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Global Governance, Regionalisation and Regulation: The Role of the EU.

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Public Institutions and Collective Movements in the Fight against AIDS:
South Africa, Burkina Faso and Cameroon in a Comparative Perspective

The HIV/AIDS epidemic has political impacts. Its resistance and its virulence question political actors who perceive it like a threat to social order. Classical public policy analysis usually associates public governance problems with the executive power. However, in many African countries, the HIV/AIDS epidemic as a governance problem takes place in contexts of political transitions that include institutional inadequacies and political deadlocks. In these contexts, protecting the social order that has been disturbed by the epidemic does not simply challenge political and administrative actors. The HIV/AIDS epidemic as well as the policies generated by its socio-economic effects require intervention strategies based on institutional modes of public action and on collective mobilisations. Today, many organisations and private entities participate in these dynamics and contribute to public policy-making on AIDS in South Africa, Burkina Faso and Cameroon. The same thing applies with theoretical approaches. The HIV/AIDS epidemic does not only concern the pharmaceutical and medical sectors. Other disciplines such as

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sociology, anthropology, economy, geography, history, law and political science are also concerned by the dynamics of fighting against HIV/AIDS.

The aim of this PhD thesis is to contribute to political thinking on the limitations and opportunities of current approaches to the national governance of HIV/AIDS with a view to examine the constraints resulting from State intervention and NGOs participation. How are public policies made in South Africa, Burkina Faso and Cameroon? How do public institutions lead them? How do NGOs contribute to this? How is their action defined? Which resources do different actors mobilise? What are the current limitations of their action? How do collective actors, who are sometimes included in the dynamic of conflicts with public actors, introduce their resources to the public sphere on HIV/AIDS?

It means to critically analyse the concept of governance as an instrument of management and regulation of the public sphere and examine interactions between institutional structures and collective mobilisations. The thesis focuses on the analysis of public policy-making on HIV/AIDS for methodological and conceptual purposes. It aims to understand the negotiation idea concerning such interactions, the need to analyse public policy in order to question the place of the State and that of peripheral actors in the fight against HIV/AIDS.

The interpretation of the relation between political opportunities and collective mobilisations is different between South Africa, Burkina Faso and Cameroon. However, in these three countries, many civil actors take place in public policy-making with the governance of HIV/AIDS epidemic. Collective choices are sometimes based on more or less institutionalised participative practices. Admittedly, as shown in general works on the socio-history of public policy-making, participation in public affairs is not a new phenomenon. However, in democratic transitional countries or in the post-apartheid context, it became so extensive that it is necessary to re-discover it. As such, it is advisable to also question the new phenomena of skirting, controlling and their traditional legitimacy in the various social and political contexts of these three countries.

In addition, public policy analysis shows that the phase of resource and actor mobilisation is a decisive sequence in their development. Certain new public policies, e.g. policies on HIV/AIDS, are institutionalised at the same time as public structures are created and collective actors take shape, although the normative framework for their assertion generally exists before them. As such, it is also necessary to wonder about the concomitant institutionalisation process of public policy, public institution and collective actor, while analysing the types of interactions between public and private actors in the dynamics of public policies on HIV/AIDS.

This research on the public and private dynamics of the fight against HIV/AIDS means to account for the double appropriation of public policy. In analysing public policies on HIV/AIDS in Africa, the State is sometimes on the periphery while collective mobilisations are in the centre. At methodological level, we want to
contribute to the multidisciplinary debate on the HIV/AIDS epidemic; at analytical level, our ambition is to question public policies differently from what appears in the current literature, by highlighting the assertion of “non-governmental” actors competing logics in the management of public action. The HIV/AIDS epidemic is, besides other social issues such as the protection of human rights or that of the global and local environment, one of the main areas capable of revealing this new dynamic. Economic disparities as well as the political, geographical, epidemiological, linguistic, social and cultural differences of the three countries under study are used as indicators to document the level of autonomy and institutionalisation of collective mobilisations.

The main methodology is based on observation as well as participation in research teams, in public institutions and NGOs promoting public policies on HIV/AIDS in South Africa, Burkina Faso and Cameroon. It focuses on public policy-making, on institutional and non-governmental responses and on the relationships between State and civil society in the fight against HIV/AIDS.

**Key Words:** HIV/AIDS epidemic; epidemic governance; public policy; public institutions; NGOs; civil society; Anglophone & Francophone Africa; Burkina Faso; Cameroon; South Africa.