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Free Human Agency through Sport?

*Exploring the impact on agency among volunteer peer-educators in
sport based HIV/AIDS prevention interventions in a disadvantaged
urban area in South Africa*

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Abstract

To this date, a growing body of scientific literature has emerged focusing on the effects of sport for development programs towards the intended primary beneficiaries. Less is known, however, about the effects on those individuals tasked with delivering those interventions in the field. The use of peer-education for intervention delivery has been widely adopted within the field of sport for development and much of the structures of those interventions has so far been contingent on the peer-educators themselves. As such, this study has focused on the effects of how a prolonged engagement in this setting impacts agency among peer-educators in a sport for development program focusing on HIV/AIDS prevention in a disadvantaged urban area in South Africa. Through the adoption of a case study, and by departing from the ontology of critical realism, this study contributed to a greater understanding of factors leading to choice of becoming a peer-educator in the first place, the effect of exercising the role as peer-educator over time, and the development of the peer-educators future orientation. Thus, providing a multilayered perspective of agency through various stages of the peer-educators experience while also taking in to account external factors present in the relevant setting.

Keywords: Sport for development, peer-education, agency, self-esteem, self-efficacy, HIV/AIDS, critical realism, South Africa

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“Sport has the power to change the world. It has the power to inspire. It has the power to unite people in a way that little else does. It speaks to youth in a language they understand. Sport can create hope where once there was only despair. It is more powerful than government in breaking down racial barriers.” – Nelson Mandela

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Abbreviations

AIDS:	Acquired Immunodeficiency Symptom
CSR:	Corporate Social Responsibility
FFHC:	Football for Hope Center
FIFA:	Fédération Internationale de Football Association
GRS:	Grassroot Soccer
HIV:	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
MDG:	Millennium Development Goal
NGO:	Non-governmental Organization
SDP:	Sport for Development and Peace
UN:	United Nations
UNAIDS:	The Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS

1. Introduction

Over the past decade, Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) has emerged rapidly as a field within international development and is viewed by many policymakers as a useful tool for advancing a wide range of issues (Giulianotti, 2011; Kidd, 2008). Although not an entirely new phenomenon the modern manifestation of SDP embodies a fast-growing number of organizations actively engaging in the field. Coupled with the remarkable appeal sports have for youth volunteering, and the tremendous financial support the field enjoys from international donors, SDP based programs could bring considerable development and benefits for people wherever implemented (Kidd, 2008: 371). Not the least in the fight against the global HIV/AIDS epidemic where UNAIDS estimated that between 38.8 and 32.2 million people were living with HIV globally in 2012 (UNAIDS, 2013a). Although the number of people living with HIV has been increasing continuously, measurements in absolute terms says little about overall progress towards reducing the spread of HIV/AIDS. However, it provides an indication that much still needs to be done on this matter. This is particularly true for South Africa, one of the countries hardest hit by the HIV epidemic with an estimated 6.3 million people living with HIV today, constituting a 19.1% prevalence rate in the adult population (UNAIDS, 2013b). In Khayelitsha, where the research for this study was conducted, 31% of young females and 8% of young males are estimated to be HIV positive (Khayelitsha Commission, 2014).

As a global initiative to combat HIV/AIDS, reducing the further spread of HIV and increasing accessibility to antiretroviral treatment became part of the Millennium Development Goals (MDG). Intensifying the work towards achieving the targets the UN Member States created the 2011 UN Political Declaration on HIV/AIDS pledging additional commitments towards this cause (UNAIDS, 2013c: 4). Perhaps the most relevant aspect for this case study is the target aiming to reduce sexual transmission of HIV/AIDS by 50% by 2015. While some countries are in line with the target, others are not, indicating the importance of further intensifying preventative interventions and efforts with interventions focusing on behavioral change as the cornerstone for prevention. Sport based interventions focusing on HIV/AIDS prevention will continue to have a role to play in this global effort. But as more resources, both human and financial, are being allocated towards this cause another question arises. How are those people tasked with delivering these kinds of interventions in the field affected?

1.1. Purpose and aim

The purpose of the research is to study how sport for development interventions targeting youth impact volunteer peer-educators tasked with delivering interventions aimed at HIV/AIDS prevention in disadvantaged urban settings in South Africa. The focus rests on understanding how prolonged engagement in this setting impacts agency, with a special emphasis on self-esteem and self-efficacy, among peer-educators through the adoption of a case study. Departing from the ontology of critical realism this study aims at uncovering external forces in the relevant environment causing the observed events to occur. Adopting this approach contributes to a better understanding of both how agency is affected and the underlying factors responsible for the observed changes. The results contribute to deeper knowledge about how development interventions affect those tasked with executing the programs in the field.

To achieve the stated purpose and aim this study makes use of the following research question consisting of one primary question with special emphasis given on two related concepts for deeper analysis. *How does being a volunteer peer-educator for a sport for development intervention, focusing on HIV/AIDS prevention, affect human agency emphasizing self-esteem and self-efficacy?*

1.2. Disposition

The outline of the paper departs from a background to the relevant environment in which the study takes place, followed by an explanation of the concept of sport for development especially related to HIV/AIDS prevention. Succeeding this a thorough examination of human agency, self-esteem, and self-efficacy coupled with the role of peer-education in sport for development forms the foundation of the theoretical framework. The pieces are then molded together to form the conceptual framework for the case study coupled with the methodology used for data collection. The findings are then analyzed and discussed in the light of the theoretical and conceptual frameworks. Finally, a summary of the results will be presented and critically reviewed in the conclusion broadening the understanding of the impact of peer-education on human agency.

2. Background

As a legacy of the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa a number of football for hope centers (FFHC) were built across southern Africa with sport for development NGOs appointed to manage and oversee the continuous functioning of these centers. Grassroot Soccer (GRS), a registered non-profit organization in South Africa since 2006, runs two of these centers in South Africa as well as a third center not affiliated with FIFA. Primarily being a *plus sport* organization (Coalter, 2010), GRS's mission is to "use the power of soccer to educate, inspire, and mobilize communities to stop the spread of HIV", envisioning "a world mobilized through soccer to create an AIDS free generation" (Grassroot Soccer, n.d.). Executing its mission, GRS utilizes volunteer peer-educators to target schools in disadvantaged urban areas where its programs and interventions are delivered to its primary beneficiaries being youth in the ages between 12-19. The peer-educators are recruited from within the relevant communities and are contracted for a fixed period of two years; they also receive a monthly monetary stipend throughout the whole period of engagement. In addition to receiving training in curriculum delivery and facilitation, GRS also provides the peer-educators with development sessions focusing on developing skills related to entrepreneurship, employability, leadership, and financial literacy in order to address high levels of youth unemployment in the communities where present.

The research for this case study was done in Khayelitsha, Cape Town's largest township located about 30 km east of the city center, where one of the GRS managed FFHCs are located. Khayelitsha was officially formed under the apartheid regime in 1983 as a residential area for black Africans (Khayelitsha Commission, 2014) and has today become the home of 391,749 people in 118,809 households, predominantly of black African ethnicity (City of Cape Town, 2013). A large portion of the adult population has migrated from parts of the Eastern Cape reflecting large influx of rural to urban migrants into the community accounting for much of its rapid growth (Khayelitsha Commission, 2014). Less than half of the households live in formal dwellings making the proportion of the population living in informal settlements relatively larger. With a significant portion lacking piped water, sanitation, and electricity in direct connection to their homes. Only 62% of the total labor force was employed in the 2011 census and a high proportion of the population was not economically active due to discouragement towards labor market participation (City of Cape Town, 2013). Furthermore, youth unemployment figures are estimated to be as high as 50%

or more in disadvantaged communities like Khayelitsha (Khayelitsha Commission, 2014). High levels of unemployment contribute significantly to high levels of poverty with almost half of the households (48.9%) living on under \$160 per month, with 18.8% specifying no income at all (City of Cape Town, 2013). In addition, average years of schooling is 8.55 years, with 64.1% of the population not having completed grade 12 often required for many types of professions (City of Cape Town, 2013; Khayelitsha Commission, 2014). Unfortunately, criminal activities have flourished in this environment with very high levels of murder, sexual offences, and robberies. Accounting for greater Khayelitsha, the levels of contact crimes, including murder, are the highest in South Africa (Khayelitsha Commission, 2014).

3. Sport for development and HIV/AIDS prevention

How could sports be utilized in HIV/AIDS prevention programs? One approach described by Coalter (2009: 67-70), resembling to some extent that of GRS, consists of a framework for sports-based HIV/AIDS education programs primarily targeting youth. The framework provides a platform for peer-educators to disseminate knowledge that ultimately leads to increased ability of the participants' abilities to make independent decisions in matters related to sexual behavior as well as to higher levels of self-esteem and self-efficacy. However, the question of the effectiveness of sports based HIV/AIDS prevention interventions merits some consideration. Kaufman, Spencer, and Ross (2013) conducted a review of the evidence of the effectiveness of sport based HIV prevention programs based on 21 previous studies. What they found was that in the short term, sport based HIV/AIDS interventions have a positive impact when it comes to behavioral changes such as increased levels of condom use, self-efficacy, as well as HIV related knowledge and awareness of stigma. On the other hand, there is limited evidence to support that sport based HIV/AIDS interventions increase uptake in related services such as increased levels of testing. Although a recent study by Hershov *et al.* (2015) showed that uptake of HIV testing increased among adolescent girls participating in soccer based HIV prevention interventions in South Africa. Furthermore, the effects on behavioral changes related to attitudes and knowledge may weaken over time (Kaufman, Spencer, & Ross, 2013). In her paper, Jeanes (2013) set out to increase understanding of how Zambian youth could translate knowledge acquired through sport based HIV/AIDS interventions into agency. In the relevant context, peer-led interventions, although effective for the participants involved, may not have a significant impact beyond the intervention itself.

Instead, a multifaceted approach with collaboration between NGOs, schools, community organizations, and health agencies could be more appropriate in achieving long-term effects related to changing structures, norms, values, and behaviors (*ibid.*). Adopting a partnership approach using sport as a medium for HIV/AIDS prevention has been recognized as highly important and desirable by sport for development NGOs in Zambia in order to reach the full potential of utilizing sport in development interventions (Lindsey & Banda, 2011). Coakley (2011) and Levermore (2011) also criticize the evangelical approach in the ability of sport to create development and change in young people's lives. They argue that the prevailing paradigm in sport for development follows a neoliberal approach that is perpetuated by uncritical observations supporting the belief that sport develops youth positively. Thus, there is a need to further develop theory and conduct critical research identifying structures and processes linking participation in sporting interventions to subsequent development and impact on a structural level in the communities where youth reside. In so doing, adopting Giulianotti's (2011) framework of four policy domains sheds light on the interconnectedness of various actors in the sport for development sector and their respective *modus operandi*.

