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Re-Engaging Local Youth for Sustainable Sport-for-Development

Abstract

Despite increasing evidence that sport-for-development (SFD) programs can contribute to community development, there remains a lack of empirical inquiry into different socio-managerial aspects of SFD. For example, in attempts to achieve locally sustained SFD programs, the roles, responsibilities and potential impact of re-engaged youth need further investigation. The authors define re-engaged youth as previous program participants who have maintained strong links with the organization and who return to the program at a later stage as volunteers or staff members. In this paper, the authors examine ways in which Re-engaged youth of the Blue Dragon Children Foundation's SFD program contribute to sustainable management and indirectly to community development within a disadvantaged community setting in Hanoi, Vietnam. Following an interpretive mode of inquiry, the authors conducted and analyzed two focus groups (six participants each) and 12 in-depth interviews with re-engaged youth ($n = 7$) and key program stakeholders ($n = 5$). Overall, re-engaged youth represented key drivers for organizational success; they served as program culture experts, role models, leaders and mentors, and creators of a family feel in SFD and beyond. The authors argue that re-engaged youth are demonstrating a number of important change agent capabilities that enable them to uniquely gauge and best respond to the needs of program participants and local communities in complex sociocultural environments.

Keywords: Sport-for-development, youth, leadership, role models, change agents, field theory

1. Introduction

Around the world, sport is increasingly used by aid agencies, development bodies and non-governmental organizations as a strategic vehicle for achieving numerous social, cultural, physical, educational, and economic development goals (Schulenkorf & Adair, 2014). At the same time, research in the sport-for-development (SFD) sector has been growing at a rapid rate, and scholars have approached academic studies from a variety of angles and disciplines, including sociology (Darnell, 2012; Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011; Spaaij, 2012; Sugden, 2010), management (Schulenkorf, 2010; Svensson & Hambrick, 2016), education (Jeanes, 2013; Spaaij & Jeanes, 2013), and policy making (Giulianotti, 2011; Green, 2006). Overall, the SFD field is at a stage where people can look back at 15 years of solid practice and research; in fact, perhaps for the first time, SFD researchers are now able to gauge the continuity and longevity of SFD projects and their potential contribution to sustainable community development. Against this background, our study follows the definition of community development put forward by Christenson, Fendley, and Robinson (1989) as “a group of people in a locality initiating a social action process (i.e., an intervention) to change their economic, social, cultural, or environmental situation” (p. 14).

One way of looking at the potential long-term outcomes of SFD initiatives is through the eyes of those children and youth who 10 or so years ago engaged in early SFD programs, and who have now grown into adulthood. Most of them will have completed their schooling; some may have even proceeded to undertake postsecondary studies, while others are working in regular day-to-day jobs. A number of these individuals have returned to the sport sector and have re-engaged with different sport organizations, clubs, or teams as supporters, donors, or volunteers. In an attempt to give back, some have also re-connected with the SFD sector or even the programs they once participated in as children or youth. To date, we only have limited and largely indirect evidence of why re-engaged youth—previous program

participants who have maintained strong links with the organization and who return to the program at a later stage as volunteers or staff members—are a potentially crucial link between the local community and the SFD provider. For instance, they have had similar experiences—both on and off the field—to the children with whom they now work and engage. Moreover, they have detailed (cultural) knowledge of participating communities and their specific social, cultural, health-related, or economic challenges (see, e.g., Cohen & Welty Peachey, 2015; Hayhurst, MacNeill, Kidd, & Knoppers, 2014; Tuohey & Cognato, 2011; Svensson, Hancock, & Hums, 2017). In short, whether individuals re-engage as volunteers or as employed coaches, teachers, and social workers, they promise to play a significant role in delivering and sustaining long-term youth services with authenticity and legitimacy. However, researchers have not yet specifically investigated the role re-engaged youth play in SFD.

In this study, we focus on such re-engaged youth as potential contributors to sustainable and locally grounded SFD. In particular, the purpose of this study is to contribute to the academic literature and SFD practice by investigating the role of re-engaged youth as change agents in the context of sustainable SFD management and indirectly to community development. While research on SFD change agents has previously been conducted from an international perspective (see, e.g., Schulenkorf, 2010), we provide empirical findings from case study research on a sport program in Hanoi, Vietnam, that was developed with local members of the community and has continued to operate for over 15 years. The program was founded by an Australian expat, but its strategic direction and daily operations have largely been championed by local Vietnamese staff members and volunteers, including those that have returned as re-engaged youth. Both the focus and setting of this study are intriguing given the considerable need for in-depth investigations into the management processes and potential value of local personnel in SFD in Asia, where so far little empirical research has

taken place (see Schulenkorf, Sherry and Rowe, 2016). From a theoretical standpoint, we address the black box or gap in knowledge about mechanisms and components that may facilitate sustainable outcomes and impact at the individual, community, and societal levels in SFD (Coalter, 2007, 2013). Re-engaged youth could potentially serve as a mechanism to enable, lead, and then reinforce change, enabling SFD organizations to be more effective in achieving their missions. The findings from this study can also be applicable more broadly to the sport management discipline in terms of deepening our understanding of the mechanisms and processes of change, which can subsequently lead to sustainability.

2. Theoretical framework and literature review

2.1 Field theory of change

As indicated above, we used Lewin's field theory (1951, 1952) to provide an underpinning for the current study, as it has direct applicability to change agents and leading social change processes (Burnes & Cooke, 2013). Lewin developed field theory over a 25-year period beginning in the 1920s, with its central premise being that it is possible to "understand, predict, and provide the basis for changing the behavior of individuals and groups by constructing a 'life space' comprising the psychological forces influencing their behavior at a given point in time" (Burnes & Cooke, 2013, p. 409). A life space is the psychological environment in which a person is situated, such as a community or culture. Field theory suggests there are psychological forces pushing for change, and others which restrain change, all held in tension in a "quasi-stationary equilibrium" that is a social system (Lewin, 1952). The task of change agents—broadly defined by Hall and Williams (1973) as individuals or organizations in society "who have the role of bringing about constructive change in either other individuals or social organizations and institutions" (p. 2)—is to positively influence this quasi-stationary equilibrium in three steps of unfreezing, moving (change), and refreezing (see Lewin, 1951, 1952). It should be noted here that the focus of

our investigation is on the role of individual change agents who are housed within a supportive development organization that aims for positive social change.

