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**THE ZIMBABWE FOOTBALL ASSOCIATION AND THE POLITICS OF FOOTBALL ADMINISTRATION
IN ZIMBABWE: A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS**

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this research to the O'leary family as well as my uncles, Wilfred "Tauruka" Gumborinotaya Choto and Doesmatter Choto; not forgetting my grandfather, Manera Chiverenga Kamfungu: thank you for making the world a better place.

ABSTRACT

Football is the most popular sport globally and in Zimbabwe. However, football has recently been affected by numerous scandals ranging from corruption and match fixing, leading to the arrest and removal from office of prominent global football administrators. This study particularly focuses on football administration in Zimbabwe - specifically on the Zimbabwe Football Association (ZIFA), which is the highest football administrative authority in Zimbabwe. The research explains the nature and dynamics of football administration in Zimbabwe, tracing from the period 1980 to present day, highlighting how football is a political space which attracts the interests of national politicians and how football administration reflects the pattern of mainstream politics where such issues like gender, class and ethnicity influence the potential of an individual to become a ZIFA football administrator. The paper also assesses the challenges faced by ZIFA, locating the sources of some of the challenges to challenges faced by the wider society. Methodologically, the study utilizes a qualitative approach to try and unearth the deep underlying issues affecting the Zimbabwe Football Administration and football administration in Zimbabwe in general.

“...it is not the capabilities you now possess or ever will, that will give you success, it is what the Lord can do for you”- Ellen G White

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE STUDY

AFC – Asian Football Confederation

CAF- Confederation of African Football

COSAFA- Council of Southern African Football Associations

FC – Football Club

FIFA – Federation of International Football Associations

SAFA- South African Football Association

UEFA- Union of European Football Associations

MDC-T- Movement for Democratic Change - Tsvangirai

ZANU- Zimbabwe African National Union

ZUM – Zimbabwe Unity Movement

ZANU PF – Zimbabwe African National Union. Patriotic Front

ZANLA – Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army

ZAPU- Zimbabwe African People’s Union

ZIPRA – Zimbabwe Independence People’s Revolutionary Army

ZIFA – Zimbabwe Football Association

ZPSL – Zimbabwe Premier Soccer League

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The study aims to examine and assess the nature and dynamics of football administration in Zimbabwe, with a particular intent to understand the challenges faced by football administrators in Zimbabwe. For the purpose of the research, the study will adopt Watts (2003: 151)'s definition of sports administration as, "the hands on delivery of sound procedures and systems to ensure that sports in all aspects happens as it should happen". Sports administration, therefore, involves crafting policies and implementing the policies for the smooth running of sport. Ncube (2014) suggests that football is by far the most popular sport in Zimbabwe, yet the administrators of the game are accused of maladministration, lack of transparency and corruption. The motivation for this study is twofold: firstly to understand the challenges faced by football administrators in the country and, secondly, to fill the gap created by the general lack of academic literature on sports administration in the country.

The focus of the study is on the Zimbabwe Football Association (ZIFA), objectively selected because it is the highest football administrative authority in the country. Methodologically, the study employed a qualitative approach, specifically in-depth interviews and document analysis. Theoretically, the study employed the Transactional Game Theory of Politics by FG Bailey to explain the politics of football administration in Zimbabwe

1.2 Background of the Study

Fact (2012) notes that sport is widely now recognized as a sector with immense economic value as well as socio-political benefits for reconciliation and a carrier of positive messages on issues such as HIV/AIDS for the youth and society as a whole. Dunning (2000) argues that football is not just a game, but has become a significant part of everyday life for many people throughout the world. Therefore, any analysis of sport is an analysis of people as sport is part of people's

lives;hence the sociological need to understand football administration. Watt (2003: 154) notes that sound administration is the basis for all top performing sports. Sports administration, therefore, is important in the development of sport.

Globally, football (also commonly referred to as soccer) is administered by the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA). According to the FIFA website, FIFA is managed through a congress which brings together delegates from 208 member countries. Besides providing for the congress, article 21 of the FIFA statutes also provides for an executive committee and the secretariat. The executive committee is chaired by the President who is elected once every four years. FIFA, the world football governing body ,has recently been rocked by corruption charges leading to the resignation and suspension of elected FIFA president Sepp Blatter, UEFA president Mitchel Platini and the arrest of seven top FIFA officials in May 2015. According to the United States Department of Justice (2015), the FIFA officials were arrested because of alleged bribery, fraud and money laundering to corrupt the issuing of media and marketing rights for FIFA games in the Americas. FIFA officials have also been accused on charges of corruption in awarding hosting rights of the 2018 and 2022 Football World cups to Russia and Qatar.

In Africa football is governed by the Confederation of African Football (CAF). CAF was founded on 8 February 1957 in Khartoum Sudan by the football associations of Egypt, South Africa, Ethiopia and Sudan, since then it has grown to 55 member associations. Administratively CAF is headed by a president who is elected after every four years, with all 55 member associations eligible to vote. Aside from the president the CAF executive has a secretary general, three vice presidency and a treasurer. CAF is also divided into Five regional federations with Zimbabwe being part of the Council for Southern Africa Football Associations. (www.cafonline.com)

According to Guillanotti (1994), football in Zimbabwe was introduced by the British members of the Pioneer Column that arrived in Salisbury (modern day Harare) in 1890, as a way of entertaining themselves. However, Ncube (2014) and Chiweshe (2014) note that the introduction of football in Zimbabwe was part of a deliberate colonial project that aimed to control the recreation activities of native urban males. However, ironically, Chiweshe(2013) and Damion

(2010) argue that from its inception in colonial Rhodesia, the locals found football as a medium to resist colonial rule, as evidenced by the formation of native community-owned teams - Dynamos and Mashonaland United (later Zimbabwe Saints), that challenged the dominance of white owned teams like Rhodesian Callies Football Club. Even in post-independent Zimbabwe, Zenenga (2011) argues that football in Zimbabwe is characterized by many meanings that define the moral and intellectual character and communities. Muponde and Muchemwa (2011) note that football in contemporary Zimbabwe is still a tool used to resist political oppression. From the above discussion, football in Zimbabwe is not just an ordinary sport but a reflection of underlying socio-political issues.

According to Ncube (2014), the management and structuring of Zimbabwean football is similar to that of England. There are two main bodies mandated with football administration in Zimbabwe, namely the Zimbabwe Football Association (ZIFA) and the Zimbabwe Premier Soccer League (ZPSL). The Zimbabwe Football Association is an affiliate of the Council of Southern African Football Associations (COSAFA), the Confederation of African Football (CAF), and the Federation de Internationale Football Association (FIFA), whilst the Zimbabwe Premier Soccer League (ZPSL) is an affiliate of ZIFA.

Ncube (2014) documents the history of ZIFA dates back to May 1963 when two racially segregated football associations united to form a non-racial and all-embracing football body. Administratively, the ZIFA Assembly is the supreme and legislative body of the Association. The ZIFA Assembly is made up of representatives from ZIFA affiliates, including the Women's Football League, ZPSL clubs and provincial chairpersons. Ncube (2014) notes that being the national football governing body, ZIFA is in charge of all the national teams for both men and women. The Association is also responsible for all organized football in the country from the lower divisions to the Zimbabwe Premier Soccer League. For administrative purposes, these leagues are divided into three regions, namely the ZIFA Northern region, the ZIFA Southern region and the ZIFA Eastern region.

The ZIFA Constitution Article 1.1 notes that ZIFA is a private organization responsible for the governance of Zimbabwean football body; ZIFA is in charge of all the national teams for both men and women. The Association is also responsible for all organized football in the country

from the lower divisions to the Zimbabwe Premier Soccer League. For administrative purposes, these leagues are divided into three regions, namely the ZIFA Northern region, the ZIFA Southern region and the ZIFA Eastern region. The supreme legislative body of ZIFA is the congress or assembly, which is composed of ZIFA councilors drawn from the five ZIFA affiliates, namely the Premier Soccer League, Women's football, National Association of Secondary School Heads (NASH), Futsal football representatives and beach football representatives. Apart from the ZIFA assembly, there is an Executive or the ZIFA board which is composed of 7 elected officers including the President and the Vice President. This body is responsible for the executive functions of ZIFA. The third body is the ZIFA secretariat which is composed of employed ZIFA officials headed by the Chief Executive officer.

The challenges affecting the global administration of football seem to be shared locally in Zimbabwe. The media has been leading the onslaught on the Zimbabwe Football Association (ZIFA), accusing the country's football administrators of failing to administer football in the country. For instance, Sharuko, in an article in the Herald of 20 August 2015, claims that ZIFA is an ineffective organization that is failing to carry out its mandate of administering Zimbabwean football. This study, therefore, tries to explain the reasons behind the perceived failure of the ZIFA in administering football in Zimbabwe. Apart from understanding the reasons behind the perceived failure by ZIFA, the paper offers a sociological analysis to football administration, something that is lacking in the existing academic literature

1.3 Statement of The Problem

In spite of its immense global and local popularity, football has been an under-exploited field of social research (Ncube 2014). Not only is football popular, but it can be an avenue for social integration and economic development (Heinmann,2005) - two issues of importance in Africa and Zimbabwe in particular. This study seeks to fill the gap in football social research by focusing on the administration of football in Zimbabwe. Football administration in Zimbabwe has recently been labeled as dysfunctional and incompetent (Sharuko, 2015), hence this thesis seeks to discover the reasons behind the perceived poor football administration.

1.4 Research Objectives

The study seeks:

1.3.1 To examine the nature of football administration in Zimbabwe;

1.3.2 To assess the dynamics affecting football administration in Zimbabwe;

1.3.3 To understand the challenges faced by football administrators in Zimbabwe;

1.5 Research Questions

What is the nature of football administration in Zimbabwe?

What are the dynamics that influence and affect football administration in Zimbabwe?

What is the relationship between politics and football administration in Zimbabwe?

What are the challenges facing football administrators in Zimbabwe?

What is/are the source(s) of the challenge(s) being faced by Football administrators in Zimbabwe?

1.6 Significance of the Study

The study principally aims to fill the knowledge gap in an area that is under-researched, that is, football administration in Zimbabwe. . The primary objective of the study is motivated by the increased acknowledgement of sports, particularly football in the development discourse. Heinmann (2005) documents that sports contribute to social integration and economic transformation, and these two issues are pertinent among the current challenges faced by most nations in sub Saharan Africa. In particular, social integration is very central in a multi-lingual and multi-ethnic setting like Zimbabwe. The focus on sports administration is justified by Mangena (2006)'s argument that good sports administration ensures the success of the sporting discipline. Academically, very few studies have focused on football administration in Zimbabwe, and non from a sociological perspective. So this study views football administration from a

sociological perspective, the chief intent being to help understand the dynamics and challenges faced by the administrators.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Bairner (2004) notes that world football is in a crisis financially and administratively, and one may be tempted to assume that global forces have conspired to create many of the problems faced by global football and local administrative bodies are not capacitated to deal with these problems. It is from this argument that this review of literature finds ground. The primary objective is to discuss from academic sources the global, regional (Africa) and local (Zimbabwe) nature of football administration. This review is divided into three sections: firstly, it takes a global overview of football administration whereby it mostly focuses on FIFA, bringing out the various political and economic discourses that impact its administrative nature as far as global football is concerned. This section focuses on the nature of football administration in two regions namely Italy and Asia, the selection of these regions being based on available academic literature. The second section of the literature review will focus on football administrative issues in Africa. Again, due to limited academic literature, this section draws examples from Kenya, Nigeria and South Africa mostly bringing out the challenges faced by football administrators in these countries. The last section focuses on Zimbabwe and will look at the development of the game and its administration in pre and post independent Zimbabwe. The section will also look at the relationship between football administration in Zimbabwe and wider national issues such as the political and economic environment -all in an attempt to figure out the study gaps within existing academic literature on football administration.

2.2 Football Administration: A Global Overview

According to Darby (2003), during its first fifty years, the world football governing body FIFA was dominated by Northern European and South American football administrators, a clear reflection of the prevailing wider political pattern - that is European dominance in world politics. Darby (2003) argues that the political shift in global politics ushered in by the wave of African

Independence had a considerable impact on the global football administrative landscape. There was a push for democratization of world football and this was reflected in the campaign and election of the Brazilian Joao Havelange to the FIFA presidency in 1974, the first non-European to hold that office, defeating the perceived Eurocentric Sir Stanley Rous. This event, according to Darby (2003), significantly shifted the politics of FIFA and a new paradigm of the developed world against the developing world emerged and continues to characterize the politics of FIFA to date. What is of importance to Darby's study is the political influence on football administration although this focus, however, is on a global scale with many generalizations, unlike this study which is a local study on football administration and focuses on the influence especially of local conditions on football administration.

According to Eisenberg (2006), when FIFA was formed in 1904 it was designed to be an entity that administered and controlled association football. He, however, argues that FIFA has evolved into a capitalist entity thanks to sponsoring contracts from capitalist multinational corporations like Coca-Cola and Adidas who have taken advantage of the marketing potential of football. FIFA's income has also come from television rights sales and other merchandise like games and replica football uniforms. However, Jennings (2011) argues that FIFA is a haven of corruption and illicit deals. He argues that global football is governed by an unholy alliance between FIFA, Coca-Cola, Nike and Adidas, implying the impact of global capital on football administration globally. For Jennings (2011), the global game is ruled by an elite class of powerful and corrupt individuals, thus the "democratization of football" is a myth not reflecting the reality of global football administration. This picture of football as an economically attractive arena where capitalist firms pour in financial resources may not be reflective of the situation in Zimbabwe where football is reported to be shunned by the corporate world and ZIFA, the administrative body, is facing financial challenges. Therefore, the economic environments in which Jennings' research and the present study are based, are different. This difference justifies the need to look at football administration in a context where football is shunned by the corporate world.

