

SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN SPORTS

By Celia Brackenridge
Cheltenham & Gloucester College of Higher Education,
Francis Close Hall, Swindon Road, Cheltenham, GL504AZ, U.K.
Tel: 01242-543312 Fax: 01242-543283 {From 12995 at celia.brackenridge@brunel.ac.uk }

Paper to the 41st Annual Meeting of the American College of Sports Medicine,
Minneapolis, USA, May 31 - June 3 1995

The purpose of this talk today is to give you an overview of the current state of research on sexual harassment in sport and to raise questions about the links between harassment, sexual abuse and women's health and safety in sport.

THE RELATIVITY OF DEFINITIONS

Sexual harassment is one form of violence against women. Harassment against men is not unknown but my focus today is on women since women and girls have less power than men and boys, both in society at large and, especially, in sport.

FIGURE 1 HERE

I construe sexual harassment as part of a continuum of sexual violence from sexual discrimination at one end to sexual abuse at the other, where discrimination is largely *structural* i.e. arising from the institutional systems which characterise our society, and sexual abuse is mainly *personal* both in terms of the perpetrator and the victim. However, it is important to recognise that even though harassment and abuse may be *objectively* defined they are *subjectively* experienced and therefore that definitions carefully teased out by academics may be meaningless to individual victims. I include both harassment and abuse in the scope of my talk today for just that reason - what is harassment to one person may be experienced as abuse by another.

SPORT: A SOCIO-POLITICAL VACUUM?

Those who believe that sport is a breeding ground for moral virtue and central social values are living in the past. Nineteenth century images of sport as pure, separate from real life and imbued with semi-religious virtue are gross distortions of contemporary fact. Sport exhibits racism, homophobia and sexism in at least as great a measure as any other aspect of society, arguably more so. Major sporting organisations have been particularly slow to embrace the social reforms of modern democracy and have found it difficult to absorb and deal with the equal rights agenda which is now a standard part of most our lives. But radical critiques of sport since the 1970s have helped to expose the myth of what is often been called the 'level playing field'. Because of the political naivete and laissez faire attitude of sport administrators, abusive behaviours such as bullying, racism, homophobia and sexual abuse have been allowed to pass unchallenged and therefore, by default, have flourished within sport.

SEXUAL HARASSMENT AND ABUSE RESEARCH

Whereas sexual harassment has been extensively researched within the *workplace*, research on sexual abuse has been focussed in the *home*. Cases of intra-familial child sexual abuse dominate the case loads of social workers and the police and have, not surprisingly, become the most urgent priority for prevention schemes. Extra-familial sexual abuse represents around 14% of reported cases in the UK and it is in this group that abuse by coaches is classified.

Since we have no prevalence or incidence data from sport populations we must borrow from social work data. Widely differing results are found depending on the particular research design, sampling and analysis procedures adopted but there seems to be broad consensus that between one in four girls and one in nine boys has experienced sexual abuse before they reach mid-teenage years (Fisher 1994). If these figures are extrapolated to sport we must accept that a large proportion of athletes go through the traumatic experience of sexual abuse before or during their introduction to sport and that sexual abuse within sport might simply be building upon existing vulnerabilities established in the family. At this point we simply do not know what the links are, if any, between familial and extra-familial sexual abuse. However, as one of my own research participants explained (1994), the sports team can become a surrogate family for the female athlete, making sexual abuse by her coach virtual incest:

I consider it incest - that's what this is all about. Because the time spent, the demands, the friendship, the opportunity...they are giving you something no-one else can. They're brother, uncle, father...the child feels safe and will do anything. That's why it's incest.

(Participant D5)

Sexual harassment and abuse in sport have been the subject of research since the mid 1980s. Limited empirical work has been done, in the USA (Crosset 1986; Burton Nelson 1994), Canada (Kirby 1994; Lenskyj 1986, 1990), the UK (Brackenridge 1987, 1994a; Yorgani 1993) and Germany (Palzkill 1994). Crosset's work was with swim coaches but in the main these studies have involved interviews with survivors of sexual violence in sport. A number of researchers have worked closely with sport organisations to draft ethical codes and practical guidelines for coaches and administrators. In the USA, Don Sabo led a group which produced a set of educational materials about sexual harassment

in sport and a code of practice about coach/athlete behaviour on behalf of the *Women's Sports Foundation* (1994). *WomenSport International* established its Task Force on Sexual Harassment last year and we have subsequently networked very effectively with the *WSF* group. As a community of scholars and practitioners we are concerned that our research should provide irrefutable evidence of the need for change to those in a position to influence our major sport organisations.

