

Organisational factors and non-accidental violence in sport: A systematic review

Victoria Roberts^{a,*}, Victor Sojo^b, Felix Grant^a

^a Department of Management and Marketing, Faculty of Business and Economics, The University of Melbourne, Carlton, VIC, Australia

^b Centre for Workplace Leadership, Department of Management and Marketing, Faculty of Business and Economics, The University of Melbourne, Carlton, VIC, Australia

ARTICLE INFO

Article history:

Received 28 September 2018

Received in revised form 28 February 2019

Accepted 1 March 2019

Available online 4 April 2019

Keywords:

Non-accidental violence

Sport

Organisational factors

Systematic review

Harassment

Abuse

ABSTRACT

The objective of the current systematic review was to investigate the organisational factors that enable and motivate non-accidental violence towards athletes in the sport context. The authors identified and reviewed 43 qualitative studies investigating psychological, physical, and sexual abuse of athletes, and developed a framework of organisational factors (i.e., structural, social, and stress factors) related to non-accidental violence. Athletes were the key informants, yet some studies included athletes' entourages. The authors independently coded the findings sections of the primary research, using the developed framework. Organisational tolerance for abuse and conformity to dominant values within sports were related to all three types of non-accidental violence. Power imbalance appeared as a relevant factor in both psychological and sexual abuse, while isolation was also relevant in sexual abuse. Believing that non-accidental violence had instrumental effects appeared related to both psychological and physical abuse, whereas a winner-take-all reward system was related to physical abuse. Based on this systematic review, the authors proposed an integrated perspective of the organisational factors driving non-accidental violence in sport and conclude by proposing a whole-of-system approach to the prevention and management of non-accidental violence.

© 2019 Sport Management Association of Australia and New Zealand. Published by Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.

1. Introduction

Athletes' training and competition environments can have both positive and negative effects on their health and performance. Among the most serious negative effects are those caused by psychological, physical, and sexual abuse (Mountjoy et al., 2016; Stirling, 2009). This wide range of harmful interpersonal experiences are often grouped under the umbrella term of non-accidental violence. To date, behavioural scientists have primarily focused on the individual causal factors that drive non-accidental violence experienced by athletes, such as the psychopathological vulnerabilities of the

* Corresponding author at: Department of Management and Marketing, Faculty of Business and Economics, The University of Melbourne, Carlton, VIC 3010, Australia.

E-mail address: victoria.roberts@unimelb.edu.au (V. Roberts).

instigator and target¹ (Mountjoy et al., 2016). Comparatively fewer researchers have attempted to define and explain non-accidental violence at the organisational level of analysis. Consequently, there is limited understanding of the structural and social mechanisms in sport organisations through which non-accidental violence is enabled, tolerated and, in some instances, actively encouraged.

In part, the lack of progress in the reduction or elimination of non-accidental violence in sport is due to interventions that only tackle individuals or cases, ignoring organisational or ecosystem level factors. A strong focus on “bad apples” and “bad cases,” instead of exploring the “barrel” and “orchard,” has crippled our capacity to understand and address non-accidental violence in sport. Research considering the organisational factors that may underpin non-accidental violence is necessary (a) to enrich the theoretical developments in behavioural, social, organisational, sport, and health sciences about drivers of aggression, and (b) to develop whole-of-system evidence-based strategies to protect athletes from harm, safeguard their fundamental human rights, and uphold the integrity of sport.

In this study, we systematically review qualitative research about organisational antecedents of non-accidental violence in sport. Qualitative research seeks to understand non-accidental violence through rich descriptions of harmful interactions between individuals and examines interpretations of the experience by its participants. A systematic review of qualitative research can be used to synthesize information and to re-examine and comparatively analyse the findings from multiple studies. Importantly, this allows us to derive new interpretations based on a critical and systematic reflection of non-accidental violence from an organisational perspective. Specifically, we first explore the role of: (a) organisational structures (i.e., power imbalance, winner-take-all rewards, social and physical isolation), (b) social processes (i.e., conformity to dominant values, perceived instrumental effects, organisational tolerance), and (c) organisational stressors (i.e., role conflict and ambiguity, depersonalisation, intensification, deficient internal communication, professional uncertainty) in instances of non-accidental violence of athletes. Second, we identify similarities and differences in the organisational factors that drive different types of non-accidental violence, and finally, we highlight gaps in existing research evidence.

We divide the manuscript into three main parts. First, we define non-accidental violence and discuss its potential organisational antecedents derived from research in organisational psychology, organisational behaviour, sport sociology, and sport economics. Second, we articulate the methods used to conduct a systematic review of primary qualitative studies' findings, hereafter referred to as the text corpus, about the association between organisational factors and non-accidental violence in sport. Third, we present the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the text corpus, put forward an integrated model of organisational factors driving each form of non-accidental violence, and discuss directions for future research and the practical implications of the findings to develop a whole-of-system approach to non-accidental violence in sport.

1.1. Non-accidental violence in sports: forms, prevalence, and consequences

Consistent with the International Olympic Committee Consensus Statement (Mountjoy et al., 2016), we use the terminology of non-accidental violence to describe the various types of non-accidental harms enacted on athletes by coaches, athlete entourage (e.g., support staff), or other athletes. The definition focuses specifically on harm targeted at athletes. This is because athletes are the group most vulnerable to abuse within the power-differentiated social structure of sport.