The nature of the particular sport based HIV/AIDS prevention program departs from the *developmental interventionist* policy domain as described by Giulianotti (2011). Within sport for development, organizations characterized by developmental interventionism typically advocate specific developmental issues, as well as the right to intervene to protect individual safety and interests within the specific development objective. The value of sport is used as an instrument for intervention with the critical aim at building human agency and capacity and public participation for the beneficiaries in the setting where active. However, it is common for organizations to create dependencies on other actors such as donors and through multilateral partnerships across other policy domains influencing the agenda of the organizations characterized by developmental interventionism. For example, while private actors in the *neo-liberal* policy domain may provide valuable funds for community-based organizations through their CSR programs, they may also seek to promote their own values and by doing so contributing to either reinforcing or challenging societal structures present in the relevant communities. Similarly, actors operating in the *strategic developmentalist* domain, primarily governmental and inter-governmental organizations, rather seek to institutionalize certain approaches through the facilitation of networks and the transfer of knowledge (Giulianotti, 2011). Thus, the nature of developmental interventionism will form one part of the conceptual framework of this case study. As the characteristics of actors within

this policy domain may yield specific results when interacting with other spheres within the boundaries of the case.

4. Theoretical framework

The foundation of this study will emerge from the notion put forward by Amartya Sen (1999: 4) that free *human agency* is an integral component of achieving development further noting that “not only is free agency itself a ‘constitutive’ part of development, it also contributes to the strengthening of free agencies of other kinds.” (*ibid.*). Two central concepts of human agency, those of *self-esteem* and *self-efficacy*, will be the focus of the theoretical framework and thoroughly examined under this section ending with a connection to sport for development.

4.1. Human agency

Agency is considered to be a uniquely human ability for acting. How we act, and what we do, is to some extent our own decision motivated by our intentions, through which our actions receive meaning. Understanding and interpreting the meaning and intentions of actions is thus crucial in order to understand agency, actors, and action (Fuchs, 2007).

Utilizing Albert Bandura’s (2001: 6-7) four core features of human agency this notion can be applied to the peer-educators in the relevant setting. According to him *intentionality* is a requirement for agency in that future courses of actions to be performed are represented by intentions and by planning the peer-educators can produce various outcomes in the future. This idea ties well into the ability to exercise *forethought*. Setting goals and ambitions, as well as anticipating and selecting alternative courses of actions likely to generate those outcomes motivates people and guide their actions while anticipating events in the future in a reoccurring fashion as their lives progress. These outcome expectations are constructed based on observations of conditional relations occurring in the environment around the peer-educators. *Self-reactiveness* is what evaluates their actions and corresponding outcomes in relation to their goals and ambitions. Conditioning the evaluation of the self upon personal standards gives direction and creates incentives for sustaining people’s efforts in the pursuit towards attaining their goals. The level of challenge, temporal proximity, as well as specificity all influence whether or not goals will guide and incentivize actions (Bandura,

2001: 8-10). According to Bandura, actions promoting a sense of pride, self-worth, and self-satisfaction are given supremacy over behaviors generating feelings of self-devaluation and self-dissatisfaction. Moral agency also acts as a regulating force in determining actions since it translates moral reasoning into moral conduct, motivating behavior in accordance with moral values amid pressures to act immorally and despite threats of harsh sanctions. In this specific case, both these concepts are very relevant considering the nature of the task as peer-educators, and the character of the environment in which they operate. Finally, *self-reflectiveness* is the ability to place judgments on predictive and operative capabilities in assessing the outcomes of our own and other people's actions, and to make deductions from established knowledge as well as from that of other actors. Central to this element is the concept of self-efficacy beliefs controlling the level of motivation and perseverance of actions in the face of challenges. Further influencing whether people generate self-enhancing or self-hindering thoughts in relation to goals and ambitions. As such, self-efficacy beliefs are to a large extent responsible for a person's choice about what goals to pursue, how much effort to invest in its undertaking, the level of perseverance in the face of difficulties, as well as the perception towards failures. After all, unless the peer-educators believe that their actions can produce desired outcomes they will have little motivation to act or persevere through challenges (Bandura, 2001: 8-10).

Within the realm of social cognitive theory there are three distinct modes of human agency (Bandura, 2001: 13-15). *Personal agency* is conditioned upon some level of control over the environment in order for, in this case, the peer-educators to exercise the cognitive, motivational, affective, and choice processes required to produce desired outcomes. Many times, however, the peer-educators lack sufficient control over their surroundings in order to successfully exercise personal agency. Under these circumstances, relying on *proxy agency* to influence other agents with access to adequate resources, knowledge or power to act to secure the desired outcomes is an alternative strategy. Differently, the nature of the desired outcomes may instead require mobilizing the effort of many agents to act, exercising *collective agency*, in the interest of producing outcomes in accordance with shared beliefs. As the environment in which the peer-educators find themselves may be imposed, selected, or constructed the focus and scope of agency is affected. This includes, for example, socioeconomic status, family structure, and economic conditions of the peer-educators which all impact behavior through the four core features of human agency (Bandura, 2001: 22).

4.2. *The roles of self-esteem and self-efficacy*

While all four components of human agency as expressed by Albert Bandura (2001) are of interest and importance, the focal points of interest for this study will primarily rest on the factors related to how peer-educators view themselves in relation to their capabilities and the external environments. Examining *self-esteem* rather than *self-reactiveness* was deemed more appropriate in this context since it encompasses the factors embedded in self-reactiveness and goes beyond to also include elements of intentionality and forethought. When it comes to the examination of *self-reflectiveness* the central concept is that of *self-efficacy* beliefs and as such it will be considered in detail.

4.2.1. *Self-esteem*

In the most basic way, self-esteem can be defined as one's opinion of the self (Emler, 2001: 4). However, elaborations over what this opinion of the self is based on have been many over the course of history. Often beginning from the definition provided in *Principles of Psychology* published in 1890 by William James that the level of self-esteem could be calculated by dividing success by pretensions. Since then, numerous scholars have developed the concept further adding various angles to the meaning of self-esteem.

In his review, Emler (2001) identified a number of factors driving self-esteem that he categorized based on the expected effect each factor would have on individuals' level of self-esteem. Factors that have only minor or no effect on an individual's self-esteem include ethnicity and race, social class, and gender. In the case of ethnicity and race, the potential negative associations related to these matters are based on prejudice from the counterpart and are not located in the receivers (Emler, 2001: 35-36). Social comparisons are made with members within the same community where the peer-educators reside, and precedence is given to the opinions of people in close social proximity over opinions expressed by remote individuals or in society at large. These aspects are also related to the case of social class belonging. However, contrary to ethnicity or race which is oftentimes static, upward social mobility is very much a realistic possibility. For the peer-educators social class is not something that has been achieved but rather inherited by their parents and as such is not strongly associated with the view of their own self-worth. Finally, any differences occurring between levels of self-esteem due to gender would primarily be attributed to personal experiences that in some cases are related to gender specific characteristics. Successes and failures, rejections and acceptances, and appearance are factors that are deemed to have

moderate effects on self-esteem (Emler, 2001: 37-40). How people feel about themselves and their self-worth is often only moderately influenced by achievements alone. For example, successful achievements in an area not relevant to our individual aspirations or at a level where we feel challenged do little to increase our self-esteem. Instead, the effect is related to how the peer-educators preserve the view of themselves in relation to objective measures, positive or negative, by applying optimistic or pessimistic angles to their achievements, attaching more or less value to issues they are both good at and not particularly good at. In the case of rejections and acceptances there is a link between individual self-esteem and being subject to public allegations of belonging. The rejection of being tossed into long-term unemployment or losing one's job will most certainly have a negative effect on individual self-esteem. Moreover, sustained unemployment may indirectly generate additional sources of low self-esteem stemming from lack of social belonging, loss of routine, and economic stresses. Family will also have a strong influence on self-esteem particularly from parents, which views will be given a strong relative importance over the views of others (Emler, 2001: 41-42). While still remaining highly important into adolescence and even adulthood, the influence of parents is gradually complemented and replaced with the acceptance and approval of peers.

When assessing self-esteem and trying to determine sources of changes an understanding of what constitutes causes and effects is important. Determining whether or not there is a correlation between levels of self-esteem and observed behaviors may not be as difficult of a task as determining the causation of the relationship and the strength of the correlation, which are the main factors of interest for this study. Emler (2001: 14-15) further distinguishes a set of possibilities of how self-esteem relates to outcomes and behaviors relevant to this study. For example, the aspirations of peer-educators can drive them to accomplish things that increase their level of self-esteem, in which case these aspirations acts as a mediating force in this process. Furthermore, success in a relevant area may trigger additional actions further enhancing self-esteem where the peer-educators enter a positive spiral of cause and effects leading to increases in self-esteem (*ibid.*). However, apart from being a direct contributor causes presumed to affect self-esteem could also be either correlated, moderated, or indirect in which either a cause-effect relationship does not exists, or a third and seemingly unrelated factor impacts self-esteem.

4.2.2. *Self-efficacy*

If self-esteem can be defined as one's global opinion of the self, self-efficacy deals with the own expectations of whether or not one can execute the required behaviors leading to certain outcomes (Bandura, 1977: 193-194). In this case, efficacy expectations are different from outcome expectations because although peer-educators may be aware of what behaviors lead to certain outcomes, they may possess significant doubts to whether or not they are able to execute those behaviors. Individuals possessing greater perceived levels of self-efficacy are less intimidated by those factors and express more active efforts to achieve desired outcomes, entering a positive spiral that reinforces their self-efficacy further. These expectations rely to a large extent on how the peer-educators judge their own individual capabilities in achieving the desired outcomes. Bandura (1977: 194) identified that there are a number of dimensions related to efficacy expectations. The scale of difficulty associated to a given task alters the efficacy expectations among individuals stretching on a spectrum from simple to more challenging tasks. So does the individual ability to transfer efficacy expectations between areas of skillfulness such as from one type of task to another. The strength of the expectation also effects efficacy in the individuals coping efforts in relation to the challenge at hand. This ability to transfer self-efficacy generated through tasks related to peer-education to challenges in the personal lives of the peer-educators is of high interest for this study.