Most authors agree that abuse arises from an exploitation of the power of the coach who is placed in a god-like status by those who appoint him [I say him since males still dominate the coaching positions of most westernised countries]. He therefore has power over them because they want winning results, and over the athlete, who wants selection and medals. Even where administrators know of an abusing coach they may turn a blind eye to his behaviour in order to protect their own interests.

Everyone in (*sport*) is concerned about Tom...
(Participant D5)

I tried to think of someone (*to report him to*) but couldn't - they'd all be frightened to do anything in case they needed him in the future.
(Participant D10)

Because he coaches the best people in the country no-one questions him.
(Participant D9)

She reported the abuse but the (*sport organisation*) didn't know how to deal with it.
(Participant D7)

In such a scenario, the athlete becomes an expendable commodity and may therefore prefer to remain silent rather than risk exclusion from the sport.

The (*sport organisation*) closed ranks to support him...The upshot was that Susan was dropped...he carried on coaching with a female chaperone.
(Participant D3)

My own work has mapped the personal and interpersonal components of abusive relationships and used individual accounts of sexual abuse by women athletes to build an emerging picture of risk factors.

FIGURE 2 HERE

I am aware that risk factor analysis means something rather more specific to a medical scientist than a social scientist but nonetheless this approach is proving useful and is one which interviewees can identify with closely. Some of the the more interesting areas for further exploration include:

- 1 the possible link between disordered eating and sexual abuse
- 2 the use of transportation by coaches
- 3 the closeness of the relationship between the talented young athlete and her parents

The link between disordered eating and sexual abuse is something which is well documented in the medical literature on disordered eating and to which I was alerted by *ACSM* members at their Womens' Task Force conference in Seattle last year. It is too early to say whether sexual abuse in the family or in sport may be the causal factor here. It may also be the case that the athlete, who is already narrowly focussed on her body and on particular eating regimes for her sport, uses disordered eating as a mechanism for her rebellion against sexual abuse.

PERSONAL EXPLANTIONS OF ABUSE

Is it possible to predict who will be an abusing coach? In attempting to answer this question, sport researchers should learn from the lessons of social work research on perpetrator profiles and should attend to both Finkelhor's (1984) and Wolf's models (1984) of abuse (see Figs. 3 & 4), both of which are widely used and regarded.

FIGURE 3 HERE

Finkelhor posits four preconditions for sexual abuse: motivation to sexually abuse; overcoming internal inhibitions; overcoming external inhibitions and overcoming the resistance of the child/victim. In this adaptation of his model I have attempted to show how resistances may be maintained or broken down at each level.

FIGURE 4 HERE

Wolf suggests that sexual offending is addictive behaviour in the same way that alcohol or drug use is. His 'cycle of offending' begins with negative self image, expectations of rejection, withdrawal and then the use of sexual fantasies to give the offender the illusion of control. The offender's behaviour then moves on to establishing situations where sexual abuse might occur, and that is where sport may become a target. Grooming of victims may take time for it must be done in ways that minimise the risk of detection. Indeed, the most successful abusers are those who can keep their secret by clandestine behaviour and/or who have established a strong alibi of community respect. In sport the coach is, by definition, afforded the respect of authority, and is in a position of power over *athletes* - who want skill, improvement and selection, *parents* - who want success for themselves and their offspring, and *administrators* - who need success in the sport for it to flourish and for their empires to survive. The significance of the power of the coach cannot be underestimated and can be likened to that of the priest who is also vested with authority (of God) and whose absolute knowledge is not questioned or challenged.

So far as research has shown, sexual abusers in sport are well-qualified at their job, intelligent, patient and, apparently *unlike* abusers in some other contexts (Fisher 1994), have good inter personal skills and

a positive self-image. They spend a long time, sometimes months or even years, 'grooming' their athletes, that is preparing the athlete for sexual approaches. This process involves gradually building trust and pushing back the boundaries of acceptable behaviour, slowly violating more and more personal space through verbal familiarity, emotional blackmail and physical touch. Athletes who submit to these approaches, whether consciously or not, then find themselves trapped and often thereafter unable to resist the demands of the coach.