Non-accidental violence varies on a range of dimensions, including the type (e.g., psychological abuse, physical abuse, sexual abuse) and mechanism through which the abuse occurs (Mountjoy et al., 2016; Sojo, Wood, & Genat, 2016). The use of the term “non-accidental” makes explicit the intentional nature of the violence. Importantly, the intention of the act does not need to include harm to be classified as non-accidental violence. For example, aggression that is used by a coach purportedly to improve an athlete's performance is still considered non-accidental violence. Below, we describe the most common forms of non-accidental violence we will explore in this systematic review.

Psychological abuse describes deliberate, prolonged, repeated non-contact harmful behaviours (Stirling & Kerr, 2008). Psychological abuse underpins all forms of non-accidental violence. Although psychological and emotional abuse have been used synonymously in the literature, we use the term psychological abuse because it is broader in scope, encompassing behaviours that harm not only a person's emotions, but also their cognitions, values, beliefs about oneself, and the world (Mountjoy et al., 2016). Psychological abuse includes humiliation, scapegoating, rejection, isolation, threatening, and being ignored or denied attention and support (Stirling & Kerr, 2008, 2013). Large scale research, with thousands of athletes, suggests that psychological abuse is pervasive. Findings show that from 44% (Vertommen et al., 2016) to 75% (Stafford, Alexander, & Fry, 2015) of athletes have experienced psychological abuse.

Physical abuse is the use of physical force causing injury (Grange & Kerr, 2010; Pinheiro, Pimenta, Resende, & Malcolm, 2014; Tjønndal, 2016). Examples are punching, kicking, body-checking, forced or mandated age- or physique-inappropriate training loads, training when injured or in pain, or systematic doping practices. Empirical data on the prevalence of physical

¹ We consider that in sport the often-used terminology of “victim” versus “perpetrator”, rooted in criminal behaviour studies, is problematic. Even though some of the non-accidental violence athletes experience is criminal, a wide range is not. The term “victim” might indicate that all individuals who experience non-accidental violence see themselves as passive or helpless in the face of abuse. Institutionalised abuse and spirals of aggression, for example, suggest that non-accidental violence in sport is more complex.

abuse is minimal (Mountjoy et al., 2016). However, a recent large-scale study of European athletes indicates that 11% have experienced physical abuse (Vertommen et al., 2016).

Sexual abuse encompasses any non-consensual conduct of a sexual nature (Brackenridge & Fasting, 2005; Leahy, Pretty, & Tenenbaum, 2004). Examples include sexist comments and gestures, unwanted sexual attention, and non-penetrative and penetrative sexual assault (O'Neil, Sojo, Fileborn, Scovelle, & Milner, 2018). The prevalence of sexual abuse varies depending on the frequency and intensity as well as measures and study design. However, previous studies indicate that sexual abuse in sport is pervasive, with a 14% prevalence rate (Stafford et al., 2015). Another study identified that 10% of athletes had experienced sexual abuse. Critically, sexual abuse appeared more prevalent among female athletes (12.9%), elite athletes (13.3%), and their intersection (17.4%; Leahy, Pretty, & Tannenbaum, 2002).

The serious long-term negative consequences of non-accidental violence for athletes are well documented. Athletes who experience non-accidental violence suffer psychologically and physically; their performance drops and they can become injured, depressed, marginalised, and traumatized (Stafford et al., 2015).

1.2. Explaining non-accidental violence in sport: The need for an organisational lens

Researchers have used a variety of perspectives to explain non-accidental violence in sport. The two dominant approaches are those that consider non-accidental violence caused by individual factors, such as personality or psychopathological characteristics of the instigator or target of abuse, and those that assume the driver of the violence is the sport environment. Although individual level factors are relevant to explain non-accidental violence, increasingly, behavioural scientists are acknowledging that abuse is the result of interactions between individual factors, the organisational environment, and broader societal factors (Aquino & Lamertz, 2004; Brackenridge & Rhind, 2014). Further, violence is a multi-causal phenomenon and multiple factors within organisational environments exert influence on individuals (Bowling & Beehr, 2006; Salin, 2003).

An organisational level of analysis of non-accidental violence focuses attention on important structural and social causal factors not addressed at the individual level. For example, an organisational analysis can examine whether norms and values that socialise individuals into roles or teams (e.g. athletes, mentee and mentor coaches), or coaching practices used to motivate or develop athletes, permit or encourage non-accidental violence. An organisational perspective can also determine whether structural factors exert influence on individuals so that an individual may become more aggressive in a certain context (Salin, 2003).

A lack of understanding of how and why organisational factors lead to non-accidental violence represents an ethical blind spot for leaders who are themselves culturally conditioned and shaped by an organisational context that enables and motivates non-accidental violence. Ignorance of the role organisational factors play may cause sport leaders to overestimate individual precipitating factors and incorrectly attribute instances of non-accidental violence to “bad apples” or “bad cases” rather than “bad barrels” or “bad orchards.” Consequently, leaders may focus too narrowly on interventions to change individual behaviours. For example, human resource solutions such as recruitment and selection procedures that aim to “get the right people in sport” (individual approach) rather than “getting sport right” (a systems approach) (Brackenridge & Rhind, 2014, p. 333). In contrast to an individual approach, an organisational perspective holds promise for more sustainable prevention of non-accidental violence by focusing on a range of systemic factors that are malleable and within the control of leaders and managers.