In his groundbreaking work of conceptualizing self-efficacy, Bandura (1977: 195-199) identified and described four interrelated, non-mutually exclusive, primary sources that drive individual self-efficacy expectations. *Performance accomplishments* are powerful sources of efficacy expectations in so far as they are based on experiences of personal mastery. Self-efficacy expectations are conditioned upon the relative success of one's accomplishments where success increases expectations and failure, especially reoccurring, diminishes them. However, the effect of occasional failures diminishes if strong efficacy expectations have been previously established through repeated successes. What is more, once strong expectations of self-efficacy have been established by performance accomplishments in one area, the effects are transferable to different situations and activities. Efficacy expectations related to *vicarious experiences*, on the other hand, are not based on individual accomplishments, but on observing others performance accomplishments. Instilling the belief that improvement is possible through persistence and intensification of their own efforts. Expectations relying on social comparisons, although less dependable as sources of self-efficacy compared to those based on individual performance accomplishments, are important

but are less persistent in the face of pressures to change. Another commonly used source of self-efficacy expectations is influencing human behaviors through *verbal persuasion* and is based on suggestion that experiences in the past can be successfully coped with. Various contextual factors related to the credibility of the suggestions or weaknesses of the induced expectations determine whether these can be successfully altered through verbal persuasion. As a complement to the other sources of efficacy expectations however, verbal persuasion can play a vital role for instilling a commitment to mobilize greater effort to achieve desired behavioral change. Finally, *emotional arousal* is a source that can affect perceived self-efficacy and achieve coping behaviors when faced with difficult challenges. Emotions generated through demanding and stressful situations are often a valuable source of information for judging vulnerability and anxiety. Furthermore, the level of emotional arousal also has an effect on individuals' performance and high levels of arousal tend to weaken their performances. An example of this is fear-provoking thoughts about perceived inabilities that invoke elevated levels of anxiety that exceeds the actual fear of a threatening or challenging situation (Bandura, 1977: 195-199).

Maintaining his thought-leadership in the area of self-efficacy, Bandura further elaborates on additional sources of efficacy expectations related to various stages of life in his more recent work. For the peer-educators living in impoverished areas these challenges present particularly harsh realities potentially inducing styles of behavior that significantly diminish the ability to immerse on life paths posing beneficial opportunities in later stages of life (Bandura, 1994: 12). It follows then that in addition to external sources internal factors related to internal cognitive processing of information also significantly affect efficacy expectations (Bandura, 1977: 200). The importance of self-efficacy beliefs has also been widely acknowledged when it comes to exercising control over HIV infection risks (Bandura, 1990). Community mediated approaches are powerful vehicles for promoting social and personal change in a number of ways, particularly when rooted within indigenous sources (Bandura, 1990: 15). Indigenous adopters are usually more influential than outside sources when it comes to persuading change within their communities and serve as a more relatable example of sound behavioral norms (*ibid.*). Which further reinforces the importance of peer-leadership for achieving social and behavioral change.

4.3. The role of peer-educators in sport for development

Empowering individuals at community level to combat and challenge negative social or economic conditions present within their communities, promoting full participation of those affected, has been deemed a suitable approach (Bandura, 1990; Kerrigan, 1999; Nicholls, 2009: 166). Such processes also relies on shifting ones self-perceptions, reflecting on the environment and its effects on the self and the community, in order to subsequently devise actions contributing to positive community based change (Nicholls, 2009). Changes in behavior and norms can, to some extent, be traced back to that of social cognitive theory where some individuals possess or acquire the capabilities of eliciting change in others through their own actions (Bandura, 1986; Kerrigan, 1999). The context of the peer-educators should allow for collectively renegotiating the identities of the peers, particularly in the case of sexuality. Individuals build up their self-efficacy expectations through being in control over their own health status, as well as developing a greater awareness of the potential obstacles to such change in behavior (Campbell & MacPhail, 2002; Campbell, 2004).

The use of peer leadership has been widely adopted within the field of sport for development and is regarded as a successful approach for achieving behavior change in relation to issues connected to HIV/AIDS (Kerrigan & Weiss, 2000; Coalter, 2009: 69). This point is further confirmed by a comprehensive study by Maro *et al.* (2009) suggesting that peer coaching based on soccer was the most effective strategy to reach at risk youth with HIV/AIDS education in Tanzania. Furthermore, Clark *et al.* (2006) also found that HIV/AIDS prevention interventions targeting youth by using professional soccer players in Zimbabwe showed significant improvement in knowledge and attitudes among participants compared to control groups receiving regular HIV/AIDS education in schools. Nicholls (2009: 157) takes it further suggesting that much of the sport for development interventions are conditioned upon peer-educators on grassroots levels mostly consisting of young people. Trust plays a vital role in this, particularly so when it comes to tackling issues such as gender, stigma and discrimination connected to HIV/AIDS. Facilitation of safe spaces for participants to be open in discussion groups and workshops can better be achieved through trusted peers that both understands the needs of the participants and can make contextually and culturally sound judgments (Nicholls, 2009: 164-168).

The effects are not only confined to the intervention participants however, but to the peer-educators as well. As young people undergo training to become peer leaders they receive education that increases their skills and through facilitating the interventions gain valuable leadership and work experiences that boost their self-esteem. Which also reduces their vulnerability to pressures leading to risky behaviors (Mwaanga, 2004). Wilson and Musick (2000) further confirm this notion arguing that the effects of volunteering generate individual benefits far extending those derived from the act itself. Apart from providing the volunteers with valuable skills they express their identity and their values through their actions. And in so doing emerge on a path of self-discovery of themselves and their capabilities. Further evidence supporting the benefits for peer-educators suggests that global self-esteem and self-efficacy increases over time among peer-educators delivering health, sexuality and HIV/AIDS interventions, and that their behavior related to sexual conduct, attitudes, confidence as well as their future orientation is improved by partaking in such programs (Sawyer *et al.*, 1997; Pearlman *et al.*, 2002; Strange *et al.*, 2002; Campbell *et al.*, 2009). Campbell *et al.* (2009) also found impact on three dimensions of agency among female volunteer health workers in rural community in South Africa. However, whilst agency related to skills, confidence, and efficacy expectations increased as a consequence of volunteering, the effects were limited outside of the realm of the intervention itself.

Improved self-efficacy is expressed as a motivator for peer-educators participating in delivering health education programs although a high level of self-efficacy could also be a key motivator for taking action in the first place (Klein & Sondag, 1994; Strange *et al.*, 2002). Sport has been demonstrated to be a particularly effective engine for generating similar benefits to its volunteers as it provides an avenue for learning leadership skills, social responsibility and coherence developing sustained confidence among its participants. Inherent in sport is also the element of physical activity promoting a healthy lifestyle (Eley & Kirk, 2002). This seems to suggest that one is to expect positive outcomes related to self-esteem and self-efficacy as a consequence of engaging as volunteer peer-educators in sports based HIV/AIDS prevention interventions, thereby enhancing human agency within these individuals. However, Ebreo *et al.* (2002) found few changes related to knowledge, self-efficacy, peer-norms, or intentions in sexual behaviors in their study of peer-educators delivering an HIV prevention intervention. Simply entering the role as peer-educator yield little or no benefits without considering the context and design of the peer-education program. Furthermore, the selection of appropriate peer-educators and their intrinsic motivation is one

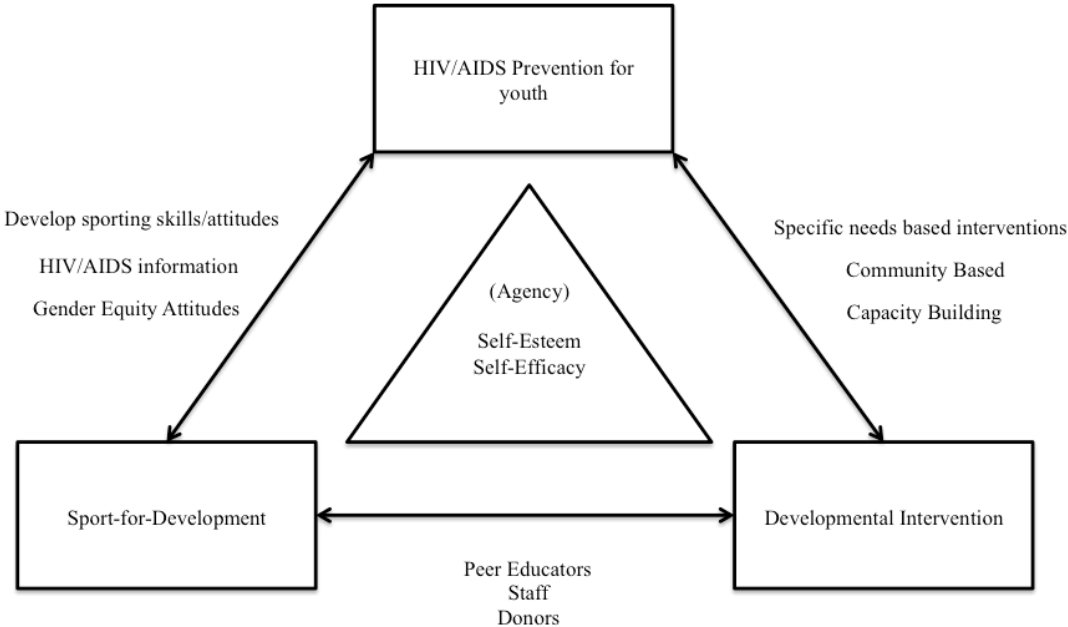
aspect of high importance, as is the backing of the community they will serve (*ibid.*). This further reinforces the notion that highly efficacious individuals choose to become peer-educators in the first place (Klein & Sondag, 1994; Strange *et al.*, 2002). Both these aspects are carefully considered going forward in this study.

5. Methodology

5.1. Research design

This section provides an overview of how the research for this study is organized and the relevant research strategy, as well as through which ontological and epistemological lens the particular phenomena are viewed. By deducting from the previously outlined theoretical and empirical research a conceptual framework incorporating three spheres assumed to impact agency is created for assessment. The conceptual framework constitutes the boundaries of the case as illustrated by figure 1 (Easton, 2010: 123).

Figure 1. Illustration of case boundaries



The interactions between the spheres and their respective objectives and agents, as well as the individual composition of the spheres, incorporate the relevant subjects and units of analysis. In the relevant setting the developmental objective is to prevent the further spread of HIV/AIDS by using the method of sport-for-development, developing a platform from which

to disseminate knowledge related to HIV/AIDS prevention. The character of the organization is that of developmental interventionism targeting a specific community need, HIV/AIDS prevention, by utilizing resources present in the community. The interventions are carried out by locally sourced peer-educators supported by local and international staff and are financed and supported by various actors operating across all policy domains explained by Giulianotti (2011).

5.1.1. Applying case study as research strategy

Since the aim of this study is to explore the research questions at hand in a specific context and within a bounded system, as depicted by figure 1, the adoption of a *case study* of *instrumental* character and of *qualitative nature* as research strategy is appropriate (Creswell, 2007: 73-74). The relevant *subjects of analysis* for this study are the peer-educators delivering and implementing sports based HIV/AIDS prevention programs and the *object of analysis* is agency with primary focus on self-esteem and self-efficacy among the subjects. The *units of analysis* include the design and aim of the specific programs, methods of delivery, and the environment where the interventions are delivered.