Sexual harassment is frequently defined as 'persistent *unwanted* behaviour' but I argue that the coach, as the more powerful party in the relationship, is always morally and socially responsible for his actions and always in a position of control. Grooming occurs because the coach cannot afford to lose his position of power through a disgruntled athlete reporting him: he therefore only progresses his abusing behaviour when he is sure that he will receive co-operation.

There were ways of ... testing yes to see whether basically they...passed information on, or whether ...you could rely on them...whether they were able to keep secrets...
(Convicted former coach)

The athlete who rejects the advances of a coach, or one who has been cast on one side by him, is in a particularly vulnerable position since she knows his secret. He may therefore victimise her as punishment and terrorise her in an effort to keep her quiet.

Every time I compete he's there and he criticises me...he's just pulling me down.[...] He writes me letters saying that I've got no ability...because he still wants to manipulate me...but I'm the one that got away. (Participant D10)

Abused athletes frequently suffer low self-esteem and put themselves repeatedly in the path of advances from their abusers. The cycle of dependency - sexual attention, guilt and further dependency - is very hard to break. It is all the more surprising that top athletes find themselves subjected to long-term sexual abuse by their coaches given that personal confidence is a prerequisite for performance success. Perhaps this is explained by recognising that the higher the athlete has gone in a sport, the harder she will fall if she fails. She is constantly on a knife edge in terms of both her *physical capability*, which can be destroyed at any time by illness or injury, and her *psychological capability*, which can be destroyed by the withdrawal of attention of the coach and/or by his wilful undermining of her confidence. In other words, she needs the coach to maintain her confident 'edge'. A talented athlete may also trade off sexual abuse against her desire to succeed, especially where the coach is deemed to be 'the best'.

I thought "wow" when he said he'd coach me...You don't ask him to coach you, he selects you. You are somebody if you're coached by him [...] Because he coaches the best people in the country no-one questions him. (Participant D9)

STRUCTURAL EXPLANATIONS OF ABUSE

As well as broader explanations based on patriarchal domination, the nature of a particular sport itself - its rules and techniques - has been suggested as one possible contributory factor in sexual abuse. For

example, are athletes in sports which require minimal clothing and a lot of physical touch more susceptible to abuse? Are athletes in individual sports or sports which involve peaking at a very young age more likely to become victims of abuse? Since most testimonies have arisen from opportunistic samples no reliance can be placed on the pattern of sports represented but there is some suggestion from the pattern of individual responses that clusters of risk factors might give us some warning signs (see Fig. 2). For example, sports in which very young athletes operate under intense rivalry for attention or selection, where training or competition require long hours away from home, *may* be more at risk. However, it would be unwise to suggest that any single sport-related factor were the trigger for abusive behaviour. It is more likely that abuse arises from a combination of factors to do with the coach, the athlete *and* the sport and that a number of filters operate to inhibit abusive behaviour. The stronger the filters, the less likely it will be that abuse can occur, however, persistent the coach might be. A great deal more work needs to be done on this issue before any confidence can be based in claims about 'risky sports'.

CONSEQUENCES OF SEXUAL ABUSE IN SPORTS

The consequences of sexual harassment or abuse are very severe indeed for the individual being victimised. Sexual abuse, in particular, damages the mental health of the athlete not only in the short term but also over many years and possibly a lifetime: it is an issue of health and safety for women in sport not only because it causes social embarrassment and emotional turmoil but because it creates deep psychological scars and crippling loss of self-esteem. Whilst abuse may have physical and medical correlates it is important for us all to recognise that it is not just a medical problem but one whose treatment and prevention require inter-disciplinary and inter-agency co-operation.

It is not possible, at this stage, to know how many young women have left sport because of abuse but it is clear that only the strongest survive. Certainly, only the survivors have the courage to come forward for interview which means that their experiences and their coping strategies may differ from those who have simply disappeared from view and never volunteered to tell their stories. Many of those who have spoken to Mariah Burton Nelson (1994) and to myself (1994) have told of their own naiveté at the time of the abuse, their inability to exert control over their own destinies and their complete submissiveness to the sexual demands of the coach:

He did rape me but I didn't know it was happening...I was totally in love. (Participant D7)

I was obsessed with him...it wasn't rape it was seduction...it was my fault...(Participant D8)

...by then I was absolutely dependent upon him - he was god - without listening to myself. From 15-19 he owned me basically. (Participant D8)