Within Lewin's three-step model of change (unfreezing, moving, refreezing), individuals, society, communities, or organizations must first unfreeze from tradition and stale practices. A change agent is often necessary to facilitate this process within SFD, which is a critical first step in how programs and initiatives can possibly evince change. For example, a change agent in the SFD space may utilize sport as a vehicle for unfreezing unhealthy attitudes, behaviors, or prejudices in individuals and communities. Next, a change agent enacts change (moving), or there is movement away from old practices, behaviors, and ways of thinking towards new practices and behaviors that are more open, non-prejudiced, and welcoming. This is a vital aspect of SFD, where change agents can mobilize sport (and perhaps complimentary non-sport activities such as educational and cultural engagements) to address issues and potentially shift attitudes and behaviors, such as prejudice towards out group members and acceptance of those different from oneself or with whom there is historical conflict. Finally, the enacted change must refreeze so that the change becomes embedded in culture, society, beliefs, and practices (Lewin, 1951, 1952). Change agents in SFD, for instance, may tap sport as an avenue to reinforce and maintain new, positive values, practices, and behaviors, perhaps leading to long-term individual and community outcomes if the sport-based intervention is designed and managed well (Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011; Schulenkorf, 2017). Importantly, change agents must recognize the necessity of stability as a basis for growth as they move through Lewin's planned change process (Westover, 2010).

This three-step, somewhat linear process of planned change—and Lewin's work as the principal conceptual architect in change agent studies—has garnered much support in the academic literature since its inception (Burnes & Cooke, 2013). While some have criticized field theory for its perceived pursuit of mathematical rigor over practical relevance (Burnes &

Cooke, 2013), it has for the past two decades come back into vogue in the change management literature, with studies supporting the efficacy of Lewin's three-step model of change (see, e.g., Elrod & Tippet, 2002; Oreg, Vakola, & Armenakis, 2011). The continued relevance of field theory and the three-step change model to change management is that they not only focus on motivating and enacting change, but also importantly on sustaining it over time (Burnes & Cooke, 2013).

2.2 The SFD context and the role of change agents

Since the beginning of the new millennium, work in and around SFD has received significant attention from practitioners and academics from all over the world (see, e.g., Levermore & Beacom, 2009; Sherry, Schulenkorf, & Chalip, 2015). At the local, regional, national, and international levels, scholars have begun to investigate the relationship between sport and youth development and have suggested that the connection between the two is often "contingent" (Coakley, 2011, 2012; Holt, 2007; Weiss, 2008). This means that participation in sport does not necessarily lead to readily identifiable developmental outcomes, *per se*, but that the outcomes are related to—and dependent upon—a combination of mediating and moderating factors. Several authors have documented these factors (e.g., Coalter, 2007; Donnelly et al., 2011; Schulenkorf, 2017; Sugden, 2006; Welty Peachey, Cunningham, Lyras, Cohen, & Bruening, 2015) and include the type of sport played; the orientations and actions of peers, coaches, and administrators; the norms and cultures associated with a particular sport; participants' socially significant characteristics; as well as the material, social, and cultural context of the programs.

SFD is situated within the broader development context, in which the literature points to the role of change agents in facilitating or sometimes even hindering development efforts (Botes & van Rensburg, 2000; Midgley, 1986; Schulenkorf, 2010; Sugden, 2006). In this respect, participation of local individuals in development efforts, or a bottom-up approach, is

critical to achieving sustainable community development (Gschwend & Selvaranju, 2007; Henley, 2005; Hickey & Mohan, 2004; Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011; Phillips & Schulenkorf, 2017; Read, 2006). Change agents help establish a middle path between the development organization and community, facilitating the involvement of local community members and organizations in the development program at the grassroots level (Phillips & Schulenkorf, 2017; Schulenkorf, 2010). Critically, change agents can help generate local community support for the project while facilitating cooperation of various community groups and individuals towards a common goal (Midgley, 1986). This local participation, and involvement of the change agent, then assists with transforming power relations issues which are inherent in development projects and which may lead to exclusion and subordination (Hickey & Mohan, 2004).

However, the role of change agents in development is not without its criticisms (Phillips & Schulenkorf, 2017; Schulenkorf, 2010). Many times, change agents come from outside of the communities they are targeting with projects and programs, and in the case of international change agents, there is the concern that they will operate from a dominant, paternalistic approach to management (Botes & van Rensburg, 2000; Stiglitz, 2002;), or even employ a neocolonial view of development (Coalter, 2010, 2013; Darnell, 2012; Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011). In other words, if international change agents take the approach that they know what is best for communities, they may not appropriately consider, involve, or value the local community in the design and implementation of programs (Coalter, 2013; Midgley, 1986). As a consequence, when design and managerial practices become more top-down rather than bottom-up, communities may experience uncertainty about the program and objectives and resist its efforts (Phillips & Schulenkorf, 2017).

Within the SFD landscape, Schulenkorf (2010) found in his analysis of an SFD program in ethnically divided Sri Lanka that initial guidance from experienced sport coaches,

mentors, and change agents seems critical for the social development and learning of local participants. He suggested that a change agent can be either a well-trained individual employee, such as a social or outreach worker, or a specialized organization, such as a development agency or a nongovernmental organization (NGO) that supports bottom-up community projects. Schulenkorf identified several roles and responsibilities associated with a change agent in a development context, including agent for community participation, trust builder, networker, leader, socially responsible advocate, resource developer, proactive innovator, and strategic planner. Similar to the critique of international change agents in the broader development context, Schulenkorf also stressed that change agents in SFD from an international background may not have the much-needed local knowledge to work within a developing country's sociocultural context. In other words, whereas internationally funded SFD programs and their staff are at times accused of missing the mark, locally informed projects may have a much better chance of providing relevant and meaningful activities for participants (Coalter, 2010, 2013; Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011). This critique implies that the SFD community may need to rethink its approaches to management and staffing, and investigate opportunities to better re-engage and empower local people in the design and implementation of SFD initiatives.

