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Master of Science
International Development and Management

Empowerment in the Lives of Peer Educators

– A case study of a HIV/AIDS Sports-for-Development
NGO in Lusaka, Zambia

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ABSTRACT

The literature on sport for development has expanded greatly over the past decade due to recent development trends. In particular it has enjoyed success as a peer education based preventative health strategy for many HIV/AIDS affected African countries. However, there is little research that considers the voices of the young people who are both the main beneficiaries and drivers of the approach. This thesis explored the impact and empowerment opportunities that peer educators were gaining through their participation in these programs. The research took place in a SFD non-governmental organization in Lusaka, Zambia using a case study approach. Zambia has a high prevalence rate of HIV, a bulging youth population and high levels of poverty, making it an extremely relevant research area. The thesis used an empowerment framework developed by Jo Rowlands specifically designed for marginalized groups such as youth as the theoretical backbone of the research. The findings suggest that peer educators experienced empowerment largely in social and health related areas, which however were shaped by wider realities such as culture and poverty in their lives. It also calls for a more critical look at the empowerment framework in the context of development. As with other recent authors focused on Zambia, this thesis makes the case for a more holistic multilayered approach to empowerment through encompassing wider community dynamics in SFD efforts.

Word count: 14 676

Keywords: youth, HIV/AIDS, empowerment, sport for development

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This paper would have not been possible without the support and encouragement of my many friends that I met during my time Zambia. Katherine, Tommy, the GRS house and all the coaches that helped me make this thesis a reality, zikomo kwambili!

I also wish to express my deepest gratitude to my parents for their continued and enduring support throughout my studies and life.

Lastly, a big thank you to my thesis supervisor Magnus Andersson and my thesis group for providing such helpful feedback and a critical eye on my thesis.

A big KILO to everyone else involved that I forgot mention!

Ulendo upitiliza.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS—Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

HIV—Human Immunodeficiency Virus

MMC—Medical Male Circumcision

NGO—Non-Governmental Organization

SFD—Sport for Development

SRH—Sexual and Reproductive Health

UN—United Nations

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Research Problem

In 2003 the United Nations published a report titled *Sport for Development and Peace: Towards Achieving the Millennium Development Goals* which brought the concept of sport for development (SFD) into the international limelight. In particular, the report stated, “well-designed sports programs are also a cost-effective way to contribute significantly to health, education, development and peace as a powerful medium through which to mobilize societies as well as communicate key messages. (United Nations 2003: 5). Numerous non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have begun championing sports, using peer education as the program delivery model. However despite the recent trend for SFD programs, there still exist large knowledge gaps and weak evidence of “[...] positive outcomes associated with participation in sport (Coalter 2010; Coalter 2007; President’s Council on Physical Fitness and Sports 2006). In particular, Mwaanga (2010) has made a call away from *evangelical* SFD initiatives to ones that are *theory*-driven. More cooperation between SFD activists, practitioners and academics is needed to create sound program strategies that are backed by academic literature (Mwaanga 2010).

The goal for many SFD NGOs is to make participants acquire new life skills, making them feel more empowered and in control of their lives through the use of sports-based youth development programs. However, the real power of sport does not inherently lie with the sport itself, but rather with the people that are implementing it. It is not the sport which teaches life skills within SFD NGOs, but the peer educators or coaches who instruct the participants. In today's SFD programs, peer educators are the driving force that facilitate these learning outcomes and act as role-models for the participants. Arguably they are essentially gaining as much, if not more from the programs than the participants themselves. In addition they should be seen as vital resources to ensure that the “programs are needs-based and community driven” (Burnett 2013). However, there exists little research into how peer educators within SFD programs are empowering themselves. Nicholls (2009) has argued for the importance of including the voices and opinions of young people within SFD program planning, as they are often paid little attention to within program design.

In order to explore this topic area, this paper will have a particular focus on peer educators within a HIV/AIDS SFD NGO in Lusaka, Zambia where peer education based organizations have boomed due to high prevailing HIV/AIDS rates. It will use an empowerment framework, developed by Jo Rowlands (1995; 1997; 1998) specifically designed for marginalized groups such as youths, as the theoretical backbone of the research. Zambia is one of the poorest countries in sub-Saharan Africa, with a high youth population that pose major economic challenges for the country. Many Zambian youths are engaged in peer education work, sometimes as an alternative to unemployment; making this country a highly relevant case to conduct research in.

1.2. Purpose and Research Question

Research will be focused on peer educators within a HIV/AIDS SFD organization guided by the following research question:

How do peer educators within peer education programs experience empowerment opportunities in their lives?

This question is vital to gain a better understanding of current peer education program models, as well as shedding more light on the SFD sector as a whole. It begins to ask questions about the impacts that peer educators are experiencing within the SFD. Questions of empowerment are specifically important due to socio-economic factors such high unemployment rates creating dire conditions for many Zambian youths. What does empowerment mean for peer educators that cannot find full-time jobs? What does it mean for those who do not have enough money to support themselves? Youth, or young people here is defined by the African Youth Charter (African Union 2006) as persons between the ages 15 and 35. In order to understand these issues, this paper will conduct a qualitative case study through the use of semi-structured interviews with peer educators.

1.3. Disposition

The paper will develop as follows: I will first give a brief country background, followed by a literature review on the origins of peer education, the move towards public health based strategies, and the linkages to SFD programs. I will then begin to unpack the word empowerment, and present the theoretical framework used for the research. Next, I will present

my methodology for the thesis. I will then apply the theoretical framework in the analysis and discuss my findings. The conclusion will summarize my results as well as give a critical view on the empowerment framework used in this thesis, offering suggestions for further research opportunities in the field of peer education empowerment.

2. BACKGROUND

2.1. Introducing Zambia

Zambia is a landlocked country in Southern Africa with a population of over 14 million people. Data obtained from the World Bank show that in the past several years it has experienced a GDP growth of about 7% with a 2013 Gross National Income (PPP) of \$1590. However, the country is very young, with close to 50% of the population aged between 0 and 14 years. Most recent 2013 data from the World Bank shows that close to 25% of current unemployment is coming from youths aged 15-24. Many of these statistics have been influenced by the devastating effect of the HIV/AIDS pandemic that swept the country since the 1980s (UNGASS 2011). Current estimates show that the prevalence rate of HIV is close to 13% of the total population aged 15-49, with 160,000 children aged 0-14 living with HIV as well (World Bank 2013). Females are especially at risk of contracting the virus, with almost six times the likelihood of compared to men (UNDP 2013). The major factors that affect the spread new infections have been identified as multiple and concurrent sexual partners, inconsistent and low rates of condom usage, low rates of medical male circumcision (MMC), sparse coverage for marginalized groups, and mother to child transmission (UNDP 2013).

Just like in many other countries in sub-Saharan Africa, the HIV virus has contributed to many structural, social and economic challenges for Zambia as the government sought to address the pandemic (Noyoo 2008). In the 1990s, the Government of Zambia responded to the pandemic with specifically targeting children, and youth in schools in its Strategic Plan 1994-1998 (Government of Zambia 1994; Hughes-d'Aeth 2002). The current National Health Strategic Plan 2011-2015 (Government of Zambia 2011) also emphasizes increased access to counseling and testing services at the community level among other strategies. Efforts by the Zambian Government to address the pandemic have been stretched to capacity, and as some authors have noted, “only through community voluntarism can projects of sufficient number, scope, coverage

and value for resources and effort be achieved” (Kanyama 1998). Because of the high youth population in Zambia, youth peer education programs have become a popular strategy to combat the pandemic, starting in early 1986 with the introduction of anti-AIDS Clubs in schools (Lindsey and Banda 2010).

2.2. Peer Education, Health and Sport

The origins of peer education can be seen as early as the 19th century when British schools adopted a system where older students taught younger students what they had learned from their teachers (Parkin and McKeganey 2000). The turn to health promotion programs came in the 1950s through on-campus health education campaigns in the US, with further linkages to HIV/AIDS prevention strategies in the gay communities in the US and UK (Parkin and McKeganey 2000; Price and Knibbs 2009). Since then it became one of the most used health promotion strategies in the world that targets young people (Price and Knibbs 2009). The concept of peer education then, defined here is “the teaching or sharing of health information, values and behaviors by members of similar age or status groups” (Sciacca 1987: 5). Authors such as Shiner (1999) found that early peer education strategies were rather ambiguous, creating the need to establish clearer guidelines and definitions. In the late 1990s Turner and Shephard (1998) began to explain the most prominent health promotion peer education based theories, as many peer education programs lacked solid theory or sound research design to create robust findings. In a Global South context with the spread of HIV/AIDS, the peer education model has been widely adopted in many African countries as a sexual and reproductive health (SRH) prevention strategy (Jeanes 2011). Peer education models especially operate under the beliefs that they are more cost effective; have stronger impacts due to the youth peer-to-peer model, and that peer educators can act as role models for others in society creating ripple effects (Ebreo et al. 2002).