Imposing an organisational lens on the study of non-accidental violence can generate new theoretical insights about common patterns that unite different forms of non-accidental violence across a range of situations and actors. Focusing on qualitative research based on interpretivist and constructivist assumptions, may also provide alternative views on non-accidental violence, demonstrating how violence is not only negative and dysfunctional from the point of view of the organisation, but may actually be purportedly used to elicit wanted behaviours and increase performance in a system of domination and repression (Salin, 2003). Importantly, we also help enrich classic theories about violence, such as social learning, organisational justice, incentive systems, and stress theories.

1.3. Organisational antecedents of non-accidental violence

Social and behavioural scientists have uncovered several organisational factors that are associated with workplace harassment and abuse. There is no good reason to think that these factors would not apply in the case of sport. Following previous research, we identify a set of organisational factors associated with non-accidental violence, which appear relevant to the sport context. Specifically, we discuss (a) structural factors (i.e., power imbalance, winner-take-all rewards, isolation), (b) social factors (i.e., conformity to dominant values, perceived instrumental effects, organisational tolerance), and (c) organisational stressors (i.e., role conflict and ambiguity, depersonalisation, intensification, deficient internal communication, professional uncertainty).

1.3.1. Structural factors: Power, rewards, and isolation

By structural factors we mean the formal and informal parameters within which the members of organisations are expected to operate. There are at least three key features of organisational structures that might be associated with non-accidental violence in sport: (a) the hierarchical nature of the relationships between different members and the possession

of valuable resources, which is associated with power imbalance; (b) the performance reward systems in a winner-take-all rank order format; and (c) the level of physical and psychological isolation in organisational operations. Below, we explain these three structural elements and how they relate to non-accidental violence in sport.

Power imbalance is a disparity in the amount of resistance on the part of some social actor (e.g., athlete, assistant or mentee coach), which potentially can be overcome by another actor (e.g., coach; Pfeffer, 1981; Aquino & Lamertz, 2004; Zehntner & McMahon, 2018). Power imbalance is the basis of an instigator-target relationship and occurs when one social actor has control over the strategic and valuable resources the other actor depends on (French & Raven, 1959). As a key predictor of workplace mistreatment (Ilies, Hauserman, Schwochau, & Stibal, 2003), power imbalance is a necessary antecedent of non-accidental violence because without it the target could resist the aggression of the instigator (Salin, 2003). Power can be derived from formal sources (e.g., legitimate authority to demand compliance, reward, and punish) and informal sources (e.g., identification and attraction towards the instigator, expert power, esteem afforded to individuals based on their membership to high status groups; French & Raven, 1959). Power imbalance enables an instigator to use intimidating, coercive, and manipulative tactics to exert control with fewer consequences for the instigator and less resistance from the target, sometimes by pushing the target of abuse into a helpless and defenceless position.

Reward systems are important organisational motivators that can lead to both intended and unintended consequences. The distribution of rewards in sport is typically structured in a winner-take-all rank order format, such that first place receives a disproportionately large payout when compared to the absolute level of performance of other competitors (Leeds & Von Allmen, 2016). Rewards in sport are unique. Winner's become famous, claim higher status, receive prize money, and their achievement become a source of national pride and glory. Conversely, punishment for failure can be severe, with the possibility of job loss, public shame, and reputational damage. A winner-take-all reward system may induce coaches and athletes to use whatever means necessary, including abusive methods, to achieve results (Frank & Cook, 2013). Similarly, leaders may be motivated to turn a blind eye to non-accidental violence, when absolute and relative numbers of medals are small, and medals are a metric to determine future funding and so future success.

Another important organisational structural factor related to non-accidental violence in sport is physical and psychological isolation. Athletes become isolated when training occurs in remote locations, when access to training is restricted, when training or competition schedules separate them from social or familial support, or when they are socially ostracised by their coach or members of the team within the sport context. Isolation prevents oversight of the training environment, potentially abusive training methods or sexually exploitative tactics. Isolation makes it difficult for athletes to reach out to third parties to seek support in dealing with the abuse, thereby leaving them vulnerable to initial and repeated instances of abuse.

1.3.2. Social factors: Organisational values, beliefs, and norms

Besides structural factors in organisational operations, there are also organisational cognitive and motivational factors that explicitly or implicitly underpin the way members treat each other. Values, beliefs, and norms are some of the most widely studied organisational factors driving both prosocial and antisocial workplace behaviour (Organ & Ryan, 1995; Sojo et al., 2016). Below, we explain how (a) conformity to dominant values, (b) beliefs about the instrumental effects of non-accidental violence, and (c) organisational tolerance motivate and perpetuate non-accidental violence in sport.

Conformity to the dominant values refers to an uncritical acceptance and unquestioned commitment to core sport values. Core values include high performance (e.g., making sacrifices, enduring pain, overcoming obstacles), masculinity (e.g., dominance, toughness, suppression of emotions), expertise (e.g., deference to experts with prior success and knowledge). These values represent shared, persistent beliefs about what is most important to sport, indicating desired states, and informing goal setting and striving (Hughes & Coakley, 1991).