Similarly, in Italy, according to Hamil et al (2010), we cannot separate Italian football and politics. Since the days of the pre-Second World War fascist government, prominent politicians owned and controlled football for their own hegemonic reasons. Hamil et al (2010) argue that

this politicization of football has continued to be prevalent in modern Italy, citing the example of Silvia Berlusconi, former three-time Italian Prime Minister and owner of popular football club AC Milan. Hamil et al (2010) argue that Berlusconi's political party name "Forza Italia" was taken directly from a football chant portraying a classic example of how a modern politician has used football as a springboard of his political career. Thus, the boundaries between football administration and politics are becoming increasingly blurred. According to Hamil et al (2010), football in Italy is controlled by the Italian Football Association (FIGC), founded in 1898 as a result of the amalgamation of various football clubs. Thus, from its conception the FIGC was controlled and run by individual football clubs. They (ibid) argue that the ownership and administration of major Italian football clubs is done by powerful families, for example Inter Milan (FC Internazionale) is owned by the Morratti family, whilst the Agnelli family controls FC Juventus. According to Hamil et al (2010), Italian football is, thus, administered by a network of powerful individuals with political and media connections. They also argue that the undemocratic nature of Italian football administration has inevitably resulted in numerous scandals of corruption and maladministration, with the most infamous being the "calciopoli" scandal of 2006 whereby, according to Hamil et al (2010), a network of close ties between betting houses, team managers, club executives, player agents and referees worked in collaboration to fix the results of matches and influence national team selection of particular players so as to bolster their market value. Such scandals give testament to the undemocratic and scandal ridden nature of global football administration. The Italian case is relevant to this study primarily because it portrays the influence of politics and economics on the nature of football administration even in a developed country – two major influences which this study focuses on. However, the different contexts economically and politically between Zimbabwe and Italy are not to be ignored. Economically, Italy is considered as a high income developed country (World Bank 2015) whose football is well funded by the corporate world whilst, economically, Zimbabwe is categorized as a low income developing country (World Bank 2015) with weak economic capacity as compared to Italy. These differences will almost certainly affect football administration; as has been illustrated, we cannot separate football administration from economic issues. So the different economic realities between Zimbabwe and Italy justify the need for a

study that focuses on football administration in a low income and economically developing country.

Similarly taking the case of Asia, Dorsey (2015) argues that politics is enmeshed within Asian football administration. Thus, for Dorsey (2015), Asian football reflects an incestuous relationship between sport and politics dominated by individuals from Arab royal families. According to Dorsey (2015), these heavy links of Asian football and Asian politics have basically turned Asian football into a political game involving individuals with wider political agendas using football as an avenue to express and realize those agendas. Dorsey (2015) cites the example of the 1973 expulsion of Israel from the AFC: there were no sustainable reasons but this decision was political as Israel was at war with the Arab league at that period. For Dorsey (2015), the consequence of this politicization of Asian football has resulted in the game being tainted by corruption scandals, the most recent being the suspension of AFC president Qatari prince Hassan Bin Hamman on allegations of corruption. His successor, Salaman, however, also continues to be accused of the very corrupt activities that led to the ultimate downfall of his predecessor. Dorsey (2015)'s study is relevant to this study as it links the relationship between politics and football administration - a concept that this study explores. Issues like corruption and political intervention in football are addressed in both studies. However, the different political realities that exist between Zimbabwe and Asian countries cannot be ignored. For instance, issues of royalty which dominate Arab politics and football are not dominant in Zimbabwe which is more of a political democracy (Tarungarira, 2014) than monarchs who dominate Arab politics.

2.3 Overview of Football Administration in Africa

Tsabara (2014) observes that, in colonial and post-colonial Africa, football, just like all other sports, was perceived as a purely entertainment activity. Hence, in most African states, sportsmen and sports administrators were involved in sport on a part time basis - not as means of livelihood but an activity done for fun. However, Tsabara (2014) notes that this scenario has long shifted; propelled by the commercialization of football, football players and football administrators were no longer just part time, but found football to be a solid source of income,

hence the sudden shift and interest in football administration around the continent. Tsabara (2014)'s observation views football as a domain where commercial interests are at play, hence the main motivator for individuals to be interested in football administration. This argument may not be reflective of the situation in Zimbabwe where football is reportedly affected by low corporate involvement in funding the game. We, therefore, cannot safely assume that the argument of individual interest in football administration as an issue of economic benefit to be derived from one being a football administrator is applicable to the case of Zimbabwe. This study focuses on Zimbabwe and tries to understand football administration that is shunned by corporate organizations.

AFRICOG (2012), presenting the case of Kenya, argues that after the attainment of political independence from Britain, football administration become enmeshed in the political discourse. According to AFRICOG (2012), post-independent football administration in Kenya was a reflection of the ethno-political rivalry which characterized post independent Kenya. Prospective football administrators aligned themselves with the emerging political blocks and sometimes utilized football administration to launch their political carriers. AFRICOG (2012) identifies two major challenges to football administration in Kenya. The first challenge is a weak football administrative constitution which is easily manipulated to allow "*the wrong people for the wrong reasons to seek and win Kenyan Football Federation elections*". Thus, individuals not qualified or passionately interested in football administration find themselves at the helm of the football administration body. This scenario, according to AFRICOG (2012), has led to the widening of the gap between football administrators and key football stakeholders like corporate sponsors, as both represent different and often conflicting interests. The study by AFRICOG (2012) is relevant to this study in that it focuses on Kenya which, like Zimbabwe, was a British colony, and also focuses on the political influences on football administration. However, Mapuwa (2010) argues that the political and economic conditions in Kenya and Zimbabwe are not entirely similar, hence creating a difficulty in wholly generalizing the two countries. This observation, therefore, implies that the differences in the nature of political and economic forces in Zimbabwe and Kenya will also lead to differences in the manner in which these forces affected football administration.

Panneberg (2010) is also of the view that African football administration is characterized by patronage, whereby politically and/ or economically powerful individuals take positions in football administrative organizations for political or prestigious purposes. Panneberg (2010) argues that the unavoidable consequence of such an arrangement is that many employees in football administration organizations are hired not based on merit or capability but on the bidding of the patron. Panneberg (2010), thus, advocates for a theory of “Big men and small boys” as characterizing football administration in Africa, where football administering organizations are transformed into entities of dominance by the powerful political and/or economical “big men”. Onwumehili (2014), giving the case of Nigeria, supports this argument by noting that Nigerian football administrators like political actors maintain their hegemony over Nigerian football through manipulation of the electoral process to place individuals who are sympathetic to their remaining in power. This manipulation of the electoral process has directly impacted on the creditability and performance of the Nigerian Football Association (NFA).

The second major challenge to football administration in Africa, according to AFRICOG (2012), is that of corruption and lack of accountability in football administration. For Panneberg (2010), the likelihood of corruption in African football is made possible due to the transformation of football as a multi-billion dollar industry. According to Tsabara (2014), corruption in African football has been fuelled by the involvement of huge multinational enterprises and national politicians - which has resulted in huge inflows of funding coming into football. Tsabara (2014) further argues that this income generating capacity of football has not only attracted carrier sportspersons but also corrupt individuals within the African state. Chiweshe (2014) argues that corruption is endemic in African football; the story of football administration in Africa is that of “controversy and complex problems involving missing funds and election rigging”. For Chiweshe, corruption in African football comes in many forms: among others - vote buying, match fixing, player transfer deals and sponsorship deals. According to Chiweshe (2014), FIFA’s policy of non-political interference in football administrative affairs is the root of corruption in African football administration. Chiweshe (2014) argues that the policy protects corrupt football administrators from direct political attempts to combat corruption. He gives the case example of Kenya, where in 2004 Kenya was banned by FIFA from participating in any FIFA football tournament after the Kenyan high court suspended officials from the Kenya

Football Federation accused of corruption and lack of financial transparency. The FIFA decision, according to Chiweshe (2014), forced the Kenyan government to reinstate the guilty officials.

2.4 Historical Development of Football in Zimbabwe

According to Novak (2012), sporting culture in colonial Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) was quite vibrant and sport was an important tool for identity maintenance on the part of the minority white settlers, as well as a tool for social control over the black native population. Guilanotti (1994) is of the same opinion as Novak (2012): taking the example of football, he argues that football was introduced to the native black population in Rhodesia as a mechanism to control the native's recreation. This argument is further developed by Muponde and Muchemwa (2011) who highlight that the introduction of sport in Rhodesia was motivated by political reasons, the chief being to divert the energies that may be used to resist the political establishment and channel it to other avenues that are less of a threat to the political status quo. For Novak (2012), the quest for identity maintenance among the settler white community led to the development of racial separation in sport. There existed a divide between Cricket and Rugby (considered as elite sports) and football ('the sport of the masses'). Novak (2012) suggests that this divide was an importation of the sporting divide along class lines that existed in Britain, with football being the sport of the poor working class whilst rugby and cricket were the sports of the elite. Nevertheless, Novak (2012) argues that cricket and rugby in colonial Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) were the central components of white settler sporting culture, and under the political establishment of Sir William Minton and other early Rhodesian administrators, cricket and rugby administration become more highly structured and closely aligned to the settler state.

Little (2011) argues that sport in colonial Rhodesia was negatively affected by the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in 1964. According to Little (2015), politically Britain considered the UDI a rebellion against the British political establishment, henceforth its foreign policy aimed at isolating Rhodesia from the international political landscape. Little (2011) argues that the British government prevented its sports teams from playing against Rhodesian teams.

Britain was also the leading light in the events leading to the ban of Rhodesia from participating in the 1968 Olympic games in Mexico and, together with other newly independent African states, Britain's efforts led to the banning of Rhodesia from participating in the 1972 Munich Olympic games. Rhodesia was also banned from participating in the 1970 FIFA world cup football tournament. These developments help to justify the argument that sport goes beyond the playing field but is heavily intertwined with political and economic agendas.

FAIR (2010) argues that football administration in Zimbabwe has been dogged by numerous corruption scandals involving senior ZIFA officials - among others, Edgar Rodgers, Jonathan Mashingaidze and Henrietta Rushwaya have been suspended on allegations of corruption. The most infamous of the corruption scandals is the match fixing scandal of December 2009, better known in football circles as the "Asiagate" scandal. According to FAIR (2010) the Zimbabwean Senior men's football team traveled to Asia and played, deliberately losing football matches against numerous Asian teams in return for financial rewards. Chiweshe (2014) attributes the origins of corruption in ZIFA to the wider difficult socio-economic environment, of which football administrators and players are just victims looking for a way to survive. This argument by Chiweshe (2014) brings home the point that the nature of football administration is intrinsically related to the prevailing socio-economic conditions, thus any analysis of football administration would not be adequate if it excludes the impact of the external socio-economic environment.

According to Mangena (2012), sports administration, particularly football in Zimbabwe, is characterized by high levels of gender discrimination and unequal power relations. The gender aspect of football administration in Zimbabwe is also discussed at length by Damion (2010) who argues that Zimbabwean football is patriarchal. This patriarchy is mainly driven by the perception that football is men's game, hence should be run by men. Mangena (2012) argues that the gender discriminative nature of football administration is a symptom particularly present at the lower levels of the game like school sports tournaments, meaning administration is just following the gender discrimination characteristic of the wider Zimbabwean society. Magonde (2014) argues that ZIFA is affected by marketing strategies that are not effective and lucrative to lure corporate sponsorship. For Magonde (2014), this lack of funding has crippled the capacity of

ZIFA to carry out its football administrative function. Magonde (2014) further argues that the main reason behind ZIFA's ineffective marketing strategies is the lack of capacitated and qualified personnel at ZIFA, the result being an unprofessional, chaotic and unconvincing approach to football administration. According to Magonde (2014), ZIFA's administrative approach is in stark contrast to the professional businesslike approach to football administration in the United Kingdom for instance. The challenges affecting football administration in Zimbabwe presented here are relevant to the present study but, however, a sociological approach is lacking; for instance, Mangena is mostly concerned about the ethics of sports administration and his focus is mostly on secondary school sports. Magonde (2011)'s study is from a business background where his primary focus is on why ZIFA is failing to get corporate sponsorship and, finally, Damion (2009) is mostly interested in the gender dynamics of football in Zimbabwe. This study seeks to provide a sociological approach to understanding football administration.

2.5 The Politics of Football in Zimbabwe

Zenenga (2012) argues that football was introduced to Zimbabwe by the missionaries and colonial settlers for their own ideological and hegemonic reasons. However, Zenenga (2012) suggests that football has been "appropriated, adapted and indigenized to serve local cultural, political and spiritual needs and agendas". In the same vein, Ncube (2014) argues that football as a game is not limited to the football pitch, but has a say in politics, power struggles, cultural and economic issues. According to Stuart (1995:34), both in Colonial Rhodesia and post independent Zimbabwe, football became an ideological tool to sway political opinion, and politicians were quick to exploit this potential in football. This argument is reinforced by Muponde and Muchemwa (2011) who note that football reveals an interesting space where the post-colonial African state uses the space of the stadium as an arena in which struggles over polity are brought into sharper view. These arguments suggest that football is not just a sport but a political space, characterized by political forces competing for the control and exploitation of it for their political expediency. This argument is central to this study's quest to understand societal, particularly political influences on football administration.