2.3 The role of re-engaged youth in SFD

Some scholars have indirectly engaged with the concept of re-engaged youth in their empirical investigations related to other aspects of the SFD field. For instance, several researchers have noted that hiring re-engaged youth or other former SFD program participants (not necessarily former youth, but former adult participants as well) is critical because these individuals can build strong relationships with current participants (Cohen & Welty Peachey, 2015; Haudenhuyse, Theeboom, & Coalter, 2012; Kay, 2009; Svensson et al., 2017). Haudenhuyse and colleagues (2012) examined a Flemish-based SFD program

targeting local youth to derive implications for coaches and youth workers, finding that the relationship between the coaches, who were all Re-engaged youth, and participants was vitally important for reaching and connecting with current participants. While not explicitly stated, employing re-engaged youth as coaches appeared to be a key organizational strategy for success. In another vein, Cohen and Welty Peachey (2015) followed the life course of a former participant in Street Soccer USA, from homeless participant in the program to a successful social entrepreneur who began her own regional Street Soccer program. One of the key drivers of her success was her ability to identify with current participants due to having a similar background, and form trusting, meaningful relationships with them. Other researchers have identified that re-engaged youth and other former participants in SFD programs are instrumental in serving as role models and leaders (Hayhurst et al., 2014; Spaaij, 2009; Tuohey & Cognato, 2011). With Peace Players International, Tuohey and Cognato (2011) revealed that a key to success was training former participants as youth mentors, while Spaaij (2009) found that the Sport Steward program in the Netherlands strategically targeted re-engaged youth as peer educators and embedded role models.

All of the aforementioned work is important and vital for advancing our understanding of SFD and engagement with former participants across contexts. However, this previous scholarship has not directly investigated the role of re-engaged youth as change agents in the SFD space and how re-engaged youth may then contribute to sustainable SFD. As such, in the current study, we make a distinct contribution to the extant literature by focusing on the role of local re-engaged youth as change agents in the context of sustainable SFD management and community development.

Specifically, the research question guiding this study, drawn from the aforementioned theoretical framing and literature, is: In what ways do re-engaged youth contribute to sustainable management of a local SFD program, and indirectly to community development?

3. Study Context

3.1 Vietnam

With its 90 million inhabitants, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is located in the very east of the Indochina Peninsula in Southeast Asia. After a series of economic and political reforms in the 1980s, the previously isolated country has become increasingly integrated into the world economy. The 2013 Human Development Index, which measures human development based on the combined assessment of the three dimensions of (a) health, (b) education, and (c) income—ranks Vietnam as “medium,” occupying Position 121 out of 187 countries worldwide. However, the more specific Vietnam Human Development Report highlights that there is still a high level of social inequality within the country (United Nations Development Programme, 2015). In other words, despite the country’s recent successes in reducing its overall poverty rate, significant socioeconomic, educational, and health-related problems remain, especially within chronically poor communities and among ethnic minorities that occupy the fringes of society. From an educational perspective, London (2004) found a decade ago that the wealthiest 20% of 15- to 17-year-olds were 12 times more likely to be enrolled in school than those from the poorest quintile, and the wealthiest 18- to 23-year-old students were 61 times more likely to enroll in postsecondary education. Such figures are a key motivation for development organizations and NGOs to improve the situation for disadvantaged youth across the country.

3.2 Blue Dragon Children’s Foundation

Blue Dragon Children’s Foundation (BDCF, n.d.) is a Vietnam-based NGO that offers facilities, educational assistance, legal advocacy, health care, counseling, as well as social, cultural, and sporting opportunities to disadvantaged children who are living on the streets, are victims of trafficking, are limited by disabilities, and/or reside in the poor rural communities of Hanoi. Established in 2002, Blue Dragon Children’s Foundation has a

particular set of core beliefs guiding the organization: that (a) education and escaping poverty interconnect and (b) that children shape the future. These core beliefs are promoted, documented, and held firm by BDCF's employees and volunteers. BDCF maintains an "open door" policy aiming to be inclusive, holistic, and empowering in its approach to development (BFDC, n.d.). By 2017, the organization claims to have positively impacted the lives over 50,000 children and their families, including more than 2,000 street kids and children in severe crisis.

The BDCF team comprises over 80 professional staff members and numerous volunteers, with the large majority being of Vietnamese origin, supplemented with a small number of international employees. Many staff members and volunteers are so-called re-engaged youth—individuals from the local community who have previously participated in BDCF's development activities and are now volunteering or working for the organization. To be able to provide the best and most relevant services for children, BDCF further partners with psychologists, child-rights advocates, educators, social workers, counselors, lawyers, sport coaches, nutritionists, support staff, and volunteers (BDCF, n.d.). Financial support for the program is secured through fundraising and financial as well as in-kind support from local and international partners, including NGOs, foundations, businesses, schools, and individual philanthropists from around the world.

3.3 Blue Dragon United Football Program

Blue Dragon Children's Foundation classifies as a plus-sport organization, using sport to "attract, retain and motivate young people in activities designed to build their personal resources or provide access to community or organisational resources" (Coakley, 2012, p. 185). In other words, while sport does not describe BDCF's main area of operation, it has always played an important role in contributing to wider development efforts. For example, since its first year of operation BDCF has featured a football (soccer) team, which—from

very humble beginnings—has developed into Blue Dragon United Football Club. Every Sunday morning in the troubled Long Bien area of Hanoi, BDCF staff and volunteers organize and supervise three football games for over 100 participants of different age groups (Blue Dragon United, n.d.-b). Here, BDCF aims to provide children with a positive retreat from the difficulties of daily life. To participate there is no registration required; BDCF only expects that children bring their best behavior, a positive attitude, and an extra dose of energy to enjoy a time of fun and play (Blue Dragon United, n.d.-b). To date, close to 3,000 games of football have been played which allowed to reach hundreds of street kids in Hanoi alone.