5.1.2. Departing from the ontology of critical realism

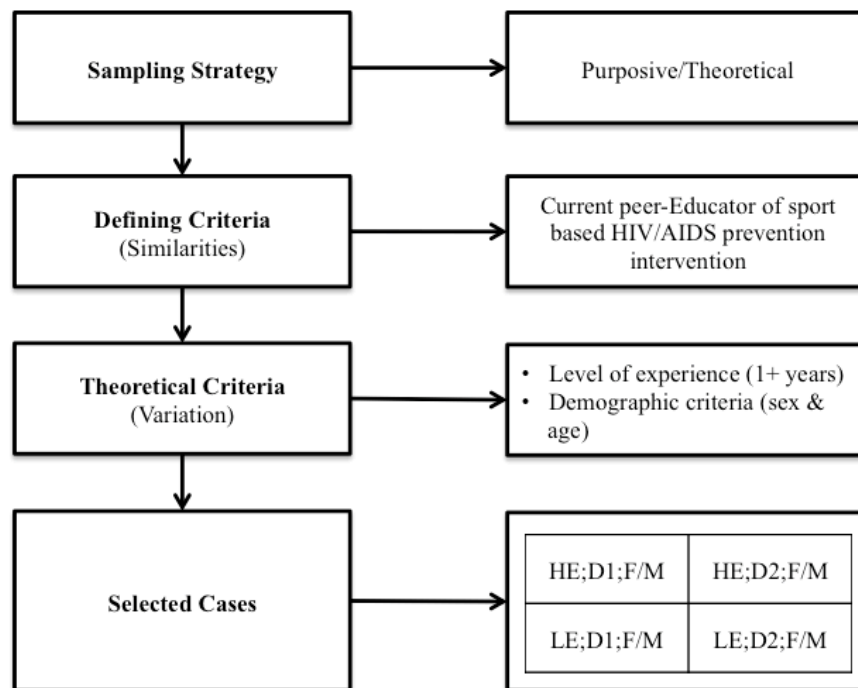
Although the case itself constitutes a bounded system it exists within the realm of a larger existing reality. Advancing from the ontology of *critical realism* requires this study to apply the empirical observations in the light of external pressures present within the community, and recognizing that forces may exist influencing the occurring events (Sayer, 2000: 12). While *social constructionists* focus on uncovering how social actors construct their reality, critical realists argue that although the world is socially constructed to some extent, it is not entirely so (Easton, 2010: 122). This approach is important for this study since agency is constructed by taking into account the external environment within the relevant community. In order to understand what driving forces are impacting agency, self-esteem, and self-efficacy among peer-educators this study applies *verstehen* as its key epistemology, which aims at interpreting and understanding the meaning of events from their point of view also while taking the circumstances present in their immediate communities into account (Sayer, 2000: 17).

5.2. Sampling and data collection procedures

Based on the theoretical and conceptual frameworks of the study the primary sampling method was *purposive sampling* targeting the peer-educators as the relevant subjects of

analysis (Silverman & Marvasti, 2008: 166). Within the sample I strived to include the full spectrum of peer-educators based on age, sex, and years of experience to, as much as possible, remove any bias potentially produced by such factors. Figure 2 provides an overview of the case sampling process for this study.

Figure 2. Case sampling process



LE = Low level of experience (1-2 years), HE = High level of experience (2+ years)
 F = Female, M = Male
 D1 = Subject is < 25 years old, D2 = Subject is > 25 years old

In total, nine peer-educators matching the chosen criteria of having more than one year’s experience of peer-education with a sports based HIV/AIDS prevention intervention were identified and selected for the case study. Five of the peer-educators were female and the remaining four were male, while three of the peer-educators were 25 years of age or older and six were below 25 years of age. Finally, three of the peer-educators also had previous experience of peer-education of one or more years with other organizations.

5.2.1. In-depth interviews

To fully grasp the dynamics of the environment within the boundaries of the case study the events and views of different peer-educators was captured through in-depth interviews with selected subjects according to the sampling procedure explained above. The interviews were conducted in a private room within the facilities utilized by the program site and lasted

between 25 and 40 minutes using the English language. Before each interview informed consent was provided through written forms outlining the purpose of the study, recording and transcription, confidentiality procedures, risks and benefits, as well as the researchers contact details (Mack *et al.* 2005: 31). The form of the interviews followed a semi-structured approach with a set of pre-determined open-ended questions covering the main areas of interest while simultaneously allowing for flexibility to capture information in a more elaborative manner (Bryman, 2008: 438; Creswell, 2009: 133). Appendix 1 A-C provides the record of the conducted interviews, the consent form, and the interview guide used.

5.2.2. Participant observations

Peer-educators are exposed to different contexts where their power relations are different and may thus have different impact on their self-esteem and self-efficacy, this involves a relationship towards more senior staff in their organization, the relationship with their peers, and their role as peer-educators. These factors are all within the boundaries of the case. To grasp these dynamics participant observations were conducted observing the training of peer-educators, the implementation of the various program interventions, and peer-educator development sessions. Throughout the participant observations an outsider role was taken, simply observing and documenting the events and behaviors during the specific sessions as well as the environment in which they occur (Mack *et al.* 2005: 19). Appendix 2 A-B provides a record of the conducted participant observations and a template of field note guide used for this purpose.

5.3. Analysis, reliability, and validity of data

The data collection and analysis was very much an iterative process and the gathered data was strategically analyzed based on the respective source of data collection (Easton, 2010: 124). Data collected through field notes were expanded based on the type of intervention observed and analyzed on the basis of the theoretical and conceptual frameworks. The interviews were recorded and transcribed in full and the data categorized in order to identify patterns and common themes (Creswell, 2007: 148-153). Following the process of analysis described by Taylor-Powell & Renner (2003) the recordings and transcriptions of the interviews were listened and read through several times in order to get a robust understanding of the collected data. The analysis focused on each question across all respondents. Depending on the question categories either emerged from the data or was categorized into preset categories identified by the theoretical framework. Finally, the data was structured into categories in

order to identify patterns and connections between and within categories (Taylor-Powell & Renner, 2003: 2-5). Following this rigorous process is also what ensures the reliability of the research (Creswell, 2007: 209-211; Taylor-Powell & Renner, 2003). Further triangulation of various data sources, theories, and previous research was used in order to substantiate the findings and provide corroborating evidence (Christie *et al.*, 2000: 9; Creswell, 2007: 207-209). Furthermore, the contextual understanding gained through prolonged engagement in the relevant field context prior to the research at hand increases the validity of the judgments (Creswell, 2007: 207-209).

5.4. Interpretation and generalizability

The interpretation of the data aimed to add significance and meaning to the data analysis (Taylor-Powell & Renner, 2003: 5). Important findings were listed and synthesized in order to draw major lessons and new learning's, make comparisons to previous studies and theory, as well as to answer the research questions at hand (*ibid.*). Viewing the findings through the lens of critical realism means that the interpretations is of the kind judgmental rationality, allowing for a discussion about reality, as it is believed to exist and from that rationalize arguments on behalf of that view (Easton, 2010: 124). Furthermore, comparing the insights generated through this study to previously established knowledge in the specific field may either confirm existing theories or suggest new fields of study (Creswell, 2009: 176; Easton, 2010: 124). The issue of generalizability of findings obtained from this case study of qualitative nature follows the proposition put forward by Yin (1989: 21) that findings are generalizable to propositions suggested by theory rather than populations.

5.5. Limitations, ethical considerations, and positionality

Although this study aims at identifying and explaining causal processes contingent on the external environment that is most consistent with the data generated, it should be recognized that the relatively narrow scope of the research constitutes a limitation when it comes to fully uncovering those structures and mechanisms in the environment influencing the observed processes and events (Easton, 2010: 126). To mitigate this widening the sampling to also include both less experienced and previous peer-educators was considered. However, since new peer-educators would lack the experience needed to answer the research question this was deemed unfeasible. In addition, former peer-educators would have a significant distance

in time to their experiences posing another limitation in relation to the reliability of their answers. As such, the focus is primarily on the immediate environment of the peer-educators included in this study. Furthermore, although the research focused on Khayelitsha as a whole, different locations within this relatively large community may have different structures affecting the peer-educators when not formally in their role. On the other hand, most of the interventions are to some extent delivered within the communities where the peer-educators reside, making both the presence of the organization and the peer-educators noticeable within those communities. Another limitation in relation to data collection from participant observations was the sporadic use of Xhosa as language during both the training and development sessions, as well as during the intervention delivery. When this occurred, the observations focused more on the dynamics between the people in the setting rather than what was said.

Consideration of the fundamental research ethics as outlined by Mack et al. (2005: 9) is of primary concern for this study. To protect the peer-educators, anonymity and confidentiality is of particular importance due to the nature of the study. As previously elaborated, consent forms protecting their identity and answers ensured that they were able to provide as unbiased answers as possible so as to avoid potential negative consequences or fear of such. Apart from minimizing the risk of the peer-educators, the aim of the study is to create an understanding of what impact sport based HIV/AIDS prevention intervention has on agency among them. This is beneficial for them as better understanding can imply better design of programs and interventions for this important group (*ibid.*).

Awareness of potential issues related to positionality of me as a researcher was considered and incorporated in the fieldwork. One potential pitfall in this regard was not becoming too attached to the subjects and units of analysis through frequent interaction over a long period of time, while still creating a relationship based on trust (Scheyvens & Storey, 2003: 168). This was particularly important since I had been involved in the organization over a period of time prior to the study, which also presents the potential of social desirability response bias among the peer-educators. To alleviate such possibilities it was made clear from the outset that the research was independent from the organization and that their answers would not be affiliated with their person. Furthermore, the questions were of neutral character and encouraged free elaboration from the peer-educators, which also limits the potential of social desirability bias (Nederhof, 1985). Coming from another context can create obstacles related

to background which was considered both in terms of my own judgment and what judgments others posed on myself (Scheyvens & Storey, 2003: 168). To further mitigate this, prior interaction with the peer-educators focused on commonalities rather than differences in order to create trust. Apart from being of relatively equal age, a frequent commonality was the mutual interest in soccer, which was used both in discussions and by physically playing the game together with the peer-educators. In addition, being of Swedish origin seemed to generate curiosity among the peer-educators that spurred further interaction increasing understanding and trust.

6. Discussion and analysis of results

Although the concept of agency encompasses four core features operating in three different modes, as explained by Bandura (2001), the concepts of intentionality and forethought will primarily be utilized in analyzing the decision to become a peer-educator in the first place. The impact on both self-esteem and self-efficacy will be in focus when analyzing both the experience and perceptions of being a peer-educator. This will then be tied together when analyzing if intentionality and forethought in relation to the future has been changed as a consequence of being a peer-educator, as well as if self-esteem and self-efficacy can be transferred to the perceived challenges in the future.

