefore, high mobility being a key characteristic of football due to the need to fulfil league fixtures, the sport has to be central to any sport-based strategy to help alleviate the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

The next section starts setting the context of the development of football in Zambia. Though it is not a comprehensive review of the history of football in Zambia, the material presented will help illuminate the decision making process within the association and the challenges (especially the political context) that impact policy making and implementation.

6.2 Development of Football in Colonial times

The game of football in Zambia today is governed by the FAZ which is affiliated to the National Sports Council of Zambia (NSCZ). As Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) association football was founded in 1929 and later the Zambia Football Association (ZFA) became an affiliate of the world governing body FIFA and the Confederation of African Football (CAF) in 1964. The first organised football in Northern Rhodesia dates back to 1922. The game was administered under the Broken Hill Amateur Football Association based in the mining town of Broken Hill (now Kabwe). As stated in chapter 2, the mining sector in colonial times as well as after colonialism continued to influence the development of sport in general in Zambia. Liwena (2005) noted that between 1922 and 1964, several football governing bodies emerged which included: Rhodesia Congo Border Football Association; Livingstone and District Football Association; Northern Rhodesia Football Association and Lusaka and District Football Association.

As Mosca (cited by Albertoni, 1987) posits, it is the organised minority that dominates the majority: the white minority who promoted racial segregation during their colonial rule of Northern Rhodesia also used racial divisions to organise the

sport. Therefore, political elites under the British Colonial Office formed sports associations for whites only. The situation in Northern Rhodesia was representative of the conceptualisation of Mosca's 'elitism' since the white minority elite performed all political functions and enjoyed the advantages that political power brought with it during the British Empire hegemony in Africa. Two indigenous interviewees who were football administrators during the colonial and post-colonial era narrated how such political power was used to segregate indigenous Africans from taking part in sports and other recreational activities which were exclusively provided in white residential areas.

Research evidence gathered through interviews for this study depicts narratives from a variety of sources such as colonial municipal youth workers, sports journalists and administrators regarding how local people eventually began to organise themselves in order to provide sporting activities within their own communities. For example, a former municipality worker commented how he was given responsibility for promoting football and boxing in indigenous communities whilst his senior colleague, a white man, concentrated on provision of sport and recreational activities for white settler communities (Interview, Senior Sports Council Administrator, 3 Sept 2008). Football was the main sport which indigenous Africans wanted to emulate from the white settlers who had organised segregated leagues.

Subsequently, similar to the organisation of football in white communities, the Africans started to organise themselves into leagues when the number of black football players increased in each town. For example, a former municipal senior officer recalled the first structure for organised football for indigenous Africans was

not until 1950 under an organisation called the Copperbelt African Football Association (Interview, Senior Sports Council Administrator, 3 Sept 2008). This is representative of what was identified in chapter 2 regarding the influence of the Copperbelt mining economic zone on the development of football and its administration in Zambia. Most of the interviewees pointed out that the majority of the first African football participants on the Copperbelt were mining workers and their families. It was for this reason that one interviewee stressed that the mining sector:

> Had a belief that if we can keep our mineworkers' children in these things [sport and recreation]; production is likely to go high. So they had a policy of making sure that their workers were engaged. And although these developments were separate for whites and blacks …the mines played a very, very useful role. They were really committed. That is why you find that in the history of Zambia football clubs that did very well were from the Mines. (Interview, Senior Sports Council Administrator, 3 Sept 2008).

It was not until 1962 that the elite football leagues established by the white minority population merged with other majority population football leagues to form the Northern Rhodesia National Football League (NRNFL). Interview data (Former municipality youth worker – 3 Sept 2008; sports journalist - 20 August 2008; and first black sports commentator – 21 August 2008) from those who had already been involved with the football in colonial times recall the formation of the NRNFL as the first non-racially aligned participation structure for football. The clubs affiliated to this new multi-racial league were required to have teams that showed inclusivity of Africans and white settlers.

The action by the white minority football organisation to work with the African administrators has some relation to Parsons' (1963) and Poulantzas' (1974) conceptualisation of 'power to'. Power was seemingly distributed pluralistically as

indigenous Africans and the white settlers decided to work together in the development of football in Northern Rhodesia. Though this may also resonate with Parson's views of power as a resource that enables agencies to achieve collective goals by way of collective agreement, the merged white and African football league was still administratively run by white office holders who had a majority share of the resources. The rationale for merging was a collective agreement by both the white football administrators and their African counterparts over concerns about the stagnation in the development of the game of football caused by racially segregated participation.

6.3 Football Administration after Political Independence

In 1964 when Northern Rhodesia entered the Olympic Games in Tokyo Japan, however, it marched out at the closing ceremony as a new nation known as Zambia. Further changes in sport at home followed which included the renaming of the Northern Rhodesia Football Association as the Zambia Football Association (ZFA) and later the Football Association of Zambia (FAZ) as it is known today. The ZFA operated as a football mother body consisting of: Livingstone and District Football Association; Midlands Football Association; National Football Association; Copperbelt Congo Border Football Association and Copperbelt African Football Association (Liwena, 2005). Interview data obtained from a former municipality youth worker (Personal interview -– 3 Sept 2008) who held office in both the colonial and post-colonial era commented that the ZFA executive committee members were still mainly white elites who also were attached to the mining sector. One of the National Sports Council of Zambia (NSCZ) senior official interviewee, a former municipality youth organiser in the Ministry of Local Government and Social Welfare's

Community Services department commented how the change of political elites in government also brought a change in the administration of football and other sports:

> Well the transition happened when we got independence in 1964. The whole country and government policy was that of *localisation* or *Zambianisation* if you want to call it that way. And the policy was very vigorous. The government wanted to ensure that the local people participated, provided they have got adequate qualifications. (Interview, Senior Sports Council Administrator, 3 Sept 2008).

Local people took over the top positions such as president and vice-president of sport associations and national league administration, FAZ and NFL respectively. The football structures, consisting of the FA and Premier League resemble the setup in the colonial master's homeland, England. The first indigenous African President of FAZ was Mr Thomas Mtine who had served on native African sports committees during colonial times. Both FAZ and NFL elections ushered into office new administrators who were of African descent. However, relationship difficulties between FAZ and NFL led to the decision by government to disband the NFL and transfer its duties to FAZ. At the time of this research, league matters were still handled by the Premier League which is under FAZ.

6.4 Administrative Structure within FAZ

The structure of power within the FAZ consists of the FAZ Council, the FAZ Executive Committee, and the General Secretariat, the Premier League clubs, Provincial, Regional, and Institutional Football Associations. The FAZ Council is the policy making body and has open membership to affiliated members of the association. The FAZ Executive Committee is the most powerful decision-making body within the structure and it is headed by the FAZ President. The administrative duties of the FAZ are undertaken by the General Secretary who heads the

Secretariat. The FAZ Secretariat is based at the FAZ House, a new building in the

capital city funded by FIFA. Lastly, all league matters regarding fixtures and

competitions are handled by the Premier League since the 1974 administrative

wrangles mentioned above (Liwena, 2005).

6.5 Political Interference in Football

Historically in Zambia, football as the national sport is regarded as a tool for

reflecting and promoting national pride. Since political independence, the

government has always taken a close interest in who is leading or the head of the

FAZ. Government involvement in the administration of football can be traced back to

1964 and the localisation or Zambianisation of leadership positions in both the public

and the private sector and which affected the administration of sport particularly

football. Football was one of the key areas to demonstrate the recent change in

political power after colonialism; hence, power changed hands immediately from

white settlers to native African football administrators. This was facilitated by the

United Nations Independent Party (UNIP), the native led political party that formed

the first native government.

Nationalisation or Zambianisation was intended as both a protection from

imperialism (Rolfe and Woodward, 2004) and also to rectify the imbalances in

human development and public service provision between rural and urban areas

(Simutanyi (2006). However, the development gap between urban and rural areas

still remains problematic in Zambia and has implications for the nation's current

problems such as levels of poverty and other social and health issues such as

HIV/AIDS. Similarly, the FAZ also faces challenges of balancing its provision

between rural and urban areas as will be shown later.

Multi-party politics under the new native government lasted for only eight years before moving towards a one-party authoritarian regime. Under UNIP's one-party state political system, the undemocratic tendencies spilled over to the administration of football where the party strongly influenced who was appointed chairman of the FAZ. The one-party authoritarian state created a national atmosphere where dissenting voices where quietened and civil society advocacy was unpopular. Executives heading national organisations or associations faced political interference and had to be seen to be in support of the one-party state. Football was one of those sensitive leadership positions that had to show allegiance to the UNIP government. Hence, political interference continued to be a major stumbling block for incumbent Presidents of the FAZ. Even in matters of responding to health and social issues such as the response towards HIV/AIDS, incumbent Presidents encountered interference and strong political opposition from the ruling party. This will be elaborated further when this particular association faced strong criticism from the government for its involvement in controversial decisions towards HIV/AIDS prevention campaigns.

One of the common practices during the period of the one-party state government was the habit of dissolving FAZ Executive Committees based on reasons of mismanagement of football affairs with particular accusations mainly linked to the misappropriation of FAZ funds. Other reasons for government interference have been related to the failure to perform to the expected standards in major competitions particularly qualifying for the African Nations Cup or failing to progress past the group stages of major competitions. This usually resulted in the dismissal of elected executive members who would then be replaced by a politically appointed interim committee. These examples of political interference in the administrative

affairs of football in Zambia have influenced the exercise of power by different FAZ Executive committees. Though the nation witnessed a peaceful transition back to a multi-party political system in 1991, such developments have not brought to an end the political interference of the ruling party in the administrative affairs of football. However, pluralism has enabled the provision of checks and balances on the use of power by government officials as well as FAZ Executive Committee incumbents. In addition, pluralism has led to the emerging of several civil society organisations some of which have significantly influenced the use of football as a tool to address social issues such HIV/AIDS.

The political interference by the African-led government can be traced back as having first emerged during the tenure of the first African FAZ chairperson, Mr Mtine, who faced interference when his FAZ Executive Committee failed to resolve its disputes with the NFL in 1974. The dispute at this time was in relation to the lack of agreement regarding league administration squabbles between FAZ and NFL. Government interfered by dissolving the FAZ Executive Committee and completely disbanded the NFL (Liwena, 2005). The UNIP Party and its Government instructed the then Ministry of Labour and Social Services which was responsible for sport to handpick candidates eligible to contest the FAZ presidency elections. Anyone not politically handpicked as a candidate was not allowed to contest the FAZ Presidential elections. Mr Mtine was not considered for re-election by the UNIP government committee that short listed candidates. The Party and its Government placed so much emphasis on the importance of football in relation to nation-building and felt obliged to interfere whenever the administration of football affairs by a democratically elected committee seemed not to follow or achieve their political aspirations for sport.

In 1981, a decade before Dr Kaunda left office, the Party and its government in dissolved the FAZ administration of David Lewanika which took over from Mr Mtine soon after commencing its second term of office. Mr Mtine was brought back to assist in an interim capacity. When it was time for fresh FAZ elections following the dissolving of the Lewanika FAZ Committee, Mr Mtine who came to be known as 'Mr FAZ' was nominated unanimously for the post of FAZ President. He utilised his private sector business networks and his chairmanship of several state corporations to modernise the running of football in Zambia (cf Houlihan and Green (2009) for similarities on the drive to modernise sport). When he left FAZ, he was replaced by Mr David Phiri who too had extensive private sector and state corporation leadership experience. Due to his close relationship with Dr Kenneth Kaunda, Mr David Phiri was dismissed from his FAZ duties when the Kaunda lost the first multi-party democratic elections in 1991.

Despite the return to plural politics in Zambia from the 'one party participatory democracy' which to the contrary was authoritarian, democratic developments did not lessen the political interference in football affairs. Indeed, though now a liberal democratic state, political interference in football affairs by the Multi-party Movement Democracy (MMD) government reached their worst state, forcing FIFA to intervene (Liwena, 2005). In 1999, the MMD government attempted to de-register the FAZ citing failure to submit financial reports and refusal to submit to government demands as gross misconduct. The President of FAZ by then was Mr Teddy Mulonga whose Executive Committee defiantly continued in their roles with the strong financial backing of FIFA. The Zambian government had withdrawn all its financial support by then due to the FAZ Executive Committee defiantly refusing to succumb to government pressure. In order to avoid further embarrassment, the

Republican President announced at a press conference that he had persuaded the FAZ president to step-down. Today, disputes between the government and FAZ continue to destabilise the development of football in Zambia. The Chairmanship of FAZ remains a politically charged seat in which incumbents are highly likely to encounter political interference.

6.6 Grassroots Development versus Elite Football Development

This section will consider the development of football in Zambia in the early years of political independence focussing on grassroots and elite football development. The section will also outline the key challenges that have been faced by the FAZ in the development of both elite and grassroots football. The section describes the priorities for both the government and the FAZ regarding elite or grassroots football development. The section further elaborates on challenges that have had an impact on the delivery of either grassroots or elite football.

Upon gaining political independence, the First National Development Plan (1stNDP, 1966) comments on how the new government was committed to undo the disparities in nutrition, health, education and housing between developing countries like Zambia and the industrialised nations (Simutanyi, 2006). The new government plans were also having a detrimental impact on the provision of sport and recreation, particularly in rural areas. However, in contrast to this policy rhetoric, much of the practice in terms of capital investment went towards building football facilities to host elite sport in provincial centres (GRZ - 1stNDP 1966:53). This bias towards elite football and football in general compared to other sports was clearly articulated by government when it outlined and went on to implement plans to bring coaches from overseas to develop football talent among young people. According to the Second National

Development Plan (GRZ -2ndNDP, 1971:23), priority was to 'be given to football which is to act as a source of funds and stimulant for other kinds of sport'.

In 1984, an economic report published by the UNIP government (GRZ, 1984) outlined how the government attempted not only to use sport to achieve sport development objectives but also to achieve social policy objectives, 'sport for good' as it was called in Britain. The report urged the Party and its Government to continue to encourage sport and recreation among young people in order to keep them off the street (GRZ, 1984:38). The report also outlined the means of achieving these objectives by calling state-owned corporations (SOCs) to provide recreational facilities for the masses. Since gaining political independence, the nation had no clear strategic sport development plans until the release of the first comprehensive sport policy draft document of 2004. Much of the provision of sport for communities had been spear-headed by SOCs (particularly those in the mining sector) and some local authorities. Government, in the past and currently, has directed most of its funding resources towards elite football to the detriment of other sport and overall community sport provision.

After 2004, government policy focussed on developing both grassroots and elite sport but resource allocation continued to be skewed and thus affected implementation. Apart from resource allocation, other factors affecting development of football are discussed below and include: inadequate government funding; poor infrastructure; implications of privatisation; ambiguity of plans and roles in development of football at grassroots level; and the slow professionalisation and modernisation of FAZ. In relation to this study, these factors have equally affected the development and implementation of the use of football as a tool for curbing the spread of HIV/AIDS. For example, inadequate funding from the government for

grassroots level football development has affected the role that the FAZ can play in addressing the drivers of the HIV/AIDS pandemic within local communities. In addition, the link between poverty and exacerbation of the spread of HIV/AIDS can also be strongly linked to the liberalisation of the economy which resulted in the privatisation of SOCs and later increased levels of unemployment nationwide. These factors concurrently affected the development of football, the spread of HIV/AIDS and brought limitations on the role that football and other sports could offer as a potential tool for development.

6.6.1 Inadequate Government Funding

Historically, central government and local government have been instrumental in the funding of sport in general. Football administrators and historians in Zambia recalled that both the government and the mines in colonial times played a vital role in funding football activities. For example, a colonial and post-colonial municipality youth worker commented that:

> Some of the activities funding was coming from the central government. Some was coming from the local authorities or in the case of schools, from Ministry of Education. So in the colonial days the government through schools and government through local authorities played very, very important role in the development of sport especially at grass root level. And although these developments was separate for Whites and Blacks, but the government used to play a very useful role. The mines played a very, very useful role. (Personal interview, Senior Sports Council Administrator, 3 Sept 2008).

After political independence, the National Sports Foundation (NSF) was established in 1965 (Liwena, 2005) by the indigenous Zambian government to create sustainable funding of sporting activities. The government mandate for the establishment of the NSF was for the purposes of administering the Cultural and Sporting Fund (CSF)

which had been established by the government in 1965. The funding was available to all sporting codes particularly to finance capital projects, transport expenses and hosting of cultural or sports events (Liwena, 2005). However, a former sports editor interviewee, critiqued that since this fund was controlled by personnel who had a vested interest in football, football tended to benefit more than other sports in the country (First Black Sports Editor Interview, 20 August, 2008; Liwena, 2005). For example, 15 player-coaches from England were partly funded from the CSF resources to help raise the standard of coaching football in Zambia

Apart from central government funding directed towards football, commercial sponsorship through the CSF started to grow beginning with Rothmans, a cigarette company, becoming one of the key commercial sponsors of elite football in Zambia. The former sports editor named the newly established prominent SOCs such as Zambia Breweries and Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines as becoming part of the funders towards the National Sports Foundation's CSF. In 1966, the government established the National Sports Board which later became known as the National Sports Council of Zambia (NSCZ). The NSCZ has 43 affiliated National Sports Associations (NSAs) but does not receive adequate funding to equally support all NSAs.

Table 4 in chapter 2 provided information on the central government sports funding distribution: there is sufficient information to show that the FAZ has traditionally received more funding from the Department of Sport Development (DSD) for its activities compared to other NSAs who have to apply for funding through the NSCZ. However, a senior FAZ official rejected such claims that football receives more financial support from central government:

> We (The FAZ) don't get funding from government as Football Association. I think it was 2003, 2004 when there was some funding which used to come every month now we don't get funding from government in the last years four years [of my presidency] I think. We are only fully sponsored when it comes to the National Team [competitions] (Personal interview, 10 Sept 2011).

Despite claims of lack of funding from central government by the FAZ interviewee above, evidence shows that the FAZ receives approximately over 70% of the total national budget for the DSD in the Ministry of Sport, Youth and Child Development far in excess of that received by any other NSA in Zambia. The NSCZ receives less than 30% of the total national sports budget far less than its affiliate the FAZ. However, FAZ claims that the funds obtained from the DSD are mainly utilised for supporting the national teams' participation in elite level competitions and no funds come from central government for grassroots football development. An exemplar of a clear breakdown of the central government distribution of funding to the DSD is shown in Table 4 in Chapter 2. For example, in 2009, 71% of the total national sport budget allocation for the DSD which was approximately US$3,251,576 was awarded to the FAZ for their 2010 Africa Nations Cup and World Cup qualifying matches.

However, the central government funding towards elite football from year to year is still inadequate. For example, the FAZ secretariat commented that they are unable to develop the sport due to lack of funding for grassroots participation. The association does not receive funding for grassroots participation but instead the central government supports only elite level competition preparations and participation expenses for both the youth and senior national football teams. Apart from central government funding, the FAZ also receives funding from the football mother body FIFA. A senior FAZ interviewee expressed the association's desire that they wished

they could 'get funding from government like in the old days' (Personal interview, 10 Sept 2011). This comment refers to the 'old days' as the period soon after independence till the late 1980s before the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in 1991. The period of inadequate funding to the association was exacerbated by the SAP demands on government.

Currently, what seems to be problematic in sport development in Zambia as expressed by NSA interviewees apart from the FAZ interviewees is that government funding for sport is held and distributed by the MSYCD's Department for Sports Development instead of the NSCZ. The poor funding system not only causes antagonism, but also fragmentation of strategic plans between the FAZ and the National Sports Council of Zambia (NSCZ). The MSYCD has a tendency to deal directly with the FAZ and releases funding directly to the association without the knowledge of the NSCZ. This practice has weakened the role of the NSCZ as a key sport policy strategy and policy implementing body in the nation. The NSCZ is thus disempowered by the MSYCD whereas all other NSAs affiliated to the NSCZ have to go to the NSCZ for financial assistance. This practice by the Ministry seriously undermines the capacity of the NSCZ to exercise control and direction over FAZ. Therefore, it is likely that policy directives by the NSCZ to its affiliates are likely to be ignored by the FAZ since the association has more power (resources) than the NSCZ. These implications will be discussed in more detail later when the discussion turns to HIV/AIDS policy decisions and implementation by the DSD and NSCZ.

6.6.2 Poor Infrastructure for Football

Another constraint faced by the FAZ relates to poor infrastructure for grassroots football provision around the country. When Zambia gained political independence,

the government clearly spelt out its intentions within First National Development Plan (1966-1970) to improve particularly football infrastructure. The intention to build provincial football stadiums was indicative of the government's preference for football over other sporting codes. Notable from these plans were the completion of the Independence national stadium with a seating capacity of 30,000. This facility has since become dilapidated due to lack of funding for maintenance. Currently, the stadium cannot host any international football events due to it failing safety inspections by FIFA. A parliamentary committee on sport, youth and child development (Zambia Parliament 2009) also noted that due to lack of maintenance of sports facilities in public schools, local authority amenities and privately owned premises have also become seriously dilapidated. At the time of writing, the Chinese government had just completed the construction of the Levy Mwanawasa Football Stadium situated in the Copperbelt town of Ndola and were still in the completion stage of the National Heroes Stadium in Lusaka. There has been recently a huge involvement of the Chinese government in trade and investment with countries in sub-Saharan Africa. In Zambia, the Chinese government have invested in the copper mining sector, a resource that is key to China's technological advancements.

6.6.3 Implications of Privatisation for Football

When the MMD took over political power from UNIP, the new government embarked on intensive privatisation of SOCs. The new MMD government under intense pressure from the International Monetary Fund's (IMF) Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) implemented privatisation of SOCs in late 1991. The implications of privatisation were that it brought about the loss of financial sponsorship for football teams and maintenance of sports infrastructure. With the demise of SOCs and the reduction in state subsidies, teams subsequently failed to enter competitions and

physical facilities faced rapid dilapidation. The impact was mainly felt on the Copperbelt and Lusaka region which played host to most of these SOCs and private sector enterprises which supported sports teams. It is important to remind ourselves that these two regions (Copperbelt and Lusaka) were highlighted in chapter 2 as having the highest urban population coupled by a high HIV incidence (see Kandala, et al 2008; Central Statistical Office & ORC Macro, 2003). High levels of poverty resulting mainly from the demise of SOCs in Lusaka and the Copperbelt region has been linked to the main causes of vulnerability to HIV for the two regions since poverty is known to exacerbate the spread of HIV (see Piot et al., 2009)

After the liberalisation of the Zambian economy, new private investors were seen to be indifferent to sport. For example, a senior NCSZ official explained that:

> The pendulum has kind of shifted, because the [new investors in the] mines after privatisation ... started saying we have come here not to be a charity but to make profits. So they ignored helping for about 15 years or so (Personal interview, 3 Sept 2011).

Concomitant with the demise of SOCs was the lack of continuity to fund football clubs by new owners of the re-privatised state corporations mainly those within the mining sector, financial and transport sector. The NSCZ chairman further elaborated that 'there was more concentration of sport on the Copperbelt than Midlands' because of the mines that supported both elite and grassroots development. One consequence of the demise of such powerful SOCs was the decline in sponsorship for sports teams and tournaments at both elite and grassroots levels, lack of maintenance of sporting facilities, and lack of incentives for trained manpower in sport. The reduction of central government subsidies towards its SOC resulted in the

reduction of SOC funding allocation for departments responsible for sport and recreation.

In more recent years, the revival of Zambia's economy through new foreign investors has also lead to the introduction of new investors taking a keen interest in particularly funding football activities. This new development consists of: club sponsorship; broadcasting rights; player and coach development programmes; infrastructure development and maintenance; and sports equipment procurement (see Zambia Parliament, 2009). Notable among these new commercial sector partners is Super Sport international broadcasters based in South Africa which introduced broadcasting rights for Zambia's premier league football.

6.6.4 The ambiguity of football development plans at the grassroots level

Another constraint that has affected the development of football in Zambia has been the fragmentation in delivery between the Ministry of Education and the FAZ. There is no coordination between the two institutions for the development of grassroots football. A current FAZ senior official commented that the Association currently has a good working relationship with the Ministry of Education but reiterated the lack of funding as hampering coordination of programmes between the two institutions:

> We have spoken in that regard and that is why I feel once we bring the grassroots programme you know which is fully sponsored by FIFA it can be able to change because, of course the Ministry of Education needs funding, we FAZ need funding, the Ministry of Youth and Sport needs funding (Personal interview, FAZ Senior Official, 10 Sept 2011).

The FAZ official also strongly criticised the Association's dependence on community football structures as the main source for player development and talent identification at grassroots level. Community football structures have grown considerably in the

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last decade, overtaking association football and school sport initiatives. Young

people have more opportunities to engage in organised football through community

based structures than through formal structures such as schools. This study

attributes the growth of such community sports activities to sports-for-development

NGOs funded mainly by foreign donors (Banda, 2010). Concerns were raised by a

senior FAZ official regarding non-school attending young people accessing more

participation opportunities than their counterparts in educational establishments:

> ...education and football go hand in hand, school and football go hand in hand
> and in the community we have to find a way in which we can bring the two
> together sometimes you find that there is a lot more community football for
> kids who are not going to school and I think that is not the right way (Personal
> interview, 10 Sept 2011).

This comment helps to explain the growth of what has come to be known as

'community football academies' in Zambian communities. Whilst targeting the hard-

to-reach and out-of-school young people, community-based organisations using

sport for development purposes have helped establish football in community

initiatives. Such initiatives led to the setting up of community leagues which attracted

similar community organisations. Some of these organisations have evolved into

community football academies where the main emphasis is on football skill

development unlike life skill development commonly stressed among sport-for-

development NGOs. In relation to the comment above, community football leagues

for young people tend to be more accessible, frequent and more competitive than

the school-based football. Such football academies administered under foreign

funded community-based organisations have contributed immensely to the crop of

new elite football players in the current Zambia national team.

6.6.5 Slow Professionalisation and Modernisation of FAZ

FAZ has been criticised for being old fashioned and failing to keep in touch with the professionalisation that has taken place in developed nations. For example, in the UK, the process of modernisation suggests having a leaner organisational structure which consists of selection of office bearers based on expertise and not for their stakeholder interest (cf Houlihan and Green, 2009). FAZ was encouraged by the Parliamentary Committee on Sport, Youth and Child Development (Zambia Parliament, 2009) to professionalise the personnel working at Football House from part-time/voluntary status to full-time paid posts. A FAZ senior official commented on developments towards professionalism and modernisation of FAZ as being on track. His comments highlighted the recent formation of working committees which consist of qualified personnel and the employment of full-time personnel at Football House. The FAZ official also spoke of having both short and long-term development plans with a technical committee responsible for implementing the plans countrywide. However, he bemoaned the long travelling distances between districts/regions as a constraint on effective implementation.

These challenges that have been faced by FAZ in the development of football have had limitations also on the use of football as a social good. For example, some interviewees linked the failure to develop or implement HIV/AIDS activities within FAZ to the slow progress in professionalisation and modernisation. One of the key steps towards professionalisation which has already started having an impact on the use of football as a social good has been the appointment of a full-time Education Officer at Football House whose post is funded by FIFA. The section that follows will discuss FAZ and its role in the HIV/AIDS multisectoral initiative.

6.7 FAZ and the HIV/AIDS Response in Zambia

This section begins specifically to analyse the role played by FAZ in HIV/AIDS policy

formulation and implementation. In doing so, the section begins by providing details

of the initial involvement of this NSA in HIV/AIDS matters. Though regarded as

having happened under the FAZ banner, some of the initial HIV/AIDS activities were

acts of individual agency. Thereafter, it will consider the involvement of FAZ in

HIV/AIDS policy formulation and subsequently the association's own workplace

HIV/AIDS policy. The section will discuss a new health programme by the

International Federation of Association Football (FIFA) that the FAZ is implementing

nationwide. The role of the FAZ Medical Committee (FAZ MedCom) which is central

to the Association's response to HIV/AIDS actions will be discussed and lastly, the

section will focus on collaborative activities by the FAZ with sport-for-development

NGOs and other generic NGOs tackling HIV/AIDS.

6.7.1 Europe-based Professional Footballer Leads first Condom Campaign

The first televised HIV/AIDS condom advertisement by an indigenous sports

personality was by a football professional player based in Europe. The

advertisement in 1993 also appeared on billboards nationwide. At the time,

stigmatisation of and discrimination towards people living with HIV/AIDS was at its

highest. AIDS and sex were also 'taboo' topics for open or public discussion. The

former professional player when interviewed described the advertisement as being:

> '…on television, there is a ball, I score, and then I turn and say *'I am*
> *protected, are you!'* But the purpose was to get that shock to the people of
> course, they knew our discipline, and so in this regard it opened up a lot of
> debate, church people, ordinary people, you know people of good standing in
> society because it was one of the first things, you know that came up.
> (Personal interview, Former National Football Team Captain, 10 Sept 2011).

As is indicated by the quote above, controversy arose mainly from the Christian Council of Zambia's leaders because they saw condoms as promoting casual sex mainly among young unmarried people. Political leaders were divided over the issue with the then Minister of Health endorsing the ABC approach (Abstinence; Be Faithful; and Condom use) whereas other political leaders and the then Republican President, Mr Fredrick Titus Chiluba, were not in favour of promoting condoms as a means of preventing HIV/AIDS unless among married couples. Though the popularity of football and the fame of Zambia's most celebrated professional footballer can be deemed as key to 'breaking the silence' on HIV/AIDS, politically utilising football to address a controversial issue did not go without challenge.

The former professional player suggested that since the condom promotion advertisement appeared on television during prime time viewing, it helped break the silence on what was considered a taboo topic:

> You know HIV the idea here in Zambia was completely different, because of the customs and traditions that we have and of course in those days …and I think the people knew the cause but they could not speak out. (Personal interview, Former National Football Team Captain, 10 Sept 2011).

The comment in the quote above raises issues of stigmatisation and discrimination which have contributed to the silence on HIV. The advertisement suggested that the national sporting hero as a role model was endorsing the most controversial element of the ABC approach. Since football has been used as a political tool in Zambia to put across the political ideology of a party, some political leaders were against promotion of condoms. Negative sentiments related to tarnishing the national sport by linking it to HIV/AIDS preventative messages in particular to condom use prompted criticism from political leaders who questioned the judgment of FAZ. FAZ

was seen as having given permission to one of its members to promote a controversial element of the HIV preventative tools. However, the former professional player stressed that the initiative was his own and had nothing to do with the Association:

> No, it was done under myself. It was my own initiative that somebody came and convinced me and I was also convinced. No, Football Association was not involved in that one.
> (Personal interview, Former National Football Team Captain 10 Sept 2011).

Despite causing controversy from certain sections of society, football or sport in general has a role to play towards the multisectoral approach to HIV/AIDS. Due to the geographical mobility of the actors within football, both players and spectators are part of the vulnerable mobile communities. Some of the other notable vulnerable mobile communities consist of transporters (haulage truck drivers), commercial sex-workers or prostitutes moving to and from economic zones, and military personnel as shown earlier in chapter 2. Mobility is one of the major drivers of HIV infection in Zambia as identified in trends of HIV infection in chapter 2.