Overall, the BDCF football program has a clear social focus and is supposed to encourage a high level of positive social behavior, sportsmanship, and teamwork. The social focus is also reflected in the delivery and assessment of sessions where every week, prizes are awarded to five children—boys and girls—who have demonstrated good sportsmanship on the field, respect for the rules of the game, and contribution to group social discussions at the end of each session (Blue Dragon United, n.d.-b). Interestingly, prizes are awarded based on the decision of both staff and children. BDCF is hopeful that positive and inclusive experiences on the football pitch will also lay the foundation for a trusting relationship with the organization, strengthen the child's sense of belonging, and provide an opportunity for reciprocal engagement with the wider community. In other words, there is a strategic process that underpins the philosophy and development of the program and its participants.

4. Research approach and methods

This study forms part of a larger research project that followed an interpretive mode of inquiry to investigate the relationship between sustainable SFD and social capital development (for additional outputs related to this project, see Hoekman, 2013; Hoekman & Schulenkorf, 2016). Interpretive research suggests that reality is socially constructed and variables are complex, intertwined, and tough to measure (Glesne, 1999). According to

Crotty (1998), an interpretive approach to research “looks for culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world” (p. 67). Hence, interpretive research is generally informed by qualitative methods that enable those participating in the study to explain their own views and experiences (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Applied to our study in Vietnam, we wanted participants to be empowered to determine what is relevant and meaningful to them. Okada and Young (2012) have previously advocated such an approach, suggesting that the SFD field requires “field research to collect data directly and observe and hear the voices and accounts of participants, allowing them to speak in their own terms and categories” (p. 8).

In our case, we employed semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions as key methods to gain a deeper understanding of the perspectives held by the different program stakeholders regarding the BDCF football program, its management processes, staff members and particularly the Re-engaged youth. Questions that investigated the roles and potential contribution of re-engaged youth focused on people’s experiences as former participants, their relationship with fellow participants and staff, their key lessons learned, their ability to transfer new knowledge into their local community, as well as their perceived contributions and overall experiences in returning to BDCF as volunteers or staff members.

A 2-week site familiarization trip preceded the fieldwork for this study, where Hoekman (lead author) visited BDCF to engage with the organization and to improve his understanding of the local sociocultural environment. During the trip, he was able to gain insights into BDCF’s day-to-day management and differing activities, the organization’s stakeholder groups, and the varied relationships among those groups. The trip also assisted in identifying potential interview partners and candidates for focus group discussions. Finally, in August and September 2012, the main research trip took place during which Hoekman conducted a total of 12 semi-structured interviews (30 to 60 minutes each) and two focus

groups (one with program organizers, the other with community members). Focus groups occurred first to allow for broad themes to emerge; they were conducted in English, included six members each, and went for 1.5 hours. Subsequently, Hoekman conducted personal interviews with re-engaged youth ($n = 7$) and key program stakeholders ($n = 5$) in order to probe deeper with individual respondents (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Overall, a large majority of research participants were Vietnamese, while two individuals had an Australian background. More details are listed in Table 1 below. Finally, we acknowledge the relatively small sample size as a potential limitation of our study; however, after both focus groups and all 12 interviews were conducted, discussions centered around the key themes identified and no significantly different aspects seemed to emerge.

Insert Table 1 here.

At this stage, we will discuss Hoekman's role in and around the BDCF program in some more detail. Building on personal family contacts, the Australian founder invited Hoekman to conduct a research study around the sports program. During the previously mentioned familiarization trip, he assisted as a volunteer and had direct access to sport participants; he also engaged at community development sessions and related sociocultural events. Here, he interacted with local residents, volunteers, and staff members. In short, the opportunity to engage as a volunteer positioned him to naturally enter the setting and interact casually with individuals and groups before entering into a more formal research-specific context.

During all face-to-face meetings in Hanoi, data were digitally recorded and subsequently transcribed and prepared for analysis. Given the relatively small number of interviews and focus group discussions, we opted against computer-aided analysis software, preferring to engage in manual textual analysis with the aim of identifying key themes from the data for an in-depth discussion (see Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Miles, Huberman, &

Saldaña, 2014). From a process perspective—and in an attempt to further enhance the trustworthiness and credibility of the study—triangulation of research investigators was employed (see Lincoln & Guba, 1985). As a first step, the primary author coded the data. Together with the other authors, the resulting codes and themes were then checked and discussed, or further refined. In other words, we were conscious of cross-checking information to ensure consistency and credibility (i.e. to make sure that key messages and themes were indeed representative of the transcripts; see Patton, 2014). Finally, due to time Hoekman's time constraints on site, we did not engage in active member-checking and we acknowledge this as a potential limitation of our study.

5. Findings and discussion

In this section, we provide thematic findings from our empirical investigation into the role of re-engaged youth as change agents situated within the three-step change process (Lewin 1951, 1952), highlighting their role in the context of sustainable SFD management and indirectly, community development. To allow for an informed, engaged, and critical discussion of our key themes, we have decided to combine the Findings and Discussion sections into one. We acknowledge that for confidentiality purposes, pseudonyms are used throughout this section.

5.1 Creators of a family feel

During the interviews and focus groups, there were clear and constant references to the Blue Dragon “family” that had formed over time and that appeared to be all inclusive. Evidently, most of the children who are a part of BDCF came from broken homes and often lacked a positive family dynamic in their daily lives. It became apparent that local connections and a network of supporters enabled BDCF to cater for, care for, and bond with the children on many different levels. Here, the organization fulfilled the roles of networker and trust builder which are seen as central components for a successful change agent

(Schulenkorf, 2010), and which enabled re-engaged youth to help unfreeze attitudes and behaviors in program participants and shift towards new attitudes and behaviors (Lewin, 1951, 1952). A key role is held by re-engaged youth who were able to understand and sympathize with troubled children the best; they somehow felt when and how to best engage and include them into the family, which aided in unfreezing previous attitudes and behaviors. Giulia, a social worker, explained:

We try to make the kids feel as if this is their family. We know what's going on [in their daily lives], we support them and we are happy for them to be here. We also welcome their brothers or their sisters.