6.1. The enabling environment and human agency

At the time of this study the peer-educators all lived within different areas of, or in close proximity to, Khayelitsha where they conducted their work together with the organization. While some of them grew up in the community, most have migrated from other regions of the country, most notably from different parts of the Eastern Cape and are now living together with members of their immediate or extended families. Although the timespan of their residence varies widely, the perceptions of the community are shared by a majority of the respondents and are described overwhelmingly in negative terms. Gangsterism, violence, crime and robbery, as well as drug and substance abuse echo in the voices of the peer-educators and clearly stand out when asked to describe the community in their own words. The above aspects are also present in more positive descriptions where the community is depicted as developing with establishing institutions targeted towards youth but with available opportunities consumed by the privileged few. A male peer-educator explains (23):

“I would describe it as a violent area firstly. Full of thugery and robbery and stuff. So, that is what we are associated with when you mention Harare in Khayelitsha then you find that’s what people put first and foremost in their explaining or understanding of this culture. But I think at the same time we are a sport loving community, in fact not sports, but soccer loving community. Because we play football all the time, everyday.”

When the same peer-educator was asked about the community participation in soccer some of the structures related to gangs emerged, bearing witness to the harsh realities present for youth in Khayelitsha. Even mentioning the possibility of being killed if conflicting gangs met on the field. Apart from issues related to crime and violence structural barriers also exist for youth in Khayelitsha related primarily to unemployment, corruption, and education which limits the opportunities for youth to exercise their free human agency also frequently mentioned by the respondents.

“It’s a community which is filled by opportunists. There are many opportunities but there are opportunists that are greedy about these opportunities. Which have power, so that’s all I can say about the community” – Male (23)

“In terms of the youth, most of them they are unemployed. [...] most of them they use drugs, and some of them they are not studying.” – Female (25)

Institutional aspects constitute significant barriers to human agency as explained by Sen (1999) primarily inhibiting personal agency, which requires a sense of control or predictability of the external environment (Bandura, 2001). When the challenges present in the environment are too severe to control personally, proxy agency is a common coping strategy to make use of resources and knowledge of others in order to reach the own goals and aspirations. Realizing the limits of personal agency and also recognizing opportunities for proxy agency in the environment requires cognitive perceptions related primarily to the intentionality and forethought elements of human agency which will also dictate the planning and motivations of individuals exemplified by this peer-educator:

“I feel it’s still developing community because now there have been more organizations who also want to help the youth, give them job opportunities and

some things like that. So, that's why I say it's a developing community.” – Male (21)

The sport for development organization under study is one of those organizations and the next section elaborates further on the intentionality and forethought of the respondents in relation to their choice of volunteering as peer-educators for the organization.

6.1.1. Intentionality and forethought - push or pull?

Before knowing if and how the experience as peer-educators has influenced human agency an understanding of the choice of becoming peer-educators in the first place needs to be established. Klein and Sondag (1994) and Strange *et al.* (2002) argued in their studies that high levels of self-efficacy and intrinsic motivation might constitute an important factor for choosing to become peer-educator in the first place. This notion is to a large extent verified by the responses of the peer-educators showing a primary desire to effectuate some change, with only two participants clearly stating employment to be the primary reason for becoming peer-educators at the outset. However, the type of change desired varies widely across the sample with change related to individual behaviors, those of family and friends, general community-wide change, specific change related to HIV/AIDS or substance abuse to name a few of the reasons. Whether changing the individual situation or behavior, or some wider phenomena in the community, most of the reasons seemed to be based on some perceived need to effectuate change in relation to phenomena present in the environment.

As noted earlier the push factors stemmed primarily from the need of means to support the self through employment. However, the peer-educators show significant differences in perceptions and attitudes from the outset when comparing this answer from female (23) with the answer from male (23) below to the question about why she wanted to become a peer-educator, clearly indicating a push from her mother being the driving force:

“I heard it from my mom. Yeah, so, I wanted a job at first so I saw this in the community and I took it [...] she saw the staff and asked them what are you doing in the schools? So, they told her and she said ‘I have a daughter that is staying at home doing nothing’. So the staff told her to come and bring me there”

While this response from male (23) suggests some level of personal agency related to the own situation.

“Personally, at first, it was just about getting a job. So, I was unemployed and stuff. Yeah, so that was the primary reason in the beginning but once you understand and get to know what is happening, why they do what they do, then I think, for me, my primary reason changed after a year but the primary reason was to get a job.”

These observations are of interest as they represent two different sides of the same coin, relating to whether the choice of becoming a peer-educator is primarily made by highly efficacious individuals or if this efficacy develops at a later stage, when the primary reasons were not related to the development outcomes of the relevant intervention (Klein & Sondag, 1994; Strange *et al.*, 2002). They also bring out the question of efficacy of the peer-education program in changing behaviors and improving self-efficacy argued by Ebreo *et al.* (2002) related both to the intrinsic motivation of the peer-educators as well as to the support from their own communities.

Although the pull factors were more multifaceted they all resembled a need to create some change in the lives of themselves, within their own networks, in the community at large, or a mix of all of the above. As was the case with the push factors, the reasons for remaining a peer-educator were sometimes not the same as the primary reason for choosing to join the organization in the first place as elaborated by this male (24) peer-educator:

“At first it was personal, for my own benefit. Just to become a better person. Just to fix myself. But as I became this peer-educator it became more expanded to me, I wanted to change peoples lives. I wanted to change the participants’ lives. I wanted to show them the positive ways to live life”

Furthermore, this female (25) peer-educator expresses multidimensional intentionality from the outset emphasizing the change within her while also discussing change both within her family and the community at large primarily related to knowledge about HIV/AIDS specifically.

“It was a change within myself, I wanted the change within myself and at the same time changing my family mentality [...] the way they think, and the lack of knowledge. I want to spread the positive side, the positive things about HIV and AIDS, you know, changing the community and all that.”

In both these cases the primary intentionality was to generate outcomes changing themselves and their behaviors. The choice of becoming peer-educators in order to achieve the desired individual changes provides an example of forethought among peer-educators selection of potential alternatives present in the environment to generate those outcomes. Thus, the intrinsic motivation among potential peer-educators might be associated with other factors than generating the outcomes of the intervention itself initially, factors related to their own background and context. As the peer-educators embark on their paths these factors gradually transition to reflect the new situation and as they develop and discover new capabilities their intentionality and forethought changes as explained by Wilson and Musick (2000).

In most cases however, the peer-educators clearly expressed that their intentionality to change their communities was present from the outset, and that by becoming peer-educators they would be given a platform to leverage that desire. The triggering factor was in most cases a perceived need in the community experienced by the peer-educators themselves leading to a desire to take action:

“[T]here, in the streets, was where I saw the problems in the community so I heard about the opportunity to be a game changer or a person that will be helpful to the community so I decided to be a peer-educator” – Male (25)

Although the intrinsic motivations of the peer-educators were targeted towards different perceived challenges in the community they represent issues targeted in one way or the other by the specific organization. This is in line with the argumentation of Ebreo *et al.* (2002) regarding the importance of an inherent interest in the task itself, as well as the view that highly efficacious individuals to a large extent represent those that chose to become peer-educators in the first place (Klein & Sondag, 1994; Strange *et al.*, 2002). However, whether or not this efficacy or agency is in-line with the mission of the relevant organization initially

seems to not be necessary as perceptions and agency change over time. This will be further examined in the following sections.

6.2. The impact of sport based HIV/AIDS prevention on agency

Understanding the meaning and intentions of the peer-educators in the context of their enabling environment forms an integral part for understanding their agency and actions (Fuchs, 2007). While the previous section focused on uncovering the sources of intentionality and forethought among the peer-educators, this section will focus on self-esteem and self-efficacy in the dynamic context of peer-education in sport based HIV/AIDS prevention programs. It should be noted that although being distinct in theory, in practice the two concepts of self-esteem and self-efficacy share a set of commonalities and interdependencies emerging from the discussion below and from the theory related to agency (Bandura, 2001). The analysis took great care in identifying and categorizing emerging concepts and comparing those to preset categories drawn from theory. As such, self-esteem is discussed from a more general perspective of the experience from being peer-educators, while self-efficacy is discussed in relation to more specific components of their roles.

6.2.1. Self-esteem

To understand how the respondents experience their own self-esteem, how it has developed during the period as peer-educators, and what factors contributed in that development they were asked to freely define self-esteem and its sources with their own words. In so doing, the identification of emerging patterns reflecting potential enduring structures was attempted, which was then compared to preset categories identified in the theoretical framework. Although the answers varied widely, most respondents agreed with Emler (2001) that self-esteem is a process of evaluating the self in relation to some factor, constructed either internally or externally, or both at different times. Most of the peer-educators spoke about self-esteem as the ability to first accept and believe in themselves in order for others to do the same or to be able to resist negative external pressures, indicating an internal process initially building self-esteem and identity, subsequently shaping it through external influences.

“[I]f you want respect you are supposed to respect yourself. So, I say I’m supposed to be real. And then think about what I want to do. And then, after I will think about others.” – Female (23)

Furthermore, when talking about self-esteem most peer-educators kept referring to the benefits of high self-esteem, as something that was desired in order to be able to accomplish certain things. Most notably, the ability to communicate with others and in front of large groups was mentioned frequently by the peer-educators in accordance with the findings from Campbell *et al.* (2009). As a large part of the role of being a peer-educator is based on communication this was not surprising. In this setting, peer-educators are frequently exposed to external opinions of themselves constantly shaping their awareness of how they are being perceived by others.

As most respondents expressed an increase in self-esteem after becoming peer-educators there are reasons to assume that there is an effect in the positive direction, which is also confirmed by previous research (Sawyer *et al.*, 1997; Wilson & Musick, 2000; Pearlman *et al.*, 2002; Strange *et al.*, 2002; Mwanga, 2004; Campbell *et al.*, 2009). To interpret causality requires some additional investigation in relation to how much explanatory power that can be attributed directly to the role as peer-educator as opposed to other factors and perceptions present in the enabling environment. As previously mentioned, the increased ability to speak in front of large groups of people emerged as one of the primary sources among the peer-educators expressing positive development of their self-esteem. This further relates to the theory outlined in Emler (2001) that accomplishments are more likely to impact self-esteem if they are relevant in relation to individual aspirations, which can be captured in the statement by this female (23) peer-educator:

“[N]ow I see that I have that confidence, and that I can do it, stand in front of the people in the hall and talk in front of them. But I was not that confident but now I have it, which means I have changed. [...] I changed because I want, firstly, I want to be a leader. That’s why I changed. If you want to be a leader you are supposed to have the confidence to talk in front of people so that they can hear what you are saying. And then they can hear what you want to try and change.”