This was the bloke I'd trusted...he knew everything about me - more than my parents.
(Participant D9)

With hindsight, and often after long years of therapy, these same women have come to recognise the coach for what he was and have also come to terms with their own role on the situation. Typically, they feel ambivalence about the coach and some express guilt as they feel they may have hurt him. This reluctance to blame the coach is an indicator of the effectiveness of the grooming process and perhaps also a reflection of the genuine affection which the athlete has built up for the coach. Whilst it might be argued that the coach uses calculated moments of weakness to exploit the athlete's affection for him it is also too simplistic to suggest that athletes are entirely malleable. Indeed, one of the great contradictions of sexual abuse in sport is that the abused athlete sometimes feels lasting closeness to, or even love for, her abuser.

Some survivors have returned to confront their coaches, to try and reach an understanding about why the abuse happened and to confirm that they now control their own lives. This strategy has not always been successful as several athletes report having succumbed a second time or having ended up forgiving the coach and blaming themselves.

The reason I went back to him was to make it all right...The biggest mistake I ever made was to forgive him - because it all started again. (Participant D8)

CHALLENGES TO RESEARCHERS

FIGURE 5 HERE

Most of the studies so far have been about male coach harassment/abuse of female athletes (see Fig. 5) although some authors have recognised that peer-abuse, same-sex abuse and athlete-to-coach harassment occur and should also be investigated. The concern of the *WomenSport International* Task force is with male-generated abuse since this appears to be the most widespread problem and one which is an extension of the patriarchal grip on sport.

Sexual abuse is a particularly challenging topic for academic researchers and one which presents many methodological and ethical difficulties. To begin with, there are no universally accepted definitions of harassing and abusing behaviours and therefore measurement is problematic. Even if we can agree definitions there are dangers in suggesting an analysis of sexual abuse based solely on behavioural factors. Situational contingencies are also very important, for example opportunities to be alone with children, and this is why some sexual abuse prevention programmes are based on lessening the closed nature of coach/athlete relationships in order to assist with the maintenance of safe inter-personal boundaries. We do not yet know precisely what contingencies are more or less risky for children or female athletes but can speculate that combinations of particular personal and situational factors (see Fig. 2) should be looked at rather than searching for any single causal factor.

Access to data presents a further research problem since victims of harassment, and more particularly of abuse, are difficult to locate and may be reluctant to reveal their experiences. Knowledge of the

prevalence or incidence sexual abuse in sport remains elusive. The use of survey techniques, especially where these are randomly distributed, is fraught with methodological and ethical difficulties including reliability, validity and generalisability. In addition, the prevalence survey almost inevitably raises, and even exacerbates, psychological traumas for certain athletes which the researcher will probably never know about. It is a moot point whether such surveys add more to the problem than they do to the solution. Even if one can define sexual abuse satisfactorily the validity of prevalence statistics is highly questionable because of the sensitivity of the topic. However, Don Sabo asserts that prevalence studies are long overdue in this area of sport behaviour and that, without them, political lobbying is unlikely to be effective (1995). One of the next challenges to the *WSI* Task Force is to coordinate some cross-cultural prevalence studies.

Research into such sensitive areas of experience as sexual harassment and abuse must be carried out with the greatest possible care, ensuring confidentiality for all participants, locking data away in secret and rendering all data anonymous for analytical purposes. Ethics protocols must be observed and the necessary approvals sought from research institutions or, if these do not exist, guidelines for ethical research from learned associations should be followed.

It is tempting for researchers in this area to be drawn into individual cases: sometimes, an aggrieved athlete will ask for direct help in bringing her persecutor to account. However distressing these individual cases may be, no researcher should overstep the limits of her professional training or skills by giving counselling or advice which lie outside her competence.

Research of this type is unpopular with sport organisations because it reveals a side of sport that they deny exists or would prefer to ignore. Co-operation from such organisations is therefore difficult to secure. Similarly, research funding for such work is almost impossible to find from within sport as research resources are scarce and this type of work is threatening to those who run sport. Research into drug abuse is also threatening but because it relates to *performance enhancement* i.e. winning, as opposed to *athlete development* it is funded relatively favourably.