There are several football activities taking place during weekends which usually end with excessive intake of alcohol both by spectators and participants after the sporting activity. These groups include professional, amateur, workplace teams, community clubs and their respective spectators who normally have to travel long distances away from home to fulfil their football league commitments. In chapter 2, the NAC (2004) research shows that respondents acknowledged having sex with a non-regular partner after alcohol intake or drug use. Alcohol and mobility are key drivers of HIV that make such groups vulnerable, in need of sensitisation and access to protection from HIV infection. Therefore, these groups can appropriately be reached

with HIV/AIDS prevention and care messages using their commonality of interest which in this case is football.

Following from the example set by the Europe-based professional footballer, two other national team players appeared in separate condom promoting advertisements. One of them was playing professional football in North Africa whereas the other was playing for a local premier league club. While the first condom advert by the Europe-based player was self-organised, the other two were done with the involvement of FAZ as confirmed by a former FAZ President:

> The minister [sport] was not happy with us [FAZ] and asked us why we could allow such from our players (Telephone Interview, Former FAZ Chairman 21 May 2012).

The position taken by the government on the promotion of condoms resonates with Matland's low ambiguity and high conflict. This relates to low ambiguity in conceptualising condoms as an HIV infection prevention tool but conflicting views regarding promotion and distribution regardless of age or marital status of target groups. Condoms have been viewed as a way of promoting promiscuity. The next sections focus on the involvement of FAZ in HIV policy formulation and implementation.

6.8 FAZ and National HIV/AIDS Policy Formulation

6.8.1 Involvement with the National AIDS Council

Before the adoption of the multisectoral approach, FAZ is understood to have been working with a notable HIV/AIDS based NGO, the Family Health Trust (FHT), whilst under the chairmanship of Mr Teddy Mulonga. Even at that time when the NAC was establishing formal partnerships, the FAZ itself had no direct contact with the NAC

despite the condom based advertisement using football. However, FAZ had established an HIV/AIDS focussed working relationship with a Health-based NGO known as the Family Health Trust (FHT) established in 1987 in Lusaka, Zambia. The FHT has three specific projects namely: AIDS Action Clubs (formerly known as Anti-AIDS Clubs); Home Based Care; and Children in Distress. The AIDS Action Clubs are targeted at young people and are formed locally through young people. The objective of the Action AIDS Clubs is mainly the provision of HIV/AIDS preventative messages to young people. The project provides activities which make young people aware of sexual reproductive health, substance abuse and HIV/AIDS. These activities are mainly conducted in schools which host AIDS Action Clubs.

The second FHT project focuses on the welfare of HIV/AIDS orphaned young people. Lastly, the Home Based Care project aims at supporting people living with HIV/AIDS. All in all, the beneficiaries of these three projects tend to be young people at risk of infection; people already living with HIV/AIDS, caregivers of people living with HIV/AIDS and orphaned young people. The FHT is known as the first HIV/AIDS NGO to not only acknowledge the use of sport as a diversionary tool for young people but also to capacitate Sport-for-development (SfD) NGOs as was gathered from the focus group discussion comments:

> In fact, we had a major part in forming Sport in Action, when Sport in Action was being formed and so on; we were a major partner in terms of consultations.
>
> Yes, uh, like you pointed out, people like Sport in Action[10] they also do similar games that we do, [be]cause they modify the traditional games, and

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[10] FHT was among the first establishment of NGOs focussing on HIV/AIDS and young people in Zambia. As SfD NGOs were getting established, capacity building from generic health-based NGOs was offered by FHT particularly to Sport in Action who together with EduSport Foundation had innovative ways of delivering life skills training to young people using sport. FHT assisted Sport in Action to develop accurate HIV/AIDS messages in their programmes.

incorporate HIV/AIDS programmes, which we helped with material development in reproductive health messages, to try to help the young people understand, maybe how HIV is passed on, or HIV spreads so quickly in the community, yes, we use, these ah, games. (FHT Focus Group Interview, 12 Sept 2008)

The collaboration between the FHT and sporting organisations like SfD NGOs and FAZ has helped such organisations to play a crucial role in the multisectoral approach to HIV/AIDS. The adoption of such a response (see Chapter 2 - Figure 5) is based on a participatory and decentralised national response to HIV/AIDS; this demands the involvement and cooperation of different stakeholders to achieve positive policy outcomes. With reference to relationships shown in Figure 5, a NAC senior official elaborated that:

The multisectoral approach for the Zambian context means that different sectors bring to the HIV/AIDS response their skills, their resources, and their comparative advantage. (Personal Interview, Senior NAC Official, 20 August 2010).

While the skills, resources or comparative advantage of sports organisations were not explicitly acknowledged in the six thematic groupings, their relationship with the FHT, a key member of the thematic groupings, was vital to their role in the multisectoral response to HIV/AIDS: A senior FHT official commented on their involvement with the NAC:

Yes, uh, FHT is represented at National AIDS Council; I also sit on what they call the Technical Committee of the National AIDS Council, and I'm Board Secretary to the Zambia AIDS Network, (FHT Focus Group Interview, 12 Sept 2008)

Despite the lack of engagement of sports organisations in policy formulation matters as was noted by this study, their involvement and interaction with the FHT in relation to matters pertaining to HIV/AIDS and young people meant that these organisations were probably well-informed regarding current policies or initiatives. Membership of

the thematic groupings depicted in Figure 5 is open to both state and non-state actors to participate in the governance of these self-organising networks (Rose, 2005) based on organisations' mandates, interests and technical expertise as highlighted by the NAC. The FHT has been very active in most of the thematic groupings listed in Figure 5 hence the relationship yielding benefits for FAZ. The benefits of the relationship with the FHT to FAZ and other SfD NGOs were in terms of gaining familiarity with HIV/AIDS policy and practical responses to the pandemic.

Therefore, though FAZ has had no direct contact with the NAC or even representation during any of NAC's multisectoral framework thematic groupings, its involvement with the FHT was beneficial at the time in responding to calls for concerted action on HIV/AIDS. The FAZ chairperson at that time commented on their collaborative activities with the FHT in one specific school:

> Yes, we worked closely with then the Family Health Trust; there was a lady there who was in-charge who helped us run courses in Chongwe district at the secondary school   (Telephone Interview, Former FAZ Chairman, 21 May 2012)

In addition, interviews conducted with NAC officials singled out football as instrumental in HIV/AIDS campaigns particularly the condom promotion advertisements by professional footballers and school based programmes. Furthermore, NAC officials also strongly indicated recognition of sport as a vehicle for prevention and mitigation of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. However, while the NAC operates several networks with open membership such as the District or Provincial AIDS Task Forces countrywide, FAZ interviewees had no knowledge of the existence of such HIV/AIDS forums. It is during such forums at district or provincial level when micro or meso level representatives share good practice and influence

policy. However, the FAZ was not directly involved in any of the policy formulation structures at local, regional and national level.

6.8.2 Work Based HIV/AIDS Policy within FAZ

As has been stated above, before the adoption of the multisectoral approach, FAZ sought to cater for the welfare of its stakeholders. The FHT as a well-established HIV/AIDS policy implementation NGO assisted the previous FAZ executive committee in framing its organisational HIV/AIDS approach. The former FAZ president elaborated that his committee embraced the NAC endorsed **ABC** approach (**A**bstaining from sexual activities; **B**eing faithful to one partner; and Use of **C**ondoms). He indicated that embracing and implementing fully this approach particularly the issue of condoms infuriated the then Minister of Sport. Though not a documented policy, FAZ's decision to embrace and implement the ABC approach using the power of football was supported via the relationship with the FHT.

Though the ABC approach is promoted nationally by the NAC, some sections of Zambian society such as schools do not fully implement its elements, particularly the distribution of condoms. With regard to the position of the NAC, this semi-governmental agency recommends full implementation of all elements of the ABC approach. The NAC also demands a concerted effort from both the public sector and private sector to respond and take up the challenge of the multisectoral approach by drawing up work-based HIV/AIDS policies. This has been achieved in other sectors as is explained below by a senior NAC official:

> So far they are about 98% of all Public Sector HIV workplace programmes and 95% of Private Sector also has workplace programmes. So in terms of people having a programme for their works I think both the Public and the Private, they have done a good job so the next level where we want to move

is how now they can service their clients. (Personal Interview, 20 August 2010).

The comment above relates to NAC requirements for organisations to put in place a work-based HIV/AIDS policy. As has been indicated already regarding the lack of a written work-place HIV/AIDS policy document, the FAZ however considers itself adequately prepared to handle HIV/AIDS matters. This is because of the presence of FAZ Medical Committee (FAZ MedCom) which is a group consisting of qualified medical doctors and other medical practitioners working as volunteers. The FAZ MedCom has been instrumental in providing in-house HIV/AIDS and other health related policy direction to the association. The FAZ MedCom was initially set-up during the reign of Mr Teddy Mulonga as FAZ President. Though they do not have a written HIV/AIDS policy, one of the FAZ MedCom interviewees commented that the MedCom has a mandate as a FAZ sub-committee to address all medical issues inclusive of HIV/AIDS:

> Though not written as a policy [HIV/AIDS] but we normally give them [national teams] medical tips before, during and after each tournament they are participating in. (Telephone Interview, MedCom Official, 23 May 2012).

The quote above regarding the role of the FAZ MedCom shows its mandate to address medical issues within FAZ which has continued within the FAZ till today. A current FAZ senior official explained that they have had competent medical staff who have been instrumental in dealing with HIV/AIDS since his first term of office:

> six doctors who are very conversant with this [HIV/AIDS] and they are working, they are not full time doctors of the national team, they work in hospitals so their work is very valuable now to the Football Association. (Personal Interview, FAZ Senior Official, 11 Sept, 2011)

The FAZ MedCom interviewee highlighted that the membership [currently 8 members not 6 as stated in the interview above] of the FAZ MedCom is open to any

medical staff interested in pursuing sports medicine. This network of medical staff

volunteers forming the FAZ MedCom comprises medical experts from the private

and public sector medical practice. This can be likened to a sport medicine policy

community where members share basic values and have resources to exchange

(Laffin, 1986; Marsh and Rhodes, 1992). Currently, the interim chairperson for the

FAZ MedCom is an orthopedic doctor from a privately run hospital in Lusaka,

Zambia.

6.9 FAZ and HIV/AIDS implementation

However, though FAZ has an established medical committee within its structure, the

organizational agency of this association to influence implementation of sports

medicine plans beyond the national team to club level has been futile. Some of the

factors which constrain the rolling out of the work of the MedCom staff beyond the

national team to clubs have been linked to lack of individual agency among members

of this MedCom, as explained by a FAZ MedCom interviewee:

> Medical staff at club level, that's where we are struggling because we had
> instituted that all senior club teams should have a doctor who is trained in sports
> medicine but most trained doctors are not interested in working with clubs
> (Telephone Interview, MedCom Official, 23 May, 2012).

The implementation of HIV/AIDS related activities or mainstreaming of HIV/AIDS

within FAZ mainly happens when elite teams are in residential camps. Such

implementation involves conducting HIV/AIDS and other health related talks by

members of the FAZ MedCom. These sorts of HIV/AIDS focused activities initiated

by the Association were mainly well-supported at national team level where a

medical structural context and skilled manpower was available. However, the lack of

interest identified above among medically-skilled manpower to work with clubs

inhibited the formation of a structural context at club level. There was evidence at

elite level that responsibility for undertaking health-related talks with elite players was conducted by fully qualified medical staff who worked with all the national team players (both the women's and men's national football teams):

> Though not well defined but currently under the FAZ Medical Committee, we do workshops and try to support, you know, the issue of HIV amongst sports men and women. How vulnerable they are both through physical contact as well as sexuality (Telephone Interview, FAZ MedCom Member, 23 May, 2012).

While the HIV/AIDS and other medical practice related work by the FAZ MedCom were concentrated at the elite end of the game, a former senior FAZ executive committee official narrated how working with the FHT enabled the Association to provide HIV/AIDS and football activities at grassroots level. This was due to the Association's relationship with the FHT creating an enabling structural context through which the two organisations were able to conduct workshops for young people, particularly in government schools. During that period the FHT was already well-established in school settings having set-up Anti-AIDS Clubs. However, the work of the FHT in schools encountered its own challenges since the Ministry of Education's HIV/AIDS policy directive for schools is mainly *Abstinence-only* as opposed to promoting the use of condoms or placing emphasis on having one regular sexual partner. Based on this restriction, HIV/AIDS activities conducted in schools by FAZ and the FHT were faced with the challenge to consider age as an aspect when promoting the use of condoms.

The school environment in Zambia has in the past been a restricted zone from condom campaigns. While key National AIDS Strategic Frameworks (NASF) by the NAC supports the promotion of condoms for young people, there is a lack of consensus among international donors, faith-based organisations and conservative

politicians who prefer to advocate abstinence for young people (Kalibala and Mulenga, 2011). However, recent developments which can be linked to global governance of both football and global health governance show that the ministerial (education) authority on condoms is reconstituted. This will be elaborated below when discussing a newly launched FIFA funded programme 'FIFA 11 for Health' which is being implemented in Zambian schools. Due to external funding, the emphasis on condoms is stressed during the training of trainers thereby resonating with the transformationalists' view on the reconstituted authority of national governments in relation to the governance of global issues such as HIV/AIDS. This new initiative is discussed next as two of the key collaborations the Association has established is with the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Health.

6.10 FAZ and HIV/AIDS Collaboration

This section presents the forms of collaboration that were evident within FAZ. The section particularly looks at the FIFA-funded collaboration between FAZ and three government ministries. Thereafter, the section presents collaborations between FAZ and sport-for-development NGOs. Lastly, collaborative work between the FAZ and government agencies is discussed particularly looking at the role of the Drug Enforcement Commission in preventing drug use and casual sex after use of intoxicating substances.

6.10.1 FIFA 11 for Health Programme

In August 2012, FAZ rolled out a programme in collaboration with FIFA called the 'FIFA 11 for Health' programme 'which aims to provide school-based health education in a football setting for children' (F-MARC, 2012: 2). This new FIFA programme was developed by the FIFA Medical Assessment and Research Centre

(F-MARC) as a way of promoting an effective way of disseminating health knowledge and awareness to a target group of 10-12 year olds. Before launching the programme in Zambia in August 2012, the programme was first piloted in Mauritius in 2011. Since then, the FIFA 11 for Health has been implemented in 6 African countries including Zambia.

FIFA 11 for Health programme is divided into two main thematic divisions consisting of a *football theme* and a *health theme*. The programme is designed to encourage engagement in physical activities and promoting the inculcation of appropriate health behaviours using a series of football-based sessions. This new programme has brought about several opportunities for FAZ to take a national strategic lead on issues of developing physical activity and addressing health and social issues within a specific school-going target group using football. For the FAZ President, this new programme is an opportunity not only to address the discrepancies or ambiguities in football development but as an opportunity to close the identified financial and human resource gap between elite and grassroots football. These new opportunities for the Association to address developmental issues in grassroots football will be examined further in the next section.

As part of the professionalisation of FAZ, in 2011, the Association created a new post at Football House and appointed in to that post a retired teacher as FAZ Education Officer (FAZ EO) whose main remit is to provide sport administration and coaching qualification courses. The FAZ EO as a policy entrepreneur also oversees the overall implementation of the FIFA 11 for Health programme. In Zambia, this new programme is implemented in collaboration with three government ministries: Education; Health and Sport. This collaboration has been facilitated by the

availability of funding from FIFA. It was understood that FAZ has been in talks with the aforementioned ministries as stated below:

> The Ministry of Education, they are very capable …and we have spoken in that regard and that is why I feel once we bring the grassroots programme you know which is fully sponsored by FIFA it can bring change because, of course the Ministry of Education needs funding, we, FAZ, need funding, the Ministry of Youth and Sport needs funding. (Personal interview: 10 Sept, 2011).

> ...education and football go hand in hand, school and football go hand in hand and in the community we have to find a way in which we can bring the two together sometimes you find that there is a lot more community football for kids who are not going to school and I think that is not the right way (Personal interview, 10 Sept 2011).

The collaborative context of the FIFA 11 for Health involving FIFA, FAZ and three government ministries resonates with Smith's (1993) conceptualisation of network relationships as arising when exchange of information occurs between groups and government and that such exchange usually reveals the interests of a group in a specific policy arena. In this case, the specific policy context of interest to all network members is the promotion of physical activity, encouraging appropriate healthy behaviours and increasing health knowledge among young people. The FAZ senior official (a policy entrepreneur) highlights within the first quote above how the newly acquired resources from FIFA create an interdependence of actors to realise their respective organisational goals in relation to the target group, a shared commonality. In addition, the availability of resources means that FAZ can then afford to address the concerns raised in the second quote above. These concerns pertain to the ambiguities in football development and provision between school-going children and those out-of-schools who seem to have more access to participation in football activities than those attending school. The FIFA 11 for Health which has been

designed to be delivered through school structures is seen as beginning to address such ambiguities.

Though this programme is school-based, the training of the programme deliverers consisted of school teachers (physical education (PE) and non-PE teachers) and community football academy coaches. The community football coaches were selected from a community youth league recognised by FAZ. However, this programme is being implemented during both PE lessons and school sport sessions only, and not in the community football structures as clearly explained by the FAZ EO:

> '…we have put the programme to operate at both [levels], if there is no room during PE, they [teachers] can use the programme during sports but we would have loved to have infused it into PE, that is why we are using teachers who have PE on their timetables and able to use their PE lessons for this programme' (Personal interview, FAZ Education Officer, 27 June, 2013).

The interviewee stressed the importance of flexibility demanded from those trained to enable them fulfil the implementation of the programme. It was understood that FAZ preferred to have only PE teachers selected for the training of programme deliverers and avoid the selection of non-PE teachers but the selection is instead conducted by the Ministry of Education who instruct Provincial Education Offices to select teachers from their respective provinces to attend the FIFA accredited training. The FAZ then selects community coaches to be part of the training programme. The Education Officer elaborated on the necessity to have community coaches as needing:

> '…somebody who can demonstrate the sports skill; we use the community coaches to do the skill demonstration as some teachers have not touched the ball for a long time. But the teacher will have good input of the health

knowledge part of programme' (Personal interview, FAZ Education Officer, 27 June, 2013)

Based on the two key aspects of the programme: Play Football (football skill theme) and Play Fair (health-related theme), the teachers are considered better-equipped to effectively deliver the latter due to their teaching skills and knowledge base than the former theme which community coaches are deemed well-able to handle. In relation to grassroots football development, the involvement of community coaches working alongside teachers was deemed beneficial for teachers to acquire modern tactics which community coaches already possess:

> The way that teachers teach skills is not the way that [community] coaches train. These coaches have modern tactics than teachers. We also train the teachers to acquire modern tactics, the coaching know-how (Personal interview, FAZ Education Officer, 27 June, 2013).

The inclusion of community coaches within the FIFA 11 for Health programme is helping the Association address issues such as HIV/AIDS within the context of the community youth league structure previously neglected by the Association due to lack of resources. Since the programme puts an equal emphasis on both football skills and life skills, the FIFA 11 for Health is helping the Association achieve its desires to develop grassroots football. Participants involved in the programme have so far embraced both components of the programme without rejecting any of the two:

> '… the programme has attracted a lot of participants in schools who have embraced both the life and sports skills (Personal interview, FAZ Education Officer, 27 June, 2013).

The '11 for Health' programme and FIFA's role in rolling out this programme globally resonates with Hein and Kohlmorgen's (2008) conceptualisation of global health governance as consisting of transnational interdependences in tackling health

issues. However, neglecting the NAC which is a semi-governmental agency mandated to coordinate all HIV/AIDS matters countrywide seems problematic in terms of scaling up a concerted effort towards the disease. This neglect resonates with Stone's (2008) analysis of the development of global health policy which posits that such state-agencies cease to be the focal point of operation in the global public policy.

6.10.2 FAZ and Sport-for Development NGOs Collaboration

Before the recent collaboration on the FIFA 11 for Health programme between FAZ and three government ministries, the Association had collaborations with sport-for-development NGOs (SfD NGOs) at community level which were mainly funded through foreign-donor resources. Apart from SfD NGOs, FAZ also collaborated with a government agency, the Drug Enforcement Commission (DEC), on activities mainly focussed on promoting awareness and prevention of substance misuse among elite athletes. Substance misuse is one of the drivers of risks towards casual sex behaviours and vulnerability to HIV infection.

In terms of FAZ's collaboration with SfD NGOs, the focus of such collaborative activities was on programmes addressing crosscutting issues such as prevention and awareness of HIV/AIDS and promotion of gender rights. Again, this seems to comply with mainstreaming of gender in national HIV/AIDS activities as gender inequalities and HIV/AIDS are strongly interlinked (NAC-NASF 2010). Based on the sources of SfD NGO funding for such specific policy areas of collaboration, it can be suggested that the collaboration was instigated by funding opportunities towards meeting the Millennium Development Goals to which SfD NGOs only were eligible and not FAZ.

Therefore, the main catalyst for this sort of joint-working between FAZ and SfD NGOs is the availability of resources mainly held by the latter not by the former. Before the launch of the FIFA 11 for Health programme, FAZ lacked resources to invest in grassroots football development and to address wider social agendas such as gender rights or HIV/AIDS using football. SfD NGOs are normally eligible to apply for international development funding for which FAZ is not. Therefore, this has necessitated partnership working with SfD NGOs on grassroots projects focussing on sport-for-development goals as well as sports for sport's sake objectives.

The ethos of two of the SfD NGOs that have collaborated with FAZ such as Sport in Action and EduSport Foundation is the use of sport for social change. However, interviews with two senior FAZ officials (Senior FAZ Official and FAZ EO, 10 Sept 2011 & 27 June, 2013 respectively) highlighted the collaborative work between FAZ and the Kalusha Bwalya Foundation Trust (KBFT). The KBFT- FAZ collaboration emerged through the strong links FAZ has with both the KBFT and the Royal Dutch Football Association (KNVB). It was understood that the KNVB had funding available for the purpose of using football to address crosscutting issues by community based organisations. KBFT had strong links to the Dutch FA since the founder of the football trust had spent most of his professional career at PSV Eindhoven, a professional football club from Eindhoven in the Netherlands. However, the Dutch FA funds were used for addressing wider social agendas such as raising the awareness of HIV/AIDS as well as achieving the KBFT's sport for sports' sake objectives.

The KBFT was identified as the main SfD NGO working with FAZ on HIV/AIDS issues since the KBFT's inception in 2003. Apart from the KBFT and other local NGOs, the FAZ has collaborated with foreign NGOs as well as foreign nation-state agencies and corporations:

> We always want to associate ourselves with NGOs or people who can be able to come and give the right kind of message to us … throughout the way you know we have dealt with a lot of NGOs, GO Sisters; we did a programme with NIKE …. We have worked with a lot of organizations, with Score, with the Norwegians (Personal interview, Senior FAZ Official, 10 Sept 2011).

The issue of inadequate funding from central government for grassroots development which was raised earlier when discussing football organisation and development is understood to be slightly alleviated due to the direct and indirect funding from foreign supporting organisations. Though the FIFA 11 for Health funding will benefit grassroots activities, these new funds have limitations regarding how the association can utilise the funds. Consequently, the FAZ still needs to source funding for community youth football programmes from other supporting organisations since the FIFA 11 for Health programme is only implemented in school settings by school teachers. A FAZ senior official spoke of such restrictions regarding funds from FIFA's Financial Assistance Programme and commented that 'there is audit which controls this otherwise you don't receive more funding for the next round of funding' (Personal Interview, Senior FAZ Official, 10 September, 2011).

International agencies which have supported SfD NGOs in Zambia have mainly stressed HIV/AIDS and gender issues in their funding conditionality towards SfD NGOs. In addition to stressing HIV/AIDS and gender, partnership working (Lindsey and Banda, 2011) is also encouraged by the funders. Examples of international

agencies funding SfD NGOs include the KNVB, UK Sport, and the Norwegian Olympic Committee and Confederation of Sports (NIF).

6.10.3 FAZ and Government Agency Collaboration

At the time of this research, the current FAZ Executive Committee had established a regular working relationship focussed specifically on issues related to substance abuse, a form of risk-taking behaviour linked to unprotected sex. The current FAZ senior official for example commented on the type of initiatives that the executive committee had setup to address HIV/AIDS and substance misuse. The target groups were senior national team players and other elite players. He elaborated that in 2003, his committee invited the Drug Enforcement Commission (DEC) to address drug-related issues whilst the FAZ MedCom addressed issues related to HIV/AIDS:

> What we did was to bring two kinds of people to talk to the national teams not only the national team but also where I was in charge but also the under 17 and under 20. We would bring people from the D.E.C – Drug Enforcement Commission, Doctors, Peer Educators about HIV, they would be able to speak to them. (Personal interview: 10 Sept, 2011).

From the sentiments expressed above, it can be suggested that the partner agencies access was limited to elite players only and there was no evidence that FAZ had made similar arrangements for its affiliated clubs. The immediate concern was the welfare of those identified already through the elite performance pathways such as the national teams mentioned above. It was suggested that the association valued such activities and did not treat them as a one-off event but instead insisted on having similar activities regularly. For example, in regards to HIV/AIDS talks, a current FAZ senior official commented that:

It should be a continuing programme to speak to our boys and to let them know of the dangers in society that we live in today. So it's always going to be a topic that I feel that we cannot always over-emphasise as Football Administrators because we may not only lose players but also administrators in the football (Personal interview: 10 Sept, 2011).

HIV/AIDS and substance abuse have prominently featured as key topics for such organised talks facilitated by medical staff within the FAZ and also externally sourced substance misuse experts from the government's DEC. This action suggested by the official above strongly complies with the call to mainstream HIV/AIDS preventative work as well as to tackle vices such as drug and alcohol abuse that have been known to drive-up vulnerability to HIV infection.`

6.11 Conclusion

This concluding section intends to identify key features of this case study in relation to HIV/AIDS policy formulation; HIV/AIDS policy implementation and collaborative activities in relation to the multisectoral approach to HIV/AIDS. The section highlights this particular NSA's involvement in the policy process, its political power and public image and role in HIV/AIDS implementation.

6.11.1 HIV/AIDS Policy Formulation

Within FAZ, it was noted from the gathered documentary and interview data that there was no evidence of the members of the FAZ committee engaging with the national coordinating team for HIV/AIDS in Zambia. This lack of engagement may be deemed as missing out on opportunities to engage with established national level HIV/AIDS organisations for knowledge sharing and capacity building. However, the reluctance by FAZ to engage with such HIV/AIDS organisations and policy formulation structures can be partly explained by the presence of qualified medical personnel within the association. FAZ is the only sports association in Zambia which

has in place a committee of medical personnel with an established mandate towards health matters within the boundaries of the football association.

However, the lack of involvement of the FAZ MedCom or FAZ officials in HIV/AIDS policy formulation structures is evident also at provincial and district levels. The NAC operates District AIDS Task Forces (DATFs) and Provincial AIDS Task Forces (PATFs) at district and provincial level which are open to all sectors to enable sharing of effective practice and to influence HIV/AIDS policy formulation. Involvement in HIV/AIDS matters at these two levels by any FAZ district or provincial representative is likely to benefit community football structures in urban and rural areas especially as the FAZ MedCom tends to focus on the health of elite players. However, lack of an integrated HIV/AIDS strategy within the association contributed to the lack of steer for local football structures to engage in local HIV/AIDS structures. The FAZ MedCom had not formulated a written HIV/AIDS work-based policy for the association to pass down to lower level structures as would be expected if a top-down approach to HIV/AIDS policy implementation had been adopted by FAZ.

As mentioned previously the eight members of the FAZ MedCom are active in either private or public medical practice and consequently would encounter matters related to HIV/AIDS policy in their day-to-day duties. The composition of the FAZ MedCom consequently reflects one of the requirements for the formation of a policy community (Marsh and Rhodes, 1992) based on members' professional interest in the field of sports medicine. However, rather than the FAZ MedCom emerging as the core members of a putative sport (or football) policy community in relation to health issues in general or HIV/AIDS in particular, the committee members appeared content to pursue a reactive and limited role in relation to policy. The FAZ MedCom

did not engage with national structures for HIV/AIDS policy formulation nor is there evidence that they were encouraged to do so by FAZ.

While FAZ deemed the MedCom competent to help FAZ with matters pertaining to the health of footballers this role was limited to those players who were the responsibility of the national team coaches. Consequently, the services of the FAZ MedCom were restricted to national team players and did not benefit those at league or club levels despite the committee members reporting that the primary concern for the FAZ MedCom was to spearhead the development of sports medicine within the Association throughout the sport from national team players to club or league levels.

The lack of a written work-based HIV/AIDS policy within FAZ provides evidence of the failure of the Association to provide policy direction to the committee. Although efforts to expand the work of the FAZ MedCom are in place such as recruitment of additional football club medical staff, its remit has been restricted to national team elite players were there are incentives in the form of international trips and 'glamour' attached to association with the national team.

6.11.2 HIV/AIDS Policy Implementation

The potential contribution and leading role of football in comparison to other sporting codes or associations in Zambia was the willingness to take risks first by individual players and later FAZ, to use football as a platform to communicate HIV/AIDS preventative messages when a national mood of silence regarding HIV/AIDS prevailed. This potential contribution of football in HIV/AIDS policy implementation was strongly demonstrated by a professional footballer's involvement in televised condom promotion advertisements and illustrated the relationship between structure and agency in the policy-making process. The first advertisement initiated by an

individual player collaborating with a NGO social marketing programme depicts individual agency as the FAZ was not involved at all with the advert. The first advert illustrated that the individual player collaborated with an AIDS focused social marketing NGO which was already operating within an HIV/AIDS policy enabling environment. Considering the concept of policy windows in multiple streams framework, this former professional player has remained a policy entrepreneur in the use of football for social good. However, at the time of the release of the advert, the reluctance of FAZ to become involved illustrated the strength of cultural norms and values and the capacity of 'cultural structures' to constrain locally based players and FAZ to associate themselves with the promotion of condoms. FAZ may also have been constrained by the potential political implications of football's association with a perceived controversial issue such as condom promotion. The dependence of FAZ on the political and financial support of government reflected a highly constrained pattern of structural dependency.

The sense of agency and responsibility by football players was further evident when two other players were involved in a further campaign linking football and the promotion of condoms as a preventative measure against HIV infection. Although this time, not entirely a case of individual agency as the two players received some support from the FAZ executive committee. However, the criticism that FAZ and the players received from some conservative politicians inclusive of the Minister responsible for sport, further indicates the risk of actions which challenge the pattern of structural dependency. Whilst the NAC endorsed the ABC approach, there were conservative political structures within the government and these tended to stifle individual agency or constrain any structural approach (Campbell, 2009). It is vital to point out that as a national sport; football has produced more role models than other

sports. There is more potential for football role models to influence change or ignite a political debate on controversial issues if they are involved in such issues. This depicts the sort of power of advocacy in shaping policy and generally the influence that football as a national sport has on Zambian society.