In this and similar expressions among other peer-educators the causality seems to change over time related to their intentionality of being peer-educators, which was an effect of their environment to a large extent. The driving force initially was many times the aspiration to be a “leader”, “game-changer”, and “change agent” within their communities. This, in turn, acted

as a motivating force in order to overcome the fear of public speaking. As such, the aspiration to become a leader in the community constitutes a mediating force pushing the individual to engage in behaviors previously causing anxiety. Success in areas deemed relevant in relation to their aspirations then increases their self-esteem as also argued in Emler (2001). The playful and interactive format of the sport based interventions and training may also have played a significant role in facilitating this development of self-esteem among the peer-educators. During the observations of both training of peer-educators and interventions in schools, engaging the group in fun activities seemed to significantly reduce the barrier to engage in subsequent discussions, even when the topics were of a more sensitive character.

Furthermore, as self-esteem increased as a result of engaging in the organization and community as peer-educators, this was used as a platform to alter their behaviors in the wider environment as well. Suggesting both a cause and effect loop where increased levels of self-esteem in one area triggered a new set of behaviors in other areas relevant to the aspiration, further increasing self-esteem (Emler, 2001). Transferring increased levels of self-esteem from one setting to another context, enhancing self-esteem further, is demonstrated by this male (21) peer-educator describing a shift in importance attributed to external perceptions in the community as a result of being peer-educator:

“Now, I don’t care what everyone thinks about me, I just say that it’s me, no one can change me. It’s the way I am, no one can change it, and no one can do anything about it. [...] There are some of them in my community that has tried, but I just ignore them, I don’t even comment, I just ignore them. And now they see that I just ignore them, now they’re asking for help from me, how you do this, how you do that? And I tell them no, first you must accept your self, you know, don’t try to please anyone in your community, you know. Some of them will try to bring you down but you need to be resilient”

This suggests that the developmental intervention based on tackling a perceived need in the community related to HIV/AIDS by using sport-based interventions has a positive impact on self-esteem among peer-educators, particularly when paired with their initial intentionality to tackle that need, which can be attributed to the purpose and structure of the programs to some extent. However, the need extends beyond these boundaries further in to the community where the peer-educators are being regarded as change agents but where perceptions can be

both positive and negative. The feeling of being appreciated and accepted by the members of the community acts as a positive force on self-esteem corresponding well with the findings of Campbell *et al.* (2009). Whereas increased resilience towards negative pressures limits the negative effect on self-esteem, and in some cases also increases it further. This notion resembles well with Wilson and Musick (2000) arguing that the peer-educators, apart from gaining particular skill sets and realizing their capabilities, develops their identity as they emerge on a path of self-discovery expressing their values through actions. Returning to self-reactiveness as one factor of agency, these actions are evaluated in the light of ones ambitions when choosing direction and persisting in the face of challenges, and actions promoting self-worth are prioritized, these moral values guides the peer-educators despite the existence of negative pressures within their communities (Bandura, 2001).

6.2.2. *Self-efficacy*

Similarly to self-esteem, the peer-educators were asked to freely elaborate on what they believe constitutes a confident person. Their description was then taken further to investigate how their experience as peer-educators, and the various aspects of their work, has developed their own self-efficacy.

A clear commonality among the answers was the description of having belief in the self and the ability to pursue ones intentionality. Although the descriptions took various forms, they almost constantly returned to this notion, corresponding well with Bandura's (1977) definition that self-efficacy deals with the own expectations of whether or not one can execute a set of actions leading to desired outcomes. Which in this case relates to the primary intentions of being a peer-educator in the first place, coupled with the forethought that corresponding actions would fulfill those intentions (Bandura, 2001) as expressed by this male (25) peer-educator:

“[I]t starts from you, the belief, that you believe in yourself that ok [...] I can be a leader in my community, something like that. And you are going to take steps so that you can be what you say you can be”

Most peer-educators expressed that their self-efficacy expectations had increased as a result of being peer-educators, which was expected in accordance with previous findings (Sawyer *et al.*, 1997; Wilson & Musick, 2000; Pearlman *et al.*, 2002; Strange *et al.*, 2002; Mwangi,

2004; Campbell *et al.*, 2009). The core components of being a peer-educator with the organization under study includes a number of training sessions both in the beginning and continuously throughout the tenure, as well as working in schools delivering the interventions to the beneficiaries. Observing a number of training sessions provided valuable insight into how self-efficacy may be impacted in this setting. Participants in the training included both newly hired peer-educators, undergoing their initial training, as well as peer-educators with over one year of experience. Experienced staff members mostly facilitated the core components of the sessions while parts of the components also were of interactive character involving engagement of the peer-educators. Applying Bandura's (1977) modes of induction to the training setting revealed a number of relevant situations possibly affecting self-efficacy among the participants. Firstly, the experienced staff members have once been in the position as peer-educators themselves acting as an example of development for the participants, and as a potential source of vicarious experiences as well as credible sources of verbal persuasion. Furthermore, engaging and observing in participatory and interactive components of the training provides additional sources of vicarious experiences by seeing other peers engaging in activities such as presenting parts of the material, or demonstrating parts of the interventions, to the whole group. For those peer-educators who actively participate by taking on more demanding roles in the training self-efficacy expectations may increase as a result of perceived performance accomplishments during the training, and through verbal persuasion as they receive feedback from more experienced peers or staff for their accomplishments. However, there is also the possibility for efficacy expectations to deteriorate for example if the perceived tasks are deemed too overwhelming to cope with, or if active engagement results in perceived failure through early mistakes. An example of the effect of vicarious experiences related to observing peers engaging in activities is provided by this female (23) peer-educator elaborating on her own experience during her initial training:

"I was like, I wonder what will happen here, will I have this confidence to talk in front of these people? I was asking myself. But if I want to do it, nothing can stop me, I will do it. And then I saw the people doing it in front of me, why can't I do it?"

A majority of the peer-educators expressed feelings related to fear or anxiety prior to and during early stages of their training indicating low efficacy expectations while some expressed more positively loaded feelings such as being excited or having expectations.

However, all peer-educators articulated positive outcomes in relation to their own efficacy expectations after the training providing strong suggestions that they had gone through some experiences corresponding to Bandura's (1977) modes of induction developing their own confidence. This varied widely with the individuals however, while some stated their own performance accomplishments as the primary source, others mentioned vicarious experiences or verbal persuasion through peers and staff as more important sources for increased efficacy expectations. Various combinations of modes of induction were also mentioned such as vicarious experiences instilling the belief and subsequent performance accomplishments reinforcing and strengthening efficacy expectations as with this male peer-educator elaborating on his initial training experience:

“Yeah, when I saw the people who were already peer-educators doing some of the practices, you know, they got all of the things right. When we asked questions, they had answers. But I told myself that they were like me before. No one came here knowing everything, so I have to learn and be like them one day. So, now – I am on that level.” – Male (25)

While the peer-educators had developed a readiness and enhanced their self-efficacy in relation to the various intervention curricula during their training, transferring the developed self-efficacy from this controlled setting to the real context in schools once again triggered a set of feelings among the respondents. Most of the peer-educators once more expressed feelings of anxiety and nervousness towards their first intervention delivery in the schools, while others instead expressed a more positively loaded feeling of excitement. Thus, transferring self-efficacy developed through performance accomplishments in one setting to another may not be a straight forward process in all cases as Bandura (1977) suggested, even when the context otherwise remains similar to the familiar setting experienced during training. The level of emotional arousal experienced during the first intervention delivery could be traced to the level of self-efficacy expectations, and also to the perceived result, of the first performance. As explained by Bandura (1977) high levels of emotional arousal may weaken performance, while moderate levels instead act as a motivating force demonstrated by the following two statements:

“I still remember. I was with the curriculum, it was shaking. Kids, in school, and I am short. And I look like I am supposed to be at school. They will never listen to me.” – Female (23)

“It was exciting, the first time was with kids who get to trust you and share information, and how you felt more responsible being there for them. To be that caring coach that any kid needs” – Female (21)

As the peer-educators gained more experience their efficacy expectations also increased significantly with the respondents expressing feeling very comfortable with delivering interventions in schools after a year of practicing. Most attributed this change primarily to continuous exposure in the relevant setting coupled with accumulated performance accomplishments and successes, corresponding to Bandura’s (1977) argument of this being the most powerful mode of induction for sustained self-efficacy expectations. However, some peer-educators described a process where vicarious experiences, observing their peers in the relevant setting, coupled with verbal persuasion from credible sources such as staff and experienced peers was important initially. Further leading to increased self-efficacy expectations in relation to being able to execute the relevant tasks on their own, which improved further with continuous performance accomplishments when exposed to the relevant setting.

6.3. Perceptions of being a peer-educator

6.3.1. Individual perceptions

Asking the respondents about their own feelings towards their roles as peer-educators yielded overwhelmingly positively loaded responses. The peer-educators see themselves as leaders and change agents in their communities, being positive role models to youth and their peers. This generates positive feelings about the self, with peer-educators expressing a sense of pride and passion towards their roles in the community. Relating these aspects to Bandura’s (2001) arguments on agency, and self-reactiveness more specifically, the actions of the peer-educators are reflected in that actions generating a sense of self-worth and satisfaction are given supremacy over self-devaluating actions in relation to their intentionality and forethought. Similar feelings were also generated through the sense of self-development and social belonging in the safe group of peers with some peer-educators expressing changes

within themselves as a major source of positive feelings towards their role as described by this male (24):

“It’s a great feeling being around people who appreciate me, and myself just appreciating everyone. People who don’t judge me, people who educate me mentally and physically. [...] I can keep repeating this but, I became a better person being a peer-educator. Because I get to educate people and then I get to be educated as well.”

Although the majority of the individual perceptions indicated strong positive feelings towards the role as peer-educators, hints of the difficulties associated with the perceived role as role models and change agents also emerged in some of the answers. Potentially indicating pressures on the peer-educators to live up to an ideal for which they may have difficulties attaining or which requires significant effort on their behalf to do so, as explained by this female (21) peer-educator:

“I think it’s kind of difficult because like you’re not allowed to make mistakes [...] you have to be really careful, because some people are always looking for mistakes. So, some things we have to be more careful about and don’t do them around the kids. Like, even the habits I had last year in my community I don’t have go back to things I was doing bad like being in to drugs and alcohol and all that stuff. So like I have to be more careful and do as I preach.”

These examples shed light on the conflict explained by Emler (2001) between on the one hand applying an optimistic view towards their own achievements, and on the other hand more pessimistic angles of their perceptions. And also how they attach more or less value to either of these perceptions when evaluating their selves in relation to their roles as peer-educators (*ibid.*).