CHALLENGES TO SPORT ORGANISATIONS

Sports teachers, leaders and coaches must, sooner or later, recognise that harassment and abuse are unacceptable behaviours which violate the trust placed in them by athletes, parents and society and which undermine the respect that society has for their role. As coaching behaviours, sexual harassment and abuse fall into the same category as other types of abuse, such as controls over diet, sleep patterns, social life, dress codes and hairstyles (Crosset 1986; Yorgani 1993) in which the autonomy of the individual athlete is taken away. Denial of the problem will not make it disappear. It is unfortunate but wholly understandable that research findings of sexual harassment and abuse in sport threaten the community of

coaches. In the U.K, for example, there was widespread hostility from coaches to the screening of a BBC documentary programme on the issue (BBS 1993) and in the USA (Burton Nelson 1994b) and Canada (Kirby 1995) researchers have reported backlash media coverage of their work . If harassment and abuse are seen as part of the general concept of leadership style then it becomes clear that they are autocratic rather than democratic behaviours which exploit the athlete and privilege the coach.

FIGURE 6 HERE

I currently hold documented cases of sexual abuse in a dozen different sports (Fig.6) and have no reason to suppose that the list will stop here. Those responsible for the education and training of coaches have an obligation to raise awareness of the processes of gendering and sexualisation which affect all their networks of relationships and to disseminate good practice in gender relations. Through education and training, with coaches, athletes, parents and administrators, it is possible to shift the climate within sport organisations and to work towards a more effective, collective response to sexual harassment and abuse. Codes of ethics and athletes charters might help but these alone will never prevent sexual molesters gaining access to sport. Criminal record checks or screening of new coaches may also assist with prevention but, again, such mechanisms have been proven to be fallible in the face of determined paedophiles and molesters. All participants in the sports network have a duty to be on their guard, to adopt sensible, widely-communicated practices when coaching, training, competing or travelling and to learn to detect warning signs and refer any suspicions to specialist help.

Sexual abuse has occurred throughout history and therefore predates modern sport by centuries. However, accelerating commodification and intensification of competition witnessed in the last few decades of the twentieth century have cast a spotlight on sport. Sport is still fondly regarded by some as a moral oasis where individual interests are subsumed in the good of the team and where shared values are safeguarded. But this rose-tinted view of sport is becoming clouded. Emphasis on the outcomes of sport - winning, fame and financial success - has led to an unequal balance between means and ends and an increase in deviant behaviours such as the use of ergogenic aids, technological cheating, fraud and bribes. It could be said that, however misguided these actions are, they are aimed at improving the chances of competitive success in sport: sexual abuse, on the other hand, is aimed only at the gratification of the abuser and, far from enhancing competitive success, is likely to damage the individual athlete and cause a haemorrhage of athletic talent.

The gradually accumulating research evidence of sexual harassment and abuse in sport is helping researchers to lobby sport organisations for more effective procedures and practices to help avoid these problems and to help athletes who have suffered from harassment or abuse in the past. Unfortunately, however, change in sport organisations is slow and uneven. Where a government body has overall responsibility for co-ordinating the work of voluntary sport groups, and for subsidising their work, then

there is some potential for improvements but where such government agencies fail to act, or do not exist, then the onus is on the sport organisations themselves to bring about effective policies and practices for protection from sexual harassment and abuse. The traditional organisational autonomy of sport governing bodies means that only those with informed and sympathetic officers are likely to bring about change. The easiest defence against change for a sport governing body is denial that the problem exists but denial cannot be sustained indefinitely in the face of evidence from international research.