6.11.3 Collaboration Opportunities for FAZ in HIV/AIDS Policy

Within this case study, a FAZ official highlighted the lack of government funding to the ministries of sport, education and also to the FAZ itself for grassroots sport. The government has been unable to fund sport at grassroots level although policy plans may stipulate strategies for growing sport at this level. The lack of funding to FAZ for grassroots sport provision and also use of sport to address other wider social agendas such as HIV/AIDS has weakened the role that the FAZ can play in wider community development. The detrimental impact of the HIV/AIDS pandemic is more at the household and immediate community level. Whilst NGOs have been known to work among the target group population enabling aid to reach such groups, operations of the FAZ have been restricted to elite sport support only.

Therefore, the lack of resources has necessitated the FAZ to work with grassroots organisations that have foreign-sourced resources to fund community programmes. The presence of FAZ in HIV/AIDS related work at community level particularly in schools has mainly been supported by SfD NGOs. The new FIFA programme by the FAZ can build on the work already done in schools. Evidence from interviews has shown that it was the availability of international donor resources that resulted in collaborative work between the FAZ and sport-for-development NGOs.

Recently, the new FIFA '11 for Health' programme has provided financial resources to the FAZ specifically for sport-for-development purposes as opposed to sport for

sports' sake. The availability of resources has enabled the FAZ to initiate collaboration in delivering the new programme which includes tackling the HIV/AIDS pandemic. New collaborative opportunities involve the Ministries of Education, Health and Sport. The Ministry of Education is likely to provide the structures for implementation, and the Ministry of Health providing literature or accurate health related information. Therefore, resource mobilisation via this new FIFA programme will enable a structural approach as opposed to the individual agency identified earlier. In relation to concepts of power in chapter 4, FAZ's capacity or potential to facilitate policy implementation puts it in a principal position in social power relations whilst the other collaborative partners may be deemed as agents.

Chapter 7: Case Study 2 - Zambia Basketball Association

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapter provided the case study findings of the Football Association of Zambia; this chapter will consider the case study analysis of the Zambia Basketball Association. It begins by providing a historical account of the development of basketball before and after political independence in Zambia. The historical background to the development of basketball focuses on the role played mainly by the copper mining corporations, other state corporations and missionary founded schools. The chapter goes on to discuss the role of government in the development of basketball, and then discusses grassroots and elite basketball development. Basketball, like other minor sports in Zambia, has been besieged by a catalogue of problems linked to the drive towards the fully-fledged free-market liberalisation which commenced in 1991. It is important to gain an understanding of the causes of economic hardships in Zambia in general and then specifically how the economic hardships affected the development and provision of basketball. Some of the economic developments particularly affected women's participation in basketball due to the demise of clubs which were important organisations for the dissemination of HIV/AIDS education to women. The implications of the International Monetary Fund's (IMF) Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) brought about an increase in unemployment and poverty levels. Both factors have been strongly linked to the exacerbation of the spread of HIV.

The chapter will draw upon the empirical data and documentary analysis to discuss how the Zambia Basketball Association (ZBA) has been affected by the SAP and how the Association has responded to the challenges placed on sport development

within a struggling economy. The adverse impact of HIV/AIDS has contributed towards Zambia's economic struggles through the loss of valuable manpower hence the chapter will show how the ZBA attempted to mainstream HIV/AIDS and has responded to the HIV/AIDS multisectoral approach. This discussion will be concerned with of the initial involvement of the ZBA in HIV/AIDS matters focussing on HIV/AIDS policy formulation, the development of work-based HIV/AIDS policy and approaches adopted towards the implementation of the multisectoral approach to HIV/AIDS. The discussion on implementation will detail the collaborative HIV/AIDS initiatives between the Association and other organisations.

The chapter begins by setting the historical background to the development of basketball mainly in the Copperbelt area which is indicative of the major role that the mining sector played in the development of the sport. As a minor sport, not all major state-owned corporations (SOCs) had established and financially supported basketball clubs as was the case with football, the national sport. Basketball though played by both male and female in schools and at club level has remained a minor sport in Zambia and is insignificant in government sport development plans.

The chapter will discuss the role that mission schools played in the development of basketball in Zambia. While football was gaining popularity among indigenous people during the colonial period, only a handful could afford to play basketball. Indeed, it was mainly those in mission schools who were privileged to have teaching personnel sufficiently knowledgeable to coach basketball to young beginners and who also benefitted from donations of basketball shoes from North American families. Compared to the last case study on football, basketball is politically

insignificant and has not experienced the sort of political interference that football has experienced from the government. This has implications in the importance attached to basketball by government regarding whether basketball activities have the potential like football activities to shape or influence society. However, one incident of political interference by the government in the governance of the ZBA is registered. The political intervention as suggested by government sports development officials resulted in the government dissolving the entire ZBA National Executive Committee for going against government directives.

In line with the implications of the market liberalisation process of the Zambian economy from state corporatism (Hearn, 1984; Wiarda, 1981) this chapter uses documentary and interview data to elaborate the challenges that basketball development faced and continues to face. In summary these challenges are: inadequate central government funding; poor basketball infrastructure; lack of school-club links, and delayed restructuring of the ZBA. Finally, the chapter will discuss the organisational response by the ZBA towards the national call for a multisectoral approach to HIV/AIDS. This will consist of the role that this particular NSA has played in policy making and implementation in relation to top-down and bottom-up approaches. This section will also be informed by theories of governance which advocate the necessity of self-governing networks (Rose, 2005). In order to do that, the section discusses HIV/AIDS policy formulation and implementation structures at national, provincial and district level which have open membership to public, private and civil society actors. The discussion looks at how this NSA has collaborated with other actors to engage in HIV/AIDS policy implementation. This will

consist of outlining internally and externally generated HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention campaigns conducted under the ZBA banner.

7.2 Development of basketball before and after Colonial times

There is no specific information regarding the date of Zambia's first game of basketball. Basketball was only played among white settlers in the Copperbelt region until the late 1950s, when native Africans started to set-up their own teams. One of the first basketball teams formed by natives living in the Copperbelt region was established in 1959 and was named the Mufulira Original Magnets. In 1961, the first multiracial basketball club was formed in the same region and consisted of three native players namely: Bennett Simfukwe, the late Samuel Ndhlovu and O. Nkama. The same year, the first international basketball match by a multi-racial Northern Rhodesia basketball team was played against an all-white Southern Rhodesia team. The national administration of basketball, like all other sporting codes, was in the hands of a minority of white settlers. At the time of gaining political independence, other sporting codes started to implement political changes such as localisation or Zambianisation of administrative top posts. However, the President for the Northern Rhodesia Basketball Mr John Harvel continued in leadership from 1962 to 1965, when another white settler took over. This is indicative of the significance that the native government attached to basketball since all sporting codes to which the government attached great political significance experienced a precipitate implementation of the process of Zambianisation. It took 7 years after political

independence for the first native *chairperson*[11], Mr Bennett Simfukwe, to take over as ZBA chairperson in 1971. In the 1960s and 1970s, participation in basketball in Zambia was low as it was an emerging sport compared to football.

According to sports commentators interviewed for this study, sport participation soon blossomed after state corporatism was introduced. One of the interviewees (Personal Interview, Former Sports Editor, 20 August 2008), the first native to be appointed as a sports editor of a main national newspaper, commented how different sports were encouraged among parastatal companies both the Copperbelt and Lusaka provinces. Minor sports such as basketball formed clubs through the support of State-owned corporations (SOCs). After the 1968 Mining and Industrial reforms (Fundanga and Mwaba, 1997), new basketball teams were formed soon after the establishment of SOCs. Moreover, much of the sports development influence was from the newly formed Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM) as suggested by the first native ZBA chairperson:

> Basketball was mainly concentrated on the Copperbelt. The mines contributed enormously to the development of basketball and other minor sport through welfare community centres. Heads of welfare in mining towns had the responsibility to develop sports such as football, volleyball, basketball, athletics and badminton to mention but a few.
> (Telephone interview, First Native ZBA Chairperson, 16 October, 2012).

Apart from the ZCCM, other SOCs also played an important role through capital investment in sports infrastructure which included basketball facilities and sponsorship of sports festivals which promoted grassroots sports participation as

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[11] The term 'President' was not used for a leader of any organisation since this was a term reserved for the Republican President. All heads of associations or organisations were referred to as chairman or chairperson.

well as elite sport. For example, the prestigious ZCCM Sports Festivals were identified by several interviewees as examples of ways in which mining corporations contributed immensely to the development of sport in general in Zambia. A former parastatal company sport administrator who was also a General Secretary for the ZBA described how SOCs had clear policy guidelines from the government to fund sport and recreation:

> Soon after nationalisation, there were several tournaments; we had about five annual tournaments such as the ROP cup, Zambia Breweries Cup, Johnson and Johnson, Unilever, Barclays Cup. Parastatal firms had clear policy guidelines to fund sport and recreation.
> (Telephone Interview, Former General Secretary, 17 Sept, 2012).

Indeed, the policy guidelines suggested above can also be found in a government report focussing on the state of the nation in 1984. The report urged SOCs to provide recreational facilities for the masses particularly 'young people in order to keep them off the street' (GRZ, 1984:38). This resonates with Schmitter's (1979) ideas that such peak organisations were directed by the state to bring about stability and economic prosperity, in this case provision of facilities to avoid unrest among young people.

Apart from the SOCs establishing basketball teams, government homeland and national security departments also played a significant role in the development of basketball. These initiatives consisted of male and female basketball teams for the Zambia Army, the Zambia Air Force, the Zambia Police Services, the Zambia Prison Services and the Zambia National Services. The development of basketball among the uniformed government security wings was accelerated through the establishment

of annual in-service and inter-services[12] national tournaments. Each government

uniformed armed force and service formed male and female clubs which competed

also in the ZBA league structures. The armed forces and services basketball teams

are some of the clubs that survived the effects of SAP and liberalisation of the

economy. According to the Zambia Sexual Behaviour Survey (ZSBS, 2005), such

groups are considered one of the most vulnerable groups to HIV infection since they

are highly mobile due to their line of work. Therefore, it is important that such teams

be reached with HIV prevented messages using sport.

7.3 School Basketball Development before and after Political Independence

This case study will identify two separate systems, schools basketball and club

basketball that have developed almost in parallel to each other but with little

coordinated planning. School basketball development is strongly linked to the work

of North American missionaries in Zambia. Notable among the Christian missionary

movements which established schools were: the London Missionary Society (LMS),

the Society of Jesus (Jesuits), the Church of Scotland Mission (CSM), the Paris

Evangelical Missionary Society (PEMS) and the Primitive Methodists (PM)

(Simuchimba, 2005). Some of these movements also provided primary teacher

training education which contributed to having trained native teachers who had

developed an interest in coaching basketball. This case study will discuss later how

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[12] The in-service national competitions involved a particular service organising games for its personnel only whereas the inter-services national games were competitions where each armed force and service sent a nationally selected team to compete on behalf of that particular security wing. For example, a police service national basketball team playing against the Zambia Army national basketball team.

both local and foreign Christian groups operating within the ZBA have influenced the delivery of HIV/AIDS activities within sport in Zambia.

The Southern province is noted as having established developed good schools basketball teams through the influence of missionary teaching staff and lay preachers:

> Southern province had more schools basketball, it was well established through the influence of the foreign missionary teachers who had a league for teachers and priests in the 60s and 70s and later incorporated pupils. (Personal Interview, mission schooled basketball captain, 18 Sept, 2012).

It was suggested by the same ZBA interviewee that missionary teachers with the help of Lay Mission Associate Teachers (LMATs) or lay members of the clergy established a strong culture of basketball by committing time to coaching pupils. It was suggested that mission schools both before and after independence, organised tournaments involving school staff teams as well as students' teams to play against other mission schools. These tournaments were both denominational and interdenominational. The provinces with active mission school basketball teams were in the Southern, Northern and Central provinces of Zambia.

The organisation of basketball in schools is independent of the control of the ZBA. Currently, the nation has two bodies that handle sports affairs in schools. The Zambia Basic Schools Sports Association (ZBSSA) is responsible for junior secondary schools and the Zambia Secondary Schools Sports Association (ZASSA) is responsible high schools. The Head of PE at a local university narrated how power and control of financial resources are two factors which make the organisation

reluctant to 'relinquish control or to agree to a merger of the two schools sports associations' (Personal Interview, HoPE, Higher Education, 16 August, 2010).

Another interviewee cited the mistrust that has always existed between teachers and ZBA coaches regarding the intentions of ZBA coaches for players as another reason why there is lack of cooperation. It was strongly believed that teachers viewed ZBA coaches and clubs as not interested in developing schools basketball but simply interested in recruiting players for their clubs (Telephone Interview Former General Secretary, 17 September, 2012). Despite the lack of formal strategic decisions between the schools sports association and the ZBA, activities organised by Sport in Action (SiA), a sport-for-development NGO, has often brought the two groups together. For example, Open tournaments organised with the help of SiA have seen cooperative efforts between schools and the ZBA.

7.4 Administrative Structure within the ZBA

The structure of power within the ZBA consists of the ZBA Council, the ZBA Executive Committee, and two Regional Committees. The ZBA Council is the policy making body and is mandated by its affiliate members to carry out the objectives of the ZBA. The ZBA Council consists of the ZBA President, two representatives per club and members of the National Executive Committee (NEC). The ZBA NEC is the most powerful body within the structure and handles all administrative affairs of the association at national level. At regional level, the ZBA has two regional committees which handle regional administrative affairs. The administrative duties of the ZBA are undertaken by the General Secretary who heads the Secretariat. The Association has had no fixed location since independence and the headquarters of the secretariat is based in the residential town of the General Secretary. Recently, the

association was offered physical office space by the SiA as part of their collaborative arrangement. This collaboration will be elaborated further within this chapter.

7.5 Political Interference in Basketball

Due to its noted political insignificance in comparison to football, basketball historically did not suffer occurrences of political interference till 2008 when the government dismissed the entire ZBA NEC. The ZBA NEC (2004 – 2009) volunteered to host the Zone 6 inter-club basketball championship in Lusaka during a regional meeting of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa (SCSA). Zone 6 consists of Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

While jointly working with the international governing body, the Zone 6 Branch of SCSA, the ZBA neglected to work sufficiently closely with national institutions of power such as the NSCZ. From the initial tournament planning stages, neither the NSCZ nor the DSD were consulted after the government had advised the ZBA not to go ahead. This action to 'hollow-out the state' resonates with Rhodes' (2007) key point regarding the emergence of self-organising networks with the SCSA becoming increasingly autonomous and leading to members such as the ZBA resisting central governance. This later proved problematic as no government or NSCZ representative formed part of the local organising committee which 'consisted of former basketball players and basketball enthusiasts' (Telephone interview, Former ZBA President, 18 Sept 2012).

The ZBA went ahead and hosted the tournament despite having experienced problems in procuring the necessary equipment because of the lack of support of the government. It is reported that pre-tournament inspectors had to ask for equipment

from neighbouring Zimbabwe who rescued the situation. The government deemed the tournament an international embarrassment and summoned the ZBA NEC to a meeting. The entire ZBA executive was dissolved and the government, through the NSCZ, appointed an interim NEC committee. The dismissal was based on poor organisation of the tournament and the failure to pay tournament umpires and commissioners (Phiri, 2011). In relation to concepts of globalisation and power, this action also shows that despite the existence of powerful international governing bodies, formal national institutions can still wield considerable power (Houlihan, 2008) and challenge international decisions. The power struggles and fragmentation in strategic direction of the development of basketball still prevail and pose challenges to the working relationship between the ZBA and the NSCZ. The implications of such power struggles regarding the national response to HIV/AIDS will be discussed more in detail later.

7.6 Implications of Privatisation on Basketball Development in Zambia

The section presents the challenges that the ZBA has faced since the country gained political independence as these developments are particularly significant for the capacity of basketball clubs and the ZBA to work effectively on HIV/AIDS projects. Generally, when one is considering the key factors that have hampered or reversed the development of basketball in Zambia, mostly, they seem to point to the negative impact of privatisation of the state controlled economy had generally on sport in Zambia. This section addresses the following resultant issues of privatisation namely: demise of clubs due to loss of financial support and poor basketball infrastructure.

7.6.1 Demise of clubs due to loss of financial support

The demise of basketball clubs previously supported financially by SOCs was a result of the negative effects of SAP. While other sports benefitted from central government and local government funding for sport development, the first native ZBA chairperson clearly commented that since the formation of the ZBA and during his tenure (1971 – 1984):

> There has been no interest in the sport [of basketball] from government, we were just running it [basketball] like that, doing what we could, and we did not get any support from government.
> (Telephone interview, First Native ZBA President, 16 October, 2012).

Basketball experienced similar marginalisation to that experienced by other minor sports, even when the National Sports Foundation (NSF) was established in 1965 (Liwena, 2005). Though all NSAs were eligible to apply for funding to finance their development plans, the ZBA according to the first native president was unsuccessful each time the association attempted to access the Cultural and Sporting Fund (CSF). Minor sports were disadvantaged since people making CSF decisions had a bias towards football, as stated in the previous chapter by the first native sports editor. However, after the government nationalised the Zambian economy, government subsidies towards nationalised organisations improved the funding situation for sport in general. It could be argued that the subsidies that these new corporations received from government enabled the SOCs to sponsor sporting activities. In addition, the offer of land by local government to SOCs for sports infrastructure development can be regarded as a form of support from government.

Consequently, commenting on the state corporatism, some authors such as Simutanyi (2006) blamed the Zambian government for bad economic management

and allowing SOCs to be managed not just inefficiently but also corruptly. The state

subsidies which to some extent spilled over to sport and recreation funding

contributed to the drain on national resources since SOCs were heavily dependent

on state subsidies. Today, the loss of financial support from SOCs for some clubs'

core funding has led to instability in the financial standing of the ZBA due to the loss

of club affiliation fees. In addition to loss of revenue through the decline in club

affiliation fees, the ZBA also lost corporate funding for its major tournaments as

explained by a senior official:

> For ZBA the major challenge is financing. We don't receive corporate funding
> or adequate government funding through the central government. So this is
> our challenge.   We get the support through affiliation fee.
> (Personal Interview, Senior ZBA Official, 19 January 2012)

The loss of income from SOCs and commercial sponsors has meant that some self-

financing clubs are dependent on individual player membership fees and donations

in order to meet their operational costs. However, within the new ZBA development

plan document (ZBA-NDP 2011-2014), the association is proposing to 'establish

more clubs and to improve the size and effectiveness of the existing clubs' (ZBA,

2011:9), despite the existing clubs finding it difficult to stay financially afloat. The

document states that the ZBA will attempt to approach key individuals, institutions

and mainly the corporate sector and invite them to consider establishing new clubs.

The privatisation of the mining and the financial sectors which led to the demise of

clubs also destabilised the running of the national basketball league structure.

Development plans were brought to a halt as clubs struggled to remain in existence.

Since political independence, the funding support towards the ZBA from central

government has remained minimal, resulting in mismatched aspirations for

developing basketball and addressing wider social agendas between the ZBA and the government. Existing ZBA clubs are pre-occupied with staying financially afloat. Consequently, any potential source of funding or collaboration from foreign organisations with a different approach to that of the government regarding the HIV/AIDS ABC preventative approaches have been embraced by the ZBA. The lack of resources from central government has made the position of the ZBA vulnerable to different foreign agendas being achieved using the ZBA platform.

7.6.2 The Impact of Privatisation on Women's Sports Participation

The major drawback caused by privatisation was the reversal in women's participation in sport in general. For example, women's participation in basketball suffered huge setbacks as women's teams were the first to be disbanded or lose their funding rather than the men's teams under the same sponsor. Such structural disruptions increased gender inequalities and reduced the access of women to economic and social resources since women playing competitive sport for a club sponsored by a SOC were usually offered employment by the respective SOC. This incentive was empowering to women and girls. However, this prospect of employment was withdrawn after the demise of sports clubs. The loss of employment for women and girls increased their vulnerability to HIV. At the time of privatisation, the HIV virus was well established in Zambia and so unemployment and poverty exacerbated the risk of women who had been detached from economic and social resources. Between 1992 and 2000, Zambia's economy underwent rapid privatisation which destabilised the provision of sport particularly women's participation. For example, a ZBA SDO based at the OYDC stated that:

> [The] Copperbelt used to be a lot of basketball activities when mines were viable but we saw mines closing and the reduction of teams participating. Even now numbers on the Copperbelt have really reduced and we have really

> lost out in the feminine league, so there we are talking of maybe eight, ten ladies teams [before] or talking of maybe three active teams which is not a good number.
>
> (OYDC Basketball SDO - Personal Interview, 19 January, 2012).

Despite the recognition of the impact of privatisation on female participation in basketball, the new ZBA-NDP (2011-2014) document did not prioritise female participation in its plans for membership growth. The plan primarily mentioned general member growth rather than specifically considering areas with significantly low participation such as female club membership and female club participation. There is potential for growth in women's participation in Zambia sport in Zambia due to high national priority given to gender equity. This issue of gender equity in sport participation is particularly important in relation to HIV/AIDS resource allocation as programmes addressing gender equity are favoured by the distributors of global funds.

The HIV/AIDS pandemic is known to have a 'female face[13]' hence the global drive to mainstream gender in the fight against the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Since the ZBA NDPs do not specifically focus on how to increase the participation of women in the sport, reaching women through sport-related HIV/AIDS initiatives will be problematic as will be revealed when HIV/AIDS programme implementation through basketball is discussed later in this chapter.

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[13] According to the UNAIDS Report on the Global AIDS Epidemic (2004:3), more women than men were living with HIV/AIDS globally. The vulnerability of women in places such as Africa is strongly linked to sociocultural practices that deny women their rights in sexual practices.

7.6.3 The Poor Infrastructure for Basketball

Since the growth, although limited, of basketball in Zambia was linked to the growth of state corporatism, the decline in basketball was also linked to the retreat of the state from corporatism. Most of the indoor and outdoor basketball courts utilised for ZBA league commitments belonged to teams owned by state corporations. Therefore, with the end of state corporatism in Zambia, the lack of maintenance of basketball facilities forced many local governments to repossess outdoor basketball courts and use the land for building developments.

Consequently, the revamping of old outdoor school/club basketball courts in the last decade has been spearheaded by Sport in Action (SiA), a sport-for-development NGO. The project to revamp sports playing areas has been supported through the International Development through Excellence and Leadership in Sport (IDEALS)[14] operated by UK Sport. A SiA official stressed the invaluable assistance in procuring resources specifically for sports infrastructure refurbishments by Durham University in the United Kingdom. Following the refurbishing of outdoor basketball courts, these were handed over to schools but with conditions for dual use by the community also.

The ZBA-NDP 2011 - 2014 (ZBA, 2011) document acknowledges the poor state of basketball facilities and its Phase 1 implementation plan proposes establishing joint-working ventures with local authorities to renovate both indoor and outdoor basketball facilities for community and school sport participants. However, without

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[14] IDEALS was launched in 2006 with what was known as the Wallace Group of Universities consisting of: Bath, Durham, Loughborough, Northumbria, St Andrews, Stirling, and the UWIC). It is a volunteer programme where UK university sports students in most cases spends time aboard attached to one of UK Sport's international development partners.

securing government or corporate support, this is likely to be a mammoth task for the

ZBA to achieve and therefore remains a policy aspiration. The document further

outlines plans to develop grassroots participation by liaising with high schools to

allow basic schools to utilise facilities in high schools. This is deemed complicated by

the Head of PE at one University who commented that the initiative to share facilities

proposed by the ZBA development plan is problematic to implement because:

> Transport to some venues has been a big challenge. Some teachers, despite
> having trained at college, have abandoned basketball and do not have skills
> to continue teaching. Very few workshops have been conducted for refresher
> courses.
> (Personal Interview, Head of PE, Higher Education, 16 August 2010).

In May 2010, the Olympic Youth Development Centre (OYDC) was opened to the

public. This new sports complex is one of the pilot projects of the International

Olympic Committee's Sports for Hope programme. The multi-purpose facility which

has both indoor and outdoor sports facilities is the first of its kind to facilitate

basketball tournaments and training. It comprises six outdoor basketball courts and

an indoor court, all built to international standards. These OYDC basketball facilities

have since been used to host the schools and club national championship

tournaments. However, the growth of the basketball at grassroots still faces the lack

of facilities countrywide.

Basketball facilities at the OYDC have brought together both elite and grassroots

sports participants. For example, the ZBA OYDC-based SDO explained that:

> Schools equally are availed the facility for their different games they have. Be
> it private or government schools they all have the access to the centre. So
> through those programmes we are able to identify talent and from time to time
> we have camps which we bring all those identified together
> (Personal Interview, SDO-OYDC, 19 January 2012).

It was suggested that this new facility, the OYDC, would bring together school and club basketball participants and help resolve some of the challenges faced in creating a strong link between the two groups. As has been previously inferred, the major factor resulting in the school sport network resisting affiliation with the ZBA is the reluctance to let go of their financial resources from school sport affiliation fees. Apart from coaching expertise, the ZBA seem not to have any resources to exchange which would attract the school sport associations to partner with the ZBA. This action by schools relates to Rhodes' (1997) notion of networks as mainly based on resource dependencies. In this case, what resources does the ZBA possess which might create this resource dependence?

7.7 Delayed Restructuring of the ZBA

The pace at which proposals to restructure the ZBA to enable it to function effectively and efficiently has been slow and on-going for over eight years. Decision-making to allow change has been slowed down by the ZBA NEC. One of the main reasons holding them back is the issue of relinquishing of power by the NEC, the centre. The way that the NEC has used its power to delay decision-making is vital to all understanding of how those with power can prevent matters raised by conflicting interests entering the agenda (see Lukes, 2005). Similarly, such power can be applied to conflicting interests such as the use of condoms in HIV/AIDS campaigns.

Geographical distance between teams was the impetus to the proposed reforms of the ZBA. The ZBA-NDP (2011-2014) proposed changes in the board structure of the ZBA to enable the regionalisation of basketball. The ZBA proposed to transform itself into a federation and allow provinces to set up Provincial Basketball Associations. Currently, the Association operates a 'semi-decentralised' approach with two

regional structures for basketball. Still, these two structures have not resolved the identified problems of transport to fulfil league commitments by teams. The breakaway of Southern Province teams from the main Association to set up their own league structure was due to failure of the ZBA to make progress towards resolving the transport difficulties. For example, basketball teams in the Southern Province of Zambia felt the current system failed them when teams failed to travelled to the south for return matches:

> Lusaka teams were not able to travel to Southern Province. So Southern Province would make it, we would have youths from Monze [Southern Province], teams from Livingstone [Southern Province] participating in the league here. But when it came to Lusaka [Capital City] teams travelling to Southern Province, they never made it
> (Personal Interview, SDO-OYDC, 19 January 2012)

The failure by teams from Lusaka to travel prompted the Southern province basketball officials to propose setting up a separate league. However, the ZBA failed to make structural changes and did not even include the matter on the agenda of the annual general meeting of 2011:

> They proposed to ZBA that they would like to run their own basketball, their own [Southern Province] league, they did not have support at an AGM or let them bring it on in the next AGM but unfortunately it was never tabled so they went ahead to come up with their own Association
> (Personal Interview, SDO-OYDC, 19 January 2012).

The avoidance by the ZBA of bringing matters raised by the conflicting interests resonates with Lukes (2005) when he comments that non-decision making, the avoidance or the ignoring of conflicting interests to prevent them reaching the agenda is similarly a form of decision-making. The ZBA decision-making could be likened to sentiments expressed by interviewees in Houlihan and Green's (2009) study in which they declare Sports England as centralist, dictatorial and prescriptive.

Similar sentiments are currently shared by some teams regarding the behaviour of the ZBA in running of Zambian basketball.

However, whether plans to decentralise basketball will help resolve the current perception held by club affiliates that the NSA is unresponsive to stakeholder needs and overly bureaucratic (see Houlihan and Green, 2009) in its decision-making remain to be seen. Indications of responding to affiliates concerns were noted in the optimism of a senior ZBA official when he outlined steps that had so far been taken towards decentralisation and improving governance of the ZBA:

> Basically a consultative approach [was adopted] where we had a FIBA expert, the President and another official within ZBA travel to the Northern Region and discuss the rules and regulations of the ZBA. After the National Executive Committee came up with the rules and regulations and then there was a consultative process where teams discussed, argued and agreed on the conditions. (Personal Interview, Senior ZBA Official, 19 January 2012).

One of the challenges causing a delay in implementation has been the issue of the relinquishing of power by the centre, according to one senior ZBA official. Relinquishing power by the centre also entails the loss of financial control over affiliation fees. One ZBA official identified this as the cause for the delay; and this is deemed problematic until the ZBA can develop a strategy to retain power at the centre despite the regionalisation process.

The opening sections of this case study have provided accounts of the development of basketball in Zambia particularly highlighting key factors which have implications for how the ZBA has responded to the mainstreaming of a cross-cutting issue such as HIV/AIDS. The historical development of basketball has influenced how this NSA has responded to work-based HIV/AIDS policy making and implementation expected

of established organisations or sectors in accordance with the multisectoral approach.

Based on the historical background presented, it can be said that the political influence of the ZBA leadership is insignificant politically to the government compared to the FAZ presidency. Basketball as a minority sport does not have the sort of political influence or power compared to football as the national sport. Due its low status in the eyes of government and its officials, it is unlikely that the sport will receive adequate central government funding for its development plans (HIV/AIDS inclusive) as it is viewed as having little political influence upon society.

Another factor highlighted in the opening sections is the impact of the process of privatisation of the economy in general and how this had adverse effects upon women's participation in sport. Women's basketball was negatively affected because the liberalisation of the mining sector resulted in demise of the majority of women's basketball clubs. This disrupted the daily operation and further development of the women's basketball league. Hence, proposing to use sport to promote awareness and prevention of HIV/AIDS within a sports context that lacks or has marginalised women's participation is likely to be an ineffective use of resources since a gender-based approach is vital to combating HIV/AIDS. Gender is key because HIV/AIDS prevalence is four times higher for women than men in Zambia (UNAIDS, 2008). Women are more vulnerable than men to HIV infection and some of the key aspects contributing to that vulnerability are unemployment and cultural practices that subordinate women. Therefore, tackling HIV/AIDS demands mainstreaming gender and for using sport to prevent the spread HIV/AIDS, it means addressing issues of gender equity in sport.

The section also highlighted the role played by Christian Missionaries in the development of basketball. Today, evangelical Christian groups particularly those from America still have strong links with the ZBA. These groups have also responded to addressing HIV/AIDS using basketball which will be discussed later. Their involvement in HIV/AIDS prevention has implications for the approaches adopted and relative significance given to abstinence, use of condoms and remaining faithful to one partner. These issues will be discussed in the section that follows. In addition the weak link between grassroots (schools) and elite (clubs) is likely to pose problems in implementation of policies affecting all stakeholders and not just those at a particular end of the spectrum.