According to Muponde and Muchemwa (2011) the post-colonial government was enlightened to the potential of football and sport in general to generate energies and symbols that could challenge the political status quo, if left unchecked. Muponde and Muchemwa (2011) and Ncube (2014) document that the ZANU PF government infiltrated sport, in particular football, by strategically positioning themselves in football administration in albeit subtle ways. Muponde and Muchemwa (2011) note that almost every member of the Zimbabwe Football Association (ZIFA) executive has strong links with the ruling ZANU PF party from Leo Mugabe, the president's nephew to Philip Chiyangwa (the incumbent ZIFA president) who also happens to be related to the president. These strong links, for Muponde and Muchemwa (2011), reflect a commitment on the part of the ruling political establishment to continue the Rhodesian policy of using sport as a mechanism of social control. The argument is that football is far from being a neutral enterprise; it is a space where politics and other factors intertwine with it. Ncube (2014) argues that football administration in modern day Zimbabwe is a reflection of the mainstream politics, for instance the Unity accord signed between ZANU and ZAPU, with all ZIFA presidents coming from the North and Vice –Presidents coming from the south. Ncube (2014) also argues that the ZANU PF government and politicians also strategically positioned themselves in football administration soon after independence to influence policy. The likes of Canaan Banana, Simon Muzenda, Joseph Musika and John Landa Nkomo, all senior ZANU PF politicians, have occupied the honorary position of the patron of the Zimbabwe senior men's football team. According to Ncube (2014), the politics of football can also be reflected in the appointment of Henrietta Rushwaya as the ZIFA Chief Executive Officer in 2007, thus confirming the political streamlining of Zimbabwean football. Ncube (2014) argues, though, that Rushwaya's appointment at first sight may be viewed as a positive stride towards gender equilibrium in football as argued by Damion (2010). Her appointment, according to Ncube, was in actuality a political issue as she was appointed not on merit but by her alleged close relationship with Joseph Musika, the then Vice president of Zimbabwe.

Ncube (2014) argues that a direct relationship exists between Zimbabwe's national elections, and those of the ZIFA. According to Ncube (2014), ZIFA elections are a reflection of the national elections in the following ways. Firstly, as suggested by Ncube (2014), Zimbabwean national elections are often labeled as being characterized by lack of transparency, with the ruling

political establishment often being accused of utilizing pragmatic mechanisms to win polls, in the same vein, ZIFA elections have also been described as dogged by “vote rigging” and intimidation. Secondly, Ncube (2014) argues that the Zimbabwean elections - particularly the most recent (July 31 2013) were marred by spirited attempts by the Movement for Democratic Change – Tsvangirai (MDC-T) to stop the holding of the elections through court applications, citing irregularities in the electoral process. Ncube (2014) documents that in similar fashion as the attempts by the Movement for Democratic Change – Tsvangirai (MDC-T) to have the July 31 2013 elections postponed, so have elements within the football fraternity sought to stop several ZIFA elections citing flaws in the ZIFA electoral process. Ncube (2014) argues that just as the court application by the MDC-T to postpone the July 31 2013 elections failed, so did the many several attempts to stop the holding of ZIFA elections. Ncube(2014) further suggests that as the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) is accused by the MDC –T of manipulating the political system in favor of ZANU PF, so is the ZIFA secretariat accused of transforming itself into a “commissariat” and “electoral machine” in an attempt to manipulate the ZIFA electoral environment in favor of a preferred candidate

Not only is the politics of football expressed in its control by ruling political patrons, it is also a medium for expressing political concerns and symbols. According to Muponde and Muchemwa (2011), soccer provides a space for the insertion and proliferation of symbols that carry often contested politics and narrations. The use of football as a mechanism for political resistance in colonial Zimbabwe is documented by Stuart (1996) and Chiweshe (2011) who argue the local native population soon transformed football to being a medium of socio-political resistance, as evidenced with the formation and success of black owned and controlled football teams like Dynamos Football Club and Highlanders Football Club. According to Ncube (2014) football’s deployment by the colonial political establishment to protect its hegemony and win the support of the majority native black population somewhat backfired as the Africans found football as a useful alternative public sphere to express their counter hegemonic sentiments strengthening the resistance against colonial rule. In a similar fashion, Ncube (2014) argues that despite efforts by the ruling ZANU PF party since independence to gain the support of the masses through football by putting football as part of the major political events like the independence day celebrations, ZANU PF has found itself being challenged through the football discourse. Ncube (2014) and

Zenenga (2012) note that ZANU PF's main political opponent, the MDC –T, has adopted and deployed football symbolism to represent its political struggle against ZANU PF. Symbols like the open palm, red card and whistles all borrowed from football are utilized by the MDC-T to appeal to the electorate in its attempt to dislodge the ruling political establishment.

Ncube (2014) argues that the intimate relations between politics and football could be argued as having transformed the Zimbabwean socio-political space into a football stadium, where Zimbabwe's main political players take the role of football teams competing to outwit each other in a football match with the sole intention of scoring political goals. Ncube (2014) further argues that strong evidences of the political hand in football was given in the July 2013 national elections where a number of football administrators contested for political positions, some notable examples include Leo Mugabe (Former ZIFA president), Henrietta Rushwaya (Former ZIFA Chief Executive Officer) and Retired Colonel Tshinga Dube (Chairperson of the ZIFA Football Trust). For Ncube (2014), what is interesting is that all these football administrators cum politicians were from ZANU PF except for one candidate, Arnold Tsunga (The Director of Mutare United Football Club) who was from MDC – T. This scenario reflects two interesting themes: firstly, most prominent football administrators are in actuality ZANU PF members or have their political sympathies aligned with ZANU PF. The second theme is that the participation in politics seems to imply that these football administrators are actually politicians using football as an avenue to launch or revive their political carriers.

According to Ncube (2014) football administration in contemporary Zimbabwe is underscored by regional and ethnic power struggles between the majority Northern Shona and the minority Southern Ndebele. The ethnicity discourse in Zimbabwean football has been discussed at length by Stuart (1996) and Ncube (2014). For Stuart (1996), the ethnical dimension of Zimbabwean football has been expressed in the club football rivalry between two of Zimbabwe's most popular clubs in terms of support, Highlanders Football Club and Dynamos Football Club. According to Morbo (2006: 3), "rivalry in football is more than the sum of one team's players against the others. It serves to pit one codified regional social identity against the other, and if there are any tensions between the people represented". Therefore, football rivalry is not a natural occurrence but takes the pattern of underlying existing identity fractures within society, in this case the

ethnic divide between the Shona and Ndebele. For the purposes of this study, ethnically motivated rivalry is important as the administrators of these clubs have an important say in the selection of the ZIFA executive. Therefore, the selectors of the national football administrators are themselves fractured along, among other things, ethnically motivated rivalries. Ncube (2014)'s arguments speak more to the focus of the study as they dwell on the political links of football administration and politics. However, Ncube (2014) does not utilize a sociological approach to understanding football administration. This study, on the other hand, seeks to give a sociological explanation to football administration. Secondly, Ncube (2014) does not focus particularly on ZIFA but on football administration in general; this study, however, seeks to give an in-depth study on ZIFA and give a sociological explanation to the nature and dynamics as well as the challenges faced by ZIFA football administrators. Ncube (2014) also does not consider much the input of football fans in his study. He mostly focuses on the views of the administrators themselves while, on the other hand, this study focuses more on the input of football fans to the notion of understanding football administration in Zimbabwe.

2.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter focused on the academic literature on football and football administration specifically. Common themes were observed, for instance the political element in football administration from the FIFA presidency down to the local ZIFA presidency, political forces have been shown to be at play. Another theme coming from the literature was that football is a general reflection of the way society is structured, for instance the patriarchal, racial, tribal elements in football are in fact exported from the wider society and reflect themselves in football. The other theme was the poor administration of football in Africa, with African football administrators being corrupt and incapable of undertaking their tasks of administering football. ZIFA was portrayed in the same light with other football associations from Nigeria and Kenya which are affected by the same ineffectiveness as ZIFA. The study gap emanating from this review of literature is the lack of a sociological approach to football administration in Zimbabwe. So this study will seek to fill this gap by giving a sociological dimension to football

administration in Zimbabwe **CHAPTER 3**

Theoretical Framework

3.1 Introduction

Football administration cannot be separated from the prevailing political narrative (Ncube 2014), hence the motivation to adopt a political approach to analyze football administration. This research will utilize a social political theoretical approach, the game theory of politics as outlined by Bath (1966) and Bailey (1969), to analyze the politics of football administration in Zimbabwe. This chapter will look at the general assumptions of both theories and situate them within the broader sociological theoretical milieu.

3.2 The Political Game Theory

Cheater (2003:151) documents that, for Bailey individuals are political beings who devise many ways to manipulate their relationships with other social actors so as to build for themselves positions of authority within that particular socio-space. In this vein, Bailey (1969) thus assumes that we can never attempt any analysis of the social phenomena without taking into consideration this inert political manipulative nature possessed by individuals regardless of their cultural orientation. From the onset, the political game theory assumes the existence of cognitively active social actors who are aware of their social environment and possess the ability to manipulate it for individual benefit. Within the wider sociological theoretical framework, such assumptions are shared by the symbolic Interactionism, Social Exchange Theory and the Rational Choice Theory. This is in stark contrast to traditional structural sociological approaches like Functionalism and Marxism that viewed the social actor as controlled and manipulated by social structure (Giddens 1984). According to Bailey (1969), as documented by Cheater (2003:151), these micro-political social actions by individual social actors underlie structural or institutionalized frameworks that seem to govern societal conduct. As political animals, individual are social actors. Any attempt to analyze the social must, thus, focus on the strategies adopted and implored by individuals to survive in a political society. Football administration is a field occupied by political actors who compete against each other to occupy leadership positions and, thus, fits in the confines of the Game Theory. According to Cheater (2003), Bailey suggests that politics is competition and competition takes place within a space where two or more rival structures exist. This assumption

is also reflective in the ZIFA football administrative circles where, for instance during elections, opposing candidates representing two different structures would compete for posts within the ZIFA board. Such an environment is an ideal environment for usage of the Game Theory.

Lewelen (2003:100) argues that, in Bailey's thinking, there are five elements of political structure when it is viewed as a game. Firstly, politics is competition and competition occurs in a space where there are two or more rival structures in existence. Secondly, there has to exist prizes or spoils that are culturally defined and are valued by the competing rival structures so as to make the competition meaningful. This assumption resonates well with the ZIFA political lexicon as positions like the ZIFA presidency are associated with economic and political privileges (Ncube 2014), hence individuals compete to occupy this position. The political involvement in the acquisition of posts within the ZIFA board (Muponde and Muchemwa, 2011) may also suggest the high value ascribed to these board positions. Thirdly, any political game should have personnel involved within that competition; these personnel vary from the concerned political community to the political elite, those entitled to compete for political space and the political teams involved. Cheater (2003) argues that for Bailey, two types of political teams exist - namely the contract or transactional team and the moral team. The contract team, for Bailey (1969), is united to the leader by the potential profit or material gained from following or supporting a political leader. This is supported by Bath (1966) who argues that the game of politics is one of the transactions strictly governed by reciprocity. For Bath (1966), the norm of reciprocity is that of "moral obligation". This describes the obligation of the recipient of the gift to repay the donor with something of comparable value to the gift given; this repayment can come in the form of supporting the aims and endeavors of the donor. For Bath (1966), the continued expression of this transactional relationship creates a system of "clientalism", whereby the leader is under obligation to provide material goods to his/her followers in return for political support. Lewelen (2003:100) notes that an example of the contract team is the "big man" system in Polynesia, whereby the leader buys loyalty through loans and parties given to the followers. However, the intactness of the contract political team depends on two factors: on the one hand, the continual availability of material resources that bind the leader and the followers and, on the other, the absence of rival potential leaders able to provide more material resources to the followers than being currently provided. The second political team, according to Bailey (1969),

is the moral political team. The unity of the moral political team is based on shared ideologies and opinions, not material benefits. Lewelen (2003) argues, however, that support from the moral political team is often given when the leader follows normative rules which are shared by both the leader and the moral political team, and any deviation from these normative rules will result in loss of support from the moral team on the part of the leader. In the context of the study, personnel interested in the political game will include the football stakeholders including the fans. On another level there is the political elite; this refers to those entitled to compete for political mileage - in our case these would include the football administrators themselves interested in occupying ZIFA posts. Finally, there are the political teams involved in the conflict; these would be, in our case, the ZIFA councilors who actually vote and choose the members of the ZIFA board.

The fourth element of the political game, according to Lewelen (2003), is the competition itself. Lewelen notes that, for Bailey, competition is of two types: confrontation and encounter. Confrontation is more within a political space where one shows and announces to the opponent his/her strengths in resources and possible actions. Encounter, on the other hand, is when political competitors publicly agree to test their strengths against each other. Bailey (1969) argues that any political competition is governed by rules (stratagems) and agreed upon goals. There are two types of political game rules, namely normative rules and pragmatic rules. According to Lewelen (2003), normative rules are those publicly acknowledged and professed goals or routes to be followed in attaining those goals. Cheater (2003) notes that the transgression of normative rules, if proven, would most likely result in punitive measures against the offender. Cheater (2003:152) documents that,

Like all ideological premises the normative rules of politics are vague and generalized statements of intent which require be interpreting and applying to specific cases.

The second types of rules that govern the political game are the pragmatic rules. According to Lewelen (2003), pragmatic rules have to do with the actual winning of the political game, as opposed to public display. Pragmatic rules are those unacceptable rules to win the game, which are not adopted on the basis of their public acceptance but on their effectiveness to win the game. Cheater (2003:150-151) argues that the success of a political player is heavily dependent upon

the use of pragmatic rules. Bailey (1969) argues that to play the political game like a gentleman using only publicly approved and appropriate normative rules will surely result in loss. Strategies like cheating and intimidation are part of the political game, and are adopted by all successful political players. Cheater (2003:151) argues that pragmatic tactics, take many forms and may include the questioning and the reinterpretation of the normative rules to fit a particular individual agenda. However, pragmatic tactics may operate in direct contradiction to normative rules, for instance cheating in an election, which is only regrettable after discovery and publicity.