There are several ways in which dominant values might relate to non-accidental violence in sport. First, to preserve the dominant values of sport, the threat of abuse or actual abuse become legitimate mechanisms to discipline nonconforming members of the social group. Second, some values such as stereotypical masculinity have dominance and aggression at its core, presenting non-accidental violence as a legitimate way to operate within sport. Third, expertise deference can create a culture of compliance with coaches and powerful others, effectively making it easier for those in positions of authority to abuse their power without resistance.

Next, beliefs in instrumental effects of non-accidental violence, that is, the idea that non-accidental violence can be "functional" for motivating athletes and making them perform better (Brodsky, 1976), can be an important factor in explaining why abuse occurs and is perpetuated within sport. The belief that abuse is instrumental for performance success becomes normative through social learning processes (i.e., modelling abusive behaviour of individuals who have achieved success; Bandura, 1973).

Cognitive processes of rationalisation are also invoked to reframe non-accidental violence not only as useful, but necessary to achieve success. Under such conditions, it is legitimate and entirely 'rational' or rewarding to enact non-accidental violence in a range of scenarios to increase performance. Specifically, non-accidental violence can be used with the intention to increase drive (e.g., "pump up" an athlete, increasing focus, adrenaline, effort), to deter future failure (e.g., punishment for poor performance), to maintain interpersonal control (e.g., control interpersonal relations through fear), to test resilience and commitment (e.g., test capacity to cope with challenging situations), to develop toughness (e.g., abuse as a legitimate tool to develop mental and physical strength and endurance), to increase internal competition (e.g., creating favourites or disharmony between team or squad members), and to impair competitor performance (e.g., athletes

using non-accidental violence on-field as a tactic to reduce the performance of a competitor and increase their chances of winning).

Finally, organisational norms of tolerance for harassment or abuse provide conducive conditions for non-accidental violence to occur in sport organisations. A shared sense of permission to abuse arise when leaders do not establish formal standards for acceptable behaviour, do not specify the consequences of breaching standards, and do not punish unacceptable acts (Brodsky, 1976). A lack of clarity about the standards of acceptable behaviour (i.e., what constitutes non-accidental violence) and enforcement through formal authority structures at the highest level of an organisation is likely to trickle down the organisation weakening informal enforcement mechanisms, such as social condemnation and bystander intervention (Bowling & Beehr, 2006).

Leader or bystander inaction lowers the inhibition of instigators by conveying the low cost of abuse and increases the submissiveness of the target (Brodsky, 1976). When abuse is tolerated, targets are likely to believe that they are to blame, that their complaints will not be taken seriously, and that making a complaint will put them at greater risk of further abuse in the form of backlash (Sojo et al., 2016). The fear of backlash and the desire to protect the status quo encourage a culture of silence in which people inside and outside of sport do not talk about or condemn the abuse.

1.3.3. Organisational stressors

In addition to organisational structures and social factors that facilitate abuse, organisational stressors also act as enabling factors that provide the necessary conditions for non-accidental violence. Organisational stressors are factors in the sport environment that place demands or expectations on organisational members that threatens their personal resources (e.g., self-esteem, skill and physical health) and well-being (Lazarus & Folkman, 1986) thereby depleting self-regulatory resources and reducing resistance. Organisational stressors in sport might include role conflict (i.e., conflicting role-related tasks or expectations), role ambiguity (i.e., lack of clarity about role requirements), depersonalisation (i.e., denial of human characteristics such as treating athletes as machines), deficient internal communication (e.g., lack of mutual conversations about tasks and goals), intensification (e.g., ever increasing demands to meet performance objectives), and professional uncertainty (e.g., inadequate or short-term contracts). In an environment set up to facilitate or condone abuse, everyday stressors can easily trigger non-accidental violence.

1.3.4. The current systematic review

The topic of non-accidental violence in sport has been widely researched. In the current study, we build on previous work by engaging in a systematic review of qualitative research about organisational factors that drive non-accidental violence in sport. This review is novel in several ways: First, we are conducting a systematic review, this methodology allows for a more robust search, coding, and analysis of previous studies than narrative reviews. Second, we are systematically reviewing qualitative studies, this means that the key organisational factors identified are derived inductively from previous rich narrations of harmful interpersonal interactions in sport settings from key sport personnel. Third, we are exploring a wide range of organisational factors that drive non-accidental violence in sport that, to our knowledge, have never been systematised together. Fourth, we are analysing the association between these organisational factors and psychological, physical, and sexual abuse, whereas most previous reviews have focused on one or two of these markers of non-accidental violence in sport.

Our literature search yielded eight narrative reviews and two systematic reviews about factors that predict non-accidental violence in sport. In these reviews, the role of gender in non-accidental violence has received considerable attention, implicating gender stereotypes, heteronormativity and hegemonic masculinity, and fear of backlash for reporting in physical and sexual abuse (Bjørnseth & Szabo, 2018; Brackenridge & Fasting, 2002; Hartill, 2005; Kirby, Demers, & Parent, 2008; MacDonald, 2014). Reviews focusing on hazing identified traditional gender norms, veteran-rookie hierarchies, and the promotion of group cohesion as predictors (Diamond, Callahan, Chain, & Solomon, 2015; Groves, Griggs, & Leflay, 2012).