7.8 The ZBA and HIV/AIDS response in Zambia

This section provides findings based on how this particular association has contributed to the HIV/AIDS multisectoral response. The section presents findings focussing on HIV/AIDS initiatives using basketball as a platform for communicating preventative messages related to HIV/AIDS. The section begins by considering the initial HIV/AIDS focused activities and how the association responded to HIV/AIDS as it developed and affected all sections of society in Zambia. The section will discuss foreign and locally initiated activities using basketball and what role the NSA has played in consolidating HIV/AIDS awareness responses among players, officials and the wider public. The section also focusses on collaborative initiatives with sport-for-development organisations tackling HIV/AIDS.

By the early 1990s, though the prevalence of HIV/AIDS had grown exponentially, the issue of taboo in relation to discussing sexual matters in public had negative implications on HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention. Within the ZBA, even by 1991, 6 years after the first case of HIV was diagnosed in Zambia, the ZBA was silent

regarding HIV/AIDS. This was common with most sections of the Zambian society as a senior ZBA official explained that within the ZBA:

> There was no effort to sensitise the players, the national attitude filtered down to all sections of the Zambian society, the nation in general was silent about HIV/AIDS and stigmatisation was high, you could only hear whispers among players about a colleague suspected of being [HIV] positive
> (Telephone Interview, Former General Secretary, 17 Sept, 2012).

This national mood was one characterised by silence and stigmatisation. This national mood strongly relates to the findings by the Zambian Sexual Behaviour Survey which stressed that stigma and discrimination are key drivers of the pandemic as they cause people living with HIV and AIDS to be silent (ZSBS, 2005). This period of silence was caused by attitudes which filtered down from top government officials to the common man in the street. Indeed, as mentioned above it was only when former President Kenneth Kaunda announced in 1987 that his son had died of AIDS related illnesses the previous year that politicians began to openly talk about HIV/AIDS at public gatherings. While social structures were constraining, individual agency paved the way for HIV awareness activities to be conducted openly. The section that follows begins to elaborate how this particular NSA started getting involved in HIV/AIDS matters after the period of silence.

7.9 The ZBA and National HIV/AIDS Policy Formulation

7.9.1 Involvement with the National AIDS Council

As stated before, the National AIDS Council (NAC) had adopted a multisectoral approach to combat the scourge of HIV/AIDS which entailed engagement of all sectors of society for a concerted effort on HIV/AIDS. In so doing, the NAC put in

place stakeholder groupings which are utilised for stakeholder consultation processes during policy formulation and later for implementation purposes at macro, meso and micro levels. In order to promote the participation of all stakeholders, the NAC put in place a decentralised system which local organisations or associations could easily access. These groups resemble both issue networks and policy communities (see diagrammatic expression of multisectoral in Figure 5). Therefore, some of these networks have characteristics similar to Marsh and Rhodes (1992) conceptualisation of open and closed membership based on either wide range of interest or purely professional interaction, respectively. As will be elaborated later, lack of interaction with such networks was noticed among NSAs. For example at micro level, the NAC put in place District HIV/AIDS Coordinators within District HIV/AIDS Task Forces (DATFs). Though the membership of the DATFs, decentralised working groups at district level, is open for all stakeholders such as the ZBA, the Association has not been involved. .

In addition to the identified lack of integration into strategic policy forums mentioned above, the ZBA also lacks a written workplace HIV/AIDS policy document. Mainstreaming of HIV/AIDS by the NAC demands that public, private and voluntary sectors need to have in place a workplace HIV/AIDS policy plan. With regards to responses to this demand within sport, it is reported that in October 2004, the NSCZ summoned all its affiliates for an HIV/AIDS discussion forum at its headquarters (Phiri, 2004). However, none of the ZBA members interviewed had knowledge of the proceedings of such a meeting. Furthermore, the current NSCZ officials were not aware of the proceedings and the results of the HIV/AIDS forum.

7.9.2 Work Based HIV/AIDS Policy within ZBA

The ZBA – NDP (2011- 2014) identified 11 key areas on which to focus its national development plan namely: administrative development; coach development; youth development; referee development; competition development; national team development; club development; communication; marketing; membership growth; financial management; and facilities and equipment (ZBA, 2011). Whilst the association clearly states its aims and sets measurable targets for each of the identified key areas, the NDP makes no mention of how sport can contribute to meeting targets for wider social agendas. Based on the demands and proposed means of mainstreaming HIV/AIDS initiatives, it is deemed problematic that a strategic document does not seem to embrace the mainstreaming of the HIV/AIDS strategy which is advocated nationally.

It can be concluded based on the priority areas identified within the ZBA-NDP 2011-2014 that it is a document clearly focused on sport for sports' sake (Collins, 2010) and does not incorporate a development model of sport which adopts a 'Sport Plus' approach (Coalter, 2007). However, though the latest ZBA sport development policy does not seem to indicate any HIV/AIDS focussed plans, the ZBA has made use of HIV/AIDS policy plans from other sectors. A senior ZBA official explained that:

> We [the ZBA] don't have a specific policy for [HIV/AIDS] but how we have gotten around the issue of not having a specific policy is to look at the programme itself. If it has to involve youths, we are assisted maybe through Ministry of Education guideline on behaviour change
>
> (Personal Interview, Senior ZBA Official, 19 January 2012).

Therefore, the Association due to its dependence on other actors, responded that it does not stress HIV/AIDS initiatives within its policy documents since such matters are taken care of by other actors:

> We have not really stressed HIV and the reason is basically because … we don't have a specific budget that would look at those things

> (Personal Interview, Senior ZBA Official, 19 January 2012).

This response from a senior ZBA official clearly suggests that the lack of funding is the reason for the Association's lack of focus on mainstreaming HIV/AIDS action within their strategic planning. The response also indicates that the position of the ZBA in relation to HIV/AIDS policy making is one of dependence on the HIV/AIDS policy guidelines developed by other sectors such as the Ministry of Education. It was intimated that youths, a key stakeholder group in the ZBA, tend to have several memberships or relationship with other sectors disseminating HIV/AIDS information such as schools, youth community clubs/groups or religious associations. Therefore, the movement of youths from one community group to other groups makes it difficult to accurately accredit one group over other groups as having influenced their behavioural change.

However, though the ZBA do not have an HIV/AIDS strategic document, recent developments seem to indicate some extrinsic motivation to develop an HIV/AIDS strategic plan to enable the association 'to appeal for funding to encourage young to be involved in basketball to prevent HIV/AIDS' (Personal Interview, Senior ZBA Official, 19 January 2012). This seems to imply that having an HIV/AIDS strategic plan is a way of accessing restricted HIV/AIDS funding streams for which the ZBA is currently ineligible. Therefore, it can be deduced that inclusion of HIV/AIDS activities in strategic plans is a way of making the association eligible to access HIV/AIDS resources. As indicated earlier, the ZBA experiences inadequate financial support from central government for the development of basketball at grassroots level. Access to foreign resources meant for supporting youth sport and health-related

awareness initiatives is a viable solution to the ZBA's funding problems. However, the Association's NDP makes no mention of the use of sport as a tool for social change. Most importantly, since this Association has experienced gender-related loss of membership in participation, it could combine gender related goals and HIV/AIDS to increase its chances for accessing foreign funds from international sport agencies. The subsequent section looks at implementation of HIV/AIDS initiatives and will show how this Association has collaborated with health-based organisations and sports organisations.

7.10 ZBA and HIV/AIDS implementation

Currently, the ZBA as stated above does not have an in-house HIV/AIDS policy. However, the ZBA has supported the use of sport as a tool for HIV/AIDS prevention and awareness during both the club and school sport competition level. This section will discuss HIV/AIDS focussed activities that emerged both internally and externally.

7.10.1 ZBA HIV/AIDS Initiatives

The ZBA NEC which was in office from 2004 to 2009 reported that they had been involved in HIV/AIDS activities with two local HIV/AIDS focussed non-governmental organisations namely: Churches Health Association of Zambia (CHAZ) and the Society for Family Health (SFH). The CHAZ consists of both mission hospitals and health centres. It operates community health programmes which mainly offer preventative health services such as reproductive health, family planning and HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention literature. The Society for Family Health (SFH) in Zambia is a member of the Population Services International group, a non-profit organization established in 1992. One of the SFH's core businesses has been social marketing of condoms locally at a subsidized price. Other key HIV-related services offered by the SFH include voluntary counselling and testing and male circumcision.

Whilst both the CHAZ and SFH are active at macro and micro levels of HIV/AIDS policy formulation and implementation, the ZBA has not engaged with the two NGOs at the level of policy making discussions. Instead, the involvement of the two organisations with the ZBA has been merely provision of a platform by the ZBA for the organisations to implement their HIV/AIDS prevention and care programmes. Data collected from ZBA officials shows that there was no active interaction in regards to discussions concerning HIV/AIDS policy formulation or implementation held with either organisation. Instead, the ZBA used the opportunity to implement their (CHAZ and SFH) programmes at a basketball tournament as was explained below:

> Yes, we have had involvement of CHAZ and Society for Family Health at our
> events; we had them there, a desk, with literature or information on HIV/AIDS
> (Telephone Interview, Former ZBA President, 18 Sept, 2012).

Although this collaborative involvement by CHAZ and the SFH seemed less capacitating in HIV/AIDS policy making, the former ZBA President highlighted achievements in HIV/AIDS awareness among players and officials. However, the interviewee also highlighted the lack of political support at ZBA events which he attributed to loss of potential impact such awareness events are likely to have. It was suggested by the interviewee above that 'since basketball is a minor sport compared to soccer, there are no influential public figures' at ZBA events. Basketball events are considered not to be high profile events as suggested by a ZBA official and that top government or political officials tend to shun official invitations to grace the events with their presence. The action by senior government officials to shun basketball events is indicative of the low status and influence attached to basketball by politicians. This can also be related to the Association's historical background when

white settler basketball administrators continued in office despite other sporting codes localising the top posts. The political pressure to localise posts soon after political independence was indicative of the political power of certain sporting codes.

7.10.2 Externally Initiated HIV/AIDS Awareness Activities

This section looks at HIV/AIDS activities within the ZBA which have been externally initiated or implemented by foreign agencies. According to former ZBA officials, their first open HIV/AIDS awareness campaign was through an anti-AIDS logo circulated by the global basketball parent body, International Federation of Basketball Associations (FIBA). FIBA instructed its affiliated federations and associations to support the logo and provided guidelines of doing so. One of the guidelines involved organising and participating in HIV/AIDS activities on the annual 1st December World AIDS Day. However, the ZBA experienced implementation problems as was elaborated by a former ZBA General Secretary:

> FIBA offered guidelines but as ZBA we failed to fully implement them as they were mainly, you know, to take place during the World AIDS day in December. Our season was closed by then and the players were away and it was difficult to gather them for the one day event. So we had no big impact with that [FIBA logo and guidelines]
> (Telephone Interview, Former General Secretary, 17 Sept, 2012).

This example resonates with forms of global health governance where international interactions influence implementation at local level as Bartsch and Kolhmorgen (2007) suggest. In relation to structure and agency (Archer, 1995), global governance or global structures like global health campaigns or campaigns on human rights tend to facilitate agency: in this case agency towards global health participation in HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention by agents like FIBA or ZBA.

Another example of the facilitation of agency in HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention through international interactions has been in the form of universities and sport charities from the United States of America intervening during some of ZBA's annual sports events such as the national basketball tournament. For example, groups of basketball students from American universities have attended the ZBA's national championships and have conducted HIV/AIDS themed activities during the duration of the tournament. However, these HIV/AIDS themed activities are believed to be influenced by Christian values, as one senior official commented:

> And usually these guys are Christians and they have that Christian theme to HIV/AIDS and so we have had two or three at the national championship where they came and before the games they started interacting with the officials and the players
> (Personal Interview, Senior ZBA Official, 19 January 2012).

The ZBA has also worked with Athletes in Action (AiA), an American Christian sports ministry organisation which uses various sports for Christian evangelism. The organisation uses traditional values of muscular Christianity. This would suggest that the ZBA operates an open-door policy to the Abstinence, Being faithful to one sexual partner and use of Condoms (ABC) approach to combating HIV/AIDS. However, this may be promoting contradictory messages to the target group as such Christian groups mainly place their focus on *A for abstinence* and *B for Being faithful* to one's partner, approaches based on upholding Christian values. Whilst the use of condoms is key to halting the spread of HIV, religious based HIV/AIDS activities tend to avoid promotion of the *C for Condom use,* a third element of the ABC approach. Indeed, this resonates with notions of how structures can be constraining upon individual agency. In this case, social structures in the form of Christian values can

be constraining upon the choice of condom use and at the same time such organised talks reproducing the constraining structure.

In relation to theories of globalisation, Stone (2008) warns that nation-state agencies, in this case the NAC, cease to be the focal point of operation in global public health. The ZBA has engaged different actors to assist in HIV/AIDS prevention. It can be suggested that without a specific policy in place, the ZBA lacks an inclusion or exclusion criteria for selecting which type of organisations to closely work with and what form of HIV/AIDS messages to transmit through ZBA events. Therefore, taking Stone's argument on the eroded role of the nation-state in global public health, Ohmae (1990) proposes that within the globalisation movement, nation-states still have power to constrain. That means that the nation state can constrain actions of multinational organisations via regulation. However, the NAC has not put in place such constraining measures for either foreign or local organisations or individuals diverting from the ABC approach.

Another foreign basketball programme with an HIV/AIDS awareness and preventative element is the "Basketball without Borders" (BWB) programme, a National Basketball Association (NBA) global programme. According to NBA Commissioner David Stern, BWB 'brings people together to discuss important social issues such as HIV/AIDS prevention while emphasizing the importance of education and healthy living' (quoted in Means and Nauright, 2008: 374). The programme holds sports camps in different parts of the world focussing on leadership, education, developing basketball sports skills and tackling health issues particularly raising HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention.

Contrary to sport-for-development programmes, the selected BWB participants are identified through the intensive elite talent identification development programmes. Whilst sport skills take prominence during BWB basketball camps, life skills training is the essence of sport-for-development (Banda et al. 2008). Therefore, though the ethos of the BWB programme emphasises both sports and life skills training, a senior ZBA official commented that it is only the sports skill that participants seem to be concerned about unlike the life skills and normally players have been unable to pass-on the life skills knowledge to their peers. It was suggested by a senior ZBA Official that the Association would like to have the selected BWB participants each year upon returning home to facilitate talks with peers about their experiences at the camp beyond focussing on sport for sports' sake but also tackling social issues and sharing the life skills gained.

However, the selection process conducted by the ZBA for participants to attend the BWB event is exclusive to talented male players since no female players from Zambia have attended the BWB programme. In relation to the decrease in women's participation in basketball, the Association has not promoted the growth of the women's game through coaching camps such as the BWB. Since the BWB strongly emphases HIV/AIDS and equity, the omission of girls or women from the selection process is problematic since HIV/AIDS prevalence is higher in women than in men. In addition, the most of the facilitators that come to conduct activities are former and current NBA male athletes. This may be problematic due to the lack of women basketball role models even when gender is core to the UNAIDS and NAC's HIV/AIDS preventative programmes.

The ZBA has officially proposed to FIBA and NBA to host the BWB camp in Zambia. This decision was made after the opening of the OYDC which has outdoor and indoor courts that can be used to cater for all participants. The intention to host is an indication that facilities for basketball have improved significantly only in the capital city. The host status would enable the ZBA to have six representatives at the BWB camp if the bid is successful. The question to be asked is whether the six scholarships will be divided equally between males and females. Past tendencies indicate that it is unlikely that scholarships will be equally divided between males and females because the selection process is based on supporting talented male basketball participants in order to enhance the development of male elite teams as opposed to female elite teams.

7.11 ZBA and HIV/AIDS Collaboration

7.11.1 Felix Chileshe Basketball Tournament

The late Felix Chileshe was a former basketball player and assistant coach with Heroes Play in Zambia. As well as working with a team in the ZBA super league, Felix was also a teacher and head coach of basketball at the International School of Lusaka (ISL). During his time at ISL, the school retained their annual national schools basketball championship status. After his death, his former club, Heroes Play, established the Felix Chileshe Memorial tournament for all clubs affiliated to the ZBA. The first tournament, held in 1998, was funded by the Professional Insurance Company (PIC), the official sponsors of Heroes Play Basketball club. The PIC emerged after the market liberalisation of the Zambian insurance market, on April, 1, 1992. Before liberalisation, the Zambia State Insurance Corporation (ZSIC)

was the only insurance firm from 1968 – 1991 and had both men and female basketball teams popularly known as 'ZamSure teams'.

Ever since its inaugural tournament, this annual event has always incorporated an HIV/AIDS theme. For the duration of the tournament, usually held in Lusaka, HIV/AIDS messages are shared by generic health-based NGOs such as the Family Health Trust or the Society for Family Health. Recently, SiA has teamed up with the ZBA in running the tournament. Not only has SiA helped with the club national championship tournament but SiA has, since 2008, also resurrected the National High Schools Basketball Championships after a five year absence due to a lack of sponsors and an active organising committee for school sport. Indeed, SiA has been responsible for delivering the HIV/AIDS component of the national schools basketball tournament as explained below by a ZBA official:

> Yes, during the Felix Chileshe Tournament, yes we do have a talk on HIV/AIDS. We do give out flyers... Sports in Action equally have other partners who handle social issues. All those come on board during the tournament and they set up tents where they display you know, what they do [HIV talks, counselling and testing] and equally have talks with the athletes
>
> (Personal Interview, Senior ZBA Official, 19 January 2012).

It was clear from interviews with ZBA and SiA officials that the school basketball tournament is deemed more organised, with HIV/AIDS activities aimed at promoting peer leadership and HIV/AIDS peer education activities, compared to the club version of the Felix Chileshe tournament. This assessment of the schools basketball tournament is due to the SiA having a more pronounced role to play in the school tournament than in the club tournament. Part of the explanation of this greater role for the SiA is the exchange of resources and the interdependence of members (Rhodes, 1997; Smith, 1993). For example, schools as public agencies have greater

resources to bring to the negotiation table for collaboration than clubs. The schools'

financial resources and physical resources are exchanged for SiA's knowledge

resources regarding the use of sports for social good. The subsequent section

provides further details regarding the relationship between the ZBA and SiA. This

relationship has helped the ZBA address some of the issues raised above such as

the lack of a strong link between grassroots and club basketball and the attention to

gender equity. SiA has programmes which are externally funded by foreign donors

aimed at promoting equity in sport but most importantly gender rights as part of the

key aspects for addressing the spread of the HIV/AIDS disease.

7.11.2 Sport in Action (SiA) and the ZBA Collaboration

The ZBA has a special relationship with SiA, a sport-for-development NGO. This

relationship is deemed a mutual one by both SiA officials and ZBA respondents.

Having provided office space to the ZBA, the SiA has worked closely with the ZBA

towards developing basketball in communities and developing communities through

basketball. The office space or physical point of contact provided by SiA enabled the

ZBA to get involved in HIV/AIDS activities which were organised by SiA and its wider

network of sport for good partners. Also through this relationship, the SiA as a

community organisation has been able to obtain basketball-focused aid from

overseas which the SiA has used to renovate basketball courts in major cities. Whilst

some sport-for-development NGOs have mainly used football to transmit their

HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention messages, SiA in particular uses basketball

more than other SfD NGOs.

Like other NSAs, the ZBA is ineligible to access international development funds.

Hence, it is not in competition with SfD NGOs for the scarce development resources

and is not considered a threat. However, intentions were expressed by a senior ZBA official (section 7.10.2) that the Association would like to formulate objectives addressing wider social agendas. Such actions will enable the Association to be eligible to access foreign aid but also affect its relationship with SfD NGOs as it will be a competitor for scarce foreign aid. At the moment, the ZBA cites SiA as a conduit for its link with schools especially the National Schools Basketball tournament. This event which is organised with the assistance of the SiA has enabled the ZBA to identify talent for ZBA national teams and provides pathways into club basketball. In relation to HIV/AIDS implementation the SiA has facilitated HIV/AIDS activities at both ZBA and school basketball events. However, this relationship has not resulted in the empowerment of the ZBA to independently run HIV/AIDS activities, but rather established a dependency on SiA.

7.11.3 NOWSPAR – Gender Rights Based

Another notable collaboration between the ZBA and a SfD NGO is one with the National Organisation for Women in Sport, Physical Activity and Recreation (NOWSPAR). NOWSPAR is an indigenous gender-focussed sport-for-development NGO in Zambia which advocates for equal rights to sports participation for women and girls. It attempts to promote the involvement of girls and women from all backgrounds in sport, physical activity and recreation. In order to focus on gender issues, the ZBA has partnered with NOWSPAR to promote the development of basketball (sport for sport's sake) as well as work with this particular NGO to address gender-related matters and other social issues.

It was mentioned in chapter 2 and section 7.8 that women are more vulnerable than men to HIV infection, poverty and sociocultural dynamics that subordinate women.

Therefore, the agency of women and girls in tackling HIV/AIDS using sport demands gender equity not just in sport but in society in general. This case study highlighted the implications of SAP policies on women's marginalisation from formal economic activities and participation in sport. Such marginalisation resulted in unemployment and poverty which exacerbated their vulnerability to HIV/AIDS. Hence, NOWSPAR uses sport to sensitise and advocate for the right of women and girls using sport.

The ZBA acknowledges the value that NOWSPAR brings to NSA in areas which the Association has identified as requiring attention. A senior ZBA official has acknowledged that there are suspected cases of sexual harassment and child sexual abuse that need urgent attention generally within sport in Zambia. The ZBA official acknowledged that as an association, they have no guidelines in place and have recently started to rely on organisations like NOWSPAR for support structures which mainly female players can access. For example, a senior official commented that:

> Due to interaction between opposite sexes you know in the past we have noticed they are some relationships that developed and they are developing now and also in that vein we are also looking at sexual harassment and then child abuse and all those things with our officials . We don't have a specific policy in place but we are aware that they could be inappropriate sexual conduct and do not know where to go, so NOWSPAR helps

> (Personal Interview, Senior ZBA Official, 19 January 2012).

Through this collaboration with NOWSPAR, the ZBA claims that it is starting to address the rights of women and their general welfare within the association. NOWSPAR is the first SfD NGO focussing entirely on the welfare of women in sport. It is funded by international cooperating partners such as NIF (Norway) and UK Sport. Similar to other forms of policy networks identified within this chapter, resource dependency lies at the core of this relationship between the ZBA and

NOWSPAR. This NGO has the knowledge base resource in women's rights and welfare which can be utilised to influence change in areas of concern identified by the ZBA.

The notions of structure (sexual harassment and child abuse in sport) and agency (NOWSPAR and ZBA collaboration) relates to Giddens' (1984) concepts that strategic decisions of actors can help address change in structure. Moreover, the addressing of issues pertaining to women's welfare also resonates with mainstreaming of gender to address inequalities that propagate the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

7.12 Conclusion

This concluding section identifies key features of this case study in relation to HIV/AIDS policy formulation; HIV/AIDS policy implementation and lastly collaborative activities in relation to the multisectoral approach to HIV/AIDS.

7.12.1 HIV/AIDS Policy Formulation

The findings presented regarding the ZBA and HIV/AIDS policy formulation indicate that there are several reasons why this particular Association was unable to develop its own in-house or work-based HIV/AIDS policy/programme. First, the ZBA officials interviewed stated clearly that the lack of resources to instigate HIV/AIDS policy formulation activities is key to the Association's inactivity in policy-making. The Association does not receive adequate central government funding for its operational demands. It was highlighted that the only central government funding the Association receives is for elite international tournament participation and there was no mention of resources to support HIV/AIDS policy making within Association or with the NSCZ.

Secondly, the Association's interviewees highlighted that it had received no political support from prominent government officials during HIV/AIDS initiatives that had taken place under the its name. The lack of significant government support from prominent political officials is also indicative of the low status the government seemed to attach to the sport. This also may have contributed to the failure to develop in-house HIV/AIDS policy as a requirement of a national response which had strong political will elsewhere.

Thirdly, organisational reforms were necessary to address the lack of resources for the operation of teams. The reforms resulted in regionalisation, but organisational fragmentation occurred. The ZBA has spent much of its time responding to in-house financial and administrative instabilities which have also contributed to the failure to address other wider social agendas such as formulation of in-house HIV/AIDS policy. Apart from the lack of in-house driven initiatives to formulate policy, the next paragraph also highlights the lack of involvement in other HIV/AIDS policy formulation contexts.

The lack of involvement of the ZBA officials, its affiliated members or committees in HIV/AIDS policy formulation structures was evident at both provincial and district level. Both the District AIDS Task Forces (DATFs) and the Provincial AIDS Task Forces (PATFs) have open membership to interest groups in HIV/AIDS. Although all the ZBA respondents stated that they have not engaged with any of the NAC forums at national, regional and district level, the ZBA has collaborated with active members of the networks for civil society response. As members of the civil society response networks, CHAZ and SFH are active in policy formulation with the NAC. However, their relationship with both NGOs has not resulted in building capacity within the ZBA

in HIV/AIDS policy formulation, but instead focussed on implementation of HIV/AIDS related activities which will be discussed below.

As a response to its lack of involvement in HIV/AIDS policy making at macro and micro levels, and the lack of a work-based or in-house HIV/AIDS policy, the ZBA showed that it was strongly dependent on policy guidelines from other key actors in the HIV/AIDS thematic groupings. The ZBA responded that its target group for HIV awareness and prevention tended to be similar to those targeted by government institutions such as schools. For example, one of the ZBA stakeholder groups consisted of high school and college students who have access to HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention services through Ministry of Education (MoE) HIV/AIDS policies. Therefore, the ZBA viewed such externally formulated HIV/AIDS guidelines as sufficient for the Association to use. The ZBA deemed such actions as vital for avoiding duplication of effort among organisations working with similar target groups.

7.12.2 HIV/AIDS Policy Implementation

Despite the ZBA lacking contextualised strategic decision on HIV/AIDS within their association, implementation of HIV/AIDS activities were evident. However, the general lack of resources constrained organisational agency to design and control the implementation of HIV/AIDS activities which took place within ZBA sports events. Therefore, agencies with resources identified as collaborating with the ZBA had control over the implementation and influenced the design of the intervention. The ZBA played a passive role in HIV/AIDS policy implementation whilst other organisations utilised the platform the Association provided to reach out to the target group. There are three HIV/AIDS implementation characteristics of the ZBA that will be discussed here: firstly, gender-focussed human rights and HIV/AIDS campaign;

secondly, high prevalence of Christian based HIV/AIDS campaigns; and thirdly, HIV/AIDS themed tournaments.

7.12.3 Gender-Based Approach

Firstly, the ZBA has partnered with a gender-based sport NGO, NOWSPAR, which promoted the rights of women and girls in sport, physical activity and recreation. The partnership between NOWSPAR and the ZBA has been highlighted as one which is vital to tackling HIV/AIDS because of its focus on gender as a key aspect in the HIV/AIDS campaign. This resonates with Piot, Greener and Russell (2007) who posit that HIV/AIDS is a disease of inequalities. The interaction of economic, cultural and educational factors (Campbell and Kelly, 1995) negatively influences the access of women and girls to information, education and health care which in turn increase their vulnerability to HIV/AIDS infection. Hence, Stephen Lewis' comment that 'HIV/AIDS has a female face (UNAIDS/WHO, 2004).

The ZBA identified NOWSPAR as a partner to assist the Association with matters related to the promotion and protection of the rights of women and girls in sport. NOWSPAR focuses on addressing factors that limit the access of girls and women to information, education and health care when tackling gender and HIV/AIDS. Of particular interest to the collaboration between the ZBA and NOWSPAR is the promotion of the rights of women and girls which is at the centre of the strategic plans to combat HIV/AIDS. Gender mainstreaming is strongly stressed by the NAC since the 'spread of HIV is further compounded by other structural factors that are underpinned by social and cultural norms' (NAC- NASF, 2010:10) like gender inequalities. Therefore, agencies tackling such inequalities in gender and addressing socio-cultural norms are vital in addressing the spread of HIV among women.

NOWSPAR takes a leading role in this collaboration since the organisation is in control of the vital resources for implementation. Firstly, NOWSPAR has access to strategically important external resources through its relationship with foreign state and non-state sports agencies that support its the work to combat gender inequalities which work against women and girls in sport. Secondly, a comparative advantage and internal capability of NOWSPAR is that it is the only organisation in Zambia working within the sports sector whose main mission statement is to address challenges faced by women and girls' engagement in sport. This has made the organisation attractive to donors in sport focussing on increasing the participation of women as both players and administrators. And thirdly, NOWSPAR has over the years of its existence developed core competencies making it a more viable and capable partner among government, quasi-government and civil society organisations working to address gender related matters in sport. Partnership working is strongly stressed by funding agencies like UK Sport Council, Commonwealth Games Canada and the Norwegian Confederation of Sport who support NOWSPAR.

7.12.4 The Prevalence of Christian Groups

The development of basketball was highly influence by Christian movements in Zambia who established mission schools and teacher training institutions. The influx of foreign organisations which uphold Christian values has continued. Apart from foreign groups, local Christian organisations have also partnered with the ZBA and influenced the implementation of HIV/AIDS policy. Due to basketball being more popular in North America, most of the foreign assistance towards the HIV/AIDS campaign in basketball have been by United States based institutions, in this case Athletes in Action and basketball groups from American universities. Muscular

Christianity is at the base of these organisations that have used the ZBA platform for Christian evangelism as well as attempt to help tackle local problems. In case of HIV/AIDS, their approach is to promote only abstinence and totally ignores the promotion of condoms as a viable means of protection. In relation to HIV/AIDS policy implementation, their response to the ABC approach is incongruent (Matland, 1995) with the approach highly recommended by the NAC.

Similarly, the CHAZ, a local Christian based organisation shares, the same views with these two organisations. CHAZ does not promote the use of condoms but rather advocates for abstinence and fidelity as key means of tackling the HIV/AIDS pandemic. This context of conflicting collaborators' messages arises 'when a policy [ZBA HIV/AIDS position] does not have explicitly stated goals, the choice of a standard becomes more difficult and more general societal norms and values come into play' (Matland, 1995:155). In this case, promoting Christian values as societal norms and values comes to take prominence over the general health objectives promoted by the NAC.

7.12.5 HIV/AIDS Themed Tournaments

The ZBA and SiA have a strategic partnership whose focus is open tournaments. SiA, a sport-for-development NGO, plays a key role in the delivery of the Zambia School basketball national championship and facilitating HIV/AIDS policy implementation during the Felix Chileshe Tournament for ZBA clubs. Whilst some sport-for-development NGOs have mainly used football to transmit their HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention messages, SiA in particular uses basketball more than other SfD NGOs. SiA has partnered with the ZBA organising the annual tournament for schools. SiA has access to international development resources which NSAs like

the ZBA are ineligible to access. Mutual benefits have been cited by both parties. For example, the ZBA cites SiA as a conduit for its link with schools especially the National Schools Basketball tournament. This event which is organised by SiA has enabled the ZBA to identify talent for ZBA national teams and provide pathways into club basketball. In relation to HIV/AIDS implementation the SiA has facilitated HIV/AIDS activities at both ZBA tournaments and school basketball events. However, this relationship has not resulted in the empowerment of the ZBA to independently run HIV/AIDS activities, but rather established a dependency on SiA.