Bailey's analysis of the political game is somewhat similar to Goffman's (1966) dramaturgical approach, where he argues that individual social actors exhibit two forms of behavior: the front stage which is socially acceptable and accessible to the public, and the back stage which may include societal unacceptable behaviors and is restricted to a few privileged individuals. Bailey's normative rules of politics may be viewed as some kind of political front stage where political players display and claim to hold publicly acceptable attributes. However, there exists a political back stage (that would be the pragmatic rules where the political players adopt methods and have policies that may not be publicly approved - hence not accessible by the general public but by a few privileged close individuals). This resonates well with football administration in Zimbabwe where aspiring candidates for ZIFA leadership positions have been accused of using unorthodox methods to win ZIFA elections (Ncube 2014).

Cheater (2003) holds that, for Bailey, leadership is a process of making both administrative and policy decisions, especially in conditions of uncertainty and/or in situations that have never been encountered before. We have to understand that Bailey's political leaders are socially conscious of their socio-political environment and are, thus, capacitated to know the possible effects of their decisions (a somewhat similar assumption to that of the Rational Choice Theory's concept of "unbounded rationality"). Opp (1999) argues that the narrow version of the Rational Choice Theory assumes that social actors are fully informed about their environment and the implications of their actions, and thus make decisions fully aware of the possible benefits and negative effects of those particular decisions they choose to make. In this regard, Bailey (1969) suggests that the primary objective of the political leader is to maintain the unity of the political team and his/her hegemony over that political team. Bailey, thus, envisions the successful

political leader as an intelligent and cunning political gladiator who knows how best to play this political game. A cheater (2003) note that in Bailey's thinking, political leaders - as conscious social actors, seek to make decisions primarily to strengthen their political position and credibility. However, Bailey (1969)'s Game Theory is not a perfectionist approach in terms of the capacity of political leaders to read and play the political game well. Bailey gives room for the existence of politically unwise leaders whose inability to read and play the political game would result in the leader losing his/her political position. Therefore, the administrative and policy decisions taken by the leader are of paramount to the political team of the leader, as it is an avenue they use to test the strength and weakness of that particular political leader. This argument by Bailey gave to the research an important evaluative tool to evaluate the capability of football administrators in respect to the policy decisions they make.

Apart from policy making and/ or administrative roles, the political leader in Bailey's Game Theory must also act as a kind of a political referee within his/her political team in the event of internal disputes arising so that the internal conflicts do not disrupt the effectiveness of the political team(just like the Rational Choice which assumes social actors as empowered agents with the capacity and capability to choose to pursue a particular course of action from a number of given options). Bailey's political leaders have multiple options available to them in the event of a dispute. According to Cheater (2003), the political leader in Bailey's theory in the event of an internal dispute has a wide range of options from low cost mediation between the warring parties to high cost arbitration or imposing sanctions on the perceived offender. Similarly, both the Game Theory and Rational Choice Theory assume the existence of a more appropriate option among the various options accessible to the social actor. So, according to Bailey (1969), the successful leader is one who opts for the politically wise option which ultimately results in him maintaining his political position and credibility.

Cheater (2003) notes that one enduring characteristic of all political competition in the Game Theory is that of factions. Lewelen (2003) argues that factions are informal follower-leader groups which organize for a particular aim, and are disbanded when that purpose or aim is achieved or defeated. Factions are, thus, primarily conflict groups organized to oppose one or more groups within the political team. According to Cheater (2003), the transactional team is

more likely to be characterized by factions as compared to the moral team because alliance within a transactional political team is benefit based upon the emergence of a rival political leader with the potential of providing equal or more material resources to the transactional team - which inevitably leads to the emergence of factions. Lewelen (2003) notes that factions are conflict groupings that organize for the primary purpose of opposing one or more groups, or push a particular agenda with a political team. So in reality there cannot exist a single faction within a specified political field. Lewelen (2003) argues that because a faction leader recruits his support from virtually all available sources united by the common interests, a faction may cut across the traditional divisions like class, race, ethnicity, etc., resulting in a lack of or diluted ideological focus. Factions can be grouped into two types: the common-parlance faction and the pervasive faction. The common-parlance faction is formed as a result of same scale temporary conflict within the formal political group whilst pervasive factionalism develops when external influences or pressures cause the breakdown of normal political mechanisms .In such circumstances individuals within a political group may group together around preferred candidates. Lewelen (2003) argues that because factions are born and kept alive in a period of conflict, they cannot reach a point of relative equilibrium and continue to maintain their status as factions. So there are three possibilities. The first possibility is that of a faction defeating other rival factions and subsequently organizing into the new political team. Secondly, factions within a political space may continue to exist, competing with each other but without winning. Finally, factions may break away from the established political team and become a counter political team in their own right. An analysis of factions by Bailey is applicable to the analysis of football administration in Zimbabwe, which is argued to be riddled by widespread factionalism (Ncube 2014).

3.3 Chapter Summary

This chapter looked at the main theoretical assumptions of the Political Game Theory of FC Bailey and tried to situate them within the confines of football administration in Zimbabwe. The Game Theory explains how social political actors behave within a political space, of which football administration can be described as one such political space -where aspiring and

incumbent football administrators are involved in a political game, and adopt strategies that are selfishly motivated to maintain their hegemonic political dominance.

CHAPTER 4

Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the methods of data collection and the methods of data analysis. This chapter also explains the rationale why the methods were adopted by the researcher. Firstly, this chapter will explain the research design, then the next section will explain the data collection methods utilized and justify their use; the following section will deal with issues of sampling and how research respondents were selected; the section after it will deal with how data was analyzed and, finally, the ethical issues surrounding the research will be discussed.

4.2 Research design

According to Craswel (2007) research designs are plans and the procedures for research that span the decisions from broad assumptions to detailed methods of data collection and analysis. This research utilized a qualitative approach to data enquiry. According to Hammersley (1989:2), qualitative methods stress the diversity and the variability of social life, and have a concern with capturing the myriad perspectives of participants in a social world. Craswel (2007) submits that qualitative research is a means for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or a human problem. Craswel (2007) further notes that the process of research involves emerging questions and procedures; data typically collected in the participant's setting; data analysis - inductively building from particulars to general themes and the researcher making interpretations of the meanings of data. The research utilized qualitative research in accordance with the arguments above in an attempt to gain an in-depth understanding of football administration. Three qualitative approaches to research, namely in-depth interviews, structured interviews and documentary analysis were employed in this research and data was triangulated so as to gain a deep and combined understanding of football administration.

The research process was divided into four stages: firstly the researcher distributed the semi-structured interview questionnaires to 50 football fans; the second phase saw the researcher conduct in-depth interviews with two key informants -one sports journalist and the other a retired professional football player who is also a football administrator. The third phase saw the researcher conducting document analysis; this phase involved checking data from Newspaper articles, magazines and academic literature. The fourth stage saw the researcher triangulating the data obtained from these three research methods and formulating themes informed by the research objectives.

4.3 Sampling/ Selection of Research Participants

The research utilized two sampling methods in the selection of research participants, that is convenient sampling and purposive availability sampling. Convenient sampling, according to www.researchmethodology.net, is a non-probability sampling method which collects data from members of a population who are conveniently available to participate in the study. Convenient sampling was utilized to select research participants for the semi-structured interviews. The interviews were specifically meant for football fans to gain an insight on their perceptions on football administration. This sampling method was adopted for two primary reasons: firstly, the study population, in this case football fans, cannot be ascertained as no official records exist which show the number of football fans in Zimbabwe - thereby making it difficult for the researcher to use probability sampling techniques. Secondly, the time factor influenced the researcher's choice of convenient sampling as this technique is not time consuming.

The second sampling method utilized by the researcher is purposive availability sampling - a combination of purposive sampling and convenient sampling. Purposive sampling, according to www.leard.com, is a form of non-probability sampling where the research participants are selected on the basis of the researcher's own judgment in terms of their importance to the study. In this case the researchers combined expect purposive sampling with convenient sampling. Expect Purposive sampling according to www.leard.com is a form of purposive sampling used when the researcher wants to gain knowledge from individuals that have expert knowledge in the field of study. This method was used in the selection of research participants for the in-depth interview. However, such individuals were difficult to find and, as such, the researcher opted for those available to participate, hence the use of Purposive availability sampling.

4.4 Selected Research Methods

4.4.1 Semi- Structured Interviews

The first method employed by the researcher was the semi- structured interviews with 50 football fans. The interview questions were in the form of questionnaires, completed by football fans. This method was utilized because the researcher wanted to capture the viewpoints of football

fans, a constituency that has not been researched upon in the few studies that focused on football administration in Zimbabwe. The participants for the structured interviews were selected on the basis of availability and convenience. Since not everyone is a football fan, the researcher had to rely on self-confessed football fans that were willing to participate in the research. There was no bias towards gender or other social categories; anyone willing was given the questionnaire.

4.4.2 In-depth – Interviews

The next method utilized was the in-depth interviews. Burgess (1984) describes the in depth interview as a form of conversation with a purpose. The strength of the in-depth interviews, according to Rorty (1980), is that it reproduces a fundamental process through which knowledge about the social world is constructed in normal human interaction. In-depth interviews were initially intended to be the main data collection tool. However, due to the unavailability of participants, the researcher was forced to conduct only two in-depth interviews - the first one with a former professional football player given the pseudonym Alex who is also into football administration with a local football club. The second interview was with a sports Journalist given the pseudonym Ellen, who also possesses a qualification in sports administration. Holeslein and Gubrium (1997) note that in the in-depth interview, the researcher is an active player in the development of data and meaning. The strengths of the in depth interview were of fundamental importance to this research because of two reasons. Firstly, it allows the researcher to engage in a naturalistic conversation with purposively selected participants on the basis of their knowledge and experience in Zimbabwean football. Secondly, the interview gave the researcher flexibility in terms of asking questions and interesting themes that might be of vital importance to the study. The two participants were selected utilizing purposive availability sampling, which is a combination of purposive and convenience sampling. The two were purposively selected due to their connection and knowledge of football in Zimbabwe.

4.4.3 Document Analysis

The next and final method used was document analysis. Unlike the two previous methods which are primary data collection tools, document analysis is a secondary data collection tool, meaning it takes information from sources written for other purposes other than this research. Magalekwe

(2006) argues that documents are not deliberately produced for the purpose of research but naturally occurring objects with a concrete or semi-permanent existence which tells us indirectly about the social world of the people who created them. This is echoed by Scott (1990) who argues that documents are the visible signs of what happened at some previous time. The advantage of secondary sources of data collection, according to Corti and Thompson (2006), is that it is a rich and unique source of data, usable in both historical and contemporary research. This method was originally adopted to help the researcher understand the social history of ZIFA. However, the researcher found documents - especially newspaper articles, to be of great importance as they contained several interviews by former and current football administrators, political figures and many stakeholders of football in Zimbabwe. This was invaluable to the researcher and was good replacement for the failed in-depth interviews. Secondary sources used include newspaper articles, academic literature from other researchers as well as online social networks, especially Facebook. The choice of online social networks was stimulated by the need to capture the viewpoint of a number of football fans, who frequently visit these sites and air out their opinions. Another advantage the researcher discovered was that data in documents like newspaper articles was naturalistic and it helped the researcher gain a better understanding of football administration in Zimbabwe.

4.5 Data Analysis

4.5.1 Thematic Analysis

Data was analyzed using thematic analysis. According to Braun and Clarke (2006), thematic analysis involves the identification and development of themes from the data gathered. The themes were developed according to the objectives of the study. The themes were developed after the data from the three selected research methods was triangulated and classified in line with the objectives of the study.

4.6 Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations were of paramount importance to this research, the researcher sought the consent of all individuals interviewed before conducting the interviews. Secondly, the researcher utilized pseudonyms to protect the identities of these participants. Thirdly, in utilizing document

analysis, the researcher acknowledged the sources where the information was obtained so as to avoid plagiarism which is a violation of academic ethics.

CHAPTER 5

Presentation of Data

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the main findings of the research and has divided the presentation into two broad themes. Firstly is the nature and dynamics of football administration in Zimbabwe. This section focuses on the maladministration, corruption, the power struggles in ZIFA, the tribal

element in ZIFA football administration and, finally, the gender dynamics of ZIFA and football administration. The next section focuses on the challenges faced by ZIFA: there are four main challenges discussed - the first being the unfavorable macro-economic environment and the second is the political involvement in football administration, followed by negative media publicity and lack of qualified and able human resources at ZIFA. Data is presented sequentially - beginning with primary data that is the interviews, moving to secondary data sources and, finally, the researcher's own observations.

5.2 Nature and Dynamics of Football Administration in Contemporary Zimbabwe

The information relating to the nature of football administration at ZIFA from 1980 was mostly derived from secondary sources and in-depth interviews. The Herald of April 14 2015 documents that the first post-independence ZIFA board was appointed by the then minister of Sports, Joyce Mujuru in 1980. The Board comprised of Muroi Mundishope who was the president and Dougals Mukwananzi being the deputy. Other board members on the Board included Dumiso Gumede and Peter Nemapare, Moosa Ismael, and Clifford Chiripamberi. Gumede, interviewed by Sunday News of April 12 2015, notes that the period just after independence was characterized by socialism and black pride. This could be seen in the renaming and control of every Rhodesian institution. So it is in line with this that a new ZIFA board had to be appointed. Gumede describes the prevailing economic environment after independence as being favorable; hence ZIFA could secure corporate sponsorship to help in its operations. However, Gumede acknowledges that the main challenge facing this initial ZIFA board was lack of professionalism and knowledge on how football was administered. This resulted in the government funding the entire ZIFA board to a familiarization tour of the CAF headquarters. This visit, according to Gumede, capacitated them to set up professional football structures in the country and, most importantly, draft a ZIFA constitution which clearly stipulates the objectives and operational parameters of ZIFA.