Considering previous reviews, our intention is to provide a grounded, inclusive, and systematic account of the qualitative research about key organisational factors that drive non-accidental violence against athletes in sport, which can be used to develop theory and whole-of-system strategies to tackle non-accidental violence in sport. Our strategy will help identify (a) unique and common organisational factors that impact specific types of non-accidental violence in sport, (b) gaps in previous research in the intersections of specific organisational factors by types of non-accidental violence, and (c) an integrated account of how these organisational factors drive non-accidental violence in sport.

2. Method

2.1. Literature search

Our review was informed by the *Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses* (PRISMA) framework (Moher, Liberati, Tetzlaff, Altman, & The, 2009). We searched electronic databases to identify relevant studies (i.e., EBSCO, EMBASE, ProQuest, PsycINFO, PubMed, the Cochrane Library, the Campbell Library, & Google Scholar). The keywords we used were combinations of *sport*, *athlet**, *player**, *olympi**, *violen**, *harass**, *abus**, *negl**, *bully**, *haz**, *mistreat**, *maltreat**, and *ill*treat**. We intentionally only included contemporary studies (i.e., 2000–2018) to review findings relevant to the

current situation of non-accidental violence in sport. We identified 18,903 articles via electronic databases, references of previous systematic reviews, and reviewers' suggestions.

2.2. Inclusion criteria

Fig. 1 presents the PRISMA Flow Diagram of the searching, screening, and selection processes conducted. Articles were included when they were (a) empirical and use qualitative methods, (b) published in peer-reviewed journals, to guarantee previous independent assessment of study quality, (c) the authors investigated a type of non-accidental violence against athletes, and (d) the sample included athletes or their entourages as informants. After first screening, two co-authors independently determined if the studies reported findings for at least one organisational factor, resulting in 43 studies published between 2001 and 2018 being included. Papers included in this review are presented in Table 1.

2.3. Coding categories and process

A thematic analysis of the primary research was conducted following four steps (Boyatzis, 1998). First, we developed a series of categories for each organisational factor identified in the literature review as a potential influence on non-accidental violence. The initial codes were derived in an iterative process from (a) reviewing organisational and sport psychology, sociology of sport, management, and economics literature, (b) cursory reading of the selected studies, (c) the first author's experience as an elite athlete, and (d) discussions between the authors.

Second, two co-authors coded six studies out of the 43 (i.e., Cense & Brackenridge, 2001; Hartill, 2014; Howard & England-Kennedy, 2006; Kavanagh, Brown, & Jones, 2017; Pappas, McKenry, & Catlett, 2004; Waldron & Kowalski, 2009), discussed discrepancies in coding to calibrate interpretations, and refined the codebook. Therefore, the final codebook was established through a combination of deduction, based on prior models (Aquino & Lamertz, 2004; Bowling & Beehr, 2006; Salin, 2003) and induction, enabling new codes to emerge through an analysis of the primary studies.