REFERENCES

- British Broadcasting Services (1993) *Report of telephone helpline on sexual abuse in sport*. Unpublished.
- Brackenridge, Celia (1994a) It couldn't happen here. Sexual harassment and abuse in sport. In: *Kvinner - En utfordring for idretten?* Report of a conference of the Norwegian Women's Olympic Forum, Lillehammer. pp.69-77.
- Brackenridge, Celia (1994b) Fair play or fair game? Child sexual abuse in sport organisations. In *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* Vol. 29, No. 3, pp.287-299.
- Brackenridge Celia (1994c) Interviews with survivors of sexual abuse in sport. Unpublished.
- Brackenridge, Celia (forthcoming) "Monsters don't get close to children, nice men do": Ethical dilemmas in researching sexual harassment and abuse in sport. In: Gill Clarke & Barbara Humberstone (eds) *Writing in women: Critically researching women, physical activity, sport and physical education*. London: Macmillan.
- Burton Nelson, Mariah (1994) *The stronger women get, the more men love football: Sexism and the American culture of sports*. New York: Harcourt Brace.
- Burton Nelson, Mariah (1994) Personal communication.
- Crosset, Todd (1986) Male coach/female athlete relationships. Paper presented to the First International Conference for Sport Sciences, Sole, Norway, November 15-16
- Crosset, Todd (1994) *Are you crossing the line with an athlete?* Unpublished.
- Finkelhor, David (1984) *Child sexual abuse: New theory and research*. New York: Free Press.
- Fisher, Dawn (1994) Adult sex offenders: Who are they? Why and how do they do it? In: Morrison Tony, Erooga Marcus & Beckett Richard C. (eds) *Sexual offending against children. Assessment and treatment of male abusers*. (London: Routledge) pp.1-24.
- Kirby, Sandra (1994) *Not in my back yard: Sexual harassment and abuse in sport*. Unpublished paper.
- Kirby, Sandra (1995) Personal communication.
- Lenskyj, Helen (1986) *Out of Bounds: Women, sport and sexuality*. Toronto: Women's Press.
- Lenskyj, Helen (1992) Sexual harassment: Female athlete's experiences and coaches' responsibilities. *Sport Science Periodical on Research and Technology in Sport*. Coaching Association of Canada Vol.12, No. 6, Special Topics B-1.
- Palzkill, Birgit (1994) Personal communication.
- Sabo, Don (1995) Personal communication.
- Sabo, Don & Messner, Michael (1990) *Sport, men and the gender order*. Illinois: Human Kinetics.
- Wolf, S.C (1984) A multi-factor model of deviant sexuality. Cited by Dawn Fisher in Tony Morrison, Marcus Erooga & Richard C. Beckett (1994) *Sexual offending against children*. London: Routledge.

- Women's Sports Foundation (1994) *Prevention of Sexual Harassment in Athletic Settings: An educational resource kit for athletic administrators*. New York: WSF.
- Yorgani, Ilkay (1993) Preliminary findings from a survey of gender relationships and sexual harassment in sport. In Celia Brackenridge (ed) *Body Matters: Leisure images and lifestyles*. Publication no: 47.(Brighton: Leisure Studies Association)

Figure 1 The sexual violence continuum [Adapted from Brackenridge, Celia (forthcoming) in Gill Clarke & Barbara Humberstone (eds)]