5.2.2 Power Struggles

One emerging theme on the nature of football administration in Zimbabwe is that it is characterized by power struggles between individuals or rival camps. The power struggles seem to have been part of ZIFA since Independence. The First ZIFA board led by Nelson Isaac Chirwa (1980-1987) is described to have been characterized by these power struggles. Ncube (2014)

interviewed Dumiso Gumede who notes that after the 1987 re-election of Chirwa to the ZIFA chairmanship, some individuals within the ZIFA board were not happy with this, hence they crafted a plan whereby they created and inserted a clause in the ZIFA constitution that anyone previously convicted of a criminal offence could not be a football administrator. According to Gumede, this clause, though good on paper, was crafted to oust Chirwa from the ZIFA chairmanship as some members who crafted this clause knew that Chirwa had been arrested once in Malawi for allegedly stealing car tyres. This clause eventually led to the ousting of Chirwa from the ZIFA chairmanship a few months after his re-election.

Chirwa's ousting from the ZIFA chairmanship seems to be the result of a well-planned and orchestrated move. Ironically, Chirwa's ousting is a close reflection of the ousting of another ZIFA chairman, Rafiq Khan (2002-2003). Ncube (2014,109) interviewed two prominent football administrators who acknowledge that power struggles form part of the administration nature of ZIFA. Kennedy Mutepfa, describing the events leading to the arrest and removal of ZIFA president (2001-2003) as testament of the power-struggles within ZIFA, claims to have spoken to the individuals who were behind the ousting of Rafiq Khan from the ZIFA chairmanship, and the main motivation was factionalism. Mutepfa's claims are also seconded by Jonathan Mashingaidze, also interviewed by Ncube (2014:109). Mashingaidze is quoted as saying,

Khan got incarcerated over flimsy allegations of theft... I would want to confirm without prejudicing anyone that there were two main camps, one belonging to Khan and the other one belonging to those who came in led by Wellington Nyatanga. So they ganged with members of the media and supporters to remove him despite the good he had done for our football. Just as Cuthbert Dube is doing today ... even to date we still have camps in our football.

Mashingaidze and Mutepfa's version of events describing the removal of Rafiq Khan from the ZIFA chairmanship reflect that power struggles have been an enduring part of ZIFA's administration.

The Herald of 25 April 2015 quotes suspended ZIFA administrator, Chris Sambo who notes that the culture of removing and suspending individuals who dare criticize the ZIFA leadership is

rampant at ZIFA, especially under Curthburt Dube's tenure (2010-2014). Examples of individuals suspended include Kenny Marange, Gibson Homela and Omega Sibanda. The Herald of October 3 2015 documents the proceedings at a ZIFA extraordinary meeting, and one of the agenda items was the suspension of Board members who are allegedly behind the plot to remove the ZIFA leadership and, furthermore, these candidates are accused of fanning factionalism within ZIFA by partnering with political groups opposed to the current ZIFA leadership. This, to a certain extent, justified Sambo's claims that any candidate not in line with the incumbent ZIFA president faces suspension from the organization.

Power struggles at ZIFA are also expressed by the manner in which the ZIFA Constitution has been altered over the years to protect the interests of those in power. A sports Journalist, cites the instance where the ZIFA Constitution was altered to include a clause which allows only individuals above the age of 40 to contest for the ZIFA presidency. According to this journalist, this clause was placed by some administrators with the intent of prolonging their stay at ZIFA by minimizing the number of potential threats to their position.

Power struggles at ZIFA threaten to turn violent especially during the ZIFA elections .The Herald of April 5 2014 contains a description of the environment on Election Day:

Some friends of the warriors (a youth group affiliated with one of the candidates) were openly agitating for a fight; if the vote did not go their candidate's way, one is quoted as saying "nhasi kuchafa munhu kana mudhara akasahwina or anyone achavhotera vamwe, takahwina tichavasota"(if our boss does not win there will be bloodshed, we shall hunt down and fix anyone who has not voted for our boss if the boss wins).

The same paper interviews one Eddie Chirevo, the chairman of the Zimbabwe Soccer Supporters Association, who notes that Election time is always a forgettable experience for those councilors who voted for the losing candidate as they will be hunted and punished for their democratic right to choose a candidate of their choice.

5.2.3 Maladministration of Football in Zimbabwe

One of the dominant finding from data is that of maladministration of football by ZIFA. According to the Independent Commission Against Corruption website www.iacac.sa.gov.au, maladministration refers to *“the mismanagement of public resources that may be described as improper, incompetent or negligent, put simply maladministration is poor governance.”* This theme is recurring in both primary and secondary sources. The maladministration of ZIFA is reflected in the poor performance of national football teams with the men’s senior football team having never qualified for the FIFA World Cup finals, and last qualified for the African cup of Nations a decade ago. Commenting on the poor performance of national teams, National team coach Calisto Pasuwa, quoted in the Herald of 3 August 2015, admits that lack of preparations and huge monies owed by ZIFA to coaches and players contributes to poor performance on the field of play.

In addition to the above sources, this researcher observed that of the nine principal responsibilities of ZIFA as written in section 3 of its Constitution, it has failed to attain a number of them. For instance, the first aim talks about “improving the game”. If improving means improved performance by the national football teams, then ZIFA has failed to attain this objective looking at when Zimbabwe last qualified and played in an international tournament. Improvement of the game may also mean improvement of football infrastructure like stadiums; if that is the case ZIFA has also failed to upgrade any football stadium facilities. Most of the football stadiums date back to the colonial era or soon after independence. Under the first objective is a section on youth development. Alex, a former football player, argues that if you look closely at present we do not have an under 17 or under 20 football national teams, this shows lack of vision and capacity to administer football - implying that ZIFA has failed in its objective to craft developmental policies for young talent.

The other objective that ZIFA has seemingly failed to achieve is that of “preventing the use of methods or mechanisms that may endanger the integrity of matches”. The Asiagate scandal is proof of how ZIFA failed to achieve this goal. Ncube (2014) describes the Asiagate scandal as a match fixing ring where Monomotapa football club masqueraded as the Zimbabwe national team and played a number of international matches with Asian teams which they deliberately lost to in

return for payments. The fact that ZIFA officials are accused as being in the fore-front in the Asiagate scandal suggests a failure on the part of ZIFA to exercise this mandate

Other key football stakeholders like the government and football fans are also of the opinion that ZIFA is failing to properly administer football. The Herald of February 2 February 2015 quotes the deputy minister of Sports, Tabetha Kanengoni-Malinga, who notes that in her opinion the challenges at ZIFA are more to do with bad administration. She argues that our football is managed by incapable individuals who cannot even produce a strategic plan, - how then can the government assist such an organization? Kanengoni-Malinga's sentiments are also supported by the Sports and Recreation Commission director, Dr Charles Nhemachena, quoted in the Herald of April 24 2015 saying that he is not satisfied with the way ZIFA are administering football, and he even questions the commitment of the administrators at ZIFA to their allocated mandate. The Deputy Minister's sentiments were also echoed by the minister of Sport Makhosini Hlongwani: he is quoted in the Herald of September 25 2015, also noting that there are serious governance problems at ZIFA. The sentiments by the interview participants and major stakeholders, give a strong case for the argument that ZIFA is not administering football in Zimbabwe properly.

5.2 .4 Corruption

Data from in-depth interviews and secondary sources shows that ZIFA's administration is characterized by high levels of corruption. It seems corruption at ZIFA is mostly expressed in two ways; firstly there is embezzlement of funds for personal use, match fixing and vote buying during ZIFA elections. The first aspect under corruption is allegations of embezzlement of funds by ZIFA administrators. The researcher established that a number of football administrators were relieved of their duties on accusation of embezzlement of funds, for instance Sharuko in the Herald of November 2015, notes that Trevor Juul was relieved from his position as ZIFA chairman in 1993 because he and his board had failed to account for money grossed from a match featuring the Zimbabwean men's senior national team. Leo Mugabe (ZIFA chairman 1993-2002), who was Juul's successor at ZIFA, was also removed on allegations of personal use of funds given to ZIFA by FIFA as part of the goal initiative, a development project aimed to improve the development of football in developing countries (www.panapress.org accessed February 24 2016). Ncube (2014) also documents the dismissal of ZIFA Chief Executive Officer

Jonathan Mashingaidze in 2007 on allegations of personal use of funds from the sale of 2006 FIFA world Cup tickets. Embezzlement of funds at ZIFA was also noted by interviewed former football player Alex who argues that today's football administrators perceive football as a business opportunity to enrich themselves.

The second manner, in which corruption occurs at ZIFA, is through match-fixing, which is the deliberate fixing of the results of matches in return for financial rewards. The majority of the interviewed informants highlighted the "Asiagate scandal" as the most visible evidence of corruption within the Zimbabwean football association. According to the Guardian of 1 February 2012, the "Asiagate" is a match fixing scandal involving players and officials of the Zimbabwe national football team. The Herald of December 28 2014 quotes Wilson Raj who is accused of working closely with ZIFA being the mastermind of the scandal. According to Raj, football just like any other business is an opportunity to make money. The Herald describes the Asiagate scandal as a match fixing ring where Monomotapa football club masqueraded as the Zimbabwe national team and played a number of international matches with Asian teams which they deliberately lost to in return for payments. Alex, a former football player, suggests that the "Asiagate" scandal shows how football has been invaded by individuals who take football as a business, hence want to make money out of it.

Another corrupt activity common from data acquired especially from secondary sources is that of vote buying during ZIFA elections. The Chronicle of November 3 2015 quotes Gibson Homela a former ZIFA football administrator notes that ZIFA elections are characterized by bribes and vote buying. Homela's arguments are also echoed by Moyo - another former ZIFA football administrator who claims that the ZIFA councilors view election time as an opportunity to get money in exchange for votes from aspiring candidates. Moyo claims that he witnessed this during the 2014 ZIFA elections, where some councilors spent the night before the election partying at one of the contesting candidates for the ZIFA presidency's home. Interestingly, the very candidate won the election held the next day.

The cartoon below appeared in the Newsday of November 3 2015, showing one aspiring ZIFA presidential candidate as getting endorsements from ZIFA provinces in return for money:



Votes also seem to be bought indirectly, for instance the Herald of November 19 2015 documents how aspiring ZIFA presidential candidate, Philip Chiyangwa, donated money towards the cause of the Zimbabwe Women's football team. What was of interest was the timing of this donation, just prior to elections. The reaction of the leaders of Women's football also demonstrates the effect that this donation had on their voting choice. The paper quotes Cecilia Gambe who endorses Chiyangwa's presidential bid citing his generosity towards funding women's football as demonstration of his ability to administer football in Zimbabwe.

5.2.5 Politicization of Football Administration

Another recurring theme from data collected is that of the heavy link between football administration and politics. The Herald of 04 December 2014 quotes a statement from Lifelong Footballers Trust of Zimbabwe, who claim that Cuthbert Dube's election as ZIFA president in 2010 and 2014 was a political project, alleging that Dube was propelled to the ZIFA presidency by a ZANU PF faction aligned to now suspended former Vice President Joyce Mujuru. The trust is quoted by the same paper (The Herald 04 December 2014) as being in the process of crafting a document appealing for the removal of Cuthbert Dube from the ZIFA presidency, and this paper

was to be taken to the ZANU PF Harare province for onward forwarding to the Sixth ZANU PF People's Congress., a sports Journalist, also confirmed the strong links of ZIFA football administrators and political parties, especially the ruling ZANU PF. he highlights the examples of Leo Mugabe, Henrietta Rushwaya, and the incumbent ZIFA president Philip Chiyangwa who all are active ZANU PF politicians and who, according to Ellen, perceive the popularity of football as a stepping stone to revive their political carriers

The idea of football being a stepping stone to politics is not a new phenomenon in Zimbabwean football as Leo Mugabe's rise to the Chairmanship of the ZIFA board has been attributed by a number of scholars as a political project aimed to control football (Muponde and Muchemwa 2011, Ncube 2014). The political nature of Leo Mugabe's tenure is also noted by Dumiso Gumede in an interview with Bulawayo 24, an online newspaper on 14 December 2015. Gumede is quoted as saying,

The party (ZANU PF) sees football as an important constituency which they should not ignore so they try by all means to control it, Like you see clearly from the Leo (Mugabe) era, what happened is when Leo got in he brought in a number of councilors aligned to the party and it is still today.

The same paper also notes that Leo Mugabe's political rise to the ZIFA chairmanship was evidenced in the man who was his campaign manager, Goodson Nguni, apparently a well-known ZANU PF sympathizer. Another interesting dimension was brought about by the kick off magazine of 28 February 2012, where one politician is quoted saying after an incident when Jonathan Mashingaidze, the ZIFA Chief Executive Officer had reportedly invited the then Prime minister of Zimbabwe and MDC-T leader Morgan Tsvangirai to meet visiting FIFA president Joseph Sepp Blatter, saying that any individual who associates with the opposition is not fit to hold a position in football administration.

5.2.6 Ethnicity and Football Administration

Data from in-depth interviews and secondary sources also suggests that ZIFA's football administration is characterized by tribalism. According to Ellen, a sports Journalist, tribalism is rampant in ZIFA, the ZIFA board is dominated by the Shona while the Ndebele are very few, She adds on that the fact that all ZIFA presidents have come from the northern part of the country dominated by the Shona is testament of tribalism in ZIFA politics. The tribal element of football administration is also confirmed by Dumiso Gumede interviewed by Ncube (2014). Gumede claims that he was victimized on tribal grounds before the 1983 ZIFA elections. He claims that he was informed at a meeting held prior to the elections that there were too many individuals of Ndebele ethnicity in the ZIFA board, a situation which had to be rectified. Gumede further claims that the individuals at the meeting decided to replace Gumede with Gibson Homela as the committee member responsible for the southern region. This incident occurred during the years soon after the attainment of political independence, suggesting that tribalism has been part of the administration at ZIFA since the early years after independence.