Focus began shifting from participant based research of peer education models, as claims were made that peer education is “empowering for both the educator and the beneficiary” (UNAIDS 1999: 1). From a Global North perspective, Strange, Forrest and Oakley (2001) found that after going through the program peer educators, reporting increased sexual health knowledge and interpersonal skills such as communication. Another study done by Sawyer, Pinciario and Bedwell (1997) in the US also found that peer educators were more comfortable talking about

sensitive issues such as sex and drugs. Other studies in the past had similar results finding improvements in the areas of self-esteem, social skills and personal development (Moore 1994; Hall 1990; Hahn 1986). In addition, as peer education sits within the wider literature of volunteering, many of these findings have proven similar to benefits gained by volunteers as part of their volunteer service (Moleni and Gallagher 2007; Patel 2007; Musick and Wilson 2000).

Switching to a more African perspective, Campbell et al. (2009) found that female South African health volunteers gained confidence in their own abilities and public speaking skills through their participation in the programs. They also found that the use of stipends shaped the women's empowerment process and that success of these programs relies on community support (Campbell et al. 2009; Campbell and Williams 1999). In another South African study, Campbell and MacPhail (2002) point to the importance of understanding local contexts such as unemployment and high levels of poverty for program success. However, Warwick and Aggleton's (2004) evaluation of a South African peer-education sexual health project found that additional research on the practitioners themselves was needed. Broadly similar to these public health prevention strategies, SFD organizations in African countries are operating within the same youth peer education leadership strategies. Many SFD NGOs "[...] consider that sport promotes particular values such as teamwork and cooperation and that it can assist with enhancing learning and encouraging behavior change" (Jeanes 2011). Behavior change is one of the main strategies that both SFD and public health organizations use to challenge prevailing attitudes and practices that are harmful for the community. Findings within SFD programs by Kay (2009) are in line with the wider peer education literature, as she finds benefits in terms of personal confidence, self-esteem and an increase in aspirations by those who worked in the SFD programs.

Recent authors however have written on how there needs to be even further insights into peer educators from the Global South (Kay 2009; Nicholls 2009; Ebreo et al. 2002; Jeanes 2011), as literature is rather limited. For my particular case Zambia, Jeanes (2011) has written about the importance of embedding peer education SFD programs within a wider approach that targets all levels of community, and understanding the voices of peer educators for empowerment opportunities. Nicholls (2009) has also written about this dilemma, as the voices of the peer educators involved in programs remain largely untapped as their local knowledge is generally ignored by decision makers within their organizations. Research in these areas may prove fruitful

for better program design in future SFD programs. This is of particular importance to many SFD NGOs that use the peer education model, as SFD is still a relatively young concept, only being recognized as a UN development strategy in 2003.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this section, I will outline the theoretical framework used in this paper based on Rowlands' (1995; 1997; 1998) empowerment framework. I will first begin with unpacking the term empowerment, starting at the root concept within the word: power. Power is a word that has been widely used in different academic circles, and thus it becomes vital to understand how the concept of power translates to empowerment for my specific research purpose. I will then explain Rowlands four areas of empowerment; *power over*, *power to*, *power with*, *power from within*. Lastly I will explain the linkages that power and empowerment have to my areas of interest, which are about marginalized groups, education, and development, ensuring for a robust and clear theoretical framework which is applicable for the analysis in the Section Five.

3.1. On Power

To begin with, it is important to understand the fundamental word in empowerment; power. In the beginning, power has been discussed by various authors and in a diverse field of social sciences primarily as *power over* (Bachrach and Baratz 1970; Giddens 1984; Hartsock 1985; Boulding 1989). Lutkes (1974) describes it perfectly that the word is "essentially contested". Going with a classical definition, Dahl describes power as: "A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do" (1957: 202-03). This is one of the earliest ways of looking at power and refers to a power that is subjugated over an individual or a group; thus *power over* is essentially zero-sum for some authors; "[...] the more power one person has, the less the other has" (Rowlands 1995: 101). For Rowlands and others, this power is related to dominance and oppression; it is a negative form of power as one side inherently will always have more power than the other.

Furthermore, the form of power can be either ostensible or concealed. The manifestation of overt power can be physical such as through abuse or limits in access to services; while more hidden *power over* can come from psychological oppression which limit the perceived options a person has. Pheterson (1990) and Jackins (1983) write along similar lines as they describe how,

"a group of people who are systematically denied power and influence in the dominant society will internalize the messages it receives about its supposed roles and will come to believe the messages to be true" (Rowlands 1998: 12). This is a more subtle form of *power over* and describes how an overt form of power over can transform over time into an internal form of oppression, where perceived choices are constrained and limited.

There has been some contestation about *power over* being a zero-sum game, with some authors arguing rather that it should be seen as a variable-sum problem where *power over* can be seen either as both parties gaining or losing jointly, in addition to the zero-sum logic (Read 2012). The negative interpretation of Dahl's definition of power between two entities contrasts with that of more authors such as Read (2012), Pansardi (2012), and Allen (1999), which argue that *power over* can have beneficial effects as well, other than just negative ones. For example a coach usually has a *power over* the team he/she coaches, however this does not mean that the *power over* is used in a way that is deemed oppressive or negative. Rather, the power is used to produce positive outcomes and interactions within the group. However as Read (2012) has pointed out, there has been no robust theory regarding a variable-sum definition of *power over* to date, I will leave the discussion on this subject here, and concentrate on the dominance related *power over* definition which has been imbedded in feminist theory.

3.1.1 Power as Generative

Rowlands (1995; 1997; 1998) however goes further to understand power in terms that are in contrast to the oppressive view of *power over*. Power can also be generative, meaning that one entities power gain does not involve the diminishment of power from another's (Rowlands 1995). From this standpoint, other forms of power include *power to*, *power with*, and *power from within* which are forms of processes rather than a set of results to be achieved (Rowlands 1998). *Power to* has been compared and used by scholars as a stark contrast to *power over* for the generative meaning, or as Hartsock (1985) describes it, an energy definition of power. Broadly, this is also referenced "[...] by the term 'feminist theory of power'" (Hartsock 1985: 224). This in turn becomes an instrument for *empowerment* due to those generative properties, which is "[...] achieved by increasing one's ability to resist and challenge *power over*" (Kelly 1992). Rowlands (1998) describes how *power to*,

[...] is the kind of leadership that comes from the wish to see a group achieve what it is capable of, where there is not necessarily any conflict of interest and the group sets its own agenda. It is a form of power which can persuade or open up new possibilities (13).

Power with is a form of power that uses the collective power of groups to achieve goals, or "[...] a sense of the whole being greater than the sum of the individuals, especially when a group tackles problems together" (Rowlands 1998: 13). Lastly and in no way less important that the other forms of power, *power from within* is the power that comes from overcoming internal barriers, gaining self-confidence and self-esteem. Each of these forms of power will be explained in greater detail when I explore these concepts further terms of a feminist approach to empowerment.

3.2 A Feminist Approach to Empowerment: Rowlands

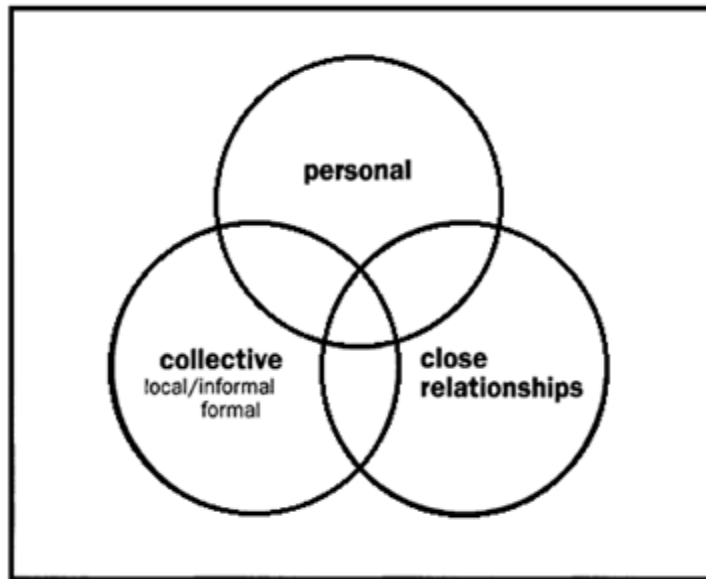
Rowlands (1995; 1997; 1998) applies a feminist approach to power. She puts emphasis on how power is generally debated under a neutral definition of power, which does not take into account how power is distributed in society, such as by class, gender or other systems of oppression (Rowlands 1998). From this viewpoint, she (and many other feminist theorists) begins to develop an empowerment framework that is more applicable to unequal power distributions in society through incorporating both thoughts by Foucault (1982) on power and feminist interpretations. She begins by translating the four above mentioned concepts into an empowerment framework that goes beyond an understanding of power in terms of political or economic power and decision-making. Her feminist approach adds additional layers to the discussion of power normally steeped in formal and institutional understandings of power as they "[...] incorporate the idea of 'the personal as political' (Rowlands 1995: 102). The idea here is to examine the details of a person's life as told by the participant (Radtke and Stam 1994). Contrary to more conventional thoughts on empowerment, the feminist approach lends itself to the study of people and their knowledge in their own right. Knowledge that may have been lost through suppression in formal and institutional understandings is instead sought after by examining the lived experiences of people. It thus goes beyond "objectified knowledge" and has an emphasis on finding the "truth" in an everyday setting (Radtke and Stam 1994). Along the same lines Lukes (1974) has expressed this through his use of the term "unobserved conflict" as it refers to internal conflict that cannot be seen externally.