The ZBA's Felix Chileshe Tournament brings the affiliated clubs into contact with health-based NGOs addressing HIV/AIDS since the tournament has an 'HIV/AIDS theme'. In relation to the conceptualisation of issue networks (Rhodes and Marsh, 1992), the Felix Chileshe tournament brings together several health-based NGOs addressing a similar issue. The tournament consists of generic HIV/AIDS NGOs, faith-based organisations and other public health organisations invited which provide HIV/AIDS services. The collaborators at the Felix Chileshe tournaments characterises membership of issue networks with wide range of interest and fluctuation in frequency of interaction. As an enabling environment, the tournaments (structure) bring actors (organisational agency) together to collaborate on HIV/AIDS activities during the duration of the tournament. Approaches to the ABC strategy are varied and variable between the network members like CHAZ and SFH particularly on condoms.

Chapter 8: Case Study 3 - The Netball Association of Zambia

8.1 Introduction

The two previous chapters have focused on case studies related to the football and basketball associations of Zambia; this final case study examines the netball association of the country. It begins by providing a brief historical account of netball in Zambia, focusing mainly on the development of netball after gaining political independence. After the historical background, the chapter will examine the division of power within the NAZ. It then explores the relationship between grassroots netball in schools and elite netball. Soon after gaining political independence, netball in Zambia enjoyed its highest levels of participant involvement till the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) was implemented. The discussion of the demise of state corporatism in Zambia provides a critical stage in the further development and sustaining of sports provision. Netball especially is regarded to have suffered vast disruption in relation to its development following the SAP than other NSAs.

This chapter explores the implications of the SAP for the growth of netball focussing on the loss of corporate funding towards clubs, the disbanding of clubs and disappearance of all annual major tournaments. Subsequently, the chapter attempts to trace the recent developments which were seen as practical solutions to reverse the adverse impact of SAP. The chapter then examines the attitude towards netball by the new investors in Zambia's economy, particularly those in the mining sector. The status of netball and issues pertaining to gender are discussed in relation to these new economic investors. As a response to resolving some of its hardships and also attempts to modernise its operations, the chapter presents the outcome of the

partnership between UK Sport's International Development Through Excellence and Leadership (IDEALS) project and NAZ. The significance of SAP, the response to SAP, the new investors in the country and the partnership with UK Sport IDEALS for HIV/AIDS policy development and implementation are also explained.

Netball is the most popular sport played by women in Zambia. It was described by a NAZ interviewee as the 'paradise of sport for women' (Telephone interview, Former National Coach, 2 January, 2013). Netball plays a fundamental role in the involvement of women in sport at grassroots level in schools and the wider community. Therefore, as the most popular sport among women in Zambia, netball has a special place in this discussion on HIV/AIDS and sport. HIV/AIDS prevalence is highest among women in the age range 30 – 34 years, suggesting 'high levels of social and economic vulnerability, inadequate access to life skills and information, low levels of negotiation skills, and unequal protection under statutory and customary laws and traditions' (NAC, 2006:8). However, the UNDP reports that female HIV prevalence is declining at a fast pace compared to men (UNDP, 2011). Despite these improvements in HIV prevalence among women, the HIV/AIDS pandemic still maintains a 'female face' as discussed in the ZBA case study. This makes netball a potential tool to reach out to women and girls with information on HIV prevention and care. Netball is key to the argument that sport can make a positive contribution towards curbing the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

The chapter discusses the forms of collaboration that the NAZ has put in place in relation to HIV/AIDS policy formulation and implementation. Theories of self-governing networks (Rose, 2005), power (Lukes, 2005) and global health

governance (Hein, et al. 2007) will inform the discussion of HIV/AIDS policy formulation and implementation. The chapter looks at the NAZ Open Tournament, organised with the assistance of several partner agencies, as being central to the implementation of activities designed to utilise netball to address HIV/AIDS.

8.2 The Relationship between National Schools Netball Committee and NAZ

Under the guidance and assistance of UK Sport's IDEALS programme, NAZ has put in place a five year Strategic Plan (NAZ 2010 – 2015). The strategic plan outlines how the Association intends to develop grassroots netball through schools by establishing a working relationship with the two committees responsible for netball in schools. There are two separate associations responsible for school netball namely: the Zambia Secondary Schools Sports Association (ZASSA) in public-funded high schools and the Zambia Basic Schools Sports Association (ZBSSA) in basic public-funded schools[15]. Depending on the school's classification, each school is automatically affiliated to the respective Association. Each affiliated school pays an affiliation fee to its respective governing body which results in each of these Associations having far more financial resources than NAZ.

Having more resources than NAZ makes the two schools Associations independent of each other and more powerful than NAZ. Therefore, it is suggested that these Associations have always managed to stay out of the control of NAZ by declining to affiliate to NAZ. For example, a senior NAZ official commented that the NAZ 'have

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[15] Basic schools in Zambia are schools which run from Grade 1 to Grade 9. Seven years of primary education and then after primary leaving examination, pupils with marks above a regional cut-point out of their best six subjects (inclusive of English language) progress to High School.

no close relation with schools but [they] are trying to enhance that' (Telephone Interview, Senior NAZ Official, 2 January, 2013). Efforts by NAZ to involve schools in NAZ activities have been futile. Similarly, efforts by NAZ to be incorporated into school-based netball development have been futile too. For example, a former NAZ national team coach and technical committee member commented that:

> We as NAZ have failed to penetrate in schools. The schools fall under the Ministry of Education and to go through the ministry has always been difficult (Telephone interview, Former National Coach, 2 January, 2013).

NAZ deems the attitude by school sports administrators as being indifferent to the spirit of working collaboratively towards the development of netball at grassroots level. For instance, NAZ officials claimed to have made several attempts to get involved in Inter-Schools Netball competitions at both the national and the regional level. However, school sports administrators have not responded favourably to the approaches by NAZ with one NAZ Officer commenting:

> We do not take part in school competitions. Whenever they [school netball committee] have held their tournaments, we would have loved to be involved …they do not even inform us of such competitions (Telephone interview, Former National Coach, 2 January, 2013).

Due to the lack of strong links between NAZ and the ZASSA/ZBSSA, talent identification at grassroots level has been problematic for NAZ especially in relation to organising international youth teams. However, private funded schools were deemed very cooperative and very willing to collaborate with NAZ. For example, NAZ officials elaborated how the Association has managed to purposefully identify talent at private school competitions when invited:

> We have once been invited by the private schools once where we selected
> some players who went for the SADC[16] Under 20 Games in Swaziland
> (Telephone interview, Former National Coach, 2 January, 2013).

However, despite the negative attitude from both ZASSA and ZBSSA, NAZ officials insisted that they have not given up, but continued to make attempts to develop the sport at the grassroots through school sport involvement. For example, the NAZ Strategic Plan 2010 – 2015 identified teachers as a key target group for coach education and umpiring courses. Therefore, the involvement of teachers in coach education and umpire courses hosted by NAZ has been deemed as crucial for fostering good relations with ZASSA and ZBSSA.

As a precursor to collaborative working between NAZ and the two schools sport associations, the former has insisted on having the latter as affiliates. However, convincing the schools committee of the benefits of affiliation has been futile. Without affiliation in place, there is lack of obligation by both the schools' netball associations to either implement NAZ development plans or align their own plans to those of the NAZ. At present, the NAZ officials' view the position of the schools Associations as hindering further grassroots development of netball. These two bodies are significant to HIV/AIDS action in that their participants belong to the 15 - 24 years age range with a high HIV prevalence. According to the Zambia Demographic and Health Survey (CSO-ZDHS, 2007) supported also by a UNICEF research report (UNICEF,

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[16] Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) consists of the following nations: Angola, Botswana, Congo (DR), Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe

2010), 7 per cent of the 14 per cent adults population with the HIV virus are young people aged 15 to 24 years. In order for NAZ to effectively involve young people aged 15 to 24 years in its HIV/AIDS initiatives, the Association needs to collaborate with both schools Associations.

8.3 Administrative Structure within NAZ

The Council is the supreme decision-making body of NAZ. The Council mainly consists of representatives from active regional netball Associations. The NAZ National Executive Committee (NEC) runs the day to day affairs of NAZ though it lacks a physical address and usually the location for the NAZ headquarters is based on the residential address of the General Secretary. NAZ has a decentralised structure which operates in the form of Regional Associations such as Midlands Netball Association (MINA) or Copperbelt Netball Association (CONA) which indicates a lack of capacity at the national level of the Association.

Each region has its own Executive Committee with the responsibility to organise club and regional competitions within a specified area. Whilst NAZ has a national General Secretary, each of the Area Associations has a Secretary responsible for regional administrative affairs. In addition to the national structure, the NAZ has sub-committees responsible for Finance, Disciplinary Matters, Netball Promotion, Coaches and Umpires. The term of office is four years for both NEC and Regional elected Office bearers.

8.4 Implications of Privatisation on Netball Development in Zambia

The section explores the implications of the shift from state corporatism to a liberalised free market. When state ownership of the corporations was exchanged for private ownership, the Structural Adjustment Programme economic decisions had a

devastating effect on netball provision countrywide. Since then, netball has never returned to the strong position among other sports that it had attained during the period of state-controlled companies in Zambia. Soon after privatisation was fully introduced in Zambia, netball like other sports began its downward journey due to loss of funding. This section addresses the consequences of privatisation namely: loss of major funders for operational costs; the loss of funding/sponsorship for major tournament; and the poor netball infrastructure. The section also explores the implications for making and implementing HIV/AIDS policy.

In the 1970s and 1980s, netball was widely competitively and recreationally played by women in all the nine provinces of the country within professional clubs, community teams, government and company casual teams and in educational establishments. During that time, NAZ operated four levels of elite competition league structures namely: Premier Super League; Division 1, Division 2 and Division 3. Though all the provinces were actively involved in netball, the Copperbelt, Lusaka and Southern Provinces were the most active of the nine. It was commonly understood among most of the interviewees why these three provinces were the most active in netball.

Firstly, with regard to the Copperbelt and Lusaka region, the former is the centre of economic activity of Zambia's main mineral production, copper. The Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM), a state-owned corporation (SOC) was very instrumental in the development of sport in general at both elite and grassroots level. Each mining town within the jurisdiction of the ZCCM had one or more netball teams featuring in one of the different leagues mentioned above.

As regards the latter, a majority of the SOCs operated their main administrative offices in the capital city, Lusaka. Hence, the SOCs' head offices established teams or funded teams within Lusaka province. In addition to hosting SOCs head offices, Lusaka also played host to all the headquarters for the armed forces or state uniformed services apart from the prison service. Zambia Army, Zambia Police, Zambia Air Force, and the Zambia National Services all have had strong netball squads both in number of funded teams and the competitiveness of teams since independence.

Secondly, the interviewees attributed high netball participation in the Southern province before and after political independence to the presence of mission schools which were run mainly by American missionaries. High levels of participation for towns in Southern province were also strongly linked to schools which were actively dominant in school netball competitions, and progressed to join the local municipal funded teams within each town.

However, both the Copperbelt and Lusaka provinces experienced a drastic reduction in the number of teams engaging in NAZ competitions following market liberalisation. The reduction in teams is strongly linked to the change from state corporatism to a free market economy. Despite the loss of the corporatist state funded teams, a former long serving NAZ senior official commented that the 'Copperbelt and Lusaka region remain the most active zones in terms of number of teams and [in] being active NAZ league competition engagement' (telephone interview, 2nd January, 2013). However, these surviving teams are said to be facing perennial financial problems to stay afloat as explained below:

> In fact, privatisation affected netball very greatly than other main sports, at the moment, on the Copperbelt; most teams have collapsed, the teams that are currently surviving are struggling to do so
>
> (Telephone interview, Former National Coach, 2 January, 2013).

A majority of the teams which used to be funded by the ZCCM are no longer in existence as they were disbanded soon after the sale of the mines to private investors. Teams that tried to be self-sustaining also found the financial implications of SAP unbearable. Other teams, such as those funded by the local authorities, remained in existence. However, today, local authority teams are also financially struggling to remain afloat:

> Surviving teams on the Copperbelt are sponsored by the local council who do not fund them as they [teams] would like to be sponsored
>
> (Telephone Interview, Former NAZ National Coach, 2nd January, 2013).

Similarly, within the Lusaka region, SOCs head office-funded teams ceased to exist after privatisation. The surviving teams are those funded by central and local government as explained by the same NAZ official quoted above for example, teams from the defence forces, the national service, and the police and prison services.

8.5 New Investors and Implications on Women's Sport Provision

Whilst the transfer of ownership of SOCs from the control of the public sector to the private sector may have been deemed a viable option for the Zambian economy, socially it has been a huge drawback for women's employment and social life. After a decade of the liberalisation of the Zambian economy, more Zambians lived in abject poverty compared to the period of state corporatism (Phiri, 2006). Before liberalisation, women were normally employed in SOCs such as textiles, agriculture and other service industries which also provided recreational facilities and activities for women. The IMF-World Bank conditions included downsizing of the public sector

to reduce government expenditure. The MMD government religiously implemented the requirements of such conditions resulting in massive unemployment due to redundancies in both private and public sector (Phiri, 2006). High unemployment was particularly significant among women.

In relation to HIV/AIDS, this unemployment resulted in high levels of poverty especially among women and girls due to their economic disempowerment which in turn increased the risk of HIV infection. The overarching scarcity of income-generating opportunities particularly for women and girls also increased their pressure to resort to casual sex in exchange for material goods or money. Such casual sex practices became more prevalent in urban areas where formal employment is scarce in general and women are particularly disadvantaged. Other scholars (Mann and Tarantola, 1992) have argued that the vulnerabilities of women and girls are not necessary prompted by personal choice or behaviour but by structural constraints. The structural constraints, the lack of employment and high unemployment among women, influence their choice and such choices may also increase their vulnerability to HIV infection. In Zambia, an overwhelming majority of women are only economically active in the informal sector despite the new lease of life in the Zambian economy provided by foreign investors.

Just as the opportunities for women diminished with liberalisation, profit-motives of the new foreign investors influenced their negative attitude towards sports and recreation as part of the welfare of their employees compared to government subsidy-dependent SOCs. Of particular significance was the loss of funding for company sports teams. It is vital to recall that the government used to urge SOCs to provide recreational facilities for the masses (GRZ, 1984) however the new investors (free market from central government control) were not obliged to do so. The new

foreign investors neglected what was a hive of recreational activity for women in Zambia. One of the interviewees stated that netball, which was deemed as a 'paradise of women's sport in Zambia, will always struggle with the current crop of new investors to attain its past status' (Telephone Interview, Former NAZ National Coach, 2nd January, 2013).

The majority of the new investment in Zambia's once vibrant copper and cobalt mining sector has come from East Asia, China in particular. It is widely shared among the NAZ administrators that these new foreign investors, due to their cultural background do not place any significance on netball. First, because it is not a popular sport in East Asia particularly in China and second, because the investors need a financial return on their investment. Due to the fact that netball is a sport that is played in an open space renders it not viable for income generation i.e. it is not able to charge an entry fee to its playing spaces. For example, one NAZ senior official commented that:

> There are no teams sponsored by the Chinese investors, you realise that netball is not part of their game. It is not a popular game in China
>
> (Telephone Interview, Former NAZ National Coach, 2nd January, 2013).

The negative attitude of the foreign investors towards netball compounds the structural constraints evident in gendered ways. This has implications for HIV/AIDS implementation using sports since the lack of well-established netball teams creates gendered barriers for women to access opportunities for sexual health information. Netball could be used as a viable platform to reach out to women and girls.

The move to a profit-orientated economy led to a decline in support for netball not just from foreign investors but their lead encouraged other investors to pull out of

their existing sponsorship deals. A NAZ official strongly linked this to the culture of profit-making:

> Companies were [after privatisation] pulling out of sponsorship of netball because netball is a non-profitable association compared to other sport with gate-takings. They were not making money from it
>
> (Telephone Interview, NAZ Senior Official, 2nd January, 2013).

It can be concluded that the profit-driven investors viewed netball's failure to generate income from gate takings as a major weakness. Football on the other hand which had potential to generate income from gate-takings and attracted other counterpart commercial sponsorship funding was viable and highly favoured by investors than netball.

8.6 NAZ and UK Sport Netball Development Partnership

The NAZ and UK Sport's International Development through Excellence and Leadership in Sport (IDEALS) programme established a Netball Development Programme which is supported by Durham University and the International Federation of Netball Associations (IFNA). As a result of this partnership, NAZ, under the guidance of UK Sport, produced the 2010 – 2015 Strategic Plans. The key areas covered in this plan are coach education and umpire education. The two key achievements that have so far been recorded from this partnership involve delivery of coach capacity building workshops in the nine provinces by UK experts and the establishment of youth netball leagues.

In the NAZ 2010 – 2015 Strategic Plan there is the emphasis on building a working relationship with schools for grassroots development of the sport. This is reflective of the target group for coach education workshops which according to NAZ included both community and school based coaches. It was reiterated by a senior NAZ official

that though ZASSA or ZBSSA prefer to work independent of the NAZ, participants

from the two associations have been part of the coach development workshops.

The UK Sport – NAZ partnership has also resulted in the establishment of an Under

14 and Under 17 Youth Leagues. At the moment, these two leagues are offered only

in Lusaka hosted by the Olympic Youth Development Centre (OYDC). The financial

support for the two leagues has come from UK Sport as explained by a senior NAZ

official:

> UK Sport funds the operation of the Under 14 and Under 17 youth leagues.
> They fund transportation of the teams from various locations in Lusaka to the
> OYDC. The funding also caters for the post of the Netball Coordinator based
> here [at the OYDC]
> (Personal Interview, NAZ Senior Official B, 16 September, 2011).

A permanent post of a Netball Development Officer based at the OYDC is part of the

funding agreement for the development of netball. It is important to mention that the

post holder shares office space with other SDOs and the designated HIV/AIDS

specialist person at the OYDC. It is important to recall that this partnership was

developed based on instilling both sports leadership skills and life skills training. The

life skills' training is important for netball to raise awareness regarding empowerment

and other social issues. The partnership between UK Sport and NAZ has resulted

into the creation of the Under 14 and 17 youth leagues which are deemed important

for the future development of the netball as well as providing opportunities to have

access to sexual health information via netball.

8.7 NAZ and HIV/AIDS Response in Zambia

This section examines the HIV/AIDS related activities that this NSA has conducted in response to the call for an HIV/AIDS multisectoral response in Zambia. The section focusses on the involvement of the NAZ in HIV/AIDS policy formulation, implementation and collaborative efforts with other agencies. There are two points which make the case of netball particularly important as a tool for HIV/AIDS prevention and care campaigns. The first is that netball has the highest number of women participants in a single sport in Zambia. The second is that netball is special tool for promoting HIV prevention because HIV/AIDS is more prevalent among women and girls with more impact felt particularly at the household level. Culturally, the household is the responsibility of women who remain at home as housewives in many cases. Therefore, if sport is deemed to have the potential for mobilising target groups for communicating vital HIV/AIDS preventative messages and care plans, netball as a sport popular to females has a role to play. Furthermore, if HIV/AIDS is known to have a female face (Poit, Greener, and Russell, 2007), then the popularity of netball among women makes it a viable option for reaching out to women using a fun-based environment as an alternative or addition to the conventional classroom based health promotion sessions. The section begins by examining whether the NAZ has played a role in contributing to the voices of women being captured in HIV/AIDS policy formulation.

8.8 NAZ and National HIV/AIDS Policy Formulation

8.8.1 Involvement with the National AIDS Council Structures

The National AIDS Council (NAC) as the main policy making body for HIV/AIDS related matters in Zambia identified gender inequalities as a key factor in the spread of HIV/AIDS in Zambia. Developments in Zambia towards gender equality have

resulted in the government adopting the National Gender Policy (GRZ, 2000). This policy is intended to provide direction for tackling gender-based discrimination and promotion of equality in a modern Zambia against the backdrop of gender imbalances within traditional Zambian culture. In addition, in relation to gender and HIV/AIDS, the NAC produced a National Plan of Action on Women, Girls and HIV and AIDS 2010-2014 (NAC, 2009). This document discusses in detail the drivers of infection that make women more vulnerable than their male counterparts.

Furthermore, a report by the NAC extrapolates that the high HIV infection prevalence in women is due to 'high levels of social and economic vulnerability, inadequate access to life skills and information, low levels of negotiation skills, and unequal protection under statutory and customary laws and traditions' (NAC, 2006:8). Therefore, in order to address some of the identified factors forming part of the drivers of the HIV pandemic among women and girls, the voices of women and girls are central to the multisectoral response to HIV/AIDS. One of the stakeholder communities which can enable tackling some of the drivers, and facilitate or mobilise the voices of women and girls is NAZ as an organisation.

Therefore, it is evident from specific gender-based policy that mainstreaming of gender is vital to HIV/AIDS. Below the macro-level focus, meso-level agencies such as the NAZ have an obligation to respond to the call to mainstream gender and also play a part in the multisectoral approach to HIV/AIDS. One such role is the involvement in policy formulation. However, this study's findings show that NAZ has not been involved nor has it made contributions to HIV/AIDS policy formulation forums. This is despite there being a media record of the NSCZ summoning all its affiliates to an HIV/AIDS forum (Phiri, 2004). Surprisingly, current and former NAZ officials claimed that they were unaware of the meeting organised by the NSCZ.

At the micro level, bottom-up involvement in HIV/AIDS policy formulation by agencies such as netball clubs and meso level agencies such as NAZ occurs within the decentralised structures put in place by the NAC. Neither NAZ nor its affiliated netball clubs have been directly involved in policy formulation or practice sharing forums conducted through Provincial HIV/AIDS Task Forces (PATF) and District HIV/AIDS Task Forces (DATFs) (NAC/MoH, 2008). However, despite its lack of involvement in policy formulation and in the sharing of effective practice, NAZ is involved with HIV/AIDS NGOs that are active in both the PATF and DATF. This collaboration unfortunately has not resulted in involvement in policy formulation, although it has resulted in joint implementation of HIV/AIDS activities. The NGOs that collaborated with the NAZ were those with strong core competencies in delivering HIV/AIDS prevention and care. Such NGOs had, over time, developed their implementation strategies which enabled them to attract donor resources. Their relationship with the NAZ was one-sided in that the HIV/AIDS NGOs took a leading role and NAZ was passive in policy design and implementation as it lacked the strategic and competitive advantage.

8.8.2 Work-Based HIV/AIDS Policy within NAZ

NAZ's Five Year National Development Strategy (2010- 2015) acknowledged the use of sport as a tool for sustainable development and also the use of sport to raise and promote health awareness. This documented view by NAZ regarding the use of sport for social good particularly health awareness was also verbally stressed by two currently serving senior officials of NAZ. One of the senior officials effectively elucidated that the use of sport as a tool to address wider social agendas:

> Is there in our strategic plan, …What we said is that if we keep a child active through sports, we may one way or another try to move them

away from these other vices that may bring their status or the health levels down. So in one way or the other HIV/AIDS is also incorporated (Personal Interview, NAZ Senior Official B, 16 September, 2011).

However, the strategic plan does not outline actions beyond a policy statement of how NAZ intends to implement plans regarding health awareness. In regards to other sports development specific objectives, the NAZ Strategic Plan (2010 – 2015) specifically outlined yearly targets and set anticipated outcomes for each objective. A similar approach was not replicated with regard to NAZ's policy intentions to raise health awareness. However, data from interviews showed that NAZ made attempts to mainstream HIV/AIDS-related programmes in its activities. The subsequent section examines the implementation of HIV/AIDS focussed activities by NAZ.

The lack of precision regarding how NAZ intends to raise health awareness is linked to the lack of resources allocated towards such plans as indicated below:

> To bring in participants to and to bring in [HIV/AIDS] experts to come and relay that information [regarding HIV/AIDS] is a big challenge because of these resources and you have to move people from one area to the other…we have partnerships with Sports in Action, NOWSPAR and EduSport Foundation. Through their [Sports NGOs] partnerships with other international organisations, they are able to relay health education through their workshops
>
> (Personal Interview, NAZ Senior Official B, 16 September, 2011).

This NAZ official seems to suggest that the Association is constrained by lack of resources to clearly outline annual targets in their development plan similar to those specified for purely sporting objectives. Funding for the 'sports for sports' sake' plans which are also accompanied by clear outcome indicators has already been secured from NAZ's partnership with the UK Sport Council's IDEALS programme. The official quoted above also stressed that the established partnerships with SfD NGOs has enabled NAZ to tap into HIV/AIDS and gender resources obtained by such NGOs

from international donors. These SfD NGOs play a crucial role in the implementation of HIV/AIDS activities through their collaboration with NAZ.

8.9 NAZ and HIV/AIDS implementation

The section provides illustrations involving collaborative efforts between NAZ and other agencies focussing on tackling the spread of HIV/AIDS. Though it has been noted from the previous section that NAZ lacks clear plans to raise health awareness, health-related activities have been taking place. The key factor that has provided the opportunity to mobilise, reach out and disseminate health related information by civil society organisations and public agencies has been the NAZ Open tournament. Though this tournament is purely for competitive sport, it has enabled agencies to use sport to address wider social agendas as will be explained below.

8.9.1 NAZ Open Tournament

A NAZ senior official indicated that the NAZ Open Tournament is the 'biggest event in netball in the country' (Personal Interview, NAZ Senior Official B, 16 September, 2012). This annual event signifies the start of the netball season and is one to which both junior and senior teams from across the country are invited. It is inclusive of affiliated NAZ clubs as well as non-affiliated teams such as those from secondary, tertiary or further and higher educational institutions. This tournament is therefore attended by affiliates of both the school netball associations (ZASSA & ZBSSA). Therefore, in relation to its relevance as a suitable platform for HIV/AIDS sensitisation, it is important to state that the tournament covers the age range 15-49 which is the period of high sexual activity and high HIV incidence (NAC - NASF, 2010).

The NAZ Open tournament is a collaborative effort between NAZ and SiA, a sport-for-development NGO. The suggestion for the revival of this tournament was the outcome of cooperation between SiA, its international partners and local activists. As the main partners, 'SiA basically find sponsors on behalf of NAZ and they also fund some of the tournament prizes on the day' (Personal Interview, NAZ Senior Official B, 16 September, 2011). The objectives of the tournament are twofold: first promoting growth, participation and competition in netball; and second addressing wider social agendas. Overall, NAZ takes leadership on the sport development objectives of enhancing the growth in participation and competition in netball whereas collaborating partners, spearheaded by SiA, focus on sport-for-development objectives such as health promotion.

Civil society organisations that have been involved in NAZ Open tournament focusing directly on HIV/AIDS prevention and care activities include the following: Sport-in-Action, Society for Family Health (SFH), the Ministry of Health (MoH) and the Zambia Health Education Communication Trust (ZHECT). The subsequent section will discuss the work conducted by NAZ in collaboration with the first two NGOs. The omission of an in-depth look at the MoH and the ZHECT is because they have only supplied literature to NAZ.

8.9.2 HIV/AIDS Collaboration between NAZ and Sport in Action

SiA has played a crucial role in the development of netball in Zambia. Indeed, it is by SiA hosting UK Sport's IDEALS participants that the relationship with England Netball was established without which the recent developments would not have materialised. The relationship between SiA and NAZ started at a time when netball was facing its worst challenges – the decline in the number of teams due to business

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privatisation. NAZ officials acknowledged that the SiA came to their aid during a time when the Association was struggling to provide strategic direction for the sport due to lack of resources. This section examines how this collaboration has enabled the Association to respond not only to the need to develop netball, but also to the need to create opportunities to address wider social agendas through netball. The collaboration was made possible due to SiA's access to both local and foreign scarce resources which the NAZ was unable to access. The capability to attract foreign resources by SiA was strongly linked to the organisation's use of sport to address social agendas (Coalter, 2007). While the tournament may have been funded from local resources, NAZ officials believed the involvement of SiA, in heading the fundraising campaign, attracted sponsors. This relates to findings by Hulme and Edwards (1997) that the preference for working with NGOs is based on the notion that such organisations are well placed to enable aid to reach the target group. The themed nature of the Open Tournament as a way of addressing wider social agendas was important in attracting cooperating partners to fund such events.

Despite NSAs like NAZ stating in policy documents that their organisational intentions regard sport as a tool for sustainable development, they had generally been unsuccessful in attracting funding from international or local donors. For example, a former NAZ official explained how the association attempted to access international donor resources but had been unsuccessful. 'It has been difficult for us as NAZ to penetrate and get funding for HIV …netball competes with NGOs for similar funds' (Telephone Interview, Former national coach, 2 January, 2013). Therefore, instead of competing with the SiA, the NAZ strategically cooperated with the SiA enabling it to benefit from the funding that NGOs access.

In terms of capacity building, the collaboration on HIV/AIDS matters between the NAZ and SiA has not yielded a specific programme that NAZ can implement independent of SiA. This is because SiA performs 'demonstrations using peer leaders who relay such [HIV] messages' (Personal Interview, NAZ Senior Official B, 16 September, 2011). The SiA uses netball-based drills to sensitise young people about the dangers of HIV. The combination of sports and life skill drills is the competitive advantage resource that attracts funding from foreign donors.

8.9.3 NAZ and Society for Family Health Collaboration

The Society for Family Health (SFH) organisation has been one of the key NAZ Open tournament partners since the tournament was re-introduced. The SFH's core health-related business includes the social marketing of condoms locally at a subsidized price, HIV/AIDS voluntary counselling and testing, and male circumcision. The SFH has always put up a stall at the tournament where it promotes HIV/AIDS awareness. A senior NAZ official stressed the significance of the mainstreaming of the issue of HIV/AIDS and gender at the Open tournament:

> Just there at the tournament, a group of players would go there [SFH stall], they [SFH] would tell them how to use female condom and male condom, that's the time actually we [Zambian society] were introducing the female condom … [SFH] taught them how to use the female condom
> (Personal Interview, Senior NAZ Official A, 10 September, 2011).

The quote above shows how the netball tournament, based on its wide range of participant representation, has been used as an important platform for promoting female condoms by SFH. However, the issue of the distribution of condoms raised concern among some NAZ officials. Whilst all interviewees endorsed the use of condoms, the issue of distribution was left to the partner agency to decide but with

much prudence being emphasised by NAZ. For example, One NAZ official stressed that:

> Basically we have participants that vary depending with age group, because you have athletes that are minor, that are not sexually active and then we have those who are sexually active and these vary depending on age. But above all, everybody is taught to keep away for casual sex or to use preventative measures like condoms
> (Personal Interview, Senior NAZ Official B, 16 September, 2011).