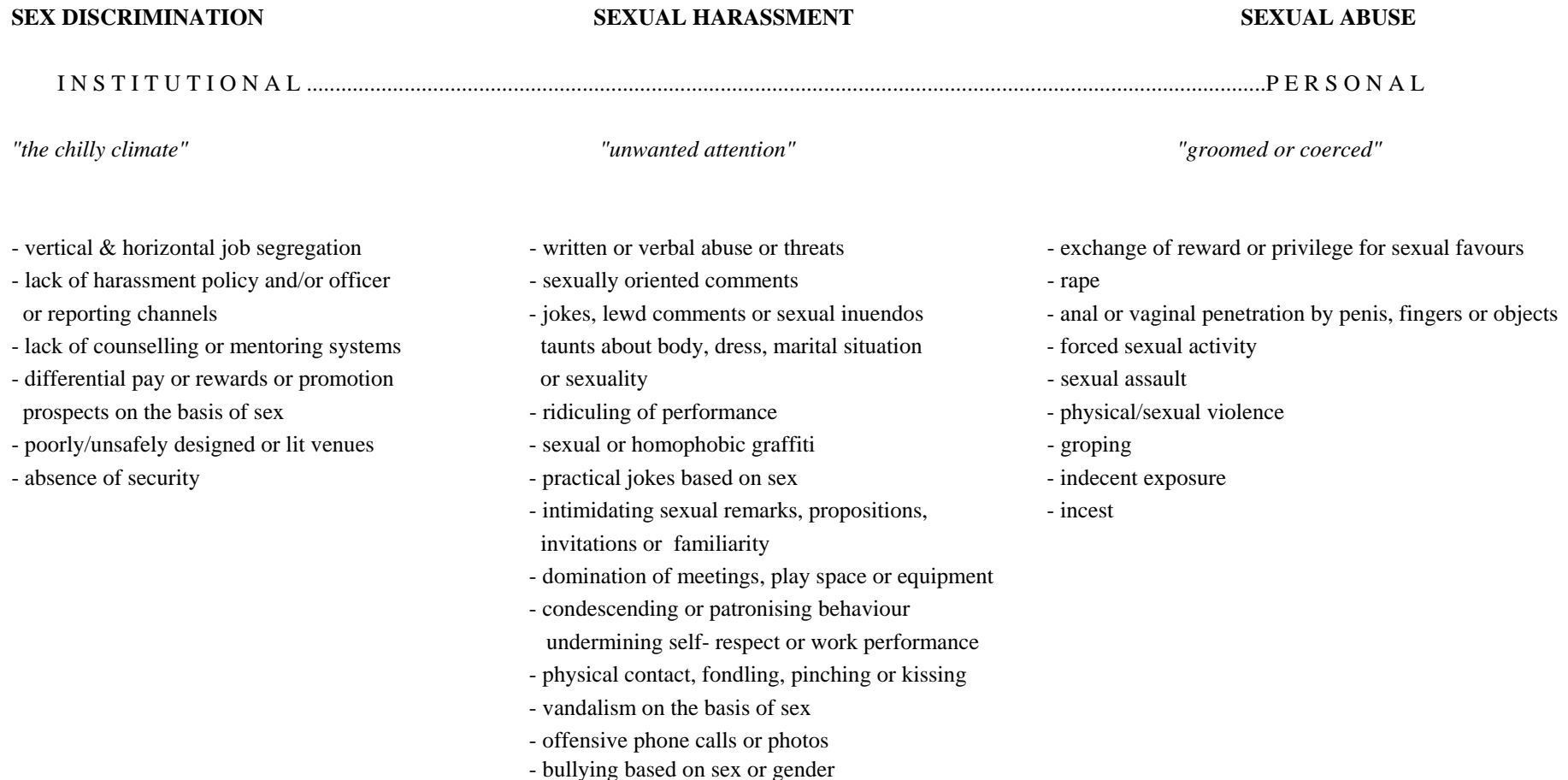


Figure 2 Risk factors for sexual abuse in sport [Adapted from: Brackenridge, Celia (forthcoming) in Gill Clarke & Barbara Humberstone (eds)]

COACH VARIABLES	ATHLETE VARIABLES	SPORT VARIABLES
- sex [<i>male</i>]	- sex [<i>female</i>]	- amount of physical handling required for coaching
- age [<i>older</i>]	- age [<i>younger</i>]	- individual/team sport
- size/physique [<i>larger/stronger</i>]	- size/physique [<i>smaller/weaker</i>]	- location of training and competitions
- accredited qualifications [<i>good</i>]		
- rank/reputation [<i>high</i>]	- rank/status [<i>potentially high</i>]	- opportunity for trips away
- previous record of SH [<i>unknown/ignored</i>]	- history of sexual abuse [<i>unknown/none</i>]	- dress requirements
- trust of parents [<i>strong</i>]	- level of awareness of SH [<i>low</i>]	- employment/recruitment controls and/or vetting [<i>weak/none</i>]
- standing in the sport/ club/community [<i>high</i>]	- self-esteem [<i>low</i>]	- regular evaluation including athlete screening and cross-referencing to medical data
	- relationship with parents [<i>weak</i>]	- education and training on SH and abuse [<i>none</i>]
- chances to be alone with athletes in training, at competitions and away on trips [<i>frequent</i>]	- medical problems especially disordered eating [<i>medium/high</i>]	- use of national and sport-specific codes of ethics sport-specific codes of ethics and conduct [<i>weak</i>]
- commitment to sport/national coaches association codes of ethics and conduct [<i>weak/none</i>]		- existence of athlete and parent contracts [<i>none</i>]
- use of car to transport athletes [<i>frequent</i>]		- climate for debating SH [<i>poor/non-existent</i>]

(Note: Comments in brackets indicate emerging trends from interview data)

Figure 4. Wolf's Cycle of Offending adapted to show the area of responsibility of sport
(Source: Fisher, Dawn (1994) in T Morrison, M Erooga & RC Beckett (eds) p.19)