5.2.7 Gender Dynamics and Football Administration

One issue also raised by the interviewed sports Journalist during an in depth interview was that football administration is characterized by gender inequality, with all ZIFA chairpersons/ presidents from its formation being male, and the board dominated by males. The sports journalist situates this male dominance to the wider patriarchal society, which traditionally undermines women. The sports journalist 's sentiments are also amplified by independent online blogger Grace Chirumanzu in an article obtained from <http://www.herzimbabwe.co.zw>. She notes that,

The dirty politics of our Zimbabwean football has seen the less powerful women administrators and footballers on the pitch being sacrificed and, just like any patriarchal society, women are sacrificed as pawns in this political chess game where men protect their own interests

5.2.8 Economic Elitism and Football Administration

Another emerging theme was that, of football administration the domain of the economic elites. This point was raised by Ellen, a sports journalist who notes that all the ZIFA presidents were business people who had gotten into football administration because of their financial muscle, he gives an example of the previous president Cuthbert Dube and the incumbent Philip Chiyangwa who are both business persons. The economic elitism of football administration was also reflected by the high fees set for candidates willing to participate in ZIFA presidential elections. The high fees therefore reserve the ZIFA presidency to economically well up individuals who can afford to pay for the money required.

5.3 Challenges Faced by Football Administrators in Zimbabwe

5.3.1. Unfavorable Macro-Economic Environment

Data from both Secondary sources and Primary sources identify the economic challenges facing the Zimbabwe as being the chief architect to ZIFA's challenges. Alex, a former football player notes that the economy is not favorable, hence handicapping potential corporate sponsors of football. This sentiment is also expressed by former football administrator, Andy Hodges in the Herald of March 17 2015. According to Hodges, the main issues affecting our football administration are economical, namely lack of generatable income to cover operating expenses and too much debt. For Hodges, these challenges are obviously related to the harsh economic environment football administrators find themselves in. Former ZIFA president Cuthbert Dube is quoted in the Herald of August 26 2015 claiming that when he became ZIFA president in 2010, ZIFA had no sponsors and no financial resources to function, and this forced him (Dube) to use his own personal resources to fund the operations of ZIFA. Dube attributes this lack of sponsorship and financial resources to the unfavorable economic environment prevailing in the country. The same newspaper (The Herald August 26 2015) quotes an official from the Ministry of Sports who, like Dube, acknowledges that the main challenge affecting ZIFA is lack of financial resources and also attributes the lack of financial resources to the lack of corporate sponsorship in sport caused by the general economic problems affecting the country.

Some football fans from the semi-structured interviews were also in favor of this opinion that the economic challenges being experienced in the country have been the source of the financial challenges at ZIFA. On linking the role of the economy to ZIFA's financial challenges of the fans that filled the questionnaire, 30% attributed the challenges at ZIFA being as a result of Economic challenges only, whilst 10% Percent argued that both Economic and Political issues are the major challenges at ZIFA. This reflects that a significant number of the fans interviewed attributed the financial challenges at ZIFA to the unfavorable economic environment prevailing in the country

However, not all data gathered supports the argument that financial problems at ZIFA are purely a product of the unfavorable macro-economic environment prevailing in the country. According to , an interviewed sports Journalist, the problems at ZIFA are more as a result of the bad image the association has. he notes that even in a struggling economy, some sports like cricket and golf are getting corporate sponsorship from the business world, who would obviously be willing to take advantage of the popularity of football, but hesitate because of the bad image of ZIFA. Ellen further notes that no corporate organization would be willing to take the risk and be associated with a sport run by an organization that always makes the media headlines for wrong reasons. Ellen's arguments are also supported by sports journalist, Sikhumbuzo Moyo. In an article in the Herald of November 19 2015, Moyo argues that the problem of ZIFA is not unavailability of corporates interested in football as some corporates like Net-one, Delta Beverages, Mbada diamonds, Supersport and Banc ABC have preferred to sponsor its affiliate the PSL, all because of the bad image associated with ZIFA.

All the data sources agree that the unfavorable macro-economic environment prevailing in Zimbabwe where ZIFA is situated is indeed a challenge but, however, some are of the opinions are that the economic challenges at ZIFA are more an internal financial management problem. In other words, the economic challenge is both external and within ZIFA.

5.3.2 Political Intervention in Football Administration

The political links of football administrators seem to be the Achilles heel of the Zimbabwe Football Association. Ellen, a sports Journalist notes that politics scares away potential investors in football and is responsible for the appointment of the wrong people to lead football. Hence football administrators are appointed not on merit but on political favor. These sentiments are also echoed by one Obert Gutu quoted in the Chronicle of 4 November 2015. According to Gutu, sports administration should not be contaminated by the involvement and participation of practicing and active politicians as this scares away potential investors and suffocates aspiring able sport administrators who might not possess the political muscle to challenge these politicians come election time.

Interviewed and online football fans were also vocal against the political involvement in football administration. Some of the sentiments expressed by interviewed and online football fans indicate that politicians by nature are corrupt and immune from legal prosecutions in the event of abuse of office. A commonly cited example was Leo Mugabe, ZIFA chairman from 1992 to 2002 who, inspite of being removed from the ZIFA chairmanship for embezzlement of ZIFA funds, never faced any legal prosecution which, for most fans, was because of his heavy political links. This apparent immunity is assumed by some fans to be the main motivator for mismanagement at ZIFA as no effective arbitrary mechanisms exist to counter this mismanagement. The obvious consequences of political involvement in ZIFA football administration has been the alienation of the administrators from the major stakeholders of the game, like football fans and corporate sponsors.

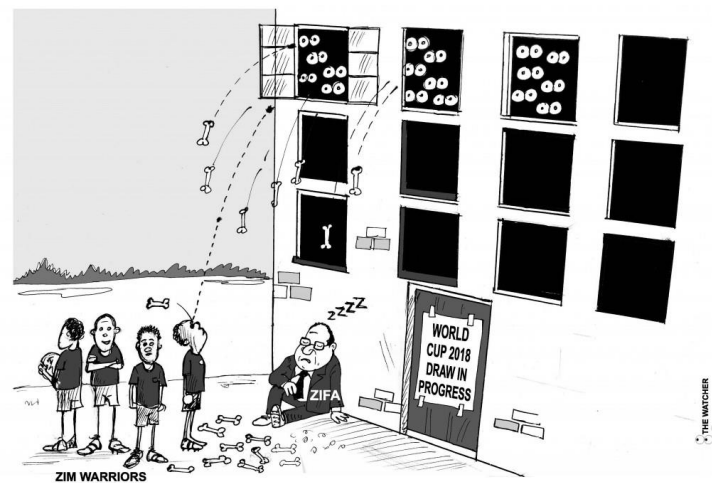
However, not all data supported that ZIFA's political link is the source of the association's problems. Sikhumbuzo Moyo in the Chronicle Newspaper of November 19 2015 argues that at the moment ZIFA needs a politician to lead it. this is because since politicians have got the ability to mingle with ministers and other prominent politicians at a personal and social level, this can work in favor of ZIFA as this politician at ZIFA can easily navigate the government bureaucratic hurdles and influence legislators and ministers to craft and adopt football friendly legislation, something which is lacking according to Moyo.

5.3.3 Negative Media Publicity

One enduring challenge to ZIFA's image has been the sour relationship between ZIFA and the media - both private and public print media. According to Ellen, a sports Journalist the media is the custodian of the sports institution in that it connects the boardroom, the stadium and the sports fans. She, however, admits that of late the media has not been friendly towards ZIFA, but shifts the blame to ZIFA as being not media friendly. Ellen also claims that the media indeed has been utilized to promote the agendas of prospective ZIFA candidates, hence the negative reporting on the administration at ZIFA. Former ZIFA president Cuthbert Dube is quoted in the Herald of 26 August 2015 appealing to the media to stop its negative onslaught on ZIFA as this creates a bad image, which practically makes his job difficult as he feels the media focuses on the faults, not on the positives of his administration. Dube further questions the sincerity of the media and appeals to them to leave ZIFA's boardroom conflicts out of the public domain.

The researcher also established that the media is often punctured by negative headlines about ZIFA, and these are some of the pictures which tell of that publicity. In the first cartoon below, ZIFA is described as a house falling apart and individuals looting from it. The cartoon is accompanied by the Headline "Things fall apart". The second one depicts ZIFA as having been locked outside the room where the discussions concerning the 2018 world cup are taking place, what was of interest to the researcher is the way ZIFA is shown as a sleeping individual oblivious of the current situation he is in. The third is a cartoon depicting former ZIFA president Cuthbert Dube as being left naked after his property was attached as part of the settlement of an outstanding ZIFA debt.





According to an interviewed sports journalist, negative media publicity has contributed much to the soiling of ZIFA's image. Such an image is not attractive to corporates - hence this has contributed to ZIFA's lack of corporate sponsorship. Secondly, negative media publicity also alienates ZIFA from among its most vital stakeholders, the football fans, whose perception of ZIFA is likely to be influenced by the media.

5.3.4 Lack of Able and Qualified Personnel

The other challenge facing ZIFA obtained mostly from primary data collection is lack of qualified and able personnel. The interviewed Sports journalist argues that during the election of ZIFA board members, qualifications possessed by the particular candidates are not considered. It

is after the election that the thati allocation of responsibilities like marketing or finance takes place and, in most cases, those selected do not have any marketing or finance background. Ellen, therefore, attributes the lack of professionalism and marketing strategies at ZIFA to the fact that the people given posts in the ZIFA structure have no capacity to undertake their allocated tasks. Another issue raised by the interviewed sports journalist is that of the low level qualifications that are required for one to be eligible to contest as the ZIFA president. He notes that,

Currently munhu anofanirwa kunge aine five ordinary level subjects kuti ave ZIFA president .This qualification is too low as compared to the demands of administering the modern game- at least a qualification in sports administration would do.

(Currently an individual must have five ordinary level passes to be eligible for the ZIFA presidency. This qualification is low as compared to the demands of administering the modern game, at least a qualification in sports administration would do.)

Ellen's arguments are also supported by Alex, a retired professional football player, who notes that the current crop of ZIFA football administrators lack information on how to professionally run the game. He compares ZIFA's capacity to that of SAFA, where SAFA has a professional marketing department managed by qualified marketing personnel. This is in stark contrast to ZIFA whose marketing department is not professional and managed by under-capacitated personnel.

5.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented the findings obtained from the research .The findings were organized into themes explaining the objectives of the research that is firstly an examination of the nature and dynamics of football administration in Zimbabwe; under this section important issues like power struggles within ZIFA, politicization of football administration, corruption and maladministration, the impact of gender issues, ethnic and economic status were also discussed. Secondly, the chapter focused on the challenges faced by the Zimbabwe Football Association in its mandate as the football administrative body in Zimbabwe. Issues like the unfavorable wider

macro-economic environment, political intervention in football administration; negative media publicity and lack of able and qualified personnel were discussed.

CHAPTER 6

Discussion of Findings

6.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss the findings stated in the previous chapter, in discussing this chapter will utilize the theoretical insights from Bailey and Barth (1966) s' transactional game theory as well as data from the literature review. The first section looks at the transactional nature of football administration in Zimbabwe, this section heavily utilizes the concept of transactional exchange argued for by Bailey and Barth explain how this concept is reflected in football administration in Zimbabwe. The second section focuses on specific administrative decisions made by some ZIFA administrators; these are analyzed in the theoretical lenses of the political

game theory. The next section compares the politics of ZIFA and the national politics of Zimbabwe. The fourth section looks at the gendered nature of football administration and discusses the role of women in ZIFA football and administration. Next the thesis discusses the relationship of the economy and football administration at ZIFA and finally the role of the media is also discussed

6.2 The Transactional Politics of Football Administration in Zimbabwe

Football administration is not a politically neutral constituency; instead, it is a space which political actors desire to and often occupy for their own hegemonic reasons. According to Bailey (1969), politics is a competitive game with agreed upon rules or stratagems and agreed upon goals or spoils. Cheater (2003) analyzes that for Bailey there are two types of political game rules, namely normative rules and pragmatic rules. Normative rules are those that are publicly professed and usually vague but highly valued within a particular political space. Examples of normative rules include honesty, transparency, integrity, according to which political actions may be judged ethically right or wrong. In the context of ZIFA elections where ZIFA politics is visibly expressed (Ncube 2014), an elections code exists which stipulates the proper procedures of holding the ZIFA elections. The electoral code also stipulates the qualifications that makes one eligible to participate in elections. Normative rules are also expressed in the manifestos of various competing candidates; the manifestos of nearly all candidates competing for the ZIFA presidency contained elements of stamping out corruption, improving accountability and player and coaches' welfare, and all these are values held by the wider society. The second type of rules governing the political game in Bailey's thinking are the pragmatic rules. Cheater (2003) notes that pragmatic rules have to do with the actual winning of the political game as opposed to public display, hence the success of a political candidate is hugely dependent on the use of pragmatic rules. It does not depend on whether the actions may be wrong or publicly approved, but on whether the method used is effective. Pragmatic rules have been used in ZIFA elections. The first instance is how most of the successful candidates in ZIFA elections are somehow connected with the mainstream ruling political establishment - in this case ZANU PF. This relationship with ZANU PF is a kind of a transactional relationship in its own right because, in exchange for political support in winning the ZIFA elections, the candidate will also be loyal to the ideologies

of the political party and, as Muchemwa and Maponde (2011) point out, this helps the political establishment in utilizing and appropriating football for its own political hegemonic purposes.