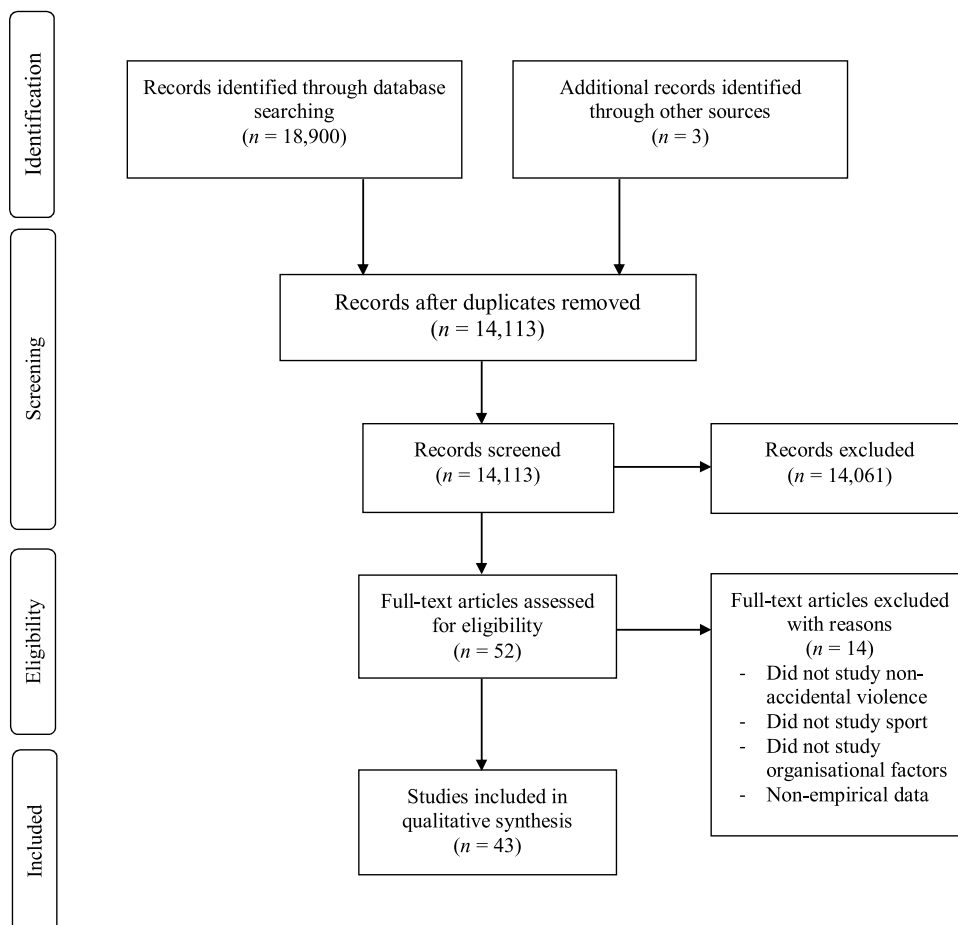


Fig. 1. Prisma 2009 Flow Diagram summarising literature search and inclusion.

Table 1
Key features of reviewed studies and percentage of finding sections dedicated to each organisational factor.

Authors	Type of non-accidental violence	Non-elite / Elite	Informant	Sport	Method	Paragraphs	Structural factors			Social factors			Organisational stressors
							Power imbalance	Winner-take-all rewards	Isolation	Conformity to dominant values	Perceived instrumental effects	Organisational tolerance	
Kavanagh et al., 2017	Psychological	Elite	Athletes	Multiple	Phenomenology	17/37	5.9%	17.6%	5.9%	11.8%	35.3%	23.5%	0.0%
Stirling & Kerr, 2009	Psychological	Elite	Athletes	Multiple	Phenomenology	21/23	4.8%	0.0%	19.0%	52.4%	4.8%	19.0%	0.0%
Stirling & Kerr, 2013; Stirling & Kerr, 2014	Psychological	Elite	Athletes	Multiple	Phenomenology; Grounded theory	35/45	8.6%	0.0%	2.9%	8.6%	60.0%	20.0%	0.0%
Gervis & Dunn, 2004	Psychological	Elite	Athletes	Multiple	Qualitative description	9/21	0.0%	33.3%	0.0%	33.3%	22.2%	11.1%	0.0%
Stirling & Kerr, 2007; Stirling & Kerr, 2008	Psychological	Elite	Athletes	Swimming	Grounded theory; Phenomenology	47/78	4.3%	2.1%	0.0%	6.4%	57.4%	29.8%	0.0%
Owusu-Sekyere & Gervis, 2016	Psychological	Elite	Coaches	Football	Narrative research	6/11	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	83.3%	16.7%	0.0%	0.0%
Stirling, 2013	Psychological	Elite	Coaches	Multiple	Qualitative description	24/32	25.0%	8.3%	0.0%	4.2%	41.7%	16.7%	4.2%
Kelly & Waddington, 2006	Psychological	Elite	Multiple	Football	Phenomenology	33/39	27.3%	0.0%	0.0%	6.1%	57.6%	9.1%	0.0%
Smits et al., 2017	Psychological	Elite	Multiple	Gymnastics	Phenomenology	53/59	3.8%	3.8%	18.9%	41.5%	7.5%	15.1%	9.4%
Jacobs et al., 2017	Psychological	Elite	Multiple	Gymnastics	Qualitative description	61/71	6.6%	21.3%	0.0%	19.7%	14.8%	34.4%	3.3%
Kerr & Stirling, 2012	Psychological	Elite	Parents	Multiple	Grounded theory	39/48	2.6%	0.0%	2.6%	33.3%	10.3%	43.6%	7.7%
Stafford et al., 2015	Psychological	Mixed	Athletes	Multiple	Phenomenology	24/32	8.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	70.8%	20.8%	0.0%
Baker-Lewton, 2017	Psychological	Mixed	Multiple	Football	Narrative research	10/16	50.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	10.0%	40.0%	0.0%
Anderson et al., 2012	Psychological	Non-elite	Athletes	Multiple	Ethnography	23/27	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	82.6%	8.7%	8.7%	0.0%
Waldron et al., 2011	Psychological	Non-elite	Athletes	Multiple	Narrative research	15/15	20.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	20.0%	60.0%	0.0%
Crow & Macintosh, 2009	Psychological	Non-elite	Multiple	Multiple	Qualitative description	27/29	3.7%	0.0%	0.0%	7.4%	0.0%	88.9%	0.0%
Waldron & Kowalski, 2009; Kowalski & Waldron, 2010	Psychological	Non-elite; Mixed	Athletes	Multiple	Phenomenology; Qualitative description	46/52	13.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	23.9%	60.9%	2.2%
Total Psychological abuse						490/635	10.8%	5.1%	2.9%	23.0%	27.2%	29.5%	1.6%
Kerr, 2017	Physical	Elite	Athlete	Rugby union	Case study	4/8	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	25.0%	75.0%	0.0%
Grange & Kerr, 2010	Physical	Elite	Athletes	Australian Football	Phenomenology	22/32	0.0%	4.5%	0.0%	4.5%	77.3%	13.6%	0.0%
Pinheiro et al., 2014	Physical	Elite	Athletes	Gymnastics	Phenomenology	31/35	3.2%	9.7%	0.0%	35.5%	32.3%	9.7%	9.7%
Tjønndal, 2016	Physical	Elite	Athletes	Ice hockey	Narrative research	25/30	4.0%	32.0%	0.0%	16.0%	36.0%	12.0%	0.0%
Battaglia et al., 2017	Physical	Elite	Athletes	Ice hockey	Qualitative description	22/26	13.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	77.3%	9.1%	0.0%
McPherson et al., 2017	Physical	Mixed	Athletes	Multiple	Qualitative description	24/33	0.0%	8.3%	0.0%	45.8%	8.3%	37.5%	0.0%
Pappas et al., 2004	Physical	Non-elite	Athletes	Ice hockey	Qualitative description	17/24	0.0%	17.6%	0.0%	29.4%	35.3%	17.6%	0.0%
	Physical		Athletes	Multiple	Phenomenology	33/44	3.0%	0.0%	0.0%	24.2%	60.6%	12.1%	0.0%