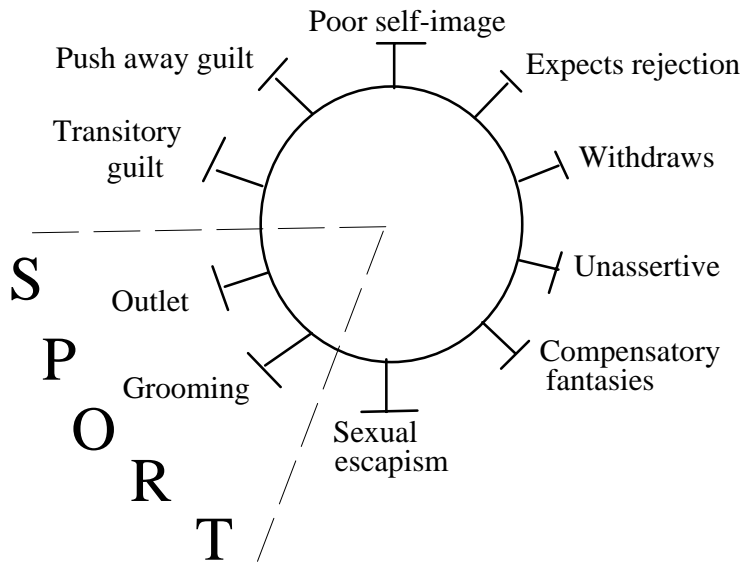
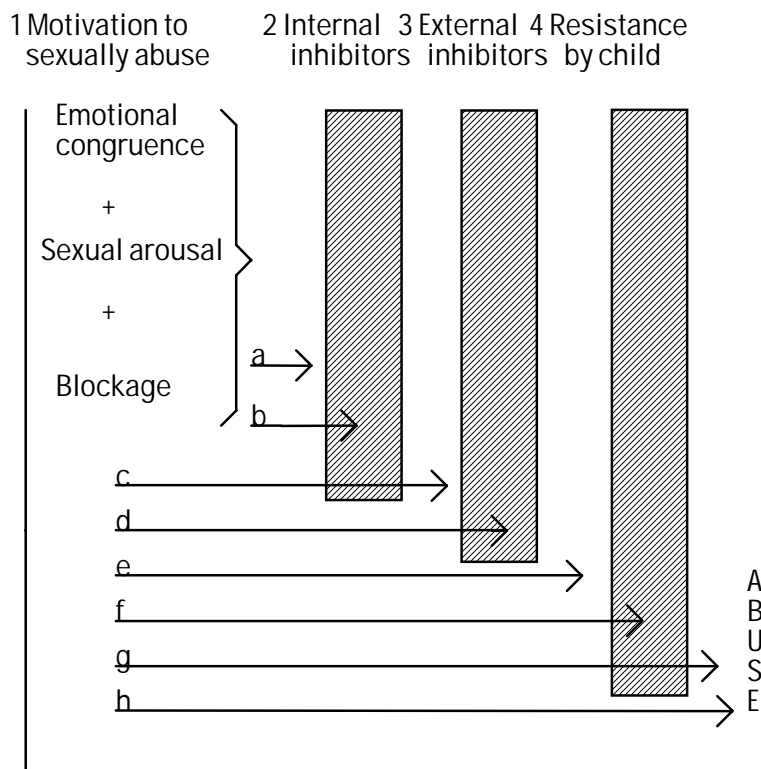


Figure 3. Finkelhor's four preconditions of sexual abuse
(adapted)



KEY:

- a = internal inhibitors effective
- b = internal inhibitors challenged but hold
- c = internal inhibitors overcome; external inhibitors effective
- d = external inhibitors challenged but hold
- e = external inhibitors overcome but resistance by child effective
- f = resistance by child challenged but holds
- g = resistance by child overcome
- h = no resistance by child

Fig. 5 Current state of research knowledge of sexual harassment and abuse in coach/athlete relationships in sport

	COACH (Perpetrator)	
	MALE	FEMALE
ATHLETE (Victim)		
MALE	Very few cases, some paedophile but almost no cases recorded with adults	Very few women coaches No recorded cases
FEMALE	Almost all recorded cases including many paedophile	No systematic research but anecdotal evidence

Fig. 6 LIST OF SPORTS FOR WHICH CASES OF SEXUAL ABUSE ARE DOCUMENTED

- 1 Athletics (Track & Field)
- 2 Archery
- 3 Diving
- 4 Gymnastics
- 5 Ice Skating
- 6 Judo
- 7 Physical Education
- 8 Sailing
- 9 Soccer
- 10 Swimming
- 11 Tennis
- 12 Trampolining