These direct links with the political establishment have had their positive and negative impact on the nature of football administration at ZIFA. The positive impact was mostly realized during the early independence years as documented by Gumede, where through government assistance the ZIFA board managed to go to familiarization tours to CAF and FIFA. This, according to Gumede, helped ZIFA with the technical knowhow to create professional football structures and craft the ZIFA constitution - an instrument that is central to this day in ZIFA's mandate as the governing body of football in Zimbabwe. So in other words the link with the political establishment opened way for the government's financial and structural support for ZIFA, something the post-independent embryonic ZIFA organization badly needed. The links with the political establishment not only provide financial resources to ZIFA, but also create a favorable political environment from which ZIFA can operate. That means ZIFA's operations cannot be hindered by the political establishment since the two have positive relations.

However, inspite of this apparent benefit, the political links have also negatively impacted ZIFA in a number of ways: from the earliest days after independence the administrators at ZIFA were political appointees. In light of the Transactional Theory, the political establishment's interest in football is motivated by selfish political reasons rather than altruistic commitment for the good of football in general, because the appointment or support of an aspiring football administrator by the political elite is based upon derived benefits. It would be logical to assume that the political elite would appoint or support a candidate who best represents their interests, even if that candidate may not be capacitated to administer football or may be contesting against better qualified, experienced and/ or capable football administrators. This marriage between ZIFA and Politics puts ZIFA in a tricky situation of trying to serve the interests of the political elite first. This compromises the ability of the administrators to craft policies and make decisions that may benefit football but may apparently seem to go against the interests and ideology of the political elite; ZIFA is, therefore, transformed into a subsidiary of the ruling political establishment instead of being an independent football governing and regulatory board. in that regard, political changes in the political elite inevitably affect ZIFA .For instance, the suspension of members

supposedly aligned to the Mujuru faction from ZANU PF in 2015, which allegedly is claimed to be the driving force behind Cuthbert Dube's election as ZIFA president in 2010 and 2015. Predictably, the demise of the Mujuru faction from the political elite prefigured the exit of Dube as ZIFA president in November 2015, just over a year into his second four-year term as ZIFA president. The second negative impact of the political link at ZIFA is the apparent immunity of ZIFA administrators from legal prosecution in the event of the politically linked football administrator having abused ZIFA resources.

Another interesting observation was “The friends of the warriors” factor in the 2014 election; it is another example of the use of pragmatic tactics by successful ZIFA election candidates. The friends of the warriors group can be perceived as a kind of political team recruited for the purpose of intimidating the ZIFA councilors to vote for the preferred candidate. Just like any political team, this “friends of the warriors” group cannot be classified as a moral team since it employs mostly pragmatic strategies to intimidate other candidates. The friends of the warriors can, thus, be likened to a transactional political team whose relationship to the preferred candidate is based upon the material benefits received. However, ironically as Bailey (1968) would argue, transactional teams are temporary and their loyalty is hinged upon the benefits the leader offers them. When a rival leader with more materialistic capacity and political power comes, it is highly likely the transactional team will abandon their own leader and attach themselves to the new leader. This scenario happened to Cuthbert Dube; the very same councilors that voted for him when under external pressure voted him out and attached themselves to Philip Chiyangwa. Pragmatic rules, according to Bailey (1968), can also come in the form of the questioning and reinterpretation of the normative rules themselves. For example, the attempt by the Chiyangwa election team to prevent perceived main rival political contender Trevor Carl Juul from being validated as a ZIFA candidate citing that he does not reside in Zimbabwe. Ncube (2014) notes another instance where pragmatic rules worked in favor of the successful candidate, in 2014 elections when Trevor Carl Juul was denied access to the voter's role and locked outside the ZIFA house.

6.3 ZIFA a case of unwise political players?

According to Cheater (2003), leadership for Bailey is a process of making decisions and policies, especially in situations of uncertainty. Policies and achievements really count in terms of the perceptions stakeholders, especially the media and fans, have in evaluating the leader's capability. The continued failure by the country's national football teams to qualify for major tournaments has been interpreted by most fans who responded to the questionnaires as evidence of the failure of the ZIFA administration. So to try and win back the positive perceptions of the fans, the ZIFA board on numerous occasions hire the services of foreign coaches to try and bring back the success of the nation's football teams. Hiring a foreign coach as a strategy has sometimes proven to be costly if the coach does not produce the desired results. So the results are a kind of political mileage which administrators need in order to keep stakeholder perception positive, thus maintaining their political leadership. Situations of uncertainty are also a very important aspect in evaluating the leader's capability. One such situation was the expulsion of the Zimbabwe Senior men's football team from the 2018 world cup in Russia due to nonpayment of the services rendered by a former national team coach. As a leader, the Then ZIFA president Cuthbert Dube had to act in such a manner as to maintain his leadership position. Unfortunately, as Bailey would suggest, not all actions taken by political leaders are wise and well calculated. Dube's strategy was to assure the nation that Zimbabwe will not be expelled from the 2018 world cup, when in fact there was no tangible plan to pay the arrears owed to the coach and hence avert the ban (Sharuko 2015). Dube's pragmatic strategy backfired when it was later revealed that Zimbabwe had indeed been banned from participating in the 2018 world cup qualifiers. This was the first time since independence that Zimbabwe had been banned from participating in the world cup qualifiers; this was failure on the part of Dube to handle an uncertain situation and may have contributed to his demise in 2015 - just a year into his second four-year term as ZIFA president. Another pragmatic strategy adopted by Dube and ZIFA was to deliberately doctor the income statements from a match featuring the national team and Guinea. ZIFA claimed that they had made a huge loss from the game, maybe as a way of gaining public sympathy. However, this strategy backfired for Dube after their cheating had been discovered. Just as Bailey (1968) points out that an unwise decision on the part of a political leader will lead to the downfall of that leader, so was the case with Cuthbert Dube. The presenting of false

financial reports may have served to justify the need for Dube's ouster since he came to be viewed as a dishonest leader.

Apart from making decisions and policies, the leader in Bailey's Game Theory must also act as a political referee in his own political team. According to Cheater (2003), the political leader in the event of internal conflict has two primary options available, that is low cost mediation and high cost arbitration. The Dube – Sibanda dispute is one such example of internal disputes within ZIFA, but Dube opted to employ high cost arbitration by suspending Sibanda and two other allies of his from the ZIFA board. This move may be seen as costly in the eyes of the Game Theory because it may have portrayed Dube as a ruthless and draconian leader, which may also have contributed to his demise in late 2015. Ironically, Sibanda then joined forces with Chiyangwa and were elected in the new ZIFA board.

6.4 ZIFA Politics: A Shadow of National Politics?

One issue raised by Ncube (2014) is that ZIFA elections are a reflection of national elections. This researcher amplifies that not only do ZIFA elections mirror national elections, but the whole politics of ZIFA is a reflection of the politics at national level. The first issue is the existence of a North – South agreement, whereby the ZIFA president is also from the North whilst the vice-president is from the South. This was confirmed by Sports Journalist Ellen who cited, for instance, that the current ZIFA president Philip Chiyangwa, is from the north and his Vice Omega Sibanda is from the south. The previous board had Dube as the President who is from the north while Sibanda his vice-President was from the south. This North-South dichotomy is also reflected in national politics with the main political parties ZANU PF and MDC –T both being led by individuals from the North and deputized by at least one individual from the South. ZANU PF is led by President Robert Mugabe, a northerner, whilst one of his deputies Phelekezela Mphoko is a southerner; on the other hand, the MDC-T is led by Morgan Tsvangirai who is a northerner whilst his deputy is Thokozani Khupe, a southerner. This north – south dichotomy may be interpreted as a way to balance power between two of Zimbabwe's dominant ethnic groups -the Shona and the Ndebele, and two of Zimbabwe's principal cities - Harare and Bulawayo.

Another similarity between ZIFA politics and National Politics was the issue of internal power struggles within ZIFA. Power struggles are best evidenced by existence of factions. Lewelen (2003) notes that factions are conflict groupings that organize for the primary purpose of opposing one or more groups, or push a particular agenda with a political team. So in reality there cannot exist a single faction within a specified political field. ZIFA is riddled with factionalism as acknowledged by the data obtained. National politics is also riddled by factionalism, with the two main political parties ZANU PF and MDC –T also reportedly affected by factionalism. The direct impact of factionalism on ZIFA politics can be seen in the claim by the lifelong footballers trust of Zimbabwe that Cuthbert Dube’s rise to ZIFA presidency was propelled by the Joyce Mujuru-led faction within ZANU PF, and it can also be argued that his demise is related to the expulsion of members of the faction that allegedly propelled him from ZANU PF.

Another reflection of power struggles within ZIFA are the plots and ousting of members from the ZIFA executive. The Chirwa and Khan issues, for instance, reflect how individuals within ZIFA can orchestrate and remove an individual from authority using tools like “votes of no confidence”. The use of “votes of no confidence” to remove individuals from political office has also been common in political parties. Another common element between ZIFA politics and national politics related to factionalism is the issue of suspensions and votes of no confidence. Many football officials who have lost favor with the football administration have been suspended, for example Omega Sibanda and Kenny Marange. The manner of expulsion has been interestingly similar within the wider political spectrum.

6.5 ZIFA a story of “big men” and “small boys”

As has been discussed in the previous chapter football administration is a domain dominated by business people with political links. The high election participatory fee set for aspiring ZIFA board members reflects that the ZIFA board is no place for financially weak individuals who cannot afford to pay these participatory fees. This, in effect, has created a glass ceiling, where an individual’s economic muscle is crucial in his/ her being elected into the ZIFA board. The argument given in justifying the high participatory fees is that it is a screening mechanism designed to eliminate opportunists not serious with football administration. Inasmuch as this argument makes some sense, a counter-argument may be formulated that an individual’s

seriousness and capacity to administer football are not reflected in financial capacity alone. The effect of this screening can also be negative, as capable potential football administrators who may not afford the high participation fee, are left out of the equation - thus depriving ZIFA of potential administrators whose input would benefit the organization greatly.

Economic issues are also reflected in corrupt activities allegedly occurring at ZIFA. The first of activities is vote buying during ZIFA elections. Vote buying, by nature, is a transactional relationship whereby the candidate offers material resources to the ZIFA councilors in return for votes. Vote buying can also be direct or indirect; it may come in forms of apparent benevolent donations by the aspiring candidates to the members of a political team. Such donations led to what Barth (1959) terms “moral obligation”, for instance the Chiyangwa donation to the Zimbabwe Women’s Football team in the period running up to the December 5 2015 ZIFA elections can be argued as having created some sense of “moral obligation” on the part of the women football administrators who, like expected, promised to vote for Chiyangwa in the forthcoming elections. Chiyangwa not only donated to the football teams during the pre-election period, he also launched his manifesto at a local hotel where all councilors were invited (Herald 24 October 2015). The hotel environment seemed obviously to work in favor of Chiyangwa’s bid as, like with the women’s football administrators, it put the councilors in a kind of “moral obligation” to reciprocate for the good hospitality shown to them by Chiyangwa. Interestingly, the other contesting candidates in that election - Trevor Carl Juul and Lesley Gwindi did not give donations of some kind to the football community, but decided to opt for normative rules and, as Bailey (1968) predicts, they lost the political contest. This was also the case in the previous 2014 elections where both Trevor Juul and Gwindi lost to Cuthbert Dube - another candidate accused of using his financial resources to buy loyalty from ZIFA councilors.

Ncube (2014) also documents how the ZIFA secretariat was accused of manipulating the electoral playing field in the 2014 ZIFA elections favoring the then incumbent ZIFA president Cuthbert Dube. Such actions are purely pragmatic in nature but may as well reflect a kind of transactional relationship between the incumbent and the members of the ZIFA secretariat who are employees of the organization. The members of the ZIFA secretariat may have opted and supported the candidate who best represents their interests. These arguments fit perfectly with

Pennborg (2014)'s argument that African football is administered by "big men" who, through their political and economic capacity, muscle themselves to the apex of football administration. The main challenge coming from such a set-up is the creation of cliental networks whereby, instead of focusing on the development of football in the country (which is the main mandate of ZIFA), the organization has transformed into a political field where policies and decisions are made not in the interest of the mandate of the Organization but to protect the interests of individuals within the cliental networks. Cliental relationships may be argued to be one of the main sources of corruption in ZIFA, since for one to be at the apex of the organization, one would have sacrificed a lot of material resources and, naturally, those individuals may be inclined to compensate the resources they sacrificed to get into the ZIFA executive. ZIFA politics is, therefore, characterized by the existence of cliental relationships between the football administrators and the ZIFA councilors. This "big man", "small boy" syndrome at ZIFA compromises the independence of the "small boy" (ZIFA councilors) to act in the event of abuse of office by the "big man" (football administrators). This scenario, thus, undermines the neutrality of ZIFA councilors and, instead of them acting as a mechanism to keep the powers of the ZIFA board and executive in check, clientalism has transformed ZIFA councilors into somewhat silent passengers in the ZIFA political train, whose voice and power has been willingly given to the ZIFA executive who, from a political game narrative, would expectedly selfishly utilize it to maintain their hegemony at ZIFA. ZIFA is, thus, robbed of one of its important democratic instruments, used to check the power and account for the actions of the ZIFA executive.

6.6 The Gendered nature of football administration in Zimbabwe

One interesting theme emerging from the data obtained was the male dominated nature of football administration. Chiweshe (2014) and Damion (2009) argue that football in Zimbabwe is a male dominated space. Although the focus of their studies was on football fandom, data obtained in this study also found that the male dominance in football extends to the administration of the game. The marginalization of women from administration of football cannot be understood from a single standpoint rather, it seems a result of an intersection of socio-cultural, political and economic factors. This naturally plays into the arguments of feminist

intersectionality scholars who argue that that people live multiple layered identities derived from social relationships, history and operations of structures of power (AWID 2009).