Based on the age range (15-49 years) of NAZ Open tournament participants, the NAZ official quoted above emphasised the presence of both sexually active and inactive participants that 'talking about HIV prevention without an alternative such as condoms would not work, so it is best that these [condoms] are distributed to the right ages'. However, as stated above, NAZ has no control of the condom distribution process.

Apart from the distribution of condoms to participants, SFH has also used the tournament to reach out to 'other organisations that are attracted by the event and [that] want to reach out to women' (Personal interview, Senior NAZ Official B, 16 September, 2011). According to this official, other health promotion agencies invited and working in collaboration with NAZ at the tournament included the MoH and ZHECT. Similar to the SFH, the MoH and ZHECT contribute towards HIV/AIDS information distribution. With the increase in number of collaborating organisations, NAZ is considering 'looking at other events that can bring some more partnerships to try and develop this [HIV/AIDS] education framework' (Personal interview, Senior NAZ Official B, 16 September, 2011). The presence of NGOs distributing HIV/AIDS and other sexual health information resonates with recommendations to increase access to opportunities for sexual health information for women and girls which

many studies point out that women and girls lack access to health-related

information (UNAIDS, 2004; UNDP, 2011).

Advantageously, among all NSAs, NAZ provides a convenient platform for reaching

out to women and girls. As mentioned by the NAZ official, the NAZ Open

Tournament attracts a lot of institutions. It was also suggested that in the future, NAZ

intends to emulate what other organisers of netball tournaments in South Africa[17]

have done by offering welcome bags containing sexual health literature, condoms,

and other feminine essentials:

> Actually when we go to tournaments like last year in South Africa, on the first
> day, they [tournament organisers] were giving them bags which inside had
> condoms, sanitary towels, lotions and shampoos
> (Personal Interview, Senior NAZ Official A, 10 September, 2011).

However, the official quoted above stated that 'if we [NAZ] had money, we would

also do that at tournaments'. The reliance on resources from partners to conduct

HIV/AIDS activities within the NAZ is evident from this relationship with the SFH.

8.10 Conclusion

This concluding section identifies the key features in relation to HIV/AIDS policy

formulation and HIV/AIDS policy implementation which involve NAZ. The section

highlights how this particular organisation with its distinctive feature of being

responsible for the dominant female sport in Zambia has contributed to the delivery

of the multisectoral approach to tackling HIV/AIDS. By so doing, the section will

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[17] Netball is the most popular female sport in South Africa, and tournaments are one way used to integrate women in the fight against HIV/AIDS for a nation that suffers one of the highest HIV prevalence in sub-Saharan Africa.

critically comment on how mainstreaming of HIV/AIDS and gender issues have been incorporated into the Association's activities. Collaborative activities to build a concerted effort to combat the spread of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, particularly those involving the NAZ's work with generic health-based NGOs and sport-for-development NGOs, will be discussed in relation to the NAZ Open tournament which has featured prominently in the preceding sections.

8.10.1 HIV/AIDS Policy Formulation

Documentary evidence from the Association's strategic plans shows that it acknowledges the potential of sport as a tool to contribute towards sustainable human development. The specific mentioning of the use of sport to raise health awareness confirms the intentions of the Association of the use of sport to bring about social change. However, most of the HIV/AIDS related work that NAZ does is focussed more on implementation rather than engaging in formulation of HIV/AIDS policy both externally and internally.

External engagement entails involvement in consultative meetings with both macro and meso level HIV policy-decision processes. For example, NAZ has not engaged in open forums conducted by the NAC's decentralised units. Internally, there is lack of evidence within NAZ to show that initiatives have been taken to develop operational plans which may take the form of a bottom-up approach to either policy-making or implementation, engaging clubs to discuss how HIV/AIDS and gender mainstreaming can be delivered. The discussion below will elaborate further how NAZ has shown a lack of engagement in open membership micro-level policy making consultative forums.

The decentralisation of structures for coordinating and managing the multisectoral response to HIV/AIDS conform to the characteristics of the issue network. However, there is potential to develop the characteristics of a policy community based on the membership and integration of members. These decentralised structures, the PATF and DATF, accommodate diverse stakeholders and provide adequate opportunities for NSAs or their affiliated clubs to engage in the concerted fight against HIV/AIDS. However, the active involvement of NAZ in HIV/AIDS activities has been limited, especially at strategic decision-making levels despite research data gathered from DATF forums (Banda et al, 2008) showing that these structures are open to all stakeholders including NSAs representatives. Though collaborative partners, such the SFH and SiA, have engaged in these forums, their involvement with NAZ did not seem to result in an increase in the capacity of NAZ in relation to HIV/AIDS policy formulation. For example, the interaction of the SFH with NAZ seemed only to occur at the NAZ Open Tournament and other competition events rather than strategic policy formulation meetings. This pattern of relations has clear elements of issue networks, particularly infrequent interaction and broad range of attitudes towards HIV/AIDS activity held by network members.

Due to its crucial role in society as the main female sport and its consequent potential for social mobilisation, the data shows that NAZ has not utilised this comparative advantage to mainstream gender and HIV/AIDS. HIV/AIDS and gender initiatives identified within NAZ activities are highly dependent on other agencies spearheading the initiation and planning of collaborative work and do not originate

from NAZ. According to the NAC - NASF 201I 2015[18] mainstreaming involves

planning, implementation and evaluating of programmes focusing on prevention of

new infections, treatment services and care. However, responses from NAZ

interviewees showed that NAZ fulfilled only a passive role in the policy process and

was active only in facilitating the implementation of the policy of other organisations.

In reference to the recommended 6 steps in mainstreaming HIV/AIDS (see Table 2,

section 2.9), it can be said that NAZ has fulfilled some steps such as the

development of policy statements though such steps have lacked the backing of

resources to demonstrate the commitment of the Association. In addition, apart from

policy statements (aspirations) in strategic plans, there are no further plans outlined

to show how HIV/AIDS and gender are to be mainstreamed without which it is very

difficult for the association to monitor and evaluate progress towards its HIV/AIDS

policy objectives. Lack of clear organisational plans regarding how the Association

intended to mainstream HIV/AIDS programmes is evidence of the lack of progress in

the mainstreaming of HIV/AIDS and gender within NAZ beyond the NAZ Open

tournament.

8.10.2 HIV/AIDS Policy Implementation

The NASF 2011 – 2015 (NAC, 2010) stresses mainstreaming of gender-related

programmes as vitally important given the gender bias of the HIV/AIDS pandemic in

Zambia. As mentioned before, this is the comparative advantage that this NSA has

over other NSAs, the management and administrative responsibilities of the most

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[18] National AIDS Strategic Framework for HIV/AIDS and STIs – this is the second of the NASFs that
the NAC had drawn so far. This particular framework places emphasis on mainstreaming gender
more than the first document had done.

widely played female sport in Zambia. While the section focussing on HIV/AIDS policy making has shown that attempts to mainstream HIV/AIDS within the sector (netball community) is somewhat evident in the NAZ strategic documents, gender mainstreaming is lacking both in internal mainstreaming and external mainstreaming. Not only is mainstreaming of gender mentioned by the NAC's NASF 2011-2015 but also by the DSD's New Revised National Sport Policy (MYCSD, 2008) which provides operational plans for sports organisations to implement in their organisation's efforts to mainstream gender. This section has shown that the implementation of HIV/AIDS policy within NAZ is mainly conducted during the NAZ Open Tournament and that there are no recorded activities beyond that. Lack of integration of HIV/AIDS and gender into core activities of the association was evident. Other development programmes such as coaching workshops for clubs and schools or AGMs were not mentioned as part of the mainstreaming of HIV/AIDS.

The bulk of all the HIV/AIDS related work is conducted by external agencies at the NAZ Open tournament. NAZ itself lacks resources to invest in the design and implementation of HIV/AIDS activities. Due to the low level of interaction between NAZ and these external agencies, it is problematic as such HIV/AIDS activities are only intensified during the Open Tournament. Apart from donor resource dependence impacting on this manner of sporadic interaction, the lack of government HIV/AIDS-resources for sport organisations indicates lack of political commitment towards mainstreaming HIV/AIDS in sports.

In sum, it would be harsh to conclude that NAZ was hesitant to do more HIV-related work beyond the HIV/AIDS policy implementation conducted by cooperating partners. The Association's aspiration to engage in HIV/AIDS mainstreaming was evident within its strategic plans but it seemed the lack of resources and

administrative capacity constrained the Association. The issue of limited resources

and administrative capacity also implied that NAZ played a passive role in HIV/AIDS

implementation, whereas cooperating partners took a leading role since they had the

resources required for implementation. Other relations (UK Sport IDEALS) have led

to the development of institutional structures which have brought within NAZ's fold,

key target groups in relation to prevalence of HIV. However, the main focus for the

relationship was sports coaching and netball development.

Chapter 9: Discussion and Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

This final chapter will draw upon ideas that have been presented in all the chapters presented within this thesis apart from chapter 1. Chapter 2 focussed on setting the HIV/AIDS context in Zambia and helped establish the significance of this study's focus on the implementation of the HIV/AIDS multisectoral response in Zambia. The national response to HIV/AIDS presented in chapter 2 requires all sectors to mainstreaming HIV/AIDS in all core activities. Chapter 3 provided a historical background to sport development in Zambia with particular focus on policy-making and implementation for sport. The chapter helped to identify the diminished role of government in sport provision due to lack of resources. Despite the lack of resources, sport remains a significant policy concern to the Zambian government. Chapter 4 was vital in outlining the concept of power and how power is dispersed in Zambian society. The discussion of theories of the state sensitised the researcher to other theories that are derived from assumptions of power at macro-level theories. Meso-level theories and their utility will be discussed within this chapter and so will be the application of policy implementation theories.

In relation to the theoretical framework presented in chapter 4, critical realism was adopted to facilitate the analysis of relationships between organisational material conditions and discursive practices. This approach was compatible with the idea that there are different realities within the chosen case studies which would be unearthed using the selected methods of data collection. Chapter 6's findings which presented the football case study revealed that this NSA was a primary actor as it had potential to facilitate and influence HIV/AIDS policy implementation. Chapter 7 and 8's

findings were similar in some way in that these two NSAs (ZBA and NAZ) were dependent on civil society organisations for HIV/AIDS policy implementation. In relation to the literature review, the utility of the issue network theory was applicable to the HIV/AIDS mainstreaming activities of both these NSAs.

This final chapter (9) is divided into two major sections. The first section provides key comparisons and contrasts of the empirical findings of each of the three case studies presented in chapters 6, 7 and 8. Specific consideration is given to the similarities and differences in the key findings based on the involvement of the organisation in each case study in HIV/AIDS policy making and implementation. The HIV/AIDS multisectoral approach adopted in Zambia by the NAC and formal proposals for mainstreaming HIV/AIDS discussed in chapter 2 will be drawn upon throughout. The second section will utilise the theoretical and methodological insights to promote a more in-depth analysis and will access the applicability of the different macro and meso-level theoretical frameworks set out in chapter 3. The section will pay particular attention to the utility of the multiple streams framework for policy making and policy networks theory for understanding the forms of collaborative working or partnerships in HIV/AIDS and sport.

The following are the research objectives set out in chapter 4 that this chapter addresses:

1. To provide an account of the development of sport policy in Zambia and to explain the extent to which a cross-cutting issue such as HIV/AIDS has been mainstreamed within the NSAs

2. To analyse the policy making process in relation to HIV/AIDS and the role of the three NSAs

3. To analyse the roles of NSAs in implementing HIV/AIDS policies in relation to their association affiliates - clubs or schools, and

4. To analyse the extent to which NSAs have developed relationships with other organisations responsible for HIV/AIDS programmes outside the sports sector.

9.2 Policy making and HIV/AIDS Mainstreaming

The purpose of this section is to examine how each of the case studies responded to HIV/AIDS as a cross-cutting issue. The section will utilise NAC's recommended key steps for HIV/AIDS mainstreaming (see Table 2 in chapter 2) in order to particularly focus the discussion on how each NSA was involved in activities related to HIV/AIDS policy making. In line with research objectives 1 and 2 above, the discussion uses Table 2 specifically to focus on identifying similarities and differences in HIV/AIDS policy making and implementation between all three case studies in the following key areas: evidence of the development of institutional HIV/AIDS policy statements; development of HIV/AIDS strategic and operational plans; and evidence of resource allocation to support HIV/AIDS focused plans.

9.2.1 Comparison of mainstreaming HIV/AIDS actions among the three Case Studies

The aim of making comparisons between the three case studies is aided by referring to the recommended steps for mainstreaming of HIV/AIDS action as an analytical framework (see Table 2 in Chapter 2). Mainstreaming of HIV/AIDS places a demand on organisations to address both direct and indirect aspects of the HIV/AIDS pandemic within their workplace or working environment. Individual organisations need to analyse how the pandemic is likely to impact them and their stakeholders in both the short and long term. In relation to such concerns, interviewees from all the

three cases acknowledged the impact of the pandemic upon the lives of players, coaches, administrators and their families. This section will discuss how each of the three case studies had integrated HIV/AIDS policy within their organisational policies, paying particular attention to the development of institutional or work-based HIV/AIDS policy responses.

9.2.1.1 Developing Institutional Policy Statement and Operational Plans for HIV/AIDS

Considering the development of institutional HIV/AIDS policy statement or work-based HIV/AIDS policy, none of the three cases had any formal HIV/AIDS policy documents which were evidently developed internally and made available to their affiliated member clubs for implementation. However, considerable differences existed among the three cases in relation to organisational approaches applied to address the lack of detailed work-based HIV/AIDS action. Before exploring the differences among the cases, it is important at this stage of the thesis to recall the NAC's requirements for each sector's response to HIV/AIDS. The three cases all fall under the Ministry of Youth, Sport and Child Development's (MYSCD) HIV/AIDS policy guidelines through the National Sports Council of Zambia. Chapter 2 highlighted that each government ministry or sector was supported with a funded post of an HIV/AIDS focal person to assist with the development of work-based HIV/AIDS mainstreaming. Whilst this support was available to all the three departments (Sport Development; Youth Affairs and Child Development) within the MYSCD, it emerged that the Departments of Youth Affairs (DYA) and the Department of Child Development (DCD) had developed HIV/AIDS work-place guidelines for their respective departments. However, within the same ministry, the Department of Sport Development (DSD) did not have a comprehensive HIV/AIDS work-based plan.

It can be proposed that the two departments (Youth Affairs and Child Development) had more distinct roles to play in ameliorating the impact of HIV/AIDS compared to the DSD capacity to use sport as a tool for HIV/AIDS prevention. Ameliorating the devastation of young people's lives cause by HIV/AIDS was central to the HIV/AIDS work-based remit of the two departments. Central government funding (MoFNP – 5th NDP, 2011) reflects the significance attached by central government towards addressing the plight of children and young people affected by HIV/AIDS. The ministerial HIV/AIDS focal person was more involved with the DYA and DCD, two departments which received funding for HIV/AIDS programmes than the DSD. Despite the inclusion of sport in key national strategic documents such as the national development plans (NDP) and the Poverty Reduction Strategic Programme (PRSP), the fact that the DSD did not receive adequate funding to enable it address wider social agendas reflected the government's view of the role of sport in HIV/AIDS matters.

Despite having the least contact and involvement with the HIV/AIDS focal person compared to the DYA and DCD, the DSD's New Revised National Sport Policy (MYCSD-DSD, 2008) covered HIV/AIDS and gender mainstreaming issues. The document provided policy guidance to the sector by way of clearly stated operational plans. However, an analysis of the HIV/AIDS related activities of each of the three cases revealed both congruent and incongruent implementation. Matland's (1995: 160) administrative implementation (low policy ambiguity and low policy conflict) is instructive here, where the lack of resources seemed to inhibit effective implementation since 'outcomes are determined by resources'. The lack of resources from central government contributed to the lack of power by the DSD to direct NSAs via the NSCZ to develop and align their work-based plans and strategic operational

plans to its HIV/AIDS policy. The exception was NAZ which made mention of sport as a tool for health awareness and development sustainability. However, such an inclusion was likely to have been instigated by the Association's strategy to align its objectives to those of the UK Sport Council's international development programme which emphasised gender and HIV/AIDS. NAZ had developed its 5 year strategic sports development document with a strong input from IDEALS' volunteers and England Netball. Despite the noted lack of comprehensive institutional HIV/AIDS documents among the three cases, each of their responses to HIV/AIDS matters was influenced and shaped by each organisation's internal capabilities (or lack of), availability of resources, status (power) and external relationships. The discussion will elaborate further these differences and similarities in approaches to policy making for HIV/AIDS for each.

Whilst all the three cases acknowledged the devastating effects caused by the HIV/AIDS pandemic in terms of loss of lives of athletes, sports administrators or teachers, none had conducted bottom-up consultation with their stakeholders in relation to policy making in order to develop contextual responses to tackle the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Kingdon's (1995) problem stream and political stream are instructive here, in that though the problem was acknowledged, the national mood was one of 'general … silence about HIV/AIDS' (Telephone Interview, Former ZBA General Secretary, 17 Sept, 2012). Even when the silence on HIV/AIDS was broken, the lack of organisational agency towards HIV/AIDS agenda-setting and formal programming was common among all three cases. This similar stance among all three cases was driven by the lack of resources from government and quasi-governmental institutions that distribute HIV/AIDS resources. The lack of resources for grassroots sports provision identified among all three cases dictated the

concentration of HIV/AIDS related discussion at the elite end of the sports

development spectrum since the inadequate central government funding was utilised

at that level for training and competition commitments. Almost all HIV/AIDS activities

using sports as a tool for HIV prevention at grassroots level were conducted by SfD

NGOS in collaboration with generic health-based NGOs. Such activities were funded

mainly through foreign donor resources only available to civil society organisations.

The donor community as has been noted in the literature review section had a

preference for NGOs deemed as efficient and effective to enable aid to reach the

target group at community level.

Table 12: Summary of Efforts to Mainstream HIV/AIDS

	FAZ	ZBA	NAZ
Institutional Policy Statement	No evidence of formal HIV/AIDS work-based plans. However, this NSA has a medical committee of qualified staff who shape and influence health-related policy decisions	The NSA's current long-term development plans do not mention HIV/AIDS. Also, no evidence of official HIV/AIDS work-based plans	NSA strategic document acknowledges the power of sport as a tool for sustainable development and raising health awareness
Development of Strategic & Operational Plan for HIV/AIDS	Current strategic plans developed via FIFA's '11 for Health' Programme. Mainly externally driven through the FIFA Medical Assessment and Research Centre (F-MARC)	No evidence of in-house strategic plans. Nevertheless, all HIV/AIDS activities are based on NGO-led design and implementation style. Therefore, there is a strong sense of dependency on externally formulated HIV/AIDS policy or strategic plans by state and local non-state actors	Though mentioned in development plans, the NSA has not developed operational plans for the use of sport as a social good. HIV/AIDS mainstreaming is through NGO-led design and implementation of activities
Resource allocation to support plan	Lack of government financial support for HIV/AIDS mainstreaming. However, human resources and time resources from government – teachers and school timetable allocation. Current financial resources obtained from foreign agencies (FIFA and foreign FAs). FAZ MedCom as NSA human resource	Lack of government financial support for HIV/AIDS mainstreaming. The NSA has no focal point person responsible for HIV/AIDS within the organisational structure. However, access to an HIV/AIDS expert at OYDC is open	Lack of government financial support for HIV/AIDS mainstreaming. The NSA has no focal point person responsible for HIV/AIDS within the organisational structure. However, access to an HIV/AIDS expert at OYDC is open
Documentation and Monitoring and Evaluation of Implementation	Lack of formalised operational plans has resulted in lack of in-house M&E exercise of HIV/AIDS related activities	Marginalised from both formal and informal M&E of HIV/AIDS activities and reporting by NGO partner agencies	Marginalised from both formal and informal M&E of HIV/AIDS activities and reporting by NGO partner agencies. Furthermore, this NSA lacks operational plans for its HIV/AIDS policy intentions making it difficult to document progress

| **Forms of HIV/AIDS Mainstreaming** | Initially, individual agency of condom promotion which antagonised the government. FIFA 11 for Health programme. Collaborators include ministries of education, health and sport. First grassroots programme addressing health issues by NSA. FAZ MedCom health talks to elite players have been the norm

Condom promotion, HIV/AIDS literature leaflets; HIV/AIDS talks by peers and addressing the ABC (Abstinence, Be faithful to one sexual partner, and use Condoms) approach in general | HIV/AIDS activities lead mainly by local & foreign Christian groups. The NSA also hosts two annual tournaments for schools and clubs both with an HIV/AIDS theme. NGO-led condom promotion, HIV/AIDS literature leaflets; HIV/AIDS talks by peers and addressing the ABC (Abstinence, Be faithful to one sexual partner, and use Condoms) approach in general | HIV/AIDS mainstreaming is mainly done through the NAZ Open tournament forming the main platform for HIV/AIDS activities. Condom and HIV literature distributions occur at this event through collaboration with HIV/AIDS focused NGOs |

It can be suggested that the lack of central government resources and ineligibility to access foreign HIV/AIDS resources may have contributed to the failure to integrate into NAC's decentralised structures such as the PATF and the DATF policy formulation forums at provincial and district level respectively. Moreover, despite the government strategic documents identified earlier recognising the role that sport could play in the fight against HIV/AIDS, there was no evidence of involvement in NAC's thematic groupings which had both open and closed membership. Marsh and Rhodes' (1992) policy community and issue networks are instructive here. Despite the multi-actor dimension common in the congested HIV/AIDS policy environment, there were no sports associations involved within the established policy making networks mainly because they had no acknowledged resources to exchange in a resource dependency relationship (Rhodes, 1988).

Despite the previous lack of resources exchange, FAZ had accrued some foreign resources in 2012 through the FIFA '11 for Health' programme. Through this school-based programme and its power resources (Rhodes, 1997), FAZ was able to shape health-related policy inclusive of HIV/AIDS in schools. More on this collaboration between FAZ and three government ministries will be discussed when considering implementation. However, it is important at this point to stress that FAZ had attained an influential role which enabled the Association to shape policy because of being in possession of foreign resources to exchange. The status (political power resource) of FAZ as a national sport strengthened the Association's policy influence since the programme was rolled out nationwide.

Another significant internal capability or comparative advantage of FAZ regarding its HIV/AIDS policy making was the presence and composition of the FAZ MedCom. It can be deduced that perhaps the existence of the medical committee brought a sense of self-sufficiency in policy matters as voiced by a FAZ senior official that 'we have a lot more capable doctors and I think the guys are very dedicated, … they are not full time doctors of the national team, they work in hospitals so their work is very valuable now to the Football Association' (Personal Interview, 10 Sept 2011).This may explain why FAZ officials were not engaging in the PATF or DATF, given the expertise of the FAZ MedCom. Such internal capability was a key element that caused the Association not to look elsewhere (outside FAZ) for policy guidance on HIV/AIDS. The FAZ MedCom was inimitable in that the other two NSAs did not have such a closely knit and integrated policy community (Marsh and Rhodes, 1992) to provide guidance to their respective associations in regards to health and social matters such as HIV/AIDS.

With regards to the ZBA, in relation to the institutional HIV/AIDS work-based plan, careful analysis of its 5 year basketball development plans showed that the strategic documents neither mentioned HIV/AIDS nor stated the use of sport as a social good. Despite the lack of HIV/AIDS policy acknowledgement, the ZBA had a high frequency of HIV/AIDS related activities as will be elaborated when discussing implementation of HIV/AIDS. Central to the approach undertaken by this Association was the acknowledgement that the HIV/AIDS policy environment is highly fragmented. The ZBA acknowledged that the policy environment had several actors who had formulated HIV/AIDS policies, and so the Association choose not to duplicate efforts but rely on implementing policies developed by other actors. The

approach adopted by the ZBA seemed suitable for the Association due to the lack of resources to invest in policy making and implementation.

Based on the understanding that the Association's target group (mainly young people) are involved in other sectors that tackle HIV/AIDS such as the education sector, there was a strong conviction that its members were externally accessing well-structured and funded HIV/AIDS programmes. For example, a ZBA senior official stated that all youth related matters on sexual behavioural change are handled within the ZBA using policy guidance from the 'Ministry of Education guideline on behaviour change' (Personal Interview, Senior ZBA Official, 19 January 2012). This sort of dependency on other sectors which had HIV/AIDS resources helped to compensate for the lack of resources available to the ZBA. However, due to the Association not having its own HIV/AIDS work-based policy coupled with the Association's over- dependency on other actors within the HIV/AIDS policy environment, the ZBA platform for HIV/AIDS implementation was characterised by conflicting HIV prevention messages by external actors. The HIV/AIDS prevention issue network identified within the ZBA circles had members with diverse views. This will be discussed later when focusing on the nature of HIV/AIDS activities.

With regard to NAZ, the Association was the only one of the three to have documentary evidence of HIV/AIDS mainstreaming. Thus, NAZ had to a certain degree evidently aligned its five year sport development policy document to the DSD's national sports policy. It is crucial to understand that NAZ's policy aspirations are likely to be influenced by the sport development and funding partnerships the Association had with UK Sport and England Netball. This partnership emerged through the IDEALS programme whose funding was also aimed at tackling cross-cutting issues such as HIV/AIDS and gender equality. Therefore, it can be suggested

that the impetus for the inclusion of cross-cutting issues in the NAZ strategic plans was influenced by foreign funding and not through government resources. The limited supply of, and also ineligibility for government controlled HIV/AIDS resources resulted in the lack of motivation by NSAs to incorporate in their agenda setting HIV/AIDS activities recommended by the DSD.

Despite showing good indications of policy making regarding sport as a social good, the NAZ documentation (NAZ, 2010) as well as the interview responses revealed that the Association's mainstreaming intentions lacked detailed operational plans. Whilst other areas of the development plan which were focussed on the general development of netball, had explicit operational plans and expected sporting outcomes, the section addressing cross-cutting issues was devoid of such operational plans and expected outcomes.

9.3 Policy Implementation and HIV/AIDS Mainstreaming

Having discussed policy making in the preceding section, this section examines the implementation of HIV/AIDS activities in the three cases. Similarly, this section will examine cross-case similarities and differences in the implementation of HIV/AIDS activities. In order to understand the role of NSAs within the multisectoral response to HIV/AIDS, this implementation section is divided into two: i) the nature of HIV/AIDS activities and ii) the nature of collaborations or partnerships. In so doing, the section will address the last two research objectives (3 and 4) above which focus on the roles of NSAs in implementing HIV/AIDS policies and the extent to which NSAs have developed relationships with other organisations responsible for HIV/AIDS programmes outside the sports sector.

Chapters 6, 7, and 8 revealed that HIV/AIDS had affected all aspects of Zambian society, and all cases had experienced the loss of the lives of players, coaches and sports administrators. Participation in sports league fixtures for all cases entailed frequent travelling of sportsmen and women, not forgetting also their travelling fans who follow their teams from one district/town to another. Such kind of movements rendered sports men and women including their fans vulnerable to HIV/AIDS infection. The section discusses how each case responded to the threat of HIV/AIDS in order to reduce the vulnerability of its members to HIV infection.

9.3.2 Nature of HIV/AIDS Activities

Despite the lack of involvement in policy forums which was common across all the cases, cross-case analysis showed a degree of similarity in HIV/AIDS activities that each of the three NSAs conducted. All three were categorised as generally embracing activities reflecting the HIV/AIDS preventative aspects of the three broad aspects of prevention, treatment and care used to address the multi-dimensional nature of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. This section considers the nature of the HIV/AIDS preventative activities conducted by each case organisation. In so doing, the section considers the following: the type of activities that were delivered; who were the deliverers; what was the target group and how were resources for implementation generated?

A common theme of the nature of HIV/AIDS activities across all the cases was that they were all focussing on HIV prevention and that there were no activities conducted in relation to caring for people living with HIV/AIDS. The nature of the HIV/AIDS preventative activities were in the form of: condom promotion, demonstration and distribution; HIV/AIDS literature leaflets distribution; and

HIV/AIDS talks by peers addressing the ABC (**A**bstinence, **B**e faithful to one sexual partner, and use **C**ondoms). It is important to recall that the NAC's multisectoral framework has six thematic groupings that formed part of the National HIV/AIDS Strategic Framework (NAC, 2006). All the cases' HIV/AIDS activities were categorised as fitting the prevention theme which was also reflected in the technical competence and resource exchange that partner agencies working collaboratively with each case association brought to the partnership. The willingness of well-established and reputable health-based NGOs to deliver HIV prevention activities during sports events reflected the power of sport based on its social mobilisation potential and appeal to the target group. However, as has been noted already, such relationships did not stretch beyond the sports competition or event venue to policy making offices in order to integrate NSAs in decision-making.

However, though all cases operated within a similar theme of HIV prevention, there were differences in their implementation styles and the sort of emphasis given to the message of HIV prevention due to the differences regarding who was responsible for delivering the message to the target group. Lipsky's (1971) concept of street-level bureaucrat is instructive here. During ZBA and NAZ events, the implementers of HIV/AIDS activities were external organisations whose trained personnel adhered to their organisational ethos which influenced their implementation. The difference between the FAZ and the other two NSAs was that the FAZ had in-house medical experts who trained peer trainers according to its organisational ethos. Hence, FAZ had control of the implementation process through the technical support of the FAZ MedCom which shaped and influenced the implementation of HIV/AIDS activities. The lack of specialised expertise within the ZBA and NAZ meant that the two lacked control of the implementation process within their respective organisations. Hence,

as illustrated below, HIV/AIDS policy outcome was not the product of central actors, but rather the outcome of street-level bureaucrats' actions who during implementation modify their actions to suit local conditions. However, some of the development actions of the street-level bureaucrats have been criticised for propagating medico-scientific and neo-colonial discourses which mainly stressed HIV/AIDS information dissemination as a universal solution to the pandemic (see Kalipeni et al. 2004). Such actions were mainly influenced from a new foreign 'top-down' consisting of Global North funding partners.

However, with regard to the new FIFA '11 for Health' programme delivered in schools by teachers, it can be argued that the freedom of FAZ's street-level bureaucrats to modify implementation was somewhat restricted due to the prescribed manual from FIFA. Teachers and community coaches as participants at FIFA training workshops were instructed how to implement the FIFA programme and offered a manual with prescribed weekly sessions. Though Elmore (1980) criticised such top-down practices as not necessarily leading to congruent implementation, FAZ had put in place a well- structured programme to enable the Association achieve the programme goals due to its characteristics of having policy directives from the top, strict control and clear programme statements. Compliance with the FIFA top-down approach was encouraged by incentives given to the teachers in the form of training equipment such as bibs, footballs, training cones and a whistle.

Conversely, the ZBA and NAZ did not operate top-down approaches, but rather bottom-up approaches mainly due to their lack of resources and their reliance on resources provided by external agencies who were at the same time the main implementers of HIV/AIDS activities. Lipsky's (1971) argument regarding street-level bureaucrats' ability to modify implementation was evident. For example, the street-

level bureaucrats (from foreign Christian groups) within the ZBA ignored some elements of the national ABC approach and stressed only *Abstinence* in their HIV/AIDS programmes while other local generic NGOs attended to all three elements of the ABC approach at ZBA events. Within the NAZ, the discussion of ABC approaches and later distribution of condoms was left to the discretion of the street-level bureaucrats who were tasked by the NSA to check the age appropriateness of the target group. NAZ also did not dictate but left it to the discretionary judgement of external agencies at its open tournaments to take into consideration organisational responsibilities pertaining to the discussion of sensitive sexual matters with young people.