Power over is then more than an understanding of external pressures on decision-making. It also becomes about how those pressures are internalized not just through political oppression, but also on a community or household level. The same goes for the generative forms of power in

power to, *power with*, and *power from within*; *power to* may then refer to the ability to create new possibilities within one's own community or living situation. It can have a basis more on relationships and the ability to make decisions within those relationships. *Power with* is then seen as collective action, where individuals gather and seek a communal response to an issue. This as well can then be of a local focus, such as within a neighborhood or community; it can also mean to take collective political action, or seek a collective response to a social or economic issue that is affecting the group either individually or together.

Lastly *power from within* becomes about the ability to develop "[...] a sense of self and individual confidence and capacity, and undoing the effects of internalized oppression" (Rowland 1995: 103). Capacity here reflects in a similar line of thought as Kabeer (2005) when she writes about agency, resources, and achievements. In particular it's about "[...] the ability for someone to make choices, with the prerequisite that other choices are there and that these choices are perceived to exist", with the emphases on the ability to perceive choices (Kabeer 2005: 14). For Rowland (1995; 1997; 1998), informal processes become just as important as formal ones in terms of empowerment. She goes further saying that, "these interpretations of empowerment involve giving full scope to the full range of human abilities and potential" (Rowlands 1995: 102). Another way of thinking about these powers is through understanding how they are experienced and demonstrated. Rowlands (1995; 1998), describes three dimensions in which *power over*, *power to*, *power with*, and *power from within* can be experienced in; relating to empowerment on personal, collective, and close relationship levels. Figure 1 below depicts these dimensions and shows the interconnectedness of these elements.

Figure 1. The Three Dimensions of Empowerment



(Rowlands 1995, 1998)

3.2.1 Empowerment for Development, Education, and Marginalized Groups

It is possible to see here how the empowerment framework developed by Rowlands, using *power over*, *power to*, *power with*, and *power from within*, not only fits in within feminist theory, but also is applicable for other marginalized groups, especially within a development context. Though Keller and Mbwewe (1991) write about women in their definition of empowerment, clear links can be seen to Rowlands empowerment framework within a context of development. Empowerment is, “a process whereby women become able to organize themselves to increase their own self-reliance, to assert their independent right to make choices and to control resources which will assist in challenging and eliminating their own subordination” (Keller and Mbwewe 1991). In a development situation, this captures both formal and informal aspects of empowerment, and is applicable to other marginalized groups, such as youths for example. In addition, the development context differentiates from an empowerment process in industrialized societies through the emphasis of where empowerment is put into practice and what activities are used (Rowland 1995). Inherently a gendered approach to power reflects an emancipatory dynamic, thus creating a drive for empowerment. A feminist approach in itself is linked to concepts of power, and more specifically against a patriarchal form of power, which makes this theory applicable to this paper.

Lastly, the empowerment framework has additional ties to education and social work (Rowlands 1998), which all contribute to the applicability of the framework to my study. Within the empowerment literature focused on education, there exists an emphasis on not only having a self-awareness of the problems in one's own life, but also learning the skills and abilities to create new possibilities of action and taking control of one's own life. Rowland (1995; 1997; 1998) further relates this self-awareness about perceived limitations and options, to Freire's (1993) concept of conscientization, where individuals become, "subjects' in their own lives [...] developing a 'critical consciousness' — that is, an understanding of their circumstances and the social environment, that leads to action" (Rowland 1998: 16). Developing a critical consciousness thus becomes an important indicator within the empowerment framework that ties in with the four elements of power. The next section will explain the methodology of the thesis, before leading into the analysis in Section Five.

4. METHODOLOGY

4.1. Research Design

My research follows a non-experimental study design and I take on an interpretive-constructivist approach to my research, where I seek out "multiple perspectives involved in the case, aiming to gather collectively agreed upon and diverse notions of what occurred" (Lauckner and Crupa 2012). I am guided by deduction through using theory in my research process, but also look at my findings inductively as look at the implications of my findings to my theory as per a case study design (Bryman 2009). Through this approach, I have chosen to do a single-case study (peer educators in a single peer education organization) in time. Unlike more quantitative research, it is beyond the scope of this study to make statistical generalizations (Yin 2009: 43). Instead I am "[...] striving to generalize a particular set of results to some broader theory" (Yin 2009: 43). In my case, I hope to contribute to the generalization of a feminist empowerment framework developed by Jo Rowlands (1995; 1997; 1998). In addition to the theoretical rationale for a case study, the research design was chosen due to limited monetary and time constraints. These limitations however did not diminish my research as a single-case study can still be of value, as already stated above it can contribute to building theory and when findings are in the similar line to existing studies, the single-case study can make strong contributions to the generalizability of the research.

4.2. Description of Peer Education Program and Peer Educator

The research took place using peer educators from a SFD NGO in Lusaka, Zambia. The organization uses a sports-based HIV/AIDS education and prevention curriculum that targets adolescent youths aged 12-18. Interventions are generally held within schools in the city, using volunteer peer educators or coaches as the means for program delivery. Peer educators deliver weeklong interventions to groups of adolescent youths that cumulate in a graduation, with an option for HIV testing for the participants. Not only does the program target HIV/AIDS education and prevention, but it also incorporates topics such as gender-based violence, stigma, financial literacy, and drugs and alcohol abuse to form a holistic approach. Pre and post testing is done to determine program effectiveness for the interventions.

The following data points were gathered from a recent internal survey of 110 peer educators (Lee and Klaehne 2013). Of the 110 respondents, 45% of peer educators are female and 55% are male. The average age of each peer educator is 22.8, with a reported range from 18 to 29. With the exception of four peer educators, all have reported completing Grade 12. In addition, 25% of all peer educators have reported supplementary education in the form of courses, certificates, and/or diplomas in a wide range of areas such as ICT, social work, trade, and public administration. Household sizes for peer educators ranged from 1-18, with an average of 6 members per household. Over 42% of peer educators reported that they are at least one of the primary providers in their households. 27% of peer educators stated that their average monthly income for the past six months was between 200-400 USD, with another 27% stating that their income was less than 100 USD.

4.3. Data Collection, Methods and Sampling

I entered the field in August 2013 and began to observe and contextualize the local environment and possible research areas. The organization had previously engaged with other academics to develop research in the area of SFD, which I used as a starting point for my thesis. I made an initial questionnaire and trial interview in November 2013, which focused on exploring the area of peer educator employability solely, which however did not yield satisfying results. Employability here is defined as, “the character or quality of being employable” that derives from individual and external circumstances and factors (McQuaid and Lindsey 2005; Spaaij, Magee and Jeanes 2012). After further extensive talks with local staff, former

researchers, and peer educators I began my data collection in the beginning of January 2014 in Lusaka with the current area of interest in mind. This was an ideal time as the organization was closed over school break, and many of the peer educators were not busy. I conducted semi-structured interviews with peer educators from January 9th to the 16th, with transcription done by March 2nd 2014.

4.3.1 Methods

The organization and the peer educators were aware of my overt role as a researcher for my Master's thesis, in addition to being a member of the Monitoring and Evaluation unit for the organization. I began by first engaging in participant observation “[...] on naturally occurring behaviors in their usual contexts” (Mack et al. 2005: 2) for my data gathering methods. I became deeply involved with the daily work activities of the organization, attending meetings, going to workshops and building up rapport with staff and peer educators. Through my position, I had almost weekly contact with the peer educators in the program, which made them become familiar and accustomed to me. Building rapport with youth people is especially important for research on them, as Scheyvens and Storey (2003: 176) point out. Based on my observations and conversations, and guided by my theoretical framework, I constructed my interview guide that was used in semi-structured interviews for my research.

The choice for semi-structured interviews lies in the ability to have a certain structure and topics to cover during the interview, but also not to be limited or restricted by the interview guide. Instead its power lies in the ability to find out about different themes through slightly diverging from the interview guide. Therefore semi-structured interviews lend themselves to allow for a great deal of research flexibility (Bryman 2008: 438). This was important to me as I adapted my interview guide throughout the interview process to ask more salient questions. The interview guide can be found in Appendix I.

4.4.2. Sampling and Primary Resource Presentation

In order to get a sample of peer educators from the SFD NGO, I established a purposive sampling technique which was informed by my research question and theoretical framework using the following criteria for selection:

1. Peer educators should have at least one year of experience as a peer educator to ensure that they gained some experience through continued long-term participation in the program.
2. Peer educators should have a good command of the English language as I was the sole interviewer and did not have knowledge of any local languages.