Once a child has been included in the BDCF family, staff members tend to inquire about the status of any siblings and friends who may also benefit from the program's services. Services may not necessarily relate to sport and play, but could extend to wider social offerings provided by the plus-sport organization. Ming, a former program participant who is now working for Blue Dragon in the IT department, stated:

There are always new kids that come to Blue Dragon. . . . I have one friend that I met in 2007; he is getting support and counselling. We are still friends . . . also, my little sister is part of the Blue Dragon family now; they help with her school fees.

Upon further questioning, the Vietnamese staff members confirmed that distinctions between "big sister" and "little sister," as well as "big brother" and "little brother" are critical for both children and staff members. They show respect and build trust between people, and higher levels of trust that re-engaged youth can engender due to their understanding of context and similarity in background aid in unfreezing attitudes and enabling change (Cohen & Welty Peachey, 2015; Haudenhuyse et al., 2012). This speaks to the importance of the local context and local knowledge of norms and customs, a critical element of SFD that different authors have previously highlighted as a crucial success factor (Burnett, 2011;

Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011; Schulenkorf, Sugden, & Burdsey, 2014; Sherry et al., 2015).

Interestingly, the Australian members of the workforce also realized the importance of correctly addressing and engaging with the children. In fact, they believed that locals had a distinct advantage in gaining trust with the children and establishing the right dynamic and assumed “positions” within their relationship. Hannah, a Blue Dragon manager, stated:

People call each other “big sister” or “little sister”; I think it does create certain links that we don’t have back in Australia. I’ve seen local people interact and get the information they need because they had assumed the right position. . . . “Big sister, can you help me? I need this,” or “Little brother, this is my situation. Can you help me?” This way, they start connecting and trusting each other much better than outsiders ever could.

The vast majority of the research participants found that re-engaged youth were instrumental in developing strong brother/sister bonds with the street children, likely due to their ability to “speak the same language,” thus creating the conditions for participants to be receptive to unfreezing previously held attitudes and beliefs. This finding links to some of the limited previous work in SFD that has identified the importance of engaging former participants

(although not necessarily Re-engaged youth) to best build rapport and trust with current participants (Cohen & Welty Peachey, 2015; Haudenhuyse et al., 2012; Kay, 2009; Svensson et al., 2017). Moreover, an important time-factor comes into play. Whereas international change agents are often engaged for a short period of time only (e.g., as part of their internship program or practicum), re-engaged youth have the opportunity to remain involved for the longer term, thereby establishing much stronger bonds and networks with children, their families and communities, which are then critical for refreezing change in individuals and communities. Outreach worker Mitch—a local re-engaged youth himself—explained:

Maybe at first it doesn't feel like "big brother" or "little brother" because they've got their barriers up. But once the kids know who they [the Re-engaged youth] are, after not much time they refer to them as big brother. For example, look at [name of re-engaged staff member]; they know that he is part of the family because he had similar experiences in the past.

5.2 Role models

In the context of BDCF, a special role is held by the re-engaged youth who have returned to become employed in a formal position. The power of these individuals as mentors or role models in helping BDCF participants to unfreeze attitudes and behaviors, lead change, and role model new attitudes and behaviors is becoming increasingly evident. Victor suggested:

Yeah, more of the kids are quite comfortable when they talk to me and know that I was a street kid myself. It is good for them . . . because when I was a street kid . . . I was hopeless. . . . I didn't have any dreams. . . . I didn't know what I was going to do in 5 years' time. . . . I had no future . . . so, I know what's going on. So, when they see me . . . they think, "Oh, he is like me . . . and he has become employed and good." Maybe they listen to me a little more because I am something like a role model.

As a result of BDCF's provision of services for young people across a wide range of age groups, there is a degree of multi-generational contact between the children, volunteers, and younger staff members. For instance, although the football teams are generally divided into age groups on the pitch, all players come together for discussions and workshops after each session. Here, some of the older children and BDCF staff members are looked upon as role models, particularly by the younger children. Interestingly, BDCF neither purposely creates nor nourishes the status of role models, but rather relationships develop organically as

a result of the high standards of behavior and respect set by the organization. Program manager Brian explained:

We see some kids and our staff naturally rise up and become reliable role models through football. . . . And other kids see that as well. It's just like in a classroom when certain kids become leaders: It's not an election process, just everyone knows it. So the kids engage with their role models and because of how the rules that are set, you don't have any negative leadership.

Importantly, as this comment suggests, role models are not necessarily high-achieving athletes or sporting superstars, but local people that are able to direct or lead youngsters toward success. BDCF's understanding of role models is in line with previous research in SFD that has shown that role models who are relatively "close" to children or youth have better chances to connect and make a positive difference in their lives (Hayhurst et al., 2014; Meier & Saavedra, 2009; Spaaij, 2009; Tuohey & Cognato, 2011). As a result, re-engaged youth are able to understand their circumstances, attitudes, and behaviors, as they may have come from similar backgrounds themselves. This understanding furthers the ability of re-engaged youth to unfreeze attitudes and behaviors to enable movement towards change, and to then role model new attitudes and behaviors that are important for inculcating change (Lewin, 1951, 1952).

If role models are indeed critical for the prospects of SFD programs, it will be important to employ and work with respectful, committed, and idealistic personnel and peers with a passion for helping others (Nicholls, 2009). In fact, previous researchers in the SFD space have suggested that sporting skills are often less significant for organizers and communities than social skills, cultural knowledge, empathy, and engagement (see e.g., Cohen & Welty Peachey, 2015; Schulenkorf, 2010). It seems that BDCF with its inclusive policies and clear focus on community engagement skills rather than sport, specifically, has

been able to support the intrinsic development of role models and leaders. These role models and leaders, then, can serve as a middle path to community development as they understand local situations and constituents, and can use their influence to engender bottom-up development approaches which enable unfreezing and effective change leadership (see, e.g., Gschwend & Selvaranjan, 2007; Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011; Schulenkorf, 2010).