There were other differences between the cases with regard to the frequency with which HIV/AIDS activities were conducted within each NSA. For both the ZBA and NAZ, the main platform for HIV/AIDS activities occurred during each Association's annual open tournament. Multi-actor implementation of HIV/AIDS related activities took place mainly during a single event through bottom-up approaches. NSAs, as meso level organisations, were assisted by micro level sport-for-development NGOs and health-based NGOs who planned and funded the activities. It is important to recall that both the ZBA and NAZ had lost their corporate sector club and tournament sponsorships during the economic hardships of the 1980s and 1990s. The two NSAs' major tournaments involving schools were re-introduced with the help of Sport in Action (SiA) while the ZBA's major club tournament was re-introduced through new corporate investors. It can be suggested that the involvement of SiA in both the NSAs' grassroots level tournaments achieved both sporting and non-sporting outcomes.

Both the ZBA and NAZ did not interfere with the preparation and delivery of non-sporting activities by the SfD NGO because of the confidence they had in the knowledge and pedagogical competence of SiA. Apart from SiA conducting sports and traditional games which the NGO used to initiate HIV/AIDS discussions; other civil society actors within the HIV/AIDS prevention theme group also implemented health-related activities free from top-down interference from both the ZBA and NAZ. The extent of flexibility within the two NSAs was evident because both lacked resources to implement HIV programmes despite the respective Associations' acknowledgement of the HIV problem and the need to respond. In the case of NAZ, the Association had no resources to prompt further development of its stated objectives into operational plans. In contrast, the flexibility of the ZBA which lacked HIV/AIDS policy statements or objectives was open and vulnerable to diverse views of external actors who were free to implement their HIV/AIDS specific plans at ZBA events.

However, in contrast to both the ZBA and NAZ, there was evidently a top-down approach to the implementation of the FIFA '11 for Health' programme by the FAZ. More specifically, Elmore's (1980: 603) forward mapping fitted the implementation of this FIFA programme as policy makers (F-MARC) controlled the 'organisational, political, and technological processes' that affected the implementation. The FIFA instructors delegated authority to teachers to implement the programme in schools. In contrast to the flexibility evident amongst the street-level bureaucrats (Lipsky, 1971) implementing activities during the ZBA and NAZ events, teachers were accountable and controlled by central actors within FAZ's education section. The top-down implementation approach evident within the FAZ programme espoused forward mapping as those close to the policy making process possessed great

authority and influence, while on the other hand the ZBA and NAZ's bottom-up approaches to implementation gave more authority to the street-level bureaucrats. HIV/AIDS activities implemented by multi-actors during ZBA and NAZ events in way defined at that particular moment what the HIV/AIDS policy was for each organisation, whereas for FAZ, health policy was conceived by top level officials who passed it down to programme implementers.

It is again important to revisit the point regarding high HIV/AIDS incidence among women and girls compared to men and boys and to analyse the HIV/AIDS mainstreaming differences among the cases. It is of interest that the NAZ as the main sports association overseeing netball, the most popular women's sport in Zambia, did not stress the mainstreaming of gender in its HIV/AIDS activities or programme selection. The partner agencies working with NAZ discussed in Chapter 8 were generally HIV/AIDS prevention NGOs and were not selected specifically for their strong characteristic of programmes focussing mainly on gender inequalities faced by women and girls which increase their vulnerability to HIV infection. Instead, willingness to cooperate on HIV/AIDS activities and provision of resources to undertake such particular activities were the two key drivers for selection of partners.

Indeed, it was the ZBA that evidently showed more gender-related sensitivity in partner agency selection. Based on the demise of women's basketball and HIV/AIDS, the relationship with NOWSPAR was of benefit to the ZBA to re-establish women's participation in basketball as the partnering agency specialised in reducing barriers to women's participation. However, the ZBA's open door policy which allowed access to groups with diverse values regarding HIV/AIDS made it difficult to infer whether the decision to partner with NOWSPAR was a deliberate action to tackle HIV/AIDS by focussing on gender inequalities. The lack of an institutional

HIV/AIDS policy statement and operational plans made the task of making such an inference complicated. With regard to FAZ and gender mainstreaming, it can be concluded based on the balanced representation of both male and female teachers who attended the training of trainers' workshops that gender mainstreaming was considered. However, the selection of the participants was not done by FAZ but by nine Provincial Education Offices (PEOs). Based on the Zambian government's key focus on gender, PEOs were likely to have taken into consideration gender equality in their selection of representatives from their respective provinces. The next discussion looks at the nature of collaborations or partnerships that each case study was involved in.

9.3.2 Nature of Collaborations or Partnerships

Based on the findings focussing on HIV/AIDS implementation practices of each of the three case studies, Marsh and Rhodes' (1992) typology for classifying policy networks is particularly useful to provide a good understanding of the nature of collaboration or partnership working which were evident within each of the three cases. Also useful is the literature on implementation particularly Matland's ambiguity-conflict matrix to help explain the behaviour of each case in HIV/AIDS policy implementation which was conducted mainly through collaborative practices or partnership working.

There were significant differences between the cases in the form of collaborative working. The ZBA and NAZ's collaborative practices with other agencies indicated what could be termed as highly fragmented resource networks while FAZ's characteristics of partnership working were termed as an 'integrated community'. Among all the cases, FAZ had formalised relationship with three government

ministries which were key partners in the delivery of the FIFA '11 for Health' programme. FAZ had established a strong team consisting of: Ministry of Education (MoE); Ministry of Health (MoH) and Ministry of Sport, Youth and Child Development (MYSCD). This was a closed membership policy community whose shared interest was the health and wellbeing of young people. In terms of HIV/AIDS, the MoE and the MoH had core competencies in HIV prevention programmes for young people within educational institutions. As for the MSYCD, apart from the fact that FAZ was under this particular ministry, its competencies were also based on the use of sport for addressing wider agendas. This point was reflected particularly through the inclusion of community coaches in the FIFA '11 for Health' training session for teachers. However, FAZ was in a position of power over the local policy implementation of the '11 for Health' compared to the other three government co-operating actors. Though the competencies of each co-operating partner were diffused throughout as explained above, FAZ's resources were facilitative – enabling policy implementation to occur. In addition, though FAZ was under the MSYCD, the administrative power of the ministry did not give the MSYCD the role of primary actor or principal. Instead, FAZ's potential or capacity to facilitate the '11 for Health' activities in schools made FAZ the principal in these social power relations.

However, the ZBA and NAZ did not possess the sort of formalised relationships compared to those between FAZ and its partner agencies. Common to the ZBA and NAZ were multilateral informal relationships which were characterised by fluctuating interaction among several members. Joint working on common interests was characterised by irregular involvement of interested parties. Within Marsh and Rhodes' (1992) typology, consensus of members is vital for differentiating between an issue network and a policy community. FAZ members depicted a shared

understanding among all three regarding the wellbeing of young people and suitable approach for HIV/AIDS prevention. The reason for this was that all three key members were public bodies which shared a common government policy stance regarding recommended approaches to HIV/AIDS prevention for young people. On the contrary, the ZBA's issue network memberships, which consisted of a variety of state and non-state actors composed of foreign and local organisations, often reflected signs of incompatibility of basic values on approaches regarding HIV/AIDS prevention for young people. For example, Christian values and non-Christian values confirmed the lack of consensus among members, rendering ZBA's HIV networks as characteristic of an issue network. NAZ was characterised as an issue network based on the members' fluctuating and infrequent interaction.

Marsh and Rhodes' insightful typology was helpful for understanding the nature of collaborations or partnerships by paying particular attention to forms of power, its distribution and how it was exercised among members. FAZ had recently (August 2012) acquired foreign resources from FIFA which it was using to implement its FIFA '11 for Health' programme. Chapter 6 revealed that a senior FAZ official highlighted the lack of government financial support for grassroots football and that the expected external resources from FIFA would enable FAZ to work together with government departments to address the poor provision of grassroots football as well as wider social agendas. Despite FAZ's central control [principal position] of the resources from FIFA, a positive-sum relationship regarding the knowledge base or competencies of all interested parties seemed to balance the distribution of resources. Of the three cases, only FAZ attained the principal or primary actor position whilst the other two cases were subordinate [or secondary actors] to civil society agencies. This compromised the position of both the ZBA and NAZ in social

power relations as they were the subordinate agent and the principal were the civil society agencies with foreign resources.

Power and resources were highly fragmented in the type of collaborative or partnership activities that were identified within the context of the ZBA and NAZ. It is important to acknowledge that these two cases had undergone severe financial difficulties as a result of the liberalisation of the Zambian economy. While football, the national sport, had experienced similar financial difficulties, FAZ received more significant support from central government resources compared to the ZBA and NAZ. The lack of central government financial subsidies for the ZBA and NAZ influenced and dictated their gaze on external opportunities from NGOs supported through foreign resources. However, their collaborative activities could still be characterised as foreign 'top-down' approaches highly dependent on foreign resources. The lack of central government resources and their ineligibility to access foreign resources compounded the necessity to form collaborations with those agencies that had access to such resources.

The identified collaborative working between the ZBA/NAZ with civil society agencies were characterised by power imbalances cascading from the source of funding to the end-user. First, according to the literature on international aid discussed in this thesis, the power of international donors over recipient NGOs (Laird, 2007; Seckinelgin, 2004) and the power wielded by the World Bank/International Monetary Fund over low-income countries, defined also the sort of power identified within some collaborative practices. Common within sport-for-development foreign donors and their use of power was the encouragement of collaborative working for SfD NGOs as a precondition for funding (see Lindsey and Banda, 2011). This funding conditionality by external donors explains and also brings to question the type of

highly fragmented networks evident between ZBA/NAZ and sport-for-development

NGOs. It was difficult to further establish whether such collaborative working was

simply instigated to meet foreign donor requirements as suggested by their

fluctuating and fragmented nature.

During open tournaments when the majority of collaborative efforts were evident,

both the ZBA and NAZ were passive members while SfD NGOs and generic health-

based NGOs conducted their HIV/AIDS activities. The NGOs dominated the context

of joint-working due to their power resources, enhanced not only by being in

possession of but also due to their pedagogic competencies in the use of sport as a

tool for addressing HIV/AIDS and other wider social agendas. The ZBA and NAZ

were at the receiving end of the influence of foreign funders on local NGOs being

encouraged to work in partnership. The rhetoric of partnership working emanated

from foreign agencies such as the UK Sport Council influenced by domestic

modernisation and joined-up agenda (see Houlihan and Green, 2009). However, this

was different for the FAZ as it was in control of the external resources, and so could

steer the activities towards its ambitions for grassroots football as well as achieving

non-sporting outcomes. As mentioned above, FAZ was a primary actor due to its

decision-making power among its collaborative partners whilst the ZBA and NAZ had

nondecision-making power (Bachrach and Baratz, 1962). FAZ's position of power

had 'facilitative or productive aspects' (Scott, 2008: 30) though resources were

deemed to be diffused throughout its co-operating partners.

Finally, the lack of political steer for partnerships or collaboration by the DSD or

NSCZ is worth discussing. Though policy developments seemed to reflect political

will and recognition of the use of sport as a viable tool for development, political

commitment in the form of resources to support collaborative practices or

partnerships was lacking. The forms of partnerships or collaborative working discussed within this section were all funded from foreign resources. The lack of central government resources and political steer for partnership working questions the government's inclusion of sport in national strategic plans as anything more than political rhetoric resulting from pressure by international interest groups (see advocacy document by International Working Group – UN 2006). The failure to integrate NAZ in gender-based partnerships or to facilitate the possible access of NAZ to central government resources meant to address gender inequalities challenges the acknowledgment of sport as a tool for development, particularly to gender inequalities. This lack of political steer or resource support towards NSAs for integration and interaction in achieving non-sporting outcomes renders government's acknowledgement of sport as a tool for development merely rhetorical.

Table 13: Summary of Collaboration/Partnership Forms

Dimension	Football	Basketball	Netball
General Classification	Integrated Policy Community	Highly Fragmented Resource Network	Highly Fragmented Resource Network
Membership			
Number of members	Three key government ministries: Education, Health and Sport	Involvement of various organisations such as schools, community clubs, NGOs etc.	Involvement of various organisations such as schools, community clubs, NGOs etc.
Type of interest	Health and Wellbeing of young people	Both sports for sports' sake and sport as social good for health promotion	Both sports for sports' sake and sport as social good for health promotion
Integration			
Frequency	Use of state formal structures to implement programme in daily life of young people	Irregular involvement of foreign agencies however steady involvement of local SfD NGOs	Contact fluctuates after annual event but high frequency leading to hosting of event
Continuity	Newly introduced global health initiative by FIFA being piloted globally	Fluctuating involvement of foreign and some local agencies	Annual event attracting previous participants plus new ones
Consensus	Mutual agreement on wellbeing of young people by parties involved	Contradictory approaches to ABC HIV prevention due to diversity in moral views of members	Conflicting views on condom distributions – NGOs, schools
Resources			
Distribution within network	FIFA supplies resources but with strict conditionality	Lack of local resources and a high dependency on foreign resources mainly eligible only to health-based	Lack of local resources and a high dependency on foreign resources mainly eligible only to health-based

		NGOs	NGOs
Distribution within organisation	Financial resources centrally controlled by the FAZ.	Absolute lack of own resources by NSA for HIVAIDS purposes	Absolute lack of own resources by NSA for HIVAIDS purposes
Power			
Nature of Power			
i) Resources	FAZ has foreign resources from FIFA. MoE teachers and MSYCD community coaches as resources	Power held by those with financial resources – NGOs and international sports agencies	Power held by those with financial resources – NGOs and international sports agencies
ii) Knowledge Base	Positive-sum: expertise of health, education and sports ministry personnel valued. FAZ Medcom members also integrated.	Power held by those with knowledge of the use of sport as a tool for HIV/AIDS - SfD NGOs. NSA plays a passive role	Power held by those with knowledge of the use of sport as a tool for HIV/AIDS - SfD NGOs. NSA plays a passive role

9.4 Theoretical Insights

The section will discuss how the theoretical and methodological lenses have been applied to this study to aid the exploration of HIV/AIDS policy making and implementation among three National Sports Associations in Zambia. The section first begins by considering the utility of macro-level theorising before moving on to explore more in depth the usefulness of the various meso-level approaches set out in chapter 4.

9.4.1 Macro-level Theorising

The discussion in chapter 4 was set out so as to aid the understanding of power relationships within society in general and help provide a link between macro and meso level theories. Consideration of the theories of power and modes of governance were incorporated in order to understand the processes of policy making and implementation of an archetypical policy such as HIV/AIDS formulated in multi-actor settings. The emergence of multiple actors in dealing with policy issues pertaining to HIV/AIDS reflected the fact that the epidemic was no longer a matter for the Ministry of Health (MoH) and therefore, assumptions of state dominance on health issues were challenged. An increased role of non-state or civil society organisations raised questions of where power lies within such a political system (one-party state and later multi-party state). What are the implications of power or the lack of it for civil society agencies? Theories of pluralism and corporatism were important to this study in offering potential insights in the responses of sports agencies towards the HIV/AIDS multisectoral policy approach.

This study adopted a critical realist perspective set out in chapter 5 which contends that 'all human activity takes place within the context provided by a set of pre-existing social structures' (Lewis, 2000: 250). Hay's (2002: 166-7) assertion that,

human activity or 'agents are situated within a structured context which presents an uneven distribution of opportunities and constraints on them' is insightful here as HIV/AIDS policy emerged but was limited in how it could further evolve within a one-party authoritarian government. Hay further talked of 'context-shaping' as an indirect form of power which is the capacity of actors to redefine the parameters of what is socially, politically and economically possible for others. Thus, power is mediated by, and instantiated in, structures (Hay, 1997). Two theories of the state, corporatism and pluralism, were useful to understand power or the lack of it in relation to the structure and agency debate depicted through the political transformations in Zambia.

Chapter 2 provided a historical background to politics in Zambia and the HIV/AIDS profile of Zambia. The chapter showed that HIV/AIDS was first diagnosed in 1984 when Zambia was a corporatist state. The 'Three Ones' responses to HIV/AIDS which resulted in the establishment of the National AIDS Council (NAC) to spearhead the multisectoral approach in 2002, was achieved when Zambia had politically transformed from a one-party state to multi-party democratic state in 1991. Consideration of the political transition in Zambia is an instructive insight in explaining power and HIV/AIDS policy making, and also the involvement of several actors in the processes of policy making and implementation. Given that the central idea of pluralism is the distribution of power among interest groups in society, Zambia's one-party state showed the opposite in that political power was unevenly dispersed. The one-party state was considered 'strong' or 'powerful' due to it being in possession and control of resources (Mann, 1986; Dunleavy & O'Leary, 1987). As the only relevant and main actor for addressing health concerns, the Zambian government through the Ministry of Health (MoH) sought to deal with HIV/AIDS as a

purely medical problem. This was indicative of the state's values and belief systems in relations to policy making and implementation. The MoH was in a privileged position in the policy making process compared to other interest groups whose involvement and ideas were marginalised. For example, demands by international and local interest groups asking the state to publicly acknowledge HIV/AIDS as an epidemic were suffocated and silenced through the national mood that prevailed:

> The national attitude filtered down to all sections of the Zambian society, the nation in general was silent about HIV/AIDS and stigmatisation was high, you could only hear whispers among players about a colleague suspected of being [HIV] positive (Telephone Interview, Former General Secretary, 17 Sept, 2012).

These insights show that 'the state is able to set limits on people's interpretative activities which ensure that public discourse is dominated by narratives and meanings which serve its own ends' (Lewis, 2000: 262). In the case of the ZBA's former general secretary quoted above, pre-existing social structures produced the conditions for, and basis of, organisational agency which depicted the ZBA as lacking power to respond to HIV/AIDS. However, individual agency was demonstrated by the first professional football player who openly talked about HIV/AIDS and condoms distribution. This exemplar individual agency provided insights in the soon-to-emerge new forms of governance of HIV/AIDS policy which entailed lessened power of the state over HIV policy and policy governance was based on recognised institutional interdependencies involving several actors (Peters and Pierre, 1998).

All three NSAs' (football, basketball and netball) initial involvement in HIV/AIDS collaborative implementation were made possible with the help of civil society organisations and not government agencies. This distinctive feature of these NSAs'

involvement in HIV/AIDS policy can be linked to the broad-based participation of civil society organisations in public policy decisions, social justice and accountability which resulted from the growth of liberal democracy in sub-Saharan Africa. These insights into Robert Dahl's pluralist view of power show that HIV/AIDS policy encountered a political shift, a de-centralisation or de-concentration of authority from the state to non-state actors in HIV/AIDS policy processes (Pontusson, 1995; Haas, 2004). The theory of pluralism informed by tenets of governance showed that the Zambian government's policy on HIV/AIDS shifted from hierarchical (state-centric) to plurilateral (society- centred).

Despite the insights offered by pluralism and critical realist assumptions regarding power, structure and agency, the lack of involvement of all three case organisations in the policy-making process warrants investigation. While it was clear that those with access to scarce resources such as sport-for-development NGOs engaged in processes of policy-making at local level, social, economic and political structures seemed to influence the involvement of all three NSA organisations. It was clear that the lack of power constrained the integration of all three NSAs in influencing policy making decisions. In fact all three played a passive role in decision-making. Though plurality in the composition of DATFs and PATFs was evident, dominant actors were those with access to foreign resources who also offered care and voluntary counselling and testing (VCT) services. Sports organisations did not provide such services. This suggested that organisations that tended to offer HIV services such as VCT and care for people living with HIV/AIDS were on the inside of the policy community and interacted more with other processes of decision making.

Recently, during this study, FAZ acquired resources from FIFA which helped the Association to occupy a new position of authority enabling it to dictate the design and

implementation of school-based HIV/AIDS and sport policy targeting young people

countrywide. This example of FAZ being assisted by FIFA manifests a strong link

between critical realism and neo-pluralist conceptualisation of the state and power.

The emergence of the FIFA initiative within HIV/AIDS policy implementation in

Zambia through its FIFA 11 for Health programme has empowered FAZ as a policy

actor. This showed that powerful interests (business groups) enjoy more benefits

than other interest groups and that this privileged position is structured into the

system (Hudson and Lowe, 2004). These powerful interests constrain or facilitate

implementation. However, this agenda (FIFA '11 for Health') is not a local product

born of FAZ's engagement in HIV/AIDS issues at local level but rather a global

influence or manipulation by FIFA through incentives given to all Football

Associations in poor nations implementing the programme.

9.4.2 Meso-Level Theorising

Two prominent meso-level frameworks from chapter 4 arguably offer the greatest

insight into analysing the implementation of the multisectoral HIV/AIDS approach.

These are policy network approach and multiple streams framework (MSF).

However, John (1998) cautioned that no single approach can provide an inclusive

sight into explaining transformations and variations in policy processes. This final

section will consider the utility of these two approaches to help us understand and

explain policy making and implementation between the three cases.

9.4.3 Dialectical Policy Networks

The policy network approach is useful in helping characterise the multisectoral

approach to HIV/AIDS (see Figure 5) policy making and implementation as complex,

fluid, multi-layered and often fragmented. The utility of the policy network approach is

based on the notion that networks rather than markets or hierarchies are mainly

utilised in public policy agenda-setting, formulation and implementation. The

background positing the suitability of policy network analysis for HIV/AIDS policy

making and implementation has strong links to global health policy and governance

as discussed in chapter 4. Governance involves mutuality and interdependence

between state and non-state actors. The necessity of a network approach is made

clear as nation-state agencies (Ministry of Health) which were core to HIV/AIDS

policymaking within a sovereign state ceased to be the focal point of operation in

global public policy (Stone, 2008). Due to its complexity and demand for multiple

types of resources and policy actors (local, national, and International), the HIV/AIDS

policy space necessitates network analysis.

Given the adoption of the HIV/AIDS multisectoral approach which requires the

involvement and cooperation of different stakeholders, the dialectical model of policy

networks suggested by Marsh and Smith (2000) has strong usage in studying

collaborations identified in HIV/AIDS implementation among all three cases. A

variety of members are involved in the multisectoral approach as explained by a

senior NAC official:

> The multisectoral approach for the Zambian context means that different
> sectors bring to the HIV/AIDS response their skills, their resources, and their
> comparative advantage (Personal Interview, Senior NAC Official, 20 August
> 2010).

Using Marsh and Rhodes' (1992) typology in line with membership, integration,

resources and power, FAZ was characterised as a policy community whereas the

ZBA and NAZ reflected features that were broadly consistent with issue networks.

According to Marsh and Rhodes' typology, power within a policy community is

considered as a positive-sum game and zero-sum in issue networks. For example, a

positive-sum scenario was envisaged by a FAZ official as he contemplated new

funding from FIFA for FAZ's identified policy community which consisted of the

Ministry of Health (MoH), Ministry of Sport, Youth and Child Development (MYSCD)

and Ministry of Education (MoE):

> FIFA ['11 for Health' programme] can bring change because, of course the
> Ministry of Education needs funding, we, FAZ, need funding, the Ministry of
> Youth and Sport needs funding (Personal interview: 10 Sept, 2011).

Despite being considered a positive-sum game, the possession and control of

foreign financial resources by FAZ gave the Association the capacity to define

problems and dictate approaches to address the problems. Also fitting the typology

of a policy community was the dominance to regulate and draw rules for the local

FIFA 11 for Health by FAZ, the dominant member. The resource dependence or

resource exchange from other members of the policy community consisted of human

resources (teachers from MoE; community coaches from MYSCD) and HIV/AIDS

information sharing or knowledge base by MoH. However, the utility of the policy

community typology was problematic as it did not wholly fit the FAZ network due to

differing basic values held by members regarding the use and distribution of

condoms to young people. For example, while the MoE was reluctant to support

condom distribution among young people in school, the MoH supported a fully-

fledged ABC approach.

The characteristics of policy communities explained by Marsh and Rhodes as having

a broad balance of power (positive-sum) and also consisting of an acceptance of the

legitimacy of outcomes from members failed to fit the FAZ policy community. While

the concern regarding the balance of power has been discussed above, it is

important to question the legitimacy of outcomes of this policy community. The establishment of the policy community resulted from corporate social responsibility agenda by FIFA whose key programme aspects may not exactly be the sort of broadly shared policy preferences of the members. Indeed, Rhodes (1997: xii) reminds us that

> … networks are made up of organizations which need to exchange resources (for example, money, authority, information, expertise) to achieve their objectives, to maximize their influence over outcomes, and to avoid becoming dependent on other players in the game.

However, the foreign agenda of the FIFA '11 for Health' programme calls into question the policy aspirations of members whether it is something they broadly share and can equally influence. However, Peterson (2003) argues that the internal structure of a policy community gives it more capacity to steer or control the policy agenda than issue networks. This was evident with the internal structure of the FAZ policy community which seemed capable of determining local policy outcomes by teachers, the street-level bureaucrats (Lipsky, 1971).

With regards to policy network membership, Marsh and Rhodes' (1992) make a distinction between tight policy communities and looser issue networks. The latter were exemplified by NAZ and the ZBA which comprised of many participating members at each Association's annual open tournament. Whilst FAZ had tight and limited membership consisting of the three ministries listed above, the issue networks of ZBA and NAZ were characterised by 'promiscuous actors' (Peterson, 2003: 13) in networks which quickly disintegrated once formed. However, the tight membership FAZ's policy community defeats notions of pluralism advocated in public health governance as its memberships consisted of only public agencies apart from FAZ itself, a voluntary organisation. On the other hand, the issue networks

identified under NAZ and the ZBA membership depicted plurality consistent with new modes of governance consisting of private, public and civil society organisations.

The policy network approach helped shed light on forms of partnerships and collaborations observed in cases of the ZBA and NAZ as fitting the 'issue network typology' posited by Marsh and Rhodes (1992). These were classified as highly fragmented resource networks characterised by less cohesive and less integrated membership. However, Adam and Kriesi (2007) criticise the policy network approach as failing to take into account external forces which are likely to affect network interaction. In sum, the utility of policy network analysis to this study is strong because of the internationalisation of HIV/AIDS policy and more so because HIV/AIDS policy choices are shaped and influenced by national, supranational or transnational networks or organisations such as UNAIDS or WHO (cf. Peterson and Shackleton, 2002). In addition, the compatibility of policy network analysis with macro-level theories of pluralism and corporatism (cf Daugbjerg and Marsh, 1998) made its utility suitable for this study.

9.4.5 Multiple Streams Framework

Little or no guidance exists on how to undertake sport and HIV/AIDS policy analysis for low or middle income countries (cf Walt et al, 2008 for health policy analysis). The decision to use John Kingdon's Multiple Streams Framework (MSF) was taken with caution bearing in mind that the framework was developed in the field of transportation and health at federal government level in the United States. However, its relevance to this study was that it provided useful insights into understanding the following key questions: why did HIV/AIDS issues or problems become prominent in the global policy agenda and national (Zambian) policy agenda? What factors led to

the global health policy response (and more particularly the Zambian government) to recognise, acknowledge, formulate solutions and begin to politically debate the issue of HIV/AIDS? Kingdon's (1984) multiple streams theory is instructive here to frame answers to such questions since the applicability of the MSF is more suitable to analysing why specific issue, get on to the agenda, rise up the agenda, and generate policies for implementation.

The applicability of the MSF to this study is influenced by two significant political eras: the one-party state (1973 – 1991) and the multi-party state political systems (1991 – present) which were briefly discussed chapter 2. In relation to Zambia's historical background, this study took note of Houlihan and Lindsey (2013) who argued that the MSF is inappropriate for policy analysis in a centralised policy system which inhibits points of entry to the decision process. The utility of the MSF was then limited to the period after the re-introduction of plural politics bearing its strong links with pluralist macro-level theory (Houlihan and Lindsey, 2013). As a corporatist state, the Zambian policy system was embedded with centralised policy systems under the one-party state. Therefore, though the role of National Sports Associations in HIV/AIDS stretches across the two political eras, it is during plural politics in Zambia when much of the application of the MSF is conducted to analyse sport and HIV policy change. However, it is important to acknowledge the influence of developments in global health policy in relation to HIV/AIDS which have strong links with pluralist macro-level theory (Houlihan and Lindsey, 2013).

At the time when Zambia's first case of AIDS was diagnosed in 1984, HIV issues were globally beginning to receive political attention beyond the national health sector. However, the national mood in Zambia was one where silence regarding

HIV/AIDS prevailed, a mood which dictated that little attention given to the HIV problem as indicated by a NSA official:

> The national attitude filtered down to all sections of the Zambian society, the nation in general was silent about HIV/AIDS and stigmatisation was high (Telephone Interview, Former ZBA General Secretary, 17 Sept, 2012).

Kingdon's three distinct streams (problems, policy and politics) were used to elucidate the roles played by national and international actors in HIV/AIDS policy change. The MS lens was utilised to identify particular points of interest when 'coupling' was likely to have occurred. For example, indicators such as symptoms of HIV infection or AIDS related deaths among sports players signified HIV as a problem within sports associations and society in general as one official highlighted that they 'could only hear whispers among players about a colleague suspected of being [HIV] positive' (Telephone Interview, Former ZBA General Secretary, 17 Sept, 2012). However, based on the national mood (an important element of Kingdon's political stream) of silence which prevailed, the issue of HIV/AIDS was not evident on the government agenda and consequently not on the agenda of sports associations. However, increase in HIV incidence and high prevalence rates started to indicate to government and the three case study NSAs the severity of the problem. All three NSAs acknowledged HIV as a problem needing attention by their respective associations since they 'may not [continue to] only lose players but also administrators in the [sport] (Personal interview, FAZ Senior Official 10 Sept, 2011).

Kingdon's (1984) MSF was instructive in explaining the number of occurrences that led to NSAs to start to respond to HIV/AIDS. More importantly, the prevalence of HIV/AIDS problem means that it is not just a candidate for national health policy agenda but also the global health agenda. The death of a serving president's son

from an HIV related disease, as a focussing event stimulated the breaking of the silence and ignited political will to openly discuss HIV/AIDS. Information on HIV/AIDS garnered from the local and global media linked AIDS to sexual promiscuity and sex workers making HIV/AIDS more a matter of the health sector not only in Zambia but also globally. Hence, NSAs, together with all other sectors considered not to be part of the health sector were side-lined when the policy stream, in which possible alternatives or solutions to the problem were considered, was being activated.