It should be noted that the official language of Zambia is English with eight other recognized tribal languages. As peer educators are able to speak English, and at least one other tribal language, for the sake of simplicity it was deemed to conduct all interviews in English. With these selection criteria in mind, I used several gatekeepers within my organization to assist me in primary selection of participants. I made initial contact with 10 peer educators through this selection process and got immediate responses from seven of them. Two did not respond to my phone calls and another was away in southern Zambia on holiday. With the initial success in recruiting seven participants, I engaged in snowball sampling through asking the interviewees for other candidates to be interviewed once the interview process was going. I received many identical suggestions, while also gaining another six potential interview candidates. I engaged three other peer educators in the study through this sampling method for a total of 10 interviewees.

I saw my research as an ongoing process where I am constantly comparing findings and seeking to uncover variations in themes and refining ideas (Bryman 2008: 415). Through this approach I was not truly concerned with sample size, and instead reached my “end” of the research by finding theoretical saturation i.e. when information becomes redundant (Bryman 2008:100-110). The goal was to let the data speak for itself, rather than restrict oneself to a certain number of interviews as with quantitative work, thus prompting shifts and focuses in the interview process (Silverman 2005: 133). It also was a useful tool for obtaining data with potentially less interviews as I had both resource and time constraints during my research process. I acknowledge that these sampling techniques will not give me a representative sample, but as discussed above, my goal is to make generalization at the theoretical level through my case study design rather than the sample.

Of the total of 10 interviewees, four women and six men were selected for the study. Participants ranged from 19 to 33 years of age and having at least one year of experience, with two having over three years of experience as a peer educator at the organization. No language issues were present, as all could freely express themselves in English. Interviews were held in

my apartment. This was deemed appropriate for logistical reasons, as well as providing a familiar, yet still removed from the office environment due to its close proximity to the organizations office building. Interview length ranged from just under 30 minutes to the longest going for 65 minutes. All interviews were voice recorded. Prior to the start of the interview, participants were informed of the purpose of the study, briefed on issues of confidentiality, and asked to give verbal consent for the recording of the interview. After this was explained fully and time was given for questions, the interview began.

4.4. Data Transcription and Analysis

All interviews were transcribed from spoken word to written language in full and edited for grammar, after an initial listening session of all interviews. Transcriptions were then read in full several times to gain a clear understanding of the material. Each transcription or *record* was then analyzed inductively through categorizing particular phrases or *incidents* into a Microsoft Excel template depending on the area of empowerment that the *incident* was talking about. To add further depth to each area of empowerment, subthemes were assigned at the *incident* level. Lastly, each *incident* also had a section for comments that could be written down through this analysis process. From the nine obtained *records*, about 300 *incidents* were found that contributed to the analysis for this study. This method follows the five-step process that is recommended by Taylor-Powell and Renner (2003: 2-5).

4.5. Quality of Research and Limitations

Although it was stressed from the beginning that this study was my own work and that it was in no way affiliated with the host organization, there existed potential for bias in the responses of the interviewees. This was noticeable when asking some introductory questions to the interviewees about their likes and dislikes about the organizations program. Several interviewees expressed that they did not have any dislikes about the program, but as the interview progressed, interviewees began to open up a little more and began discussing areas which were disliked about the program. Due to my previous connection with the organization, this could potentially make participants hesitant in saying anything negative due to fears of losing their position. In addition, there existed the possibility of social desirability bias, in which respondents answer questions in a way that they deem are more favorable towards the researcher.

I have tried to minimize these issues by ensuring that I asked similar questions throughout the interview and asking for elaboration when statements were vague.

Another challenge with my type of research is that I may be missing out on the most marginalized groups due to my selection criteria. This is something that I have been aware of in my research and I am at least trying partially to address this by selecting both peer educators that have been with the program for a while, and others that have just joined. It stands to reason that newer peer educators may be more marginalized, as they lack the network that more senior peer educators have, as well as having less confidence and additional skills than veteran peer educators as they are newer to the organization. However, as my research focuses more on the generalizability towards my theory rather than the sample, these concerns were fairly minor.

4.6. Ethical Considerations

As explained above, verbal consent was sought from all participants, making sure that they knew the implications of participating in this study. All participants understood that their participation was voluntary and were free to leave at any time. All their information was considered anonymous and confidential, solely stored and analyzed on my own computer, and would not be given to their host organization.

4.6.1. Positionality

As a white, male global North researcher, I am well aware of my position vis-à-vis the researched and the research context (Rose 1997). Scheyvens and Leslie (2000) have also highlighted the ethics and implications of global North researchers doing field work in the global South. While they list many ways in which this can lead to challenges, they also make a point to consider the benefits of such cross cultural exchange. Through my research, I was able to observe these benefits in the interviews I conducted. The cross cultural settings especially allowed me to establish a good rapport with the interviewees, as they were eager to tell me about cultural differences and were amused about facts that I didn't know. I feel that this contributed to making the participants more at ease, and willing to explain and talk about issues. Thus it was important to always reflect on one's own positionality and how your own identity is created and formed by others as this can lead to a more engaging research process (England 1994; Sultana 2007).

An interesting and related thought on my positionality as a Westerner are the Western ideas of volunteering and peer-education. Kapoor (2004) writes about this by questioning the development discourse that the North brings over to the South, and which all too often becomes the norm (629). My conceptions of volunteering from the North were seen as something drastically different in the South, as I realized through discussions with my organization and its peer educators. For me volunteering is seen as a way to give back to the community and also to act as short, time-bound opportunities to grow personally and professionally. In the South, or at least within my observations of volunteers in Lusaka, volunteering had an altogether different meaning. Many of these volunteers had no other opportunities available for them, which essentially made their volunteering very similar to an actual job, although the monetary enumeration was almost negligible. Before coming to Zambia, I did not realize the dichotomy between these two views on volunteering, but as I engaged in the field, these diverging viewpoints shaped my research process.

5. ANALYSIS

The theoretical framework that was developed in Section Three, though influenced heavily by feminist theories, has strong explanatory potential for my research. Not only does it lend itself to research in an educational setting, but it also is applicable to other marginalized groups (Rowlands 1995; 1997; 1998). Feminist theories provide for a more holistic approach towards the concept of empowerment which not only seeks to explore the formal, but also the informal settings in which power, or rather empowerment play roles in. In this section I will use Rowlands' theoretical framework tools of *power over*, *power to*, *power with*, and *power from within* to explore how impactful peer education curriculums are to empower peer educators in their own lives. I will first describe external elements of power that were present in the lives of peer educators, and then move on to analyzing the impact of their experiences as peer educators on a personal level.

5.1 The Role of Externalities

5.1.1. Socio-economic Barriers

Peer educators face many different external forces in their lives, which can be categorized by Rowlands' framework (1995; 1997; 1998) as forms of *power over*. In the discussions that

developed with the peer educators, many mentioned different factors which held external oppression over their lives. As the other forms of power are based on combating *power over*, the analysis starts with a discussion of these external forces that are affecting the lives of peer educators. To begin, peer educators mentioned several socio-economic barriers that they face in their lives that create challenges for them. This *power over* in particular focused on educational and financial barriers. All interviewees completed Grade 12, however some participants expressed that they had done better or worse than others on their exam results. Interviewees discussed how low Grade 12 results contributed to many Zambian youths not receiving good employment opportunities. Thus this educational barrier posed a major challenge in terms of *power over* for many peer educators, which made many gravitate towards volunteer work as a way to occupy their time. When speaking with a male peer educator (28) about finding better compensating work opportunities he responded with:

Interviewee: I would say certainly not. If I had found, in this time I would have left.

Interviewer: Why do you think that is the case?

Interviewee: To me, to speak frankly about my results, my grade 12 results are not good. So that's what dropped most of the opportunities. So that is the bread of the matter.

Good Grade 12 results are essential for Zambian youths to find not only employment opportunities, but also for entry into tertiary education. Some peer educators even faced a double burden of not having adequate Grade 12 results, as well as not having the money to finance their application or education fees if they had had those opportunities.

Peer educators also mentioned that the structure of the program itself contributed to the already mentioned external oppressions; or forms of *power over*. As long as there were interventions happening in the schools, peer educators were gaining some level of income through their activities. Some were even able to pay for tuition and application fees with the money. However, as soon as schools closed peer educators were also cut off of resources, as they were not implementing during these downtimes. One female peer educator (20) described how she was able to pay for her school fees through her peer education work without the help of her mother. Yet, due to programs running in conjunction with the school year she was not fully able to pay for her education in the end.

So she only helped me when I needed money for the exams, because by then, there are times when the kids, they are closed to us coaches. So by then I didn't have anywhere to get the money. So I had to ask my parents.