5.3 Leaders and mentors

From a long-term organizational perspective, the BDCF management has recognized the important leadership role that re-engaged youth may play in taking the organization forward by unfreezing deeply held attitudes and beliefs in their role as mentors, and then through engaging with participants in the change process. At the beginning of their social development activities, BDCF neither foresaw nor planned the idea of potentially transitioning people from “former program participant” to “current staff member;” however, respondents repeatedly noted that over time it became obvious that re-engaged youth were able to offer special leadership skills and a unique type of peer mentorship to enable change. Tim suggested:

These guys just have a special connection to the kids. They lead them on their way . . . They always have an open ear for them and guide them through difficult times. They are leaders, mentors, personal guides.

In his early research on change agents in SFD, Schulenkorf (2010) had alluded to the organizational significance of long-term planning and provision of engaged leadership for sustainable and strong SFD programs. These sentiments were reflected in the organizational behavior of BDCF whose management team began to provide re-engaged youth with further opportunities for education and training in a broad range of domains, yet at the same time build on their cultural knowledge to co-design inclusive social change (see Program Culture Expert theme below for more specific details). The strategic idea behind these initiatives was

that in the long run, BDCF staff would include a group of change agents with both significant cultural knowledge *and* professional skills – something that international programs are rarely able to achieve (see e.g., Giulianotti, 2011; Spaaij, 2012). However, the “strategic upskilling” of local staff members does not come without its challenges. Reflecting on these with a sense of humor, Brian from the executive management team explained:

Well, it is a rather strategic plan now . . . but initially it was just a case of “we really need someone to help here and this guy would be fantastic.” But now we actively look all the time. . . . The problem now is that the bloody kids want to get an education . . . so they are off studying and we have to wait for them to finish. . . . It really is inconvenient and thoughtless of them—*joke*. One guy, for example, is studying in Auckland, New Zealand.

It is evident from this ironic comment that while continued involvement with BDCF is not the main purpose for the provision of educational support and leadership opportunities for youth members, it does play a part. In other words, the success of re-engaged youth as change agents has meant that wherever possible, efforts are made to support talented individuals with the hope of welcoming them back to the “BDCF family” at a later stage in life—whether in formal or informal roles—similar to the approach of Peace Players International (Tuohey & Cognato, 2011). This strategic approach to leadership development seems to go beyond the standard development opportunities provided at many SFD organizations which tend to focus more on immediate—and often short-term—placements for job candidates or volunteers, who are often recruited internationally (see e.g., Svensson & Hambrick, 2016). Instead—and with the specific aim of making re-engagement an attractive option—the entire structure of BDCF now allows for individuals to rise in the coaching and management hierarchy, as re-engaged youth are seen as critical for all three stages of the change process (Lewin, 1951, 1952). Management provides another area where leadership

has been fostered, in this case for young re-engaged staff members who have made their way to the top. Hannah stated:

I know that [the CEO] already has someone in mind who he'd love to be the next general manager. That's fantastic. . . . He's a local kid who is supported and studying in New Zealand at the moment at a business college. . . . One of the "big picture" things is that [the CEO] can see potential for people to grow into certain leadership roles.

The program's longevity and the established trust between re-engaged youth and the CEO seems crucial in this regard. In fact, his inclusive leadership style allows for new local leaders to be created – something that seems particularly important given his 'outsider status' as an Australian national. Because of his long-term involvement in Vietnam—and his commitment to sustainable development—he is well aware that his local staff form important cultural and managerial assets. This finding aligns with some of the previous scholarship on re-engaging former SFD participants, where they are viewed as valuable assets to the organization and subsequently rise into upper leadership roles (Cohen & Welty Peachey, 2015; Hayhurst et al., 2014; Tuohey & Cognato, 2011). Given their own experiences in the program and close links with the surrounding communities, re-engaged youth are also in an excellent position to advise, mentor or coordinate initiatives that enable children to participate in sport and wider community life, thereby mobilizing change. Hannah explained:

For a while we've been observing the social workers. . . . they were saying "Okay, so we're off to the gym" at the end of their work and then taking kids with them. We always wondered why this was necessary. But when they are taking kids to the gym, it is like an immersion into whatever culture is happening there. Clearly, we as foreigners couldn't see the value in this and we can't provide or replicate that. For

me, it's something more than the equipment. They are able to mix with the local guys in the community, something they think is crucial for the kids.

The previous example shows how important local cultural knowledge and networks are for the inclusion and integration of people and groups into existing community structures. This finding supports previous SFD studies that have warned against internationals dictating the focus of activities with an attitude of "knowing things best" (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011; Richards & Foster, 2014). Instead, an engaging cooperation between local and international change agents promises to be most beneficial in the long term (see also Schulenkorf, 2010, 2012). In other words, local re-engaged youth as change agents seem best positioned to unfreeze attitudes and behaviors, and help communities navigate the changes which development often brings about due to their cultural and localized knowledge. As such, they can be instrumental in aiding communities, and individuals, in unfreezing from traditional practices, embracing the need for change and activating this change, and then in refreezing new attitudes, behaviors, and social/community norms (Lewin 1951, 1952).

5.4 Program culture experts

In both the management circles of BDCF and within the sporting activities themselves, re-engaged youth played a key role in facilitating engagement and motivating change due to their advantage of having experienced activities as both participants and staff members. Knowing the program and its culture inside out, re-engaged youth were positioned to guide and support the children throughout their learning experiences, enabling attitudes and behaviors to unfreeze and movement to take place (Lewin 1951, 1952).