McDonald & Kawai, 2017		Non-elite											
Cusimano et al., 2016; Cusimano et al., 2017	Physical	Non-elite	Multiple	Ice hockey	Grounded theory	33/38	0.0%	12.1%	0.0%	42.4%	15.2%	30.3%	0.0%
Total Physical abuse						211/270	2.7%	9.4%	0.0%	22.0%	40.8%	24.1%	1.1%
Brackenridge & Fasting, 2005	Sexual	Elite	Athletes	Multiple	Narrative research	21/27	14.3%	0.0%	14.3%	14.3%	14.3%	42.9%	0.0%
Fasting et al., 2002; Fasting et al., 2007	Sexual	Elite	Athletes	Multiple	Phenomenology	28/43	17.9%	3.6%	10.7%	7.1%	0.0%	60.7%	0.0%
Rodríguez & Gill, 2011	Sexual	Elite	Athletes	Multiple	Phenomenology	29/34	13.8%	0.0%	0.0%	27.6%	0.0%	58.6%	0.0%
Johansson, 2018	Sexual	Elite	Athletes	Not specified	Narrative research	16/18	37.5%	0.0%	18.8%	12.5%	6.3%	25.0%	0.0%
Cense & Brackenridge, 2001	Sexual	Mixed	Athletes	Multiple	Qualitative description	26/27	42.3%	3.8%	19.2%	3.8%	0.0%	30.8%	0.0%
Bringer et al., 2006	Sexual	Mixed	Coaches	Swimming	Grounded theory	25/28	12.0%	0.0%	8.0%	0.0%	0.0%	8.0%	72.0%
Parent, 2011; Parent & Demers, 2011	Sexual	Mixed	Multiple	Multiple	Case study	34/37	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	91.2%	8.8%
Fasting & Sand, 2015	Sexual	Non-elite	Athletes	Multiple	Narrative research	27/30	44.4%	0.0%	11.1%	0.0%	3.7%	40.7%	0.0%
Hartill, 2014	Sexual	Non-elite	Athletes	Multiple	Narrative research	26/47	30.8%	0.0%	19.2%	15.4%	0.0%	34.6%	0.0%
Owton & Sparkes, 2017	Sexual	Non-elite	Athletes	Not specified	Narrative research	42/64	35.7%	0.0%	21.4%	26.2%	0.0%	16.7%	0.0%
Howard & England-Kennedy, 2006	Sexual	Non-elite	Multiple	Football	Ethnography	45/55	28.9%	0.0%	4.4%	8.9%	4.4%	51.1%	2.2%
Total Sexual abuse						319/420	25.2%	0.7%	11.6%	10.5%	2.6%	41.8%	7.5%
Total across all studies						1020/1325	13.1%	4.8%	4.8%	19.0%	23.2%	31.9%	3.2%

Note: the column for Paragraphs presents the number of paragraphs that described the organisational factor – non-accidental violence association, relative to the total number of paragraphs in the findings section of the studies. The rows with totals represent the average across the studies in the relevant section.

Table 2

Coding categories of organisational factors related to non-accidental violence in sport used in the systematic review.