Another male peer educator (28) also described how challenging it can be to find opportunities or placements due to implementation phases of the program and application period times for schools being far apart:

I can change, but the challenge that is there is the financial consideration. Sometimes they close early the term before we open up, before we have money. We go early somewhere from November, October. So by the time we start implementing, you will go and find that the places are filled up. So that's another challenge.

The above examples highlighted additional forms of *power over* that can unintentionally occur through the nature of the peer education structure. Despite the potential overall empowering effects that peer education can have on the peer educators themselves, these examples also pointed out areas of disempowerment present in the program. Peer educators that were relying on the money they obtained from their work as volunteers, faced disempowering situations due to their reliance on their work as income. This finding coincided with previous work done by Campbell et al. (2009) where they found that peer education stipends had major impacts on the empowerment process of peer educators. Despite opportunities being present for them to excel in either a professional or academic manner, peer educators often had resource constraints that come from this form of *power over*.

In addition to the socio-economic barriers already mentioned, *Zambian youth's* social attitudes and/or cultural norms also contributed to another form of external oppression or *power over*, which has also been recognized by Campbell and Williams (1999). In particular, the discussions focused on present youths attitudes about spending money. As one female peer educator described, "[...] these days, girls they just want to spend. They want their boyfriends to take them out". Another male peer educator (22) added how he felt how others don't have long term perceptions about money:

[...] my business is just paying for my school right now and everything that I do. So we have got a different mindset when it comes to business skills because, some of them when they just get the money they don't think of those things, they buy things that they think they can do with now. They drink, others they just buy clothes.

Additionally, through observations of peer educators, it was found that many took great care in their appearance and look. Good presentation of oneself, or "looking sharp", was very important for many of them. Therefore mindsets that some peer educators had about their money spending habits, thus contributed to this other form of *power over*. It became a form of oppression where materialistic, short-term tendencies undermine, or oppress an individual through creating choices

that may be of negative value in the long term. This, along with the structure of the SFD program, and the general educational barriers, created strong challenges for peer educators on a more structural *power over* level. Many of the above mentioned challenges are systemic, and with peer education programs, although some of the *symptoms* can be addressed (which will be discussed in the forthcoming sections), there were still exist great hurdles to address the actual problems, such as the education system or the job market.

5.1.2. The External Peer Educator Image

Aside from the above mentioned external influences on peer educators, discussions also focused on how external perceptions of peer education impacted on the peer educators themselves. This could thus be seen as another example of an external influence, or *power over*. While peer educators did present themselves as positive role models for the program participants, this image was more difficult to portray to others such as friends, members of the community and even family. Because of the socio-economic conditions mentioned above that Zambian youths are facing, many youths were engaging in peer education work as a means to *at least do something* with their lives. Peer education programs are primarily reliant on a volunteer work force, where monetary incentives are minimal. This is partially done to discourage volunteers to see their positions as fulltime employment.

Discussions with peer educators elucidated that many members of society were aware of this dynamic, as this male peer educator (25) described, "like one of the things the guys would say is you are doing peer education because you don't have anything else to do [...] And moreover you are just volunteers, you are not really working or anything". Another male peer educator described how his father reacted to his volunteer work:

Interviewer: So do your parents, or your father, what does he think about your peer education work?

Interviewee: He's not really cool with it.

Interviewer: He's not?

Interviewee: No.

Interviewer: How come?

Interviewee: OK, he said he hate the fact that it's voluntary work.

[...]

Interviewee: On that part he said something like, 'OK it's good that you are doing something, but I hate voluntary work whereby you work for a maximum of 3-4 days'.

Negative conceptions of volunteer work were voiced in almost all of the discussions, as this was not seen as an avenue for growth and/or a well-paying job in the future. Volunteering was seen

as a useless pastime by many others, forming a *power over* that degrades the work that these peer educators were doing. This could lead to family or friends being unsupportive of the peer educators' work, discouraging them in their pursuit of their goals. Jeanes (2011) has also previously written about the importance of understanding family relationships, and how these shape the interpretation and understanding of information that peer educators receive through their training.

In addition to these discouraging attitudes, peer educators also faced other challenges to their image on the community level. When discussions focused on community house visits that peer educators did as part of their volunteering, many peer educators pointed out situations where people fostered negative conceptions about them and their work within SRH behaviors. Campbell and Williams (1999) have written along similar lines, as they argue for the consideration and recognition of community values that may discourage positive health behaviors. However despite these potential forms of external oppression, peer educators pointed out that they were not very affected by this. One male peer educator (25) explained that:

In the field, there are a lot of issues [...] some would just tell you point blank, you never just get something for free. Do you have some sort of hidden agenda? Some would even suspect you to be some Satanists. It even goes to those extents. You just have to understand, that it's not everyone who is educated about some of these issues. You just have to explain to them.

Another female peer educator (20) added to this with her experience in the field:

Others would say why are they doing such things, maybe they are also HIV positive, because not just people from anywhere can just start talking about such things. So you have to explain to them, and others would think that maybe we are Satanists, especially when you talk about testing, the HIV testing thing. So yea people have different thoughts about us, but it's how you talk to them and how you explain.

In both these examples the discussions showed that peer educators faced many different forms of discouraging situations while engaging in their work, which also had the potential to affect the promotion of positive health behaviors. Due of the strong community outreach structure in the program, all peer educators interviewed discussed how they went through similar experiences.

However, despite these external negative images of peer educators, the interviewees also commented on how they were able to let these influences not affect them. The *power over* that they were experiencing became challenged by their *power from within* as they began to understand reasons for people to have these negative images. They understood the social contexts they were entering, and as both peer educators above discussed, sympathized with the

community members and were able to overcome the challenge in this way. These are other examples of peer educators developing critical consciousness about their surroundings and challenging external oppression through awareness of themselves and their situation.

In several discussions, peer educators were even able to alter the perspectives or image that others had of them and their work. Not only were they challenging *power over*, but actually *changing* the hearts and minds of those around them. In the following discussion, one male peer educator (25) described how the *power over* he was experiencing gradually changed, even leading him to feel more empowered as his friends' image of him changed.

At first it was you are just wasting your time, why should you be doing peer education? Working in the sun the whole day, talking to kids, but you are getting nothing at the end of the day. Now we're different. Because of peer education, I am now at college; they never did anything. They are still there. They are still drinking, still leading reckless lives. And they are different. They even say they are [...] with time, they even kept saying, truly guys it's a good thing that you are doing, it's a very good thing. And from that I can strike a difference and say, yea it has really helped me.

Burnett (2009) showed similar findings as peer educators felt a greater sense of belonging through becoming valued as a coach by the community. External oppression, at least from a social perspective was thus able to be altered to an extent through peer education work, while also leading to positive outcomes for the peer educators.

5.2. The Value of Being a Peer Educator

5.2.1. Development of Skills

As the discussions moved towards the experiences that peer educators gained from the program, it was found that many of the benefits were on an internal or personal level. Using Rowlands' (1995; 1997; 1998) framework, the discussions related to the development of skills, that when analyzed, provided evidence of the creation of *power from within*. Peer educators became more confident in certain aspects of their lives and behaviors, increasing self-esteem and self-confidence in the process through their participation in the program, which coincided with findings on personal confidence by Campbell et al. (2009) and Kay (2009). Participants expressed especially that they gained skills relating to public speaking and facilitation skills in group settings. This was noticeable through the way that many talked about their early experiences as peer educators; many expressed that they used to be shy, and wouldn't speak up in group settings or in a crowd. As one female peer educator (20) described, "[...] when I joined GRS, I used to be a shy person [...]. So from that time, up to now I think I can even talk, facing a

big crowd of people. I have confidence now". Peer educators also discussed how they gained confidence in their leadership abilities, while also becoming confident speaking up on issues, especially relating to sexual health.

Peer education not only provided knowledge about many about harmful practices, but also created a safe environment to stay away from these practices. For peer educators, this scenario could be seen as creating elements of *power to*; as through their involvement they are able to generate other opportunities for themselves without external oppression being present. One male peer educator (23) explained about the generative power and values of being a peer educator during the interview:

Very much, and I can proudly say positively, it has helped me so much. There are times when I look at my friends, friends that are my age become alcoholic. If I look at that, they are abusing alcohol and it's quite dangerous. So being a peer educator it was not an act for me[...] Mostly I was not with them which has helped to stay away from alcohol and drug abuse[...]. It has helped me health wise and on personal issues where you get to make decisions on your own, I get to see this is bad, this is good. What do I do? What do I want? How is this going to benefit me?

Participants felt that they could take charge of their own health behavior, and exhibited critical thinking when it came to making decisions regarding their own SRH. Campbell and MacPhail (2002) have also written on the same subject as they describe the importance of developing a critical consciousness to empower young people to begin changing their behaviors. Many referred to basic practices from their curriculum that emphasized areas such as recognizing the ability to make choices, and that one should make decisions that will benefit one the most. The *power from within*, fostered through the acquisition of life skills that was discussed in the previous sections became translated into forms of action, or *power to* for the peer educator.