In relation to the BDCF football program, encouragement of the children's development and learning happened in a rather informal way; in contrast to other SFD projects that specifically focus on group cohesion or reconciliation on and off the field (e.g., Football4Peace, SportImpact, Right to Play, etc.), social learning was implied rather than

explicitly directed during play. This approach assumes that if a sports program's ethos or cultural dynamics are strong and positive, participation will benefit children's developmental experiences. As Brian pointed out,

A lot of the learning here is implied, which is actually how you were raised as a child. Your family doesn't give you a rulebook and say, "We're going to have a workshop after dinner tonight." The child learns from behavior and engaging with others, through teamwork, through the family being together.

The implicit approach to development has received some criticism in the SFD literature and in international development circles (see e.g., Stidder & Haasner, 2007; Sugden, 2006). The argument is that without specific and structured value-based sessions, learning and development are unlikely to reach their full potential over a sustained period of time. While this argument certainly has relevance, it should be remembered that the BDCF's SFD program has been run and sustained for many years and with a strong involvement of re-engaged youth as local mentors and change agents. Therefore, it seems intriguing to explore the program's implicit approach to learning in some more detail. For example, during the football sessions it became obvious that children who had been attending the sports program for several years were educating the newly arrived children about the rules of the games and the fair distribution of the drinks at halftime. It seemed that as part of their engagement, they wanted to help them "fit in" with the routines as quickly as possible, and they were keen to share the conventions and norms they had already mastered through experience. In reflecting on her own lived experiences, re-engaged youth Linda explained:

I remember how important it was to me that I was made welcome at my own football sessions back then. So now I have the opportunity to give back and show others how welcoming we are. To me, it is part of the BDCF culture.

Providing this welcome helped to establish the preconditions necessary for unfreezing to occur (see, e.g., Cohen & Welty Peachey, 2015). Finally, and as indicated above, the BDCF management team has recognized the importance of professional development of its volunteers and staff. However, in the case of Re-engaged youth, these development activities play out differently when compared to traditional capacity building endeavors. In fact, BDCF's development program was divided into two parts. While external training for re-engaged youth included standard opportunities such as workshops on child education, social work, or business management, the internal dynamics changed. Here, re-engaged youth became an active part of a development program that was designed to actively form an inclusive program culture. In other words, re-engaged youth were in the position to be empowered and co-design cultural development programs for other staff members and volunteers. Hence, by going beyond classical train the trainer approaches (see, e.g., Sugden, 2010), re-engaged youth are particularly valuable assets for SFD organizations as experts of program culture and local knowledge. Reflecting on his experiences, re-engaged youth Liam stated:

I like the mix of development sessions. Some provide expert information for you, some other time you provide information about our community and [way of] life for others. It is a good mix that benefits our staff, volunteers, and the kids.

Overall, the program and cultural expertise re-engaged youth brought to the organization enabled it to be sensitive to its participants' needs and the cultural context, incorporating to a stronger degree a bottom-up development approach (Gschwend & Selvaranju, 2007; Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011; Read, 2006). Re-engaged youth therefore enabled the organization to be more effective in all three phases of change, from unfreezing attitudes, to sensitively leading and mobilizing change through a bottom-up approach, to then refreezing new attitudes and practices to enable more sustainable development.

5.5 Limitations and future research

In the present study, we uncovered several important themes regarding the involvement of re-engaged youth in sustainable management of SFD, including their roles as program culture experts, creators of a family feel, role models, and leaders and mentors in SFD and beyond. These themes may well be used as a foundation for stimulating future research and dialogue among SFD academics, government agencies, and NGOs who are becoming increasingly aware of the potential of using sport to engage marginalized or disadvantaged communities. In particular, more specific investigations are required to identify systematic practices that engage and nurture local change agents, including local employees, volunteers, and/or Re-engaged youth. As a result of this study, we suggest that the field of SFD will benefit from a larger research project that investigates how and under which circumstances former youth participants gain a sense of self-efficacy and confidence to re-engage with their development organization, and if any engagement toward positive social change really extends to the wider community. To date, much of the evidence in this context remains anecdotal, and if scholars are serious about claims that change agents have a true impact beyond the sporting grounds, they must conduct rigorous empirical research—both qualitative and quantitative (see Sherry et al, 2015). Such broader studies would certainly require a larger participation base than our initial research was able to offer.

We also note that in the case of BDCF, negative attitudes and skepticism have remained in parts of the local community toward the “family of underprivileged children.” In fact, it became evident during the interviews that at times, the organization—and its efforts to support street children in particular—suffered from community resistance and even sabotage. For example, on one occasion drinking water was deliberately laced with a noxious substance (motor oil) when people learned that it was being purchased for street children who were about to use community facilities, including the local swimming pool. This example

underscores the challenges and potential limitations of SFD in general, and the need for careful and sensitive management on behalf of BDCF staff members and re-engaged youth in particular.

In an attempt to establish and preserve physically, socially, and culturally safe spaces for children (Spaaij & Schulenkorf, 2014), those staff members who have themselves experienced prejudice as a child may hold a key role in explaining, appeasing, conciliating, and placating children who are confronted with open rejection or exclusion. On the other hand, re-engaged youth who are confronted with such negative attitudes may be reminded of the past, and find it mentally and emotionally difficult to handle such situations. Hence, to provide organizations and staff members with the best support and advice, we suggest that more detailed analyses of such socio-psychological and socio-managerial aspects of development work deserve to be conducted in the future. Similarly, a comparative study of international change agents and local re-engaged youth could illicit the opportunities and challenges—and associated managerial support mechanisms—in different community contexts.

With a focus on SFD, we attempted to capture the potential contributions of re-engaged youth towards sustainable and locally grounded development. We have to acknowledge, however, that although interview questions were specifically directed at BDCF's sport component, we cannot guarantee that in their responses, the interviewees did not take the organization's wider activities into account. This presents a limitation of our study as it may have resulted in a focus on community development that went beyond sport itself. Finally, it is important to remember that the impacts of re-engagement themselves are not entirely positive or beneficial. Therefore, assessment of potential negative impacts and outcomes, such as local dependencies, negative influences, political power games, and managerial pressures to re-engage, should also be analyzed in future research. Here, the

combined voices of SFD organizers, change agents, local community representatives, and participants will be crucial to paint a holistic and realistic picture of program challenges and limitations.