Therefore, initial responses to the HIV/AIDS pandemic at global and national level involved only health-related government departments as the sole policy makers and implementers of HIV policy. The concept of issue framing (Kingdon, 1984; Zaharidis, 1999) is instructive here since the way the problem was initially framed or stated influenced the proposal and adoption of a medical paradigm in relation to HIV policy. The medical paradigm of HIV dictated also the selection of actors, a scenario where medical policy entrepreneurs were dominant epistemic within the community (Haas, 2004) in HIV policy. Later, theories of globalisation and new forms of governance discussed in chapter 2 and 3 became useful to the study to analyse HIV/AIDS policy change. Two aspects of the policy stream, technical feasibility and value acceptability, favoured the hyperglobalists' notion which saw the decline of sovereignty of the nation-state due to transnational organisations such as UNAIDS (cf Schrapf, 1997). However, a policy change was noted after the recognition that HIV/AIDS was embedded within social, economic, cultural, political, and ideological contexts (Craddock, 2004). In that sense, the HIV landscape changed again this time in favour of the transformalist view of globalisation which brought about the 'reconstructing or re-engineering' of powers and function of the nation-state (Held and McGrew, 1999: 8). In the case of Zambia, an alignment of policies such as the

National AIDS Strategy Framework (NASF), the Poverty Reduction Strategy

Programme (PRSP) and National Development Plans (NDPs) was achieved as the

state regained a central role on development. Most importantly, the Zambian

government included sport as a social tool for development in both the PRSP and 6th

NDP -2011-2015 (cf Levermore and Beacom, 2009).

There are specific policy windows that led to sport being considered as a tool for

addressing wider social agendas in Zambia. These 'windows of opportunity'

(Kingdon, 2003: 166) were made possible as a result of global developments in the

recognition of sport as a tool for development and also through local developments

in HIV policy. First, at international level, there were a variety of policy initiatives led

by the United Nations (UN) which contributed to sport becoming an 'alternative'

response (in the policy stream) to the HIV pandemic (problem stream). The UN

highlighted the contribution that sport could make to development particularly

mentioning its potential as a cost-effective tool for HIV/AIDS prevention. The United

Nations Inter-Agency Task Force on Sport for Development and Peace (2003: 5)

stated that:

> Well-designed sports programmes are also a cost-effective way to contribute
> significantly to health, education, development and peace as a powerful
> medium through which to mobilize societies as well as communicate key
> messages.

As sport gained recognition for the contribution it could make to the Millennium

Development Goals (MDGs), particularly towards combating the HIV/AIDS

pandemic, locally based sport-for-development non-governmental organisations (SfD

NGOs) took advantage of the window of opportunity to lobby government. The

consequential inclusion of sport as a tool for addressing issues such as HIV/AIDS

and gender equity in the new comprehensive national sport policy (DSD, 2004) is

attributed to such advocacy. The power to lobby government by local NGOs was made possible due to the availability of foreign donor resources to NGOs as discussed in chapter 3. Houlihan and Lindsey (2013) identify the under-theorising of institutional power as a weakness of the MS lens. Here, it is clearly seen that institutionalised power, driven by the agendas of foreign SfD NGO donors helped in agenda-setting and gaining attention from government. Since policy choice within the MSF is constrained by time and resources, the role of foreign policy entrepreneurs supporting local NGOs played a vital role in policy change regarding sport and HIV/AIDS. In this study the two NSAs (ZBA and NAZ) which as discussed in chapters 7 and 8 lacked resources, were positioned outside the circle of government decision-makers as they had no resources to invest and were thus in a weak position to take advantage of windows of opportunity and attract the attention of government.

However, while limitations in time and resources constrain governments from making choices, FAZ was able to take advantage of this limitation as the Association had resources (FIFA '11 for Health' resources) which it used to prepare its policy proposal to present to decision-makers. In this sense, FAZ officials as policy entrepreneurs were able to take advantage of the global (FIFA '11 for Health' programme) and national acknowledgement of sport as a social tool and played a part in coupling the streams. The FAZ MedCom was a group of local policy entrepreneurs as well as the Educational Officer and professional player involved in the first sport-related televised condom advertisement. Due to the resources from FIFA, the Association felt ready and approached government with a proposed programme from FIFA to address wider social issues as explained by a senior FAZ official:

We [FAZ and three government ministries] have spoken in that regard and

> that is why I feel once we bring the grassroots programme [FIFA 11 for health] you know which is fully sponsored by FIFA it can be able to bring [policy and implementation] change
> (Personal interview, FAZ Senior Official 10 Sept, 2011).

The FIFA 11 for Health programme has shaped sport and development policy and also influenced the implementation of sport as a tool for development in schools though it is important to acknowledge that the MSF has predominantly been applied to policy change and not implementation per se (Sabatier, 2007).

Secondly, significant local developments in HIV policy saw the acknowledgment of the HIV problem as a national disaster by the government leading to the pronouncement of a state of emergency by the President in 2004. The search for alternatives from HIV policy experts within the local and global policy communities provided new insight regarding the extent to which HIV/AIDS and HIV/AIDS policy was embedded within social, economic, cultural, political, and ideological contexts. This new insight led to the proposal to adopt a multisectoral approach which has in a way produced policy communities. Cohen, March and Olsen's (1972) 'garbage can model' which Kingdon adapted is instructive here. Sport as a tool for addressing wider social agendas, which was part of the garbage can was selected as one of the appropriate solutions to address the HIV pandemic by the Zambian government.

In summary, the way that this section has outlined the application of the MS lens to sport and HIV policy change is testimony of the value of the MSF in that the narratives of policy change discussed above do not happen in a linear process. The MS lens is said to be useful when policy situations are unclear and outcomes are unpredictable (Jonsson, 2006). For example, insight was gained in sport and HIV policy change 'under the conditions of ambiguity' (Zaharidis, 2007, p. 65) during the transition from HIV/AIDS as a medical problem to it being labelled a social problem.

Confusion prevailed as to who was responsible for taking a leading role in sport and HIV policy change within a crowded policy space as a result of the HIV/AIDS multisectoral approach. The MS lens has offered a suitable analysis of how HIV/AIDS moved so high on the agenda of global, national and community level organisations. However, this study was limited in how it could apply the MS lens as it had no analytical purchase when attempting to focus on the political era during the authoritarian regime in Zambia since its applicability is strongly linked to pluralism. The policy network theory has been of benefit in explaining the characteristics of the collaborative activities that each of the three NSAs was involved in. The theory helped show who had access to resources and how the power of resources was utilised in influencing decision-making and implementation of HIV/AIDS and sport related policies.

The political environment of pluralism seemed to support the application of both policy network and multiple streams theories as they both have strong links to pluralist macro-level theory. However, while useful, the lack of resources by the state limits the role that the state as a key actor can play in policy networks when agendas are mainly driven by foreign resources. For example, foreign resources noted in the case of football influenced the design of implementation far more substantially than government which was essentially marginalised. The globalisation of HIV/AIDS policy also weakens the state, for example, the ZBA is an open platform for foreign organisations whose HIV/AIDS messages seemed to favour a religious perspective of abstinence.

9.5 HIV/AIDS Policy and Development Through Sport

Sport-for-development sector activities in Zambia play a significant role in aiding the analysis of the impact of sport-for-development particularly in relation to HIV/AIDS.

There are two reasons upon which this study bases the significance of Zambia to the HIV/AIDS and sport-for-development nexus. Firstly, Zambia is host to two influential sport-for-development NGOs who pioneered the Kicking AIDS Out network. Although the concept was developed by indigenous NGOs (EduSport Foundation and Sport-in-Action), the influence of Global North agencies in shaping sport-for-development and HIV/AIDS discourses and implementation will be discussed to show the dominance of western discourses in defining 'development'. Secondly, Zambia has made policy advancements regarding integration and recognition of sport-for-development within national strategic development plans. However, challenges remain regarding who drives the development agenda – the state or external/foreign agencies through SfD NGOs.

McEwan (2009: 166) states that 'development is about ideology and the production and transmission of policies and discourses'. Questions within international development have been posed concerning how old relationships evolve or how international development actors forge new relationships between the Global North and Global South (see Darnell, 2010; Black, 2010; Hayhurst, 2009). How do Global North agencies and their personnel acquire ideological dominance over those indigenous groups? This study for example has illustrated how Zambia's colonial background, its 1980s and 1990s economic hardships, and the negative impact of neoliberalism and the IMF's Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) have been key factors in setting a context where the dominance of western discourses regarding development are blatantly evident.

The mushrooming of NGOs in Zambia happened at a time when neoliberal thinking favoured grassroots and community-based approaches and exerted pressure on governments particularly in developing nations to retreat from direct economic

involvement. In the case of Zambia, the privatisation of the national economy exacerbated poverty which subsequently increased vulnerability to HIV infection. The IMF's SAP and neoliberalism increased state fragility (Wennmann, 2010) which was characterised by lack of institutional capacity, poor economic performance, weak state-society relations resulting in government failure to deal with HIV/AIDS. International development approaches have been criticised for how some of the problems in developing nations have been made worse by recommended actions (Osabu-Kle, 2000; Brett, 2005).

Within the sport-for-development movement, the motives and later practical approaches adopted during the initial involvement of international agencies (such as UK Sport Council, Norwegian Olympic Committee and Confederation of Sports and Commonwealth Games Canada) can be questioned. Since these agencies entered a national policy space that had no specific sport-for-development policy at the time, questions regarding what guided the agendas of these international agencies need to be explored. Being the first notable international sports agencies working with SfD NGOs, how did they engage the indigenous NGOs in policy dialogue? It can be suggested that the development agendas of these agencies may have been shaped by funders from each respective nation: UK's Department for International Development (DfID); Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD); and Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).

Therefore, these agencies were instrumental in shaping sport-for-development policy which was characterised by top-down, one-sided knowledge construction influenced by western discourses of development. This external or foreign top-down approach by which SfD NGOs were engaged in 'dialogue' lacked grassroots and participatory approaches in finding solutions regarding how HIV/AIDS was experienced and

interpreted within specific communities (see Hayhurst, 2009, for a critique on Right to Play).   For example, the findings of this study revealed that the involvement of two National Sports Associations (NSAs) with SfD NGOs was influenced by a foreign top-down sport-for-development agenda. Since 'development' is about power, the power to shape development policies in relation to HIV/AIDS within this study showed that power was determined by those with resources. The key funders had the power to determine who was allowed within the policy-making decision forum where development discourses about sport and HIV/AIDS initiatives were shaped. This, therefore, favours international development agencies, their personnel, volunteers and academics in the Global North with access to funding resources allocated for monitoring and evaluation programmes. The western academics are influenced by their own values and beliefs about Africa which potentially renders their knowledge generation biased. McEwan (2009: 35) using a postcolonial perspective comments that:

> knowledge is never impartial, removed, or objective, but is always situated, produced by actors who are positioned in specific locations and shaped by numerous cultural and other influences.

Therefore, those who occupy position of relative privilege or are well-positioned in proximity to organisations or structures with resources have potential to determine what counts as knowledge and how 'development' is defined. Such privileged groups in sport-for-development are mainly those positioned in the Global North. The Global North funders of sport-for-development NGOs in sub-Saharan African have not empowered local educational institutions to undertake research on their behalf. Such actions reinforce the concept that knowledge which is valued is that which is generated by Western academics or institutions.

While the fragility of the state led to it being by-passed by international agencies (CIDA, UK Sport) who preferred to work directly with SfD NGOs, Wennmann (2010) argues that the last two decades have experienced a shift of attitude towards the state in development policy. The state is now acting as a central development enabler. However, only FAZ's FIFA '11 for Health' programme among all three NSAs had collaborated with the government in development. The advantages of this approach are: a) the state has structures and agents in place to facilitate implementation; b) the state has a national curriculum and educational programme (timetable) to support the implementation. The failure to work within the school structure or other state structures by other cooperating partners is weakening the potential impact of sport. If programmes are either state-led or incorporate the state in design and implementation, the social impact is likely to be greater.

However, one can still argue that sport-for-development sector and its funders have played a key role with regards to advocating for the recognition of the role of sport and facilitating its inclusion into national development strategies in Zambia. The intention by government to integrate sport in its national development strategies may have been instigated by attempts to prevent donor-funding from by-passing central government and going directly to grassroots organisations. The preference for NGOs over the state as being less bureaucratic, flexible and proximity to the target group is made redundant by their incapacity to reach remote areas of the country. Hence, the neglect of the state in development programmes has limited the impact of the sport-for-development in Zambia.

9.6 Recommendations

Issue: Involvement in HIV/AIDS Response Design
Recommendation: National Sports Associations should take an active role in the design of HIV/AIDS mainstreaming activities that are conducted through joint-working or collaborative efforts. This can take the form of joint-planning meetings and delivery of activities with collaborating partners who are considered to have certain competencies in using sport as a tool for development. The National Sports Council of Zambia and the Department for Sports Development can encourage such involvement by recommending to NSAs to take part in PATF or DATF forums.
Rationale: This study identified that though all NSAs are involvement in HIV/AIDS mainstreaming activities, the ZBA and NAZ play a passive role in the design of responses for their respective NSAs. The active role is done by civil society collaborative partners. SfD operates mainly through western discourses of development since the international agendas of foreign partner agencies are sometimes pursued at the expense of local or national agendas (See Darnell and Hayhurst, 2014).

Issue: Institutional Policy Statement and Operational Plans
Recommendation: National Sports Associations should have in place a formal institutional policy statement and operational plans to provide direction towards the implementation of activities or guidance on collaboration. A sense of ownership of the planning and delivery processes can also be achieved if NSAs are involved in drawing up institutional policies and operational plans with their respectively identified HIV/AIDS experts. A directive by the Department for Sports Development to NSAs to align their strategic documents to its national sports policy document.
Rationale: The lack of documented evidence of operational plans by all three cases is indicative of the lack of policy making involvement by all and also a lack of clarity of selected mainstreaming activities. Apart from the FAZ, there was lack of structure and deliberation to provide stricture towards HIV/AIDS mainstreaming.

Issue: Resource Allocation
Recommendation: Central government funding introduced in the sports budget in 2006 (Table 5) should be ring-fenced for non-sporting outcomes to reflect government commitment to using sport not only for achieving sporting outcomes but also attaining non-sporting goals. Central government through its budget allocation to the Department for Sport Development needs to indicate commitment through ring-fencing of funding earmarked for non-sporting outcomes and also enable access to such funding towards NSAs and SfD NGOs which have clearly stated their operational plans.
Rationale: Resources allocation is indicative of government priorities. However, non-sporting outcomes have not been a priority to the Zambian government as indicated by the annual budgetary allocation of resources for sport. While the sport-for-development sector has grown exponentially and has benefitted the overall sport sector in Zambia, the sector lacks resources from central government to support the work of SfD NGOs. This has created a strong dependency on foreign resources.

9.7 Future Research

The recommendations above in section 9.6 show that the findings for this study have implications for future policy development and future research. For example, the follow-up study on sport and HIV/AIDS can move beyond the meso level and involve macro-level cases such as the Confederation of African Football and FIFA. While mainstreaming of HIV/AIDS which was the focus in this study is spearheaded by the

National AIDS Council, continental and world federations present a good macro-level setting to examine attention rendered to the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

It would also be considerable to undertake a comparative study of programme design processes of sport-based HIV/AIDS programmes such as Kicking AIDS Out (KAO) other non-sport based HIV/AIDS programmes. For example, Edutainment by Soul City has relied on the power of the arts or popular culture to communicate social change messages. Soul City's edutainment programmes rely on the development of their educational materials based on social reality of their locality. The programme involves bring about social change by way of incorporating social issues into entertainment genres. At the core of this strategy is the promotion of participatory approaches such as dialogue with stakeholders to gather real life issues for programme design (Tufte, 2002). Participatory approaches are vital for community development programmes and research into the different approaches utilised by both sport-based (KAO) and Edutainment programmes would shade light on the effectiveness of appropriates approaches to programme design.

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Appendix 1: Semi-structured Interview Sample Questions

The primary research questions for this study are as follows.

1. To what extent has the adoption of the multisectoral approach by Zambia's National HIV/AIDS Council been integrated into the core activities of sports associations?

2. How is HIV/AIDS being mainstreamed within the selected National Sports Associations (NSAs) and government sport agencies and what are the challenges of mainstreaming HIV in the case study organisations.

3. What is the strategic response of NSAs and the selected government sports agencies towards the demands of the multisectoral approach?

4. Have NSAs developed relationships with other organisations responsible for HIV/AIDS programmes outside the sports sector?

National Sports Associations (NSAs)

Aim of the interview: this interview guide for NSAs will attempt to answer all the above questions.

1. Describe your role in relation to the fight against HIV/AIDS within the multisectoral approach adopted by the Zambian government?
2. In what ways do you suppose that your association can play a role within the multisectoral approach?
    *   Specify the roles that your association has played within the multisectoral sector?
    *   Are the roles specific that you have to undertake within the multisectoral approach?
    *   How were these roles ascribed to the association and how were the roles then taken up by members within the association?
    *   Are your members within the association trained for the roles that your association plays within the multisectoral approach?

3. Is there any demand by the Department of Sport Development or the National Sports Council upon the association to enact HIV/AIDS policies? Please specify the type of demands.

4. How has your association mainstreamed HIV/AIDS internally (within the association) and externally (outside the organisations)?

    - How has your association mainstreamed HIV/AIDS within its activities?

    - Who are your target groups for your activities and how are they affected by issues related to HIV?

5. What has been your frame of reference for mainstreaming HIV within the association?

    Probes: are you aware of the national AIDS strategy or efforts of the NAC.

6. In what ways does the association contribute towards meeting the national targets for combating HIV/AIDS?

7. In order to have an effective mainstreaming programme, what capacity-building tasks have been achieved towards mainstreaming of HIV/AIDS

8. What involvement has your association with HIV/AIDS policy making bodies?

    - Are members of the association invited to attend local/regional/ or national strategic meetings with other organisations/forums?

9. Have you as an association worked in collaboration with other organisations on HIV related issues and if so state the kind of collaborative work?

    - Have you ever collaborated with other NGOs which use sport for development purposes such as Sport in Action?

    - Or have you ever received support in capacity building from such organisations aimed at HIV related issues?

10. How do you think you can improve your partnership work within the sports sector with other sports agencies or government agencies?

11. Considering processes related to the development of strategies for combating the spread of HIV, what is your involvement within the sports sector?

    - Does the sports sector as a whole discuss how to use sport as a tool for HIV prevention?

    - How have you been involved at grassroots level in meeting your aims to promote your sport as well as combat HIV among young people?

- How have you been involved at national level?

12. What benefits can you cite of working collaboratively with such organisations at local, regional or national level?

13. Has any training been made available to your staff by other partner agencies or health professional bodies focussing on HIV prevention?

14. Do you as an association involve the clubs and local community in HIV policy development?

15. What are the challenges of using sport as tool for HIV/AIDS in terms of availability of resources? And the practicality of using sport.

National AIDS Council (NAC) questions

Aim of interview: this interview intends to gather data related to research question 3. The interview will attempt to investigate what demands the NAC places on organisations in responding to the multisectoral approach. The data will be compared to the views from the sports agency interviews in how they have responded.

1. What are the key focus areas of the national HIV/AIDS framework?
2. What does the multisectoral approach entail?
3. What are the demands upon the sectors to contribute towards meeting the multisectoral approach objectives?
4. How do you monitor the contribution of each sector towards meeting such objectives?
5. In what ways do you ensure that partners are designing strategies that are informed by research evidence?
6. Which sector(s) of society has/have responded effectively to the multisectoral approach and which has not? And why?
7. Within your thematic groupings, which of the themes is appropriate for the government sports agencies and national sports associations such as FAZ? Why?
8. What criteria are used for inviting groups such as government sports agencies (Department of Sport Development) and national sports associations such as FAZ to the thematic groupings?

9. In what ways do you think that government sports agencies (Department of Sport Development) and national sports associations such as FAZ can mainstream HIV/AIDS?

10. Based on the increased politicisation of the pandemic and the recognition of sport, has your organisation considered an extensive use of sport at all levels?

11. Are you aware of any specific examples of the effective use of sports programmes to combat HIV?

12. What are the successes and failures faced by the agency using the multisectoral, multi-level response?

13. What kind of policy networks or partnerships would you say constitute an effective partnership in this type of work?

14. In what ways do you ensure that research evidence is used among government departments in designing their response to national HIV policy?

Appendix 2: Schedule of Interviews

Face-to-Face Interviewees

Date	Organisation	Interviewee
03.09.08	National Sports Council of Zambia	Senior Official
03.09.08	Colonial Government Municipality	Sports Officer
20.08.08	Zambia Daily Mail	Former Sports Editor
21.08.08	ZCCM/BBC	First Native Sports Commentator
16.08.10	Teacher Training Higher education	Head of PE
18.08.10	National AIDS Council of Zambia	Deputy Director
19.08.10	Department of Sports Development	Director
20.08.10	National AIDS Council	Senior Official
20.08.10	National PE Association	President
27.08.10	Curriculum Development Centre	PE Specialist

National Sport Association Interviewees

Date	Organisation	Interviewee
03.09.10	Netball Association of Zambia	Secretary-General
20.08.10	Netball Association of Zambia	Development Officer
27.08.10	Zambia Basketball Association	Secretary-General
10.09.11	Football Association of Zambia	Former Captain
10.09.11	Football Association of Zambia	President
16.09.11	Netball Association of Zambia	Senior Official A
16.09.11	Netball Association of Zambia	Senior Official B
19.01.12	Zambia Basketball Association	Senior Official
19.01.12	Olympic Youth Development Centre	Basketball Development Officer
18.09.12	Zambia Basketball Association	Former Mission School Captain
27.06.13	Football Association of Zambia	Education Officer

Sport-for-Development Organisations Interviewees

Date	Organisation	Interviewee
24.08.10	Sport in Action	Deputy Director
24.08.10	EduSport Foundation	Director

Focus Group Discussions

Date	Organisation	Interviewee
20.08.10	PE Conference Delegates	PE Regional Reps

Telephone Interviews

Date	Organisation	Interviewee
21.05.12	Football Association of Zambia	Former Chairman
23.05.12	FAZ Medical Committee	MedCom Official
02.01.13	Netball Association of Zambia	Former National Coach
02.01.13	Netball Association of Zambia	Former Secretary-General
02.01.13	Netball Association of Zambia	General Secretary
17.09.13	Zambia Basketball Association	Former General Secretary
18.09.12	Zambia Basketball Association	Former ZBA President
16.10.12	Zambia Basketball Association	First Native Chairman
13.12.12	National Sports Council of Zambia	Former Chairman

Appendix 3: Sample of Interview Transcript

Interview Details

Dates	Organisation	Position
18.08.10	National AIDS Council of Zambia	Deputy Director

Researcher:	When I went on the website then I realised that that is your main area as the Director of Multi-Sectoral Approach. Maybe we start from the situation where you describe what is meant by multi sectoral approach and how this has been adapted within the Zambian context
NAC Official:	I think for the multi sectoral approach for the Zambian context means that different sectors they bring in to the response to HIV/Aids their skills, their resources, their comparative advantage, anything that they know they bring it to the response so that's what, so it is a question of now sensitizing every sector to saying this HIV all of us are involved in one way or another we may not see it directly how we are doing it but actually we are. So its each of the work that per each person does there is something that they do in ensuring that they mitigate the effects of Aids and even reduce the transmission
Researcher	How do you identify sectors? When you mention sectors what do you mean by sector?
NAC Official:	Sector the broad category of sector is the public sector (okey) the private sector, the civil society, the informal sector. So those are the broad category. And then within each of these sectors, actually we even do include the bilateral and multilateral cooperating partners so they are the sectors also, because they also have something to contribute to the response. So within each sector they are categories. Within the public sector then you have different groupings in the public sector
Researcher	So within Government, how are they groupings divided?
NAC Official:	Within the Government of course we just use the same, the levels which Ministry of Finance uses in terms of putting sectors, they have the social sectors they have the sectors which are productive like those which are agriculture, tourism and there is also those which are wealth creation and then they are those which are sort of social safety net sectors then we have sectors

like health and education which are social sectors. Then we have the sector which deals with the overall administration of the public sector and so since the public sector they were all these different actors what Cabinet did was to come up now with the public sector strategy to HIV response because what was noted was that you go to Ministry of Health you find they have a programme which is attending to the workers which is doing very well. You're going to another sector you find for them the staff are just left on their own. So what Cabinet has done is to come up with a public sector response programme which the Cabinet now ensure that the public workers and their interest with regard to HIV/Aids are taken care of both in terms of prevention, and even in terms of mitigation, and even in terms of treatment and so that was even launched this year by the Secretary to the Cabinet

Researcher: So within Cabinet, when they came up with the strategy what input did your office have?

NAC Official: We worked very closely actually in the coming up with that sector first in identifying even the consultancy that worked with us and also we are part and parcel of the steering committee that was ensuring that the product that comes out is in line with the overall National HIV causes, National Aids Councils will provide the bigger picture. So as I told you we have different sectors. So then we wanted to see how does now the public sector fit with the whole bigger sector what the civil society is supporting, what the private sector is supporting, what the none formal sector is also supporting. So then how can the public sector because usually it's the engine that supports these others who are coming because they look to the public sector for policy direction and the like. So we were very critical and when the product came we finalized I think using the government machinery a committee was set up by the Secretary to Cabinet of technical together with the Permanent Secretary to take a government position towards that Paper, Public Sector on HIV Response. So we provided input, after providing input I think Cabinet discussed it and I think they agreed to it, that is why it has been launched.

Researcher: Could you maybe elaborate more on the composition of that within Cabinet, give the composition from which departments did people come from

NAC Official: From the technical committee, we had the Permanent Secretary from Education, the Permanent Secretary from Agriculture, the Permanent Secretary from Finance, the Permanent Secretary from Cabinet itself actually two of them and the Permanent Secretary from Health also was part and then us from the National Aids Council were also part of that group. What they

did was there was a Permanent Secretary, then we had also a Technical Group. So the Technical Group was waiting to give the written report to the Committee of Permanent Secretaries. Then those were the ones now who finally took to the Secretary to Cabinet

Researcher: So then within that Committee was the Ministry of Youth Sports and Child Development Permanent Secretary

NAC Official: I think he was not there. The Ministry of Youths, Sports and Child Development is a member of the National Aids Council

Researcher: Are they directly members of the National Aids Councils

NAC Official: They are members of the National Aids Councils because this is provided for in the act. So the act provides that the Permanent Secretary of Youths and Sports picks up. So we were never there is a Permanent Secretary in Youth and Sport whether a new one or old one because it is provided for in the Act they are always there. So right now we have the new one Mr Teddy Mulonga is a member of the National Aids Council

Researcher: Is that different from other Permanent Secretaries? Is this reference from?

NAC Official: They are four standing Permanent Secretaries in the National Aids Council. There is Youth, there is Education, there is Health and there is Community Development

Researcher: Why Four?

NAC Official: And also I think Gender. Those were the ones which were identified when the Act was being made to say for the Youths we were looking to say that as a window of opportunity with regards to HIV/Aids we need make sure that we protect the generation that's the very generation for which the window of hope is for this country. It was deliberate that as National Aids Council the youths have a permanent seat on the council so that we work together with them to see how then do we address the challenges that the youths are facing and how the HIV/Aids is also affecting the progress within the youths

Researcher: and the other three Permanent Secretaries

NAC Official: Education of course Education has been taken to be the social vaccine. I think earlier on we used to say Education is the social vaccine with regard to HIV/Aids, so if information is power, so I think as I said earlier on if we move the teaching profession in beds and so that is all and health of course health also was permanent because as National Aids Council we are actually

	Ministry of Health though we do multi sectoral response, but administrative reports through Ministry
Researcher:	Now when you look at other Ministries like Defence and the movement of their staff across borders and all that couldn't they have a certain priority like the four had
NAC Official:	Yes, I think in terms of programming they're they have been taken to be a critical group because when you look at our strategies we, some of the identified vulnerable groups were those who were highly mobile and uniformed personnel. So because of that so you find that they're deliberate programmes with them. Though they do not necessarily need to be part of the National Aids Council because there was a limit which Parliament could allow the council to have. Initially before it was accepted it was taken to Parliament they were twenty one members. Parliament trimmed them to fifteen so choices had to be made so that one the Council takes the shape of Multi Sector. So we only allow four public sectors. The others are coming from other sectors. We have room for traditional leaders, we had room for youth representatives in addition to the Minister of Youths, the Youth Representatives from the (MTO …not clear) they also have a sit permanently there, then we had also to create room for Network of Zambian People Living with HIV/Aids has a permanent seat and also a room for the private sector and other civil society faith based organizations so that they are also there. And also there was another permanent room for the legal personnel because it was thought that the Board of the Council needed somebody with a legal command to be able to assist us with the deliberations
Researcher:	How often does the council meet?
NAC Official:	They meet every quarter once (once every quarter) quarter. So in a year it's four times
Researcher:	Now in terms of the deliberations for those meetings are they meant to report back or are those meant for you to communicate maybe new objectives that you might have
NAC Official:	No they're meant, no the Council is actually the one which checks to see is the response for HIV/Aids going in the right direction. So we are just a secretariat. So like all the plans that are made we include them, we provide a report in the way in which the council can deliberate on them and make decisions informed decisions to say, 'no the response I think is not moving well, we need to move … because as you can see usually the council they are representing different representatives. So some of them they are even dealing with views which come from the ground, they'll say, 'aah you people

at the secretariat you are saying this, but where we have been we have been told this that is happening'. So then we, so they're the ones who sanction the operations of the Secretariat. They are the ones who sanction the programmes of the Secretariat. They also monitor the progress of those. And after they have done that they prepare the report which they give to the Cabinet Committee or the Chairman of the Cabinet or the Minister who is the Minister of Health who then takes that information to the President, so that is how its run. So then Cabinet Committee of Ministers also has eight Ministers and the composition also there changes. You have the Minister of Finance, you also have the Minister of Information, you have the Minister of Transport, you have the Minister of Mines, also have the Minister of Youth and Sports fortunately even at the Cabinet he is there, I know at the last meeting we had at Protea Honourable Chipungu the Minister of Youths and Sports, has been attending

Researcher: Has there been any recognition of sports as a vehicle as a tool for mitigating…….

NAC Official: Yes we have been working with the… after recognizing that sports is the tool we started working with the I could even say intercompany relay. That was a way of ensuring that sport is part of that. So in those programming we were working with them to start that as people do the running how they relate that to the issues of HIV/Aids. So even the slogans and everything we started with that. We were actually even taking it further. Two weeks ago we had a meeting with the Ministry of Youths and Sports where we were discussing with them to see how now they can concretise some of the actions which they have with regard to mitigating and preventing HIV

Researcher: So this meeting was two weeks ago

NAC Official: Yaah; we went at Ministry of Youths and Sports.

Researcher: Who did you meet?

NAC Official: I met with all the Directors, I was with XXX and he called all his, XXX people. There was XXX (there was XXX no I think he was not there, there was XXX there was XXXX and….there were about five of them and so we were discussing. Because right now we are developing the Multi Sectoral Annual Work Plan so we want in that Multi Sectoral Work Plan we are developing because we have finished the last…. the issues of youth, sports to be clearly articulated, how they will move in the next …….