Despite cultural attitudes on saving money being previously discussed in Section 5.1.1., the topic should also be considered from an internal perspective regarding financial literacy. In one discussion with a male peer educator (23), he described how most *Zambian* youths feel about monetary matters, "[...] I think most coaches lack skills of saving; I must say I was one of such coaches. I lacked the skills of saving. But after some lessons and educations, I got to learn that saving is very important". While probing further, respondents commented how the money that they were receiving was not even enough to save, as it was too little. Such perceptions created for some peer educators a sense of internal oppression; their *power from within* diminished because of these attitudes towards financial decision-making skills. Many peer educators felt that

they are unable to save any money because of their belief that they must spend it all on “essential” items.

Because of the synergy between the powers, this form of internal oppression lead many peer educators to also feel disempowered in terms of *power to* and being able to challenge *power over*. The financial literacy component of the peer education program helped to combat these internal oppressions, or attitudes that hindered peer educators from saving money. The saving skill in this instance turned into *power to* generate new possibilities for the peer educators and gave them a way to challenge *power over* in their lives, as this male peer educator (25) described:

I would say for me, there was time when I became a peer educator, in as much as I had a vision of going beyond peer education, but I never saw the way [...] to getting to my goal. But after peer education, we were taught how to be resilient, how you can do things to reach your goal. I knew that for me to really reach somewhere I've got to be in school. I just did my final secondary and I knew that tertiary is supposed to come next. So what I had to do is, with the little money that I used to get, I had to buy an enrollment form for [Zambian] College. And I did that and it worked, really it did work.

Some of the peer educators described how they underwent supplementary trainings that the organization offered where they gained additional skills that would bolster their employability, or to gain *power to* generate new possibilities for themselves. In these workshops peer educators learned how to properly write cover letters, and curriculum vitae, while also gaining interview skills as this male peer educator (23) described:

I learned how to write a CV. I also understood about networking and how networking is important in my life. Because nowadays a great network leads you to stand a better chance of whatever you want; maybe it's employment. Then another thing was a cover letter, because I discovered some years back when writing an application, you write each and every small detail. When I went for that workshop, it opened my eyes to see where I was wrong and where I was correct.

This finding was also found by Burnett (2013), however within his study he concluded that these employability skills only gave slight benefits.

However, being a part of the peer education program enabled these participants to gain additional skills that many other Zambian youths did not have. In previous literature by both Campbell et al. (2009) and Kay (2009), the authors had also found that through their work, peer educators gained new aspirations and opportunities for themselves that they had previously not considered. Participants expressed how they began to become more entrepreneurial or business-

mindful recognizing the need to look for opportunities to expand their monetary assets. One female peer educator (28) even said that she invested her first stipends into buying staple crops to sell on the market. All felt confident that if there are opportunities for them to develop further, they would succeed in them, showing their confidence and willingness to generate and seize new opportunities for themselves.

The discussions thus showed that peer educators recognized their socio-economic instability and acknowledged that they were the ones that need to make change happen in their lives. As described above, some have talked about becoming more business minded to create additional value, and seek further opportunities. To complement the ongoing discussion on power, these examples showed how peer educators gained yet another form of power *from within*. These instances however were combating internal oppressions that were non-health related. This is an important distinction, as although the peer education program itself focused on public health and HIV/AIDS, the skills learned were applicable to a larger, albeit still limited set of circumstances.

Just as in section 5.1.2, the above discussions further showed that peer educators engaged in Freire's (1993) concept of conscientization, developing a critical consciousness through gaining an understanding of their own social environment and a new way of perceiving themselves within that context. In other words, peer educators began to understand harmful practices, either health or economic related and further identified ways they can combat, or use *power to* in these situations; for example by surrounding themselves with different friends. Peer educators went from being passive bystanders (being shy) to active agents for social change (confidence in their abilities to cause change) through this internal development. While speaking with the participants, it was noted how positively they spoke of their experiences as peer educators, and how much they enjoyed their work. Even these observations showed that the program positively influenced the participants on a fundamental level of their well-being. With potential other areas of their lives being negatively affected, they seemed at least confident in their abilities within the program and with the skills that they learned.

However, the discussions also showed that the development of a critical consciousness can lead to more negative outcomes or feelings of disempowerment. Although the instances where this was brought up was limited, it did prove similar to findings from Burnett (2009)

where he argued that critical consciousness can lead to disempowerment after realizing that one cannot change the situation one is in. One male peer educator (33) in particular showed that despite his conscientization of his situation, and feelings of empowerment through the peer education program, he still felt disempowered to take action and generate *power to* in his life:

Interviewer: Do you feel that you are empowered as a peer educator from [host organization]?

Interviewee: Empowered certainly.

Interviewer: Are there areas that are missing?

Interviewee: OK, the areas that are missing I would say it's from my side. There two things, I have financial constraint and the Grade 12 results. That's two areas which are missing from that side.

Essentially, these feelings of disempowerment helped contribute to this male peer educator to become "stuck" with program for a long time, without further growth opportunities despite the skills he learned. In this sense peer educators had the potential to go from an *empowering* position in many aspects of their lives through their work, to a *disempowering* one by realizing they were unable to produce new possibilities for themselves and thus stay at the organization too long. As an unintended consequence, the peer education program itself became a form of oppression by generating negative *power from within*. However as stated before, in general peer educators were able to develop a critical consciousness that fostered empowerment rather than disempowerment through their conscientization.

5.2.2 The Role Model Mentality

Peer education programs are generally structured in a way that fosters volunteers to adopt the practices and beliefs of the program. This also includes instilling a sense of responsibility into the peer educators to become role models in their own lives and for the participants. Much of the discussions by the peer educators focused on the importance of this role model mentality not only for the participants, but also for their friends, family, and community. As the analysis in 5.2.1. made evident, peer educators began with incorporating life skills into their own lives, creating *power from within*. The discussion also showed elements of *power to* that emerged from the skills that peer educators gained. In this section, the analysis delves further into elements of *power to* that were exhibited by the peer educators mentality and actions as role models. As all interviewed peer educators showed a strong foundation in their *power from within*, they naturally became inclined to begin generating *power to* as this male peer educator (23) described:

It has touched an area where it is more like a way of life because we are looking up with the kids, because we want to give them information in prevention and awareness. As they are growing up

they should influence people positively; they should be role models to the society. I also look in myself to be a role model to the society that if I am preaching out this to the kids they should be looking at me and say, OK he's telling us this, he's doing what he's preaching. So they have affected me in a way saying.

Becoming a role model was something that was very important for peer educators as they realized the position of power they were in. They recognized they had responsibilities and that the consequences of their action can reverberate throughout their lives. Through their training and interactions with youth, peer educators became aware of this impact recognizing both the existence of *power from within* and *power to*.

However, this need to become a role model can also be seen in a slightly different light, as peer educators could potentially succumb to external pressures to act as role models. Many interviewees mentioned how they needed to consider what the kids would think of them if they found out any negative behaviors. As this male peer educator (23) described, the program created a form of pressure that forced him to make decisions based on what other individuals would think of him:

Pressure is there because you want to perfect everything that you do. Whatever I want to do [...] I really have to consider how am I going to look at myself and how is my family going to look at me, and how is the community, the society going to look at me[...] So I get to have pressure within myself, a lot of pressure. I don't know if I can say negative or positive but pressure is there

Arguably, this form of pressure took on both elements of internal and external oppression if it forced a peer educator to become role models without their full commitment to being a role model.

However in the interviews with the above mentioned exception, none of the participants voiced this concern directly, and spoke rather passionately about their want to be role models. Peer educators further showed an understanding or conscientization of their actions vis-à-vis their environment and made efforts to change their behavior accordingly. The participants that gained role model mentalities were combating oppressions through re-forming and re-shaping their own behavior in a more positive and empowering way. Many even responded saying that being a role model was easy for them; because it was something that they felt they needed to do. These discussions showed strong evidence that peer educators were instilled with a powerful sense of *power from within* that made them ready to become role models.

Additionally, being a role model signified that peer educators were making a concrete effort to challenge *power over* that was present in their lives. The above mentioned *power from within*, and *power to* that became instilled in the peer educators made them begin to challenge external oppressions in the lives. In many instances findings coincide with Jeanes (2011) work on *power from within*, as discussions showed that peer educators went against the wants of their peers and instead chose paths that prevented risky behaviors regardless of the social consequences that may happen. One female peer educator (24) described her challenges of being a role model to her peers:

So to me being a leader in my community, it's not something which is easy. Sometimes [...] with your peers, they want you to go abuse alcohol, but you know that it's very bad to abuse alcohol, it's just not easy to convince them. They would say all these negative things about you. But because you got the passion for the community and you got the passion for what you are doing, you are going to endure [...]. So when you approach them and talk to them, some day they will understand.