6.3.2. Family perceptions

Having the support of the family is recognized as one of the most important sources of self-esteem, particularly among youth (Emler, 2001). Although most of the respondents expressed the perceptions of their families to be positive towards their roles as peer-educators, other opinions were more fragmented. The peer-educators perceiving their families to be

sympathetic in relation to their choices believed their families looked upon them as change agents, leaders, and as trusted sources of relevant knowledge and information. They also felt support from their parents and that they were making them proud. Apart from being an important source of self-esteem (Emler, 2001), support and encouragement from the family is also an important source of self-efficacy through verbal persuasion (Bandura, 1977) potentially leading to higher levels of intrinsic motivation (Ebreo *et al.*, 2002) as expressed by one of the female (25) peer-educators:

“[I]t means a lot. Because without your friends and family’s support there’s kind of, the effect that it does to you. Because you feel sometimes anyway that you’re alone in what you’re doing, there’s no one who is supporting you so you might as well just stop. Even though you’re doing the right thing. So you need that support.”

In some cases, the support from the family rested on the monetary support it yielded rather than the development outcomes generated through the actions of the peer-educators. This was the case for both the peer-educators where the primary intentionality was employment rather than effectuating some other change in the community, but was also expressed by other peer-educators as the need to “put food on the table”. Furthermore, the sense of being independent from the family as a result of the monetary stipend received also generated a sense of proudness and relief, not always having to ask for support for individual purchases or choices. Being relieved of these economic and social stresses by the means provided by being peer-educators also have a positive effect on self-esteem (Emler, 2001). Finally, in the case where one peer-educator expressed no support from his family the support from friends and peers became increasingly important as a source for support (*ibid.*):

“[T]hey [the parents] think I’m wasting my time, but I am not wasting my time. I am trying to enable opportunities for those that didn’t have the chance to get to know about HIV, you know, some lost their parents because of this HIV, some of them lost their lives because of alcohol and drug abuse [...] they see me as their peer like I’m the father of the community because if anyone is struggling they also come to me and ask for help” – Male (21)

6.3.3. Community perceptions

Since the peer-educators spend most of their time in the communities where they operate they are constantly visible not only to the beneficiaries of the programs, but to other stakeholders such as the parents of the participants, youth not participating directly in the intervention, and general members of those communities. As noted by Ebreo *et al.* (2002) and Campbell *et al.* (2009), having the backing of the community is an important factor when it comes to the effects on the individuals from their experience as peer-educators. Most of the respondents expressed some positive perceptions from the various stakeholders of the community towards them as peer-educators. But some also presented a more nuanced view stating there was also a lack of understanding regarding their roles that in some cases even yielded negative perceptions from some members of the community. Establishing trust among the beneficiaries and their families was mentioned as one of the most important source of positive perceptions from the community, which also confirms Nicholls (2009) argument that trust is vital when it comes to handling stigmatized issues connected to HIV/AIDS and gender-based violence. This trust towards the peer-educators extends further in the community than just to the interventions, and also constitutes an important source of increased self-esteem, as explained by this female (25) peer-educator and also touched upon by the previous statement by male (21):

“I feel proud when a kid is coming to me and tells me coach you have helped me a lot in terms of this, and this, and that. I feel very proud when a kid is coming to me and says coach I trust you with this information. [...] Being trusted, I just feel proud of that.”

This female (21) peer-educator further extends the discussion to include the parents of the beneficiaries and the role this interaction plays in how the peer-educators perceive this relationship:

“[T]he parents of my participants around the community, they feel like if there is something wrong with their participants they would tell me. And they feel like if I would talk to their participants that could change how they behave”

Nicholls (2009) elaborates on the ability of the peer-educators to critically reflect on the environment within their own communities in relation to themselves and their action in order

to devise actions positively contributing to change. As Emler (2001) discussed, relating the self to others within the same socio-economic sphere is a factor potentially affecting self-esteem. The peer-educators are aware of negative perceptions by some members of their communities and the ability to handle such pressures is also relevant to self-esteem. This situation is well summarized by this male (23) peer-educator:

“[Y]ou find these guys on the side, they will look at you and like, that guy, he thinks he is better than us [...] Because, for instance, if I am telling kids about girlfriends [...]. Now, if I have a girlfriend, and maybe we fight or whatever and then we brake up and then I move on or maybe the girl moves on. Now they’ll be like, but we thought you said that you cannot have multiple girlfriends and stuff. And then they find you and these questions, they try to, they use what I teach the kids to like actually make me look bad. [...]. So, when they look at me they find something good and bad, but once they start talking to me and learn, I change the way they perceive me most of the time.”

6.4. Future orientation and perceived barriers and obstacles

Transferring agency within similar contexts in various settings is one thing, transferring agency between different environments another matter (Campbell *et al.*, 2009). As a third component of the two-year tenure the peer-educators undergo a number of sessions focusing on developing vocational skills related to employability, entrepreneurship, and leadership in order to address high levels of youth unemployment in the relevant communities. Judging whether the full experience of being a peer-educator in this context has had an impact on agency the study considered the respondents’ view of their future, potential obstacles, as well as if these aspects had changed as a result of being a peer-educator.

Only two of the respondents expressed no change in intentionality and forethought as a result of their experience as peer-educators, while the remaining seven expressed that their intentionality and forethought had changed to various extent. Both respondents stating no change during the period as peer-educators also expressed being a leader or a “game-changer” in their communities as one of the primary reasons for becoming peer-educators in the first place. Furthermore, being part of the organization would provide them a platform to exercise those intentions. The forethought in relation to peer-education could potentially be one of

multiple alternatives to realize their intentionality, but not the preferred one. Leveraging the capacity of the organization could also be interpreted as relying on its proxy agency in the interim in order to attain resources and develop skills to exercise ones personal agency in the future (Bandura, 2001).

“[C]urrently I am a peer-educator but I am doing my writings on the side. I am a musician. [...] I am not really sure that I can make it, but I am going to push and push hard, you know. It’s not only about making it, the few people that already believe in me, that’s enough for me. [...] So if there are people who fall in love with my music, and people get healed by my music, then that’s good for me. [...] And, music is not my only business; you don’t always progress in music, you know, so my other plan is to become a radio presenter. I want to become a radio presenter, so while I am here this year I am looking to maybe do some information gathering about what I can do to become a radio personality”
– Male (25)

Another potential outcome is a shift in both intentionality and forethought as a consequence of being a peer-educator, supporting Wilson and Musick’s (2000) rationale that developing skills and identity puts the individual on a path of self-discovery and new possibilities as a result of their new capabilities. Demonstrated in this case through verbal persuasion from credible sources enhancing self-efficacy expectations in relation to one’s personal agency (Bandura, 2001; 1977).

“I always wanted to study tourism and business management. So, I don’t know, and one of the staff said you could also do facilitation and have a career in that. So I don’t know, maybe I’ll go back to school or pursue the facilitation” –
Female (23)

A third possibility also emerged where the individual intentionality and forethought was reinforced as a result of being a peer-educator. Suggesting that strong individual efficacy expectations in relation to one’s personal agency could be enhanced further, as well as being a motivator to take action from the outset as proposed by Klein and Sondag (1994) and Strange *et al.* (2002), as explained by this female (25) peer-educator:

“[A]ctually being a part of Grassroot Soccer and my personal life, I would like to go and study to be a social worker. [...] I thought about it before I was here actually and it developed more and more while I was here.”

Not surprisingly, the single most common barrier cited by the respondents was lack of access to financial resources in relation to realizing their intentionality. Which, indeed, resembles the environment at large where high relative poverty exists as a consequence of a number of factors, not the least from high levels of youth unemployment (Khayelitsha Commission, 2014). Contrary to Campbell *et al.* (2009) agency among the peer-educators seemed to be transferable to some extent in this matter. Although most experienced this barrier to be significant, different strategies for overcoming this hurdle emerged from the interviews. Some of the peer-educators expressed proxy agency from various sources as their coping strategy, including support from parents, partners, or the organization. Others relied more on their personal agency mentioning their own savings or taking part time jobs to secure adequate financial resources, components that was also part of the development sessions observed during participant observations. In accordance with Bandura (2001), both these coping strategies suggest that the peer-educators exercise various modes of agency and have forethought in relation to the observed barriers in the environment. However, although recognizing financial constraints as a barrier, some of the peer-educators expressed no forethought in how to overcome this obstacle, potentially indicating low self-efficacy expectations in relation to perceived barriers (Bandura, 1977). When asked to elaborate freely on how to overcome obstacles the peer-educators expressed a number of coping strategies they use in such situations. Most of the respondents mentioned a mix between exercising their personal agency to some extent, while also relying on proxy agency in various ways, while collective agency was never mentioned as exemplified by this female (25) peer-educator:

“I’m kind of a person who is an introvert in a way because a lot of things I keep it to myself until I find a solution. I decide for myself. In some way, I do have parents, but I feel like sometimes they just have to listen to me in what I want. And now they listen to me because I justified, and I tell them that this is what is going to happen and it is happening so you have to support me”

This could be a symptom of a combination of what Coakley (2011) called the neoliberal paradigm of sport for development interventions, coupled with Giulianotti’s (2011)

elaboration on developmental interventions focusing on needs based capacity building in this case targeted towards building capacity in the individual.

7. Concluding remarks

Following Coakley (2011) this case study has taken a critical approach towards the impact of sport for development programs in order to identify structures and mechanisms present in the environment affecting the agency of peer-educators of a sport based HIV/AIDS prevention program in Khayelitsha, a disadvantaged urban area in South Africa. Adopting this method has yielded a better understanding of factors contributing to the decision to become peer-educator in the first place, the effect of exercising the role as peer-educator over time, and the development of the peer-educators future orientation. Thus, providing a multilayered perspective of agency through various stages of the peer-educators experience. Furthermore, although limited in its scope, this study allowed for a deeper consideration about the influence of the external environment on the boundaries of the case and the interactions of the three main components. Contributing to an understanding of why the observed impacts on agency, self-esteem, and self-efficacy occurred. The findings were then discussed on the basis of a judgmental rationality of reality, as it is believed to exist in accordance with Easton (2010). Thereby yielding further insights into the field of sport for development from a critical perspective in accordance with Coakley's (2011) argument.

Based on the findings in this study the primary intentionality and forethought of becoming a peer-educator is to a large extent influenced by various factors present in the external environment. On the one hand factors related to the satisfaction of basic individual needs pushes the individuals towards peer-education as a form of employment. While structures related to youth unemployment acts as a push factor in some cases, it also acts as pull factors in other cases. Which in the latter case is demonstrated by the choice of becoming a peer-educator primarily being based on the need to effectuate some level of behavioral change in the self, or within the community. Both these factors correspond to the interaction between HIV/AIDS prevention programs for youth and developmental interventionism focusing on specific needs in the community. Other structural factors affecting youth related to crime and violence, and drug and substance abuse also acts as pull factors in this decision. However, once satisfaction of the basic needs or the individual change has been attained the intentionality and forethought alters to become more focused on the wider community. When

comparing this to the arguments of Ebreo *et al.* (2002) it is not obvious that the level of intrinsic motivation is a key factor at least when it comes to the impact of agency among peer-educators. Instead, agency is a rather dynamic process and develops as new knowledge and insights are generated during the course of the experience.