Dimension	Organisational factor	Organisational sub-factor	Description	Coded text example
Structural factors	Power imbalance		Formal and informal parameters within which organisational members are expected to operate.	
			Power is the ability of one actor to influence another actor's beliefs, attitudes and behavior. An imbalance of power occurs when one actor has control over social resources another actor depends on.	
		Formal power	Prescribed hierarchical ordering of the formal organisational structure giving some individuals (i) legitimate power (i.e., organisational authority to demand compliance); reward power (i.e., ability to issue rewards, such as awarding the role of captaincy) or sanction power (i.e., ability to issue punishment, such as forced training).	"The message conveyed to players was unambiguously clear: no matter how abusive or violent the manager's behaviour may be, his authority was not to be questioned and those who did question it were punished, in this case by being withdrawn from the game." (Kelly & Waddington, 2006, p. 153).
		Informal power	Derived from the personal possession of social resources others desire such as (i) referent power (i.e., interpersonal identification and attraction), (ii) expert power (i.e., prior success, knowledge), or (iii) status based on membership to socio-demographic groups that confer dominant- or minority status (e.g., age, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, disability, etc.).	[T]he coach took on the role of a father and encouraged the athlete to consult him both on the technical matters of performance and on matters beyond sport... One athlete said 'I wasn't afraid of violence, but I did fear losing him (. . .)'. (Cense & Brackenridge, 2001, p. 67).
	Winner-take-all rewards		The distribution of rewards and punishment in sport. Rewards in sport typically refer to secondary reinforcers, such as fame, status, national pride (e.g., glory) and financial incentives, such as prize money or salary.	
		Winner-take-all rewards	The distribution of reward in sport is structured such that first place (i.e., winning a gold medal) receives a disproportionately large payout when compared to the absolute level of performance of second place, third place, etc., which is referred to as a 'winner-take-all' reward system.	"A coach admitted 'A coach has to score and if an athlete has to be sacrificed to accomplish that then that is how it is'." (Jacobs et al., 2017, p. 137).
		Unique rewards	Success in the world of sport can afford athletes and coaches access to rewards that are not commonly distributed elsewhere, such as medals, status, sponsorship deals, large financial prizes, national glory, etc.	"The first thing that comes into my head is the cheering every time somebody gets hit into the boards and a fight breaks out everyone stands up and cheers—that kind of thing, and when they see blood." (Pappas et al., 2004, p. 302).
	Cost of losing	Material and psychological price paid for losing in sport, such as complete loss of earnings and future opportunities, or a sense of worthlessness.	"Derek [hockey enforcer] knew that his roots in the NHL were not deep. Minutes were scarce and chances were few. A couple of losing fights might send him to the minors... A punch might change everything" (Branch, 2014, as cited in Tjønnndal, 2016, p. 63).	
Social factors	Conformity to dominant values	Isolation	Situations where athletes are physically or psychologically removed from social and familial support, whether they are in a remote location or in their habitual training / performance setting.	"Parents were only permitted to be present at certain times and in some cases, only allowed to watch from behind a window so they could not hear anything" (Smits et al., 2017, p. 77).
			Cognitive and motivational factors that explicitly or implicitly underpin the way members of organisations interact with each other, namely values, beliefs and norms.	
		High performance values	An unquestioning acceptance and commitment to a series of dominant values inherent in modern sport. Dominant values are shared at the group level and refer to persistent beliefs about what is important, or essential, in sport. The value of making sacrifices for the sport (e.g., sport-life balance); playing through physical or psychological pain (e.g., concussion, eating disorders); and refusing to accept reasonable limitation in the pursuit of high performance (e.g., insurmountable	"I remember having a micro-rupture before a period of training in [a city] and although being advised by the doctor to stop for two weeks. After one week I was already training. Although in pain, I did not complain because my main concern was to participate in that

Table 2 (Continued)

Dimension	Organisational factor	Organisational sub-factor	Description	Coded text example
			obstacles, lack of coherence between ability and goal).	period of training, for this I had to lie to my coach saying that I was well." (Pinheiro et al., 2014, p. 443).
		Traditional masculine values	Importance placed on stereotypically masculine traits such as: toughness, dominance, lack of empathy, being a warrior and a protector; and stigmatisation of stereotype-inconsistent traits, commonly via social labels (e.g., wimp, sissy, weak).	"You were generally perceived as weak if you didn't go fight" (Pappas et al., 2004, p. 303).
		Expertise values	Importance placed on deference to expertise (e.g., knowledge, proficiency, prior record of success), having to express awe and respect for experts and not challenging those who are successful sport people or have knowledge about the sport.	"My parents were usually against me and on the coach side, everything that happened was my fault, I never talked that much with my parents about things related with training or gymnastics. . . the coach was always right. (.. .) The coach, for them, was a 'real God.'" (Pinheiro et al., 2014, p. 446).
	Perceived instrumental effects of non-accidental violence		The belief that non-accidental violence is functional for motivating athletes and making them perform better.	
		Drive performance	Non-accidental violence is believed to be "functional" for motivating athletes and making them perform better (e.g., by increasing focus or effort).	"I've been in situations where coaches have used their hand or their stick in certain ways to get you fired up—hand in the back of the head, stick in the balls, you know." (Pappas et al., 2004, p. 301).
		Deter failure	Non-accidental violence is believed to be an effective deterrent of low performance.	"There was a fear factor that if you didn't perform, you were out. He'd hammer you. He would verbally abuse you if you didn't do it." (Kelly & Waddington, 2006, p. 152).
		Test resilience and commitment	Non-accidental violence is believed to be a legitimate and effective tool to test resilience and commitment to the team (i.e., the capacity to adapt to challenging or threatening situations).	"If this person can't handle [hazing], obviously they don't think they can hack it on their team." (Waldron & Kowalski, 2009, p. 298).
		Develop toughness	Non-accidental violence is believed to be a legitimate and effective tool to develop mental and physical strength and endurance.	"When the discussion moved to why taibatsu [corporal punishment] continues, despite being prohibited by law one view expressed was that the idea that 'enduring [something] is good [for you]'. " (McDonald & Kawai, 2017, p. 209).
		Interpersonal control	Non-accidental violence is believed to be an effective tool to enforce discipline, and to control interpersonal relations