One of the most common words mentioned in regards to these challenges was the word "passion" as seen in the example above. Many peer educators described their drive to become role models and continue in the field of peer education work because of the passion they had for the work. The passion, or *power from within* they expressed, along with their development of critical consciousness enabled them to challenge this particular *power over* in their lives, from their friends, family and even community. It created a strong sense of responsibility for the participants, and equipped them with a form of resiliency towards negative pressures. Resiliency or the ability to bounce back from hardships was a topic that was often discussed by the peer educators as they described the challenges they faced and ways they dealt with those challenges as role models. All the above mentioned factors contributed to the peer educator's role model mentality, and showed the wide breadth of applicability of the peer education system to foster elements power for the peer educators.

5.2.3. Seeking Collective Action

The two prior sections focused on peer educators gaining both *power from within* and *power to* that challenged elements of *power over* in their lives. As the discussions progressed, questions were asked based on the ability for peer educators to experience and utilize *power with*. This was done by asking about the professional and casual interactions between peer educators themselves. As *power with* described a process of gaining power through collective action, the very nature of peer education work was at first seen as a strong example of where

elements of this power could be found, as other authors such as Melkotes and Steeves (2001) also suggest. Within the peer education program at the organization, peer educators heavily interacted with one another on a regular basis through weekly meetings where they debriefed, held curriculum refresher sessions, and had the opportunity to speak their mind in an open and safe environment.

The discussions with the interviewees sought to elucidate in what areas of a peer educators life they were experiencing *power with*. As with another previous study by Jeanes (2011), all peer educators first mentioned that they felt like a family, brothers and sisters. A male peer educator (25) went further saying, "[...] we are so united. It is a culture that we always help each other". The word culture was often used to describe the bond peer educators had between one another and to the organization. They described their very own "coach culture" as an open environment for talking and respecting each other's opinions. Inclusion into the coach group included having their own "coach language", i.e. inside sayings and expressions that were known only to peer educators. Such a united and cohesive environment meant that peer educators had promising fertile ground for elements of *power with* to grow in.

Through the discussions, it became clear that peer educators sought collective action, or obtained *power with* in different settings and to different rates of success. At the organization, collective action opportunities happened primarily during weekly meetings, when the program was in session. These settings created a routine and relaxed atmosphere to express concerns and allowed them to foster unity within the organization with around 30 peer educators attending each session. Although these group settings were seen as open, and many peer educators did express themselves openly in them, some participants found that there was a limit to how in-depth the discussions were in these settings as this male peer educator (23) described:

It doesn't go as deep as when it is 1-on-1. It's just on the surface more on MMC, or drugs. So it doesn't go that much unless we have some meeting where we have maybe like YMCA day where [the organization] is not a part of it where we just meet as youths and we talk about some Millennium Development Goals, go green, how best we can help. What we can do.

Other interviewees echoed this response by saying that discussions were mainly SRH related but broad.

In one instance however, some peer educators expressed how they had even tried to organize themselves to retake their Grade 12 exams. Despite these opportunities for generating power collectively, it was found that *power with* was very constrained in large group settings.

The big groups did not fully allow for more intimate and delicate discussions in terms of sexual health and relationships to take place, although there was clearly a will and need for them shown in the discussions. Additionally the instance where peer educators wanted to retake their Grade 12 exams fell through because of organizational and time issues. The discussions showed that although the outcomes may have not lead to much of an increase in *power to* challenge *power over* through *power with*, the intent to gain *power with* still seemed to be present.

Peer educators went further into describing that sometimes these large group settings were not completely applicable for the needs of individual female peer educator. This collective structure was eventually adopted and became a girls club for female peer educators. It was created to address female only concerns as some peer educators did not feel comfortable sharing some information in the larger heterogeneous group. In terms of power, the creation of a girls club could be seen as using *power with* to obtain *power to* fight *power over*. The external oppression here being the opposite gender or large group dynamics that make it uncomfortable for voices to be heard. Female participants also mentioned how the girls club provided a safe area for them to discuss issues, and ways for them to take action. This proved to be similar to findings by Jeanes (2011) as she described how female peer educators began recognizing peer pressures and ways to address them collectively within a peer education SFD setting. These two female peer educators (both 24) further described the benefits of the girls club:

[...] you may find that we have got a coach meeting [...] we are mixed with guys. So these people won't say anything, they won't talk about issues that are affecting them. But once we sit as girls, they would bring out issues that would really are affecting them[...].they are quite a lot of girls who are maybe in an unhealthy relationship[...] Maybe the boyfriend is so abusive, once we sit down with these girls and see what we are looking at, how can we empower a girl-child.

It was noticed that there is some orphanage and there they don't really have sponsors. So we start and discussed. What can we do so that we can also help? Each and every one contributed what they could afford. In the contributions we managed to buy some books, people brought some other stuff at home that they were not even using, and we managed to do that together and then donate to that school. So those are some of the scenarios in the meetings that we have. This is how we can help foster change.

The establishment of the girls club enabled female peer educators thus to gain *power with*, however not quite in the sense that has been outlined by Rowlands. Female peer educators gained psychological support or *power from within* through the participation in the girls club, as other peer educators gave courage and advice to them. Therefore their *power with* derived not necessarily from joining together to seek a solution in a collective action; but learning from, and

discussing with, other peer educators circumstances or situations that they need to overcome themselves. However, female peer educators found that they were still getting value from this group, as it created safe spaces for them to gather and nurture their *power from within*. Although slightly more beneficial for the female peer educators, the girls club did not provide for a strong *power with*, like the example of the larger peer educator group setting.

In addition the discussions showed elements of another empowerment process that was not covered by Rowlands' (1995; 1997; 1998) theory. In their process of empowerment, female peer educators had sought not only to empower themselves, but in the discussions also focused on finding ways to help and empower others around them. In particular, they showed instances where they sought to help out local members of the community, as when the girls club decided to donate to an orphanage. The empowerment process that has been discussed so far had primarily been focused on individual empowerment. The example here, however went beyond mere *power to* generate new opportunities for oneself, and did not fit within *power with* as the collective action did not deal with their own personal situations. Instead, despite many peer educators having limited resources, they still made efforts to help out others who were worse off without personal benefit. Peer educators, even with the shortcomings they had in their own lives, were still capable of helping out others in need indicating that they possessed a certain degree of *power* in their lives. Within my research, I used the term *power for others* to describe this situation and will expand on this *power* in section 6.1 within my summary of findings.

After the discussions ended on large groups, peer educators also mentioned that they got together in micro groups, where they were able to discuss their issues in greater detail with one another. Because peer educators often got together to socialize and to enjoy each other's 'company, this type of environment made it more comfortable to discuss their personal issues and personal health decisions. One example that a male peer educator (23) mentioned was about his decision to undergo MMC and empowering a friend to make the same decision:

I gave him the example of myself. [...] Could you believe that I did MMC? [...] From that, I proved it to him and I think he got motivated from that. 'But how did you manage? The first week is the most challenging week. The rest is just fine. And I think it was just three days later and he called me saying he went to MMC. We also talked about, fine we have done MMC, next we decide, we choose to have sex and it would be good to be using condoms. It has become on the brotherly relationship [...] So we talk about personal lives.

The discussion showed that peer educators not only become role models for the participants or the community as shown in Section 5.2.2; but also serve as role models for each other. Through

these one-on-one relationships, peer educators develop their *power from within* by seeking strength and guidance in each other just as in the larger group settings. Shared experiences with one another showed peer educators the actual possibilities for them to gain *power to in*, and also where they were able to challenge perceptions of *power over*. In this example a peer educator deemed it very difficult to undergo MMC, but through the encouragement of his peer, he underwent the procedure.

Another example of where smaller groups were more effective in gaining *power with* was seen in the following discussion with two peer educators. Both had recently gotten accepted to a college and were previously exposed to trainings in financial literacy. They discussed their process of conscientization, recognizing the power of saving, and the importance of developing themselves for the future as one of the male peer educator (25) described, "I never had it in me saving money, I would just spend [...] So when I did the financial literacy program, I realized truly at least if I have something I can always put something aside for future use". The discussion then focused on how these peer educators realized they were even becoming role models for other peer educators in the program, as the other male peer educator (25) described:

And I must say, somehow we are becoming psychological role models I must say. Because a lot of guys now, they are trying to inquire from us, but how did you do it? We heard that you got accepted, and we've been telling them, 'we have been saving. And even you can do the same'. And then they say, 'I think I'll try and save as well. Maybe I can apply and upgrade myself'. So somehow, we are encouraging them somehow.

The *power with* that these peer educators exhibited came from their own empowerment process, which they were using to help out their fellow peer educators. They saw themselves as catalysts for a collective action process that could begin to change the minds and ways that peer educators were seeing their external environment around them.