Historically the origins of male domination in football administrative circles can be traced back to the gender segregation policies in colonial Rhodesia, where women had limited restricted access to urban areas. As Guillanotti (1994) and Stuart (1996) argue, football in colonial Rhodesia was introduced in urban areas mostly targeting working class males. So because football in Rhodesia was introduced, evolved and became popular in urban areas which were predominantly male dominated spaces, women were alienated from the game from the onset. This creates adequate room for the argument that from the onset football in colonial Rhodesia was never meant to be a game of females, so how then could females administer a sport not originally intended for their consumption.

The second reason accounting for the male dominance in football is the impact of the wider patriarchal culture in Zimbabwean society, particularly the political system. Since football administration is influenced and related to the wider political system (Ncube 2014), it would seem plausible to argue that the patriarchal nature of Zimbabwean politics has found its way into football administration. Since 1980 all ZIFA board chairpersons and Presidents have been male, and the highest female ranking officer was Henrietta Rushwaya who was the ZIFA Chief Executive Officer from 2005 to 2009. In Zimbabwean politics, the national presidency and that of both the major political parties, ZANU PF and MDC – T have been occupied by men, and the highest woman in the political circles was Joyce Mujuru who was the Vice-President of the country from 2005 to 2014. Interestingly, both women are alleged to have been propelled into office by powerful male counterparts. For instance, Henrietta Rushwaya, according to Ncube (2014), is said to have been appointed to the ZIFA Chief Executive Officer position due to her close ties with the then Vice President and ZIFA patron Joseph Musika, whilst Joyce Mujuru was a political appointee of the president. Interestingly, both women were expelled from their leadership positions on almost similar allegations. Ncube (2014) notes that Rushwaya was fired from her ZIFA position due to her alleged involvement in the “Asiagate” match-fixing corruption scandal. Rushwaya was also fired on allegations of mismanagement and insubordination (Guardian October 26 2010). Mujuru was also expelled on allegations of

attempting to remove the president, which in other words is insubordination and corruption (The Herald April 3 2015). Another interesting similarity is that both women were succeeded by males; Rushwaya was succeeded as ZIFA Chief Executive Officer by Jonathan Mashingaidze whilst Mujuru was succeeded as vice-president by two men - Emerson Mnangagwa and Phelekezela Mphoko.

Another important element in understanding the peripheral role of women in football administrative circles in Zimbabwe is the issue of economic elitism discussed in the previous chapter. According to the United Nations Development Program (2011) there is a strong relationship between being female and being poor in Zimbabwe. This is due to the prevalence of socio-cultural and economic arrangements that undermine females in the country. Most of the football administrators at ZIFA are business people who have the financial capacity to propel themselves into power using mostly pragmatic tactics as has been demonstrated. The economic disadvantage women have assumably militates against their capacity to become football administrators in an environment where economic muscle is used pragmatically to gain support and eventually election into office.

6.7 The Media and Football Administration in Zimbabwe

The media has been described by one interviewed sports journalist as having the vital role of connecting the boardroom, the stadium and the football fans. However, just like in any political arena, the media can be manipulated and used as a tool to forward the interests of the political elite who control the media. Since politics, according to Bailey (1969), is always based on transactional relationships, it would be reasonable to assume that in the politics of football administration, a candidate who is perceived favorably by the media will likely be held in positive light by the stakeholders and ZIFA councilors. The media is also vital in shaping the image of ZIFA and evaluating the performance of its administrators. Like in the wider political field where, before expulsion from the political elite, the alleged Mujuru-led faction faced negative media publicity, similarly Dube who was allegedly propelled to the ZIFA presidency by the same faction also faced negative media publicity which eventually led to his demise as ZIFA president in 2015. So the media was used as a tool to taint the image and administration of Cuthbert Dube, giving a moral justification to his ouster.

6.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter discussed the main themes emanating from the presentation of data; the Political Game Theory of Bailey (1969) was used to help analyze these themes as well linking them with arguments extracted from the existing literature. The first discussed theme was the politics of ZIFA; this theme analyzed the politics of ZIFA, from the internal ZIFA politics to the commonality that exists between ZIFA politics and national politics. Issues like gender, the economy and the media were also discussed in the context of their impact on football administration in Zimbabwe

7.0 Conclusion

This thesis focused on football administration in Zimbabwe, particularly on the Zimbabwe football association. The thesis noted several factors that characterize the nature and dynamics of football administration in Zimbabwe as well as the challenges facing the Zimbabwe football association. The study notes that the Zimbabwe Football Association is characterized by power struggles, maladministration, corruption, high levels of political intervention, and negative media publicity. The study particularly emphasized on the political dimension of football administration and argues that football administration in Zimbabwe is not a politically neutral field. On the contrary it is characterized by political conflict and patronage as different political elites compete to control the administration of the game. Data suggests that politically connected and

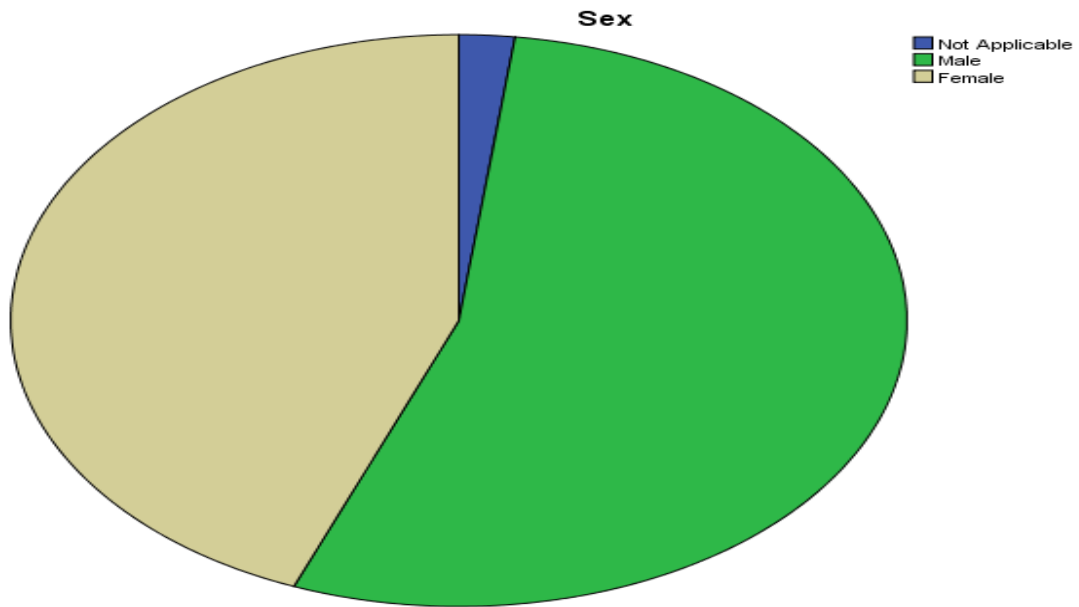
economically capacitated individuals utilize these privileges to muscle themselves to the apex of football administration at ZIFA

The political aspect of football administration was mostly discussed in light of the political game theory of Bailey and Barth. demonstrating the contemporary applicability of this theory in social analysis. With this theory the thesis focuses at ZIFA as an institution as well as individuals connected with ZIFA, allowing the thesis to navigate the dichotomies of structure and agency in social analysis. However Football administration is very broad , hence the need for more studies focusing exclusively on other aspects like the gendered nature of football administration in Zimbabwe, The role of the media in shaping the football administration landscape as well as studies that focus on other football administration institutions like the Premier Soccer League, and Local professional and social football clubs

APPENDIX 1

Demographical descriptions of football fans who completed the semi- structured questionnaire

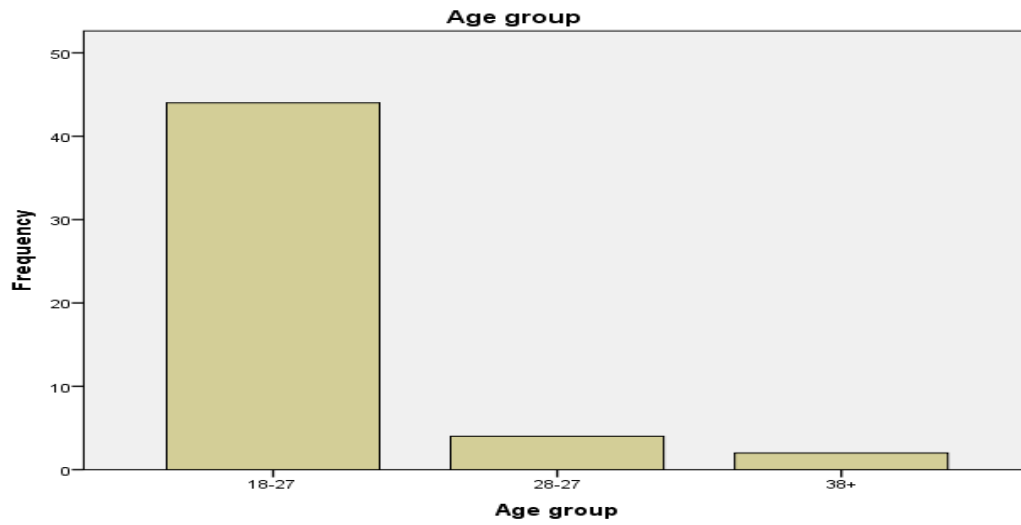
Sex



Sex

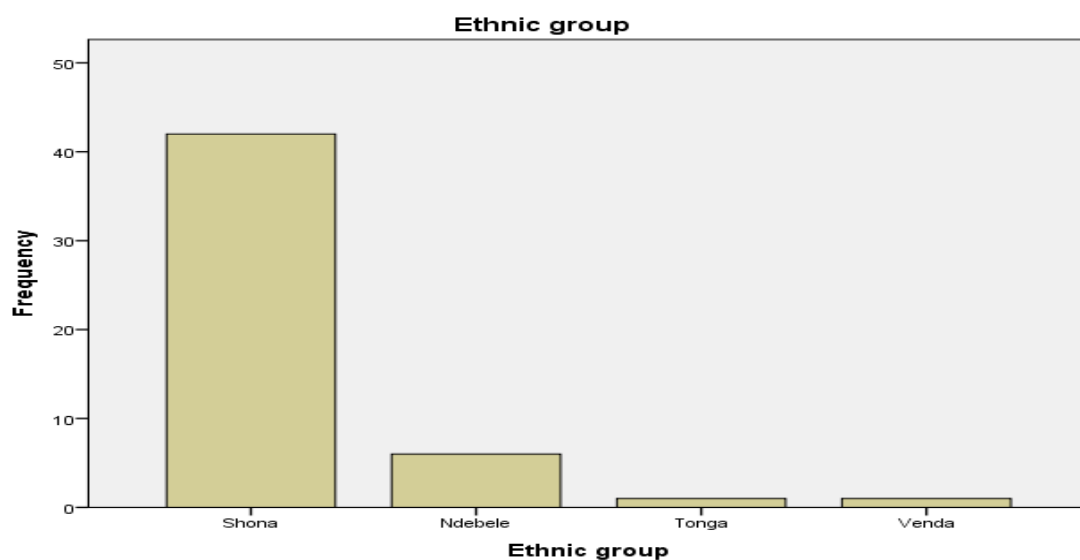
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not Applicable	1	2.0	2.0	2.0
Valid Male	27	54.0	54.0	56.0
Valid Female	22	44.0	44.0	100.0
Total	50	100.0	100.0	

Age Group

**Age group**

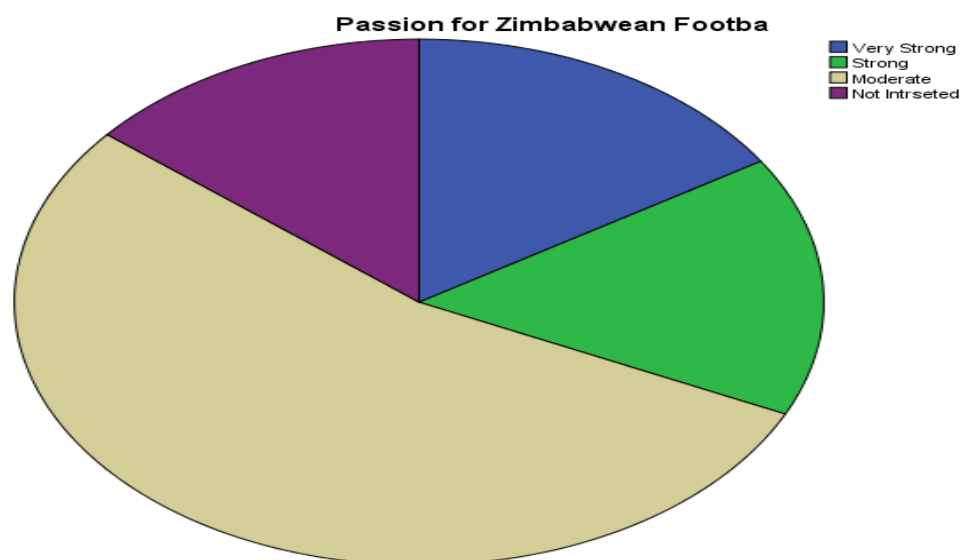
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 18-27	44	88.0	88.0	88.0
Valid 28-27	4	8.0	8.0	96.0
Valid 38+	2	4.0	4.0	100.0
Total	50	100.0	100.0	

Ethnic Group

**Ethnic group**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Shona	42	84.0	84.0	84.0
Ndebele	6	12.0	12.0	96.0
Valid Tonga	1	2.0	2.0	98.0
Venda	1	2.0	2.0	100.0
Total	50	100.0	100.0	

Passion for Zimbabwean Football



Passion for Zimbabwean Football

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Very Strong	8	16.0	16.0	16.0
Strong	8	16.0	16.0	32.0
Valid Moderate	27	54.0	54.0	86.0
Not Interested	7	14.0	14.0	100.0
Total	50	100.0	100.0	

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