5.6 Conclusion

Previous socio-managerial research in SFD has highlighted the importance of considering sustainability issues and the role that change agents may play in program design, delivery, and development (Holmes et al, 2016; Schulenkorf, 2010). In this paper, we have responded to the absence of targeted, empirical research on re-engaged youth in SFD; we have done so through the eyes of BDCF and its associated SFD program which has been sustained in Vietnam for over a decade. The sports program presents a small but nevertheless significant part of a more comprehensive array of services offered by BDCF. While the development of social and educational resources are the official aims of the sporting activities, the organizers' underlying goals remain to meet the basic human need for belonging in disadvantaged children and provide them the opportunity to play in a safe and stable environment. In this regard, Pawson's (2006) assertion appears appropriate; he argued that the beneficial social outcomes derived from sport result from the combined processes of participation, provision, and experience of programs and activities, rather than from a causal relationship.

The significance of providing and maintaining a safe and secure environment for marginalized children to participate was echoed by research respondents who were both directly and indirectly involved in BDCF's sports program. The sports program's stability was based on the consistent and reliable delivery of activities driven by committed staff members who shared a passion both for sport and youth development. In other words, BDCF was able to implement its strategy toward providing a sustainable platform for positive youth development through the provision of role models as well as continuous opportunities for

learning and development. Of particular value were re-engaged youth who, as local change agents, were recognized as key drivers for organizational success and the creation of a “family feel.” Their involvement and leadership capabilities proved critical from a sociocultural and managerial perspective, as BDCF was ideally placed to benefit from important local knowledge, social capabilities, and cultural resources necessary to respond to local challenges and changing needs of the children. Against this background, BDCF’s SFD program was also able to influence the broader agenda of providing respite for disadvantaged and marginalized children through an inclusive and locally supported environment that promotes the importance of trust, reciprocity, and resourceful networks.

Overall, the significance of the present work is to demonstrate that re-engaged youth are well positioned to enable change in individual attitudes, behaviors, and communities to occur. Theoretically, we make several important contributions. First, we demonstrate the utility and value of applying field theory (Lewin, 1951, 1952) to enhance an understanding of how re-engaged youth can be agents of change in the SFD. Field theory has not previously been utilized within SFD to engage with a deeper understanding of the change process and sustainability. In fact, previous scholarship in SFD has not fully explored the process of social change, nor the mechanisms through which this change may occur; our findings demonstrate that field theory can be a helpful lens in this regard. Specifically, the current study as informed by field theory illuminates the importance of the three-step process of change through unfreezing attitudes and beliefs, mobilizing change, and then re-institutionalizing new attitudes and beliefs. Thus, field theory’s relevance to SFD, as highlighted through our findings, is to help practitioners and scholars better understand the theoretical process of social change and how this is evinced.

As such, and secondly, we contribute to a more robust understanding of the black box revolving around how, and through what mechanisms and components, SFD practitioners can

realize positive, sustainable impacts and outcomes of SFD programs (Coalter, 2007, 2013).

We also extend the limited scholarship that has tangentially addressed re-engaged youth by delving into the processes of change. Specifically, SFD organizations can be sustainable and more effective in carrying out their missions, through the strategic deployment and engagement with re-engaged youth as change agents to unfreeze unhealthy attitudes and behaviors, motivate and lead change, and then refreeze new attitudes, behaviors, and norms. Re-engaged youth are crucial to this change process as they help an SFD organization engage in bottom-up program design and development efforts to best capture local knowledge and involvement, which are theoretically important process components and critical factors to enable program and organizational sustainability (Gschwend & Selvaranju, 2007; Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011; Phillips & Schulenkorf, 2017; Read, 2006).

Third, the theoretical ramifications of the present study are also important for the broader sport management field, as they demonstrate the utility of field theory in understanding the change process, and they help to crystalize our understanding of the mechanisms through which change can occur. The current study highlights the critical importance of re-engaged youth in mobilizing and facilitating the social change process. Findings demonstrated that re-engaged youth can be effective in development of sport projects (e.g., role modeling and serving as leaders and mentors as important organizational components) and in development through sport (e.g., mobilizing the social change process, serving as bridges to local communities). As such, our findings offer valuable insights more broadly for sport organizations, as they could consider strategically re-engaging former participants as employees and volunteers (e.g., college athletes, professional athletes, recreational league players) to better enable development of sport and development through sport.

We conclude by suggesting that a strong commitment to long-term, bottom-up development both from the organization and local staff members is critical for SFD programs to succeed. In this context, a strategic focus on re-engaged youth as change agents allows SFD organizations to sustain their “organic” growth and connect meaningfully with local communities. In fact, we believe that re-engaged youth are significant drivers for organizational success and in the wider context of strategic planning for sustainable development. We therefore recommend that in the future, re-engaged youth receive much greater attention in sport management and SFD practice and theory.

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Table 1: Overview of Interview Participants

#	Pseudonym	Position	Nationality	Gender	Re-engaged Youth	Focus Group
1	Tim	BD Staff Member	Vietnamese	Male	✓	Organiser
2	Brian	BD Staff Member	Australian	Male		Organiser
3	Victor	BD Staff Member	Vietnamese	Male	✓	Organiser
4	Liam	BD Staff Member	Vietnamese	Male	✓	Organiser
5	Hannah	BD Staff Member	Australian	Female		Organiser
6	Linda	BD Volunteer	Vietnamese	Female	✓	Organiser
7	Guilia	Social Worker	Vietnamese	Female		Community
8	Daniel	Community Member	Vietnamese	Male	✓	Community
9	Mitch	Community Member	Vietnamese	Male	✓	Community
10	Ben	International Student	Vietnamese	Male	✓	Community
11	Lea	Football Participant	Vietnamese	Female		Community
12	Steve	Football Participant	Vietnamese	Male		Community