Despite these discussions pointing to elements of *power with*, this area of empowerment was the briefest conversation topic during the interviews. Discussions showed that peer educators rarely were utilizing their ability to seek collective action as a larger group. The dynamics within the large group seemed to be more focused in the realms of health and social empowerment opportunities, dealing with relationships and community work. This finding proved similar to the work done by Campbell et al. (2009), which found that the direct benefits peer educators were getting were more directly related to their HIV/AIDS prevention roles rather than expanding their agency in other areas of their lives. Jeanes (2011) has also written about the

limited *power with* found in the collective support groups her case study on Zambian peer educators. However, the smaller collective action groups had a slightly wider focus and seemed more action oriented compared to the discussions focusing on larger groups. The large group dynamics did however foster a greater sense than just themselves, and created a culture of youth that was driven in their social causes suggesting *power for others*. The next and final part of this thesis will summarize the analysis and highlight the key findings of this study, offering concluding remarks and words of encouragement for future research.

6. CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Summary of Findings

Processes of empowerment, specifically regarding peer educators in a development context are complex and nuanced. The findings suggest that peer educators experienced empowerment largely within social and sexual health related settings in their lives proving similar results to Campbell et al.'s (2009) work. However because of the organizations additional emphasis on financial literacy and employability skills, peer educators also obtained further empowerment opportunities in their lives. To an extent, elements of all powers were found during the discussions with the peer educators. As with previous literature, the findings confirm a large amount of *power from within* through an increase in self-confidence and self-esteem through the acquisition of new life skills (Strange, Forrest and Oakley 2001; Sawyer, Pinciaro and Bedwell 1997; Campbell et al. 2009; Kay 2009; Jeanes 2011).

Supported with previous studies by Jeanes (2011) and Campbell and MacPhail (2002), peer education training enabled many to develop a critical consciousness, the process of Freire's (1993) conscientization where peer educators became aware of their situations and sought to take action against challenges they faced. However as with findings from Burnett (2009), the development of a critical consciousness may also lead to disempowerment in certain situations where peer educators are aware of their situation, yet unable to address it. The discussions also suggested the ability for some peer educators to gain a generative *power to* create new possibilities in their lives through becoming role models to others by attaining higher education, or becoming more business minded in their decision-making abilities, on top of health related empowerment possibilities. However, their *power from within* and *power to* were constrained by

many structural *power over* dynamics that young Zambian youths face. External pressures and challenges came from attitudes and perceptions by the community and family members, but also from systemic factors such as culture, the economy and poverty, which have also been found in studies by Jeanes (2011), Campbell and MacPhail (2002), and Campbell and Williams (1999). These findings pointed to a need for a more holistic, multilayered approach towards empowerment that targets all levels of communities, which also has been suggested by Jeanes (2011).

Despite the peer education program theoretically providing for a strong environment to foster *power with* in as suggested by Melkotes and Steeves (2001), little collective action initiatives were discussed in these large group settings. As with the study done by Jeanes (2011), collective action and *power with* were largely constrained within peer education programs. *Power with*, instead became more intimately discussed between individuals and small groups. However, rather than creating collective action, group settings were used more as a tool to gain additional *power from within* to generate *power to* for their own personal circumstances.

Lastly, the forms of power discussed here have focused on individual and collective empowerment. However the discussions also brought out another form of power that was not considered within the empowerment framework used. In the example in 5.2.3, female peer educators were empowering those around them without direct connection or benefit for themselves, which I argued constituted a new form of power called *power for others*. This power related to the altruistic qualities that some of the interviewed peer educators and their friends exhibited. Despite peer educators themselves having limited resources, they still were capable of giving to others in worse situations. It is this concern for the welfare of others that I argued should be seen as an additional empowerment process, as a disempowered person would not look into the wellbeing of others as their primary concern would be with themselves.

Other authors outside of the development literature such as McWhirter (1991) have already written along similar lines in the context of counseling, as she defined empowerment as:

The process by which people, organizations or groups who are powerless (a) become aware of the power dynamics at work in their life context, (b) develop the skills and capacity for gaining some reasonable control over their lives, (c) exercise this control without infringing upon the rights of others and (d) **support the empowerment of others in the community**. (My emphasis)

Although Rowlands' framework was specifically designed for marginalized groups such as youths and suitable in a development context, it did not take this form of power into account. I

would therefore suggest that this element of power be included within the empowerment processes by Rowlands. Figure 2 below shows a potential new depiction of the dimensions of empowerment that adds this extra personal concern for others. Further research into this empowerment process is needed to fully understand the value of this inclusion in the framework. However I would make the case that this is another strong indicator of empowerment for an individual, especially in such a peer education setting. It is also especially relevant as this *power* points to additional activities that represent empowerment dimensions which have previously not been considered within a development discourse by Rowlands (1995).

Figure 2. The Four Dimensions of Empowerment



Based off of Rowlands (1995; 1998)

6.2 Final Conclusions

In this thesis, the complex concept of power was used to analyze how peer educators within peer education programs experienced empowerment in their lives. The theoretical empowerment framework devised by Rowlands (1995; 1997; 1998) was used as the backbone of the research, using processes of power, i.e. *power from within*, *power to*, *power with*, and *power*

over to explore the research topic. Through the analysis, it was suggested that an additional power, *power for others* be added into the framework to complement the already existing dimensions of empowerment. I argued that this ensured for a more holistic understanding of complex empowerment settings present within the context of development. In general, research showed that empowerment opportunities were largely seen within social and health related areas in the lives of peer educators without many gains in employability, which confirmed previous findings by Campbell et al. (2009) and Burnett (2013).

This thesis sought to contribute to the established (but albeit limited) Global South literature on empowerment in the peer education based SFD sector, with a particular focus within Lusaka, Zambia. The study also provided grounds to further test and improve theories on empowerment, especially in the context of development. It joins the call that Kay (2009), Nicholls (2009), Ebreo et al.(2002) and Jeanes (2011) make in establishing a voice for youths within peer education programs to gain deeper insights and local understandings for complex development settings that these programs operate in. Especially echoing the work by Jeanes (2011), SFD approaches must consider a multilayered approach that targets all levels of communities in order for peer educators to fully be empowered in their lives. In countries such as Zambia, with a high youth population and equally high youth unemployment, developing robust programs that foster empowerment and employability are vital for the country's future.

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APPENDIX I: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Hello,

I am a master's student in International Development and Management at Lund University in Sweden and am currently collecting data for my thesis. I would like to learn more about your experiences as a peer educator and the impact HIV/AIDS peer education has had on your life. The information you share will be anonymous and completely confidential. Your name will never be used in connection with any of the information you tell me. You do not have to answer any questions that you do not want to answer. If you do not feel comfortable or do not want to participate, you may leave the discussion at any time. I will be taking notes during the interview. The interview will also be recorded and transcribed for the sake of accuracy and reviewed by only myself and possibly my University. If this is all alright, we can start with some of the basic information about yourself and how you became involved in peer education.

General questions:

- How old are you?
- Where do you live?
- Are you studying? What level of school have you completed?
- How long have you been a peer educator?
- How did you become a peer educator?
 - How were you recruited?
 - What were your reasons for joining?
 - What are your personal goals in your peer education work?
 - What do you like and dislike about the program?

Now I want to talk about how peer education has influenced your own health behavior

- How has being a peer educator affected (changed) you personally?
 - Probe: How has it influenced your own health behavior
 - In what positive or negative ways?
 - Has being a peer educator changed the way you look at yourself? If yes in what way? Why or why not?
 - In what aspects of your life have you gained self-confidence through being a peer educator? Where is it lacking?
 - What aspects of your life have encouraged or limited your self-confidence?
 - Has being a peer educator made you more aware of your health behavior choices and rights? Can you give me an example of how?

Now I want to talk about how peer education has impacted your skills and capabilities to act

- What skills did you obtain as a peer educator?

- How have these skills affected your personal life? Can you give an example how they have affected you? Your professional life?
 - Are there other areas where you feel you are able to act, or to cause things to happen through being a peer educator?
 - Have they increased awareness of and access to services? What about having access to other opportunities?
 - Do you feel you have the ability to have control over your own health behaviors? How so?

Now I want to talk about how you and other peer educators interact with one another

- What is your relationship like with other peer educators?
- Do peer educators get together socially? What do you do?
 - Describe the level of trust and cooperation among the peer educators.
 - Do you talk about issues related to your personal life? Your professional life? Can you give an example of what sort of problems you discuss?
 - Do you discuss health related problems with them? Can you give an example of what sort of problems you discuss?

Now I want to talk about how peer education has impacted your control over personal decisions

- How has being a peer educator impacted your control over personal decisions?
- How has peer education lead to changes in power relations?
 - At house hold level
 - At community level
- Do you think that being a peer educator has changed the way your family perceives you?
 - If yes, can you describe how?
 - What do you think about this change?
 - Has it lead to changes in decision making in your household?

Do you have any other questions or comments?

Thank you for your time!

APPENDIX II: LIST OF RESPONDENTS

Interview Date	Gender	Age	Experience
1.9.2014	Male	23	2-3 years
1.9.2014	Female	24	Over 3 years
1.10.2014	Male	33	Over 3 years
1.11.2014	Male	19	1 year
1.13.2014	Female	24	2-3 years
1.14.2014	Male	25	2-3 years
1.14.2014	Male	25	1 year
1.15.2014	Female	20	2-3 years
1.16.2014	Female	28	1 year