When looking at the interaction between sport for development and HIV/AIDS prevention for youth, family and community perceptions are important factors determining the impact of agency among the peer-educators and how they perceive themselves and their roles. This is consistent with both Emler (2001) and Ebreo *et al.* (2002). However, these perceptions can be of various nature and thus affects the peer-educators differently. While positive perceptions contribute to increased levels of self-esteem and self-efficacy, the peer-educators use various strategies to limit the potentially damaging effect of negative perceptions. Such strategies can be either focusing more on the sources of positive perceptions, ignoring the negative pressures, or confronting the negative forces. Furthermore, it is likely that the effects of such pressures are contingent on the levels of self-esteem and self-efficacy among the peer-educators, as such the outcomes may be different at different times. As most peer-educators experienced increases in self-esteem as a consequence of engaging in their roles they also developed increased resilience towards those negative pressures, which in this case may suggest that peer-educators are becoming less sensitive to external processes and mechanisms affecting their agency negatively.

The interaction between developmental interventionism and sport for development is primarily an internal process confined within the boundaries of the case with training and development sessions through staff and other peers being the main forces impacting agency among the peer-educators. However, this process is naturally influenced by the needs of the community as perceived by the organization and its various stakeholders, which is one of the main traits of developmental interventionism (Giulianotti, 2011). Perhaps one of the clearest examples of this being components not directly related to the primary development objective at hand. For example, engaging the peer-educators in sessions aimed to develop employability related skills tackles another development need of the relevant community, while also impacting agency among the peer-educators. Which in this case is to a large extent influenced by external stakeholders with different interests, which may be contingent on a set of enduring structures within the wider context.

Finally, transferring agency gained from the experience from being peer-educators to enhance or alter intentionality and forethought in relation to the future is to a large extent influenced by the interaction between the developmental interventionism and HIV/AIDS prevention spheres. While some peer-educators expressed that their initial intentionality and forethought had been enhanced by the experience as peer-educators, most stated a shift in their future orientation compared to before being peer-educators. This is in accordance with the findings of Wilson and Musick (2000) stating that peer-educators emerge on a path of self-discovery throughout their experience. As they gain new skills and knowledge they also view and relate to their environments and obstacles differently. While the structures and mechanisms present in the community may still be the same, the peer-educators perceive them differently and through increased self-reactiveness and self-reflectiveness acts differently in relation to those obstacles.

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Appendices

Appendix 1A. Overview of sample of subjects of analysis being interviewed

Id	Interview Date	Age	Sex	Years of experience (GRS; Other)
1	2015-02-10	23	M	1>2 years; 0 years
2	2015-02-12	25	F	1>2 years; 0 years
3	2015-02-12	21	M	1>2 years; 1+3 years
4	2015-02-12	24	M	1>2 years; 1 year
5	2015-02-12	23	F	1>2 years; 0>1 year
6	2015-02-12	25	F	1>2 years; 1+3 years
7	2015-02-17	23	F	1>2 years; 0 years
8	2015-02-17	21	F	1>2 years; 0 years
9	2015-02-17	25	M	1>2 years; 0 years

Appendix 1B. Consent form for interviews

Adult Consent Form – Interviews

Name of researcher: Emanuel Raptis (“the principal researcher”)
Type of research: Final dissertation for degree of Master of Science in International Development and Management
Host University: Lund University, Sweden

1. The Research Project

This research project represents the final dissertation of the principal researcher’s master degree at Lund University, Sweden, and is completely independent from the host organization of the peer-educator.

2. The Study

You have been asked to take part in the following research study:

“Free Human Agency through Sport? Exploring the impact of self-esteem and self-efficacy among volunteer peer-educators in sports based HIV/AIDS prevention interventions in South Africa.”

The purpose of this study is to learn more about how being a volunteer peer-educator, delivering sport based HIV/AIDS prevention interventions in South Africa, has impacted your confidence and the belief in yourself.

The knowledge generated through this study will contribute to the scientific knowledge of how sport for development can be used to advance international development issues, with a particular focus on the role of the volunteer peer-educator in that process.

3. What will happen?

If you decide to participate in this study, the following will happen:

1. You will be asked to spend about 30 - 45 minutes talking about your confidence and the belief in yourself. The following topics will mainly be discussed:
 - a. Your ideas and understanding about confidence and self-belief, and your views about how these are developed;
 - b. your experience of how your own confidence and self-belief has developed during your time as peer-educator;
 - c. what you think are important factors impacting your confidence and self-belief;
 - d. your experience of how others perceive you, and how you perceive others after becoming a peer-educator;
 - e. how you see your future self in the present, and how you used to see your future self in the past;

- f. how you think about yourself in the future and how you make plans to realize those thoughts, and;
 - g. if you anticipate any obstacles to achieve those goals and, if so, how you can overcome them.
2. This interview will be recorded but the interview will not be associated with your name in any way.
3. After the recordings have been transcribed they will be permanently deleted.
4. Your participation in this study will not affect your role as a peer-educator (“Coach”) with Grassroot Soccer South Africa in any way.

4. Risks or discomforts

1. For a brief period of time there will be a way to link your identity to the information on the tapes. After that short time the recordings will be permanently deleted.
2. You may feel uncomfortable with questions about your personal confidence or belief in yourself. If that happens, you understand that you are not required to answer any question. You may skip any question and not participate in the discussions at any time.

5. Benefits

You may learn more about ways to help you understand how being a peer-educator affects you in some way that you previously did not anticipate. How you treat this knowledge is up to yourself. Furthermore, a copy of the final research paper will be made available to you upon written request (via e-mail) to the researcher.

As a result of the knowledge generated through this study, future interventions of this kind may incorporate better understanding of the impacts on peer-educators.

If transport was arranged specifically to attend in the research process reimbursement for such transport should be provided but only after prior agreement between you and the principal researcher has been made.

6. Confidentiality

You will be part of this study only if you agree to be in it. None of the information will identify you by name. The recording of the interview will be transcribed before it is deleted, for the remainder of the study your answers will be coded with a number only.

The findings of this study may be used for public publication, but your name and information that would allow you to be identified as yourself will not be revealed. All records will be kept by the principal researcher in a secure file. All information will be kept confidential. Only the principal researcher will have access to your records. The audio recordings of the interview will be deleted after the transcripts are complete.

7. Your decision and right to quit at any time

The decision whether or not to take part in this study is up to you. You do not have to participate. If you decide to take part in this study, you may also decide to quit at any time. If you decide not to participate it will have no effect on your role as a peer-educator (“Coach”) with Grassroot Soccer South Africa in any way.

8. Rights and complaints

You should feel free to ask questions regarding this study at any time. If you have any more questions later, you can discuss them with MSc Emanuel Raptis, the principal researcher, who may be contacted through the following details:

Emanuel Raptis, Principal Researcher
Lund University, Lund, Sweden
E-mail: nyg11era@student.lu.se
SA phone: +27 (0)606 768846
SE phone: +46 (0)708 888521

9. Consent

Your signature on this form means that you understand the information, and that you have decided to participate in this study.

Signature of Peer-educator

Date MM/DD/YY

Signature of Principal researcher

Date MM/DD/YY

Appendix 1C. In-depth interview template guide

Date		Start/Stop time	
Place		Gender	
Interview #			
<p>Introduction</p> <p>Hello,</p> <p>I am a master’s student in International Development and Management at Lund University in Sweden and I am currently collecting data for a research project. 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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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. If this is all alright, we can start with some of the basic information about yourself and how you became involved in peer education.</p>			
<p>General Questions:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How old are you? 2. How long have you been a peer-educator 3. Why did you want to become a peer-educator? 4. What did you do before you were a peer-educator? 		<p>Notes</p>	
<p>Environment:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Where do you live? 2. How long have you lived there? 3. How would you describe your community? 		<p>Notes</p>	

<p>Self-Esteem/Efficacy</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How would you describe self-esteem? 2. How would you describe a confident person? 	<p>Notes</p>
<p>Personal Self-Esteem/Efficacy:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Have your self-esteem changed by being a peer-educator? (if so, in what direction?) 2. Have your confidence changed by being a peer-educator? (if so, in what direction?) 	<p>Notes</p>
<p>Peer-education:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How do you feel about your role about as peer-educator? 2. What do your family and friends think about you being a peer-educator? 3. How do you think your own community look upon you as a peer-educator? 4. How do you think other people, outside of your community, will look upon you after being a peer-educator? 	<p>Notes</p>

<p>Training</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. During your training, how did you feel about being a peer educator? 2. Did that feeling change during the training? 3. And if so, what do you think made it change? 	<p>Notes</p>
<p>Interventions</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How did you feel the first time when going to a school to deliver SKILLZ interventions? 2. How do you feel when doing it now? 3. What do you think led to that change? 	<p>Notes</p>
<p>Coach Development</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How do you think about yourself in the future, after being a peer-educator? 2. Did you think about the future in this way before being a peer-educator? 3. What made you change the way you think about the future? 4. What do you think could come in the way for you when trying to achieve your goals for the future? 	<p>Notes</p>

Obstacles	Notes
<p data-bbox="177 264 847 338">1. When do you feel proud over yourself and your achievements?</p> <p data-bbox="177 450 847 562">2. Are there times when you are afraid of doing something because you think you cannot do it? (if so, how do you deal with it?)</p>	
<p data-bbox="177 869 1414 981">Thank you for your participation. Do you have any questions about the research you would like to aks me right now? If not you are welcome to e-mail or call me if questions about the research should arise later.</p>	

Appendix 2A. Participant observations overview

Id	Date	Type	Session	# of participants (f/m)
1	2015-02-17	Training of Coaches	Teach back	20 (12/8)
2	2015-02-17	Training of Coaches	Teach back	20 (12/8)
3	2015-02-19	Training of Coaches	Praise	40 (25/15)
4	2015-02-19	Training of Coaches	Gender Based Violence	35 (35/0)
5	2015-03-11	Generation SKILLZ	Practice #4	2 male peer-educators, 18 male participants
6	2015-03-13	Coach Development	Financial Literacy	50 (30/20)

Appendix 2B. Participant observation template guide

Date & Time		# of people present	
Place		Female/Male	
Type of observation			
Space (what is the physical space like?)			
Actors (who is involved?)			
Activities (what are they doing?)			
Objects (what objects are present?)			

Acts (what are the individuals doing?)

Events (what kind of event is it?)

Goals (what do they want to accomplish)

Feelings (what is the mood of the group and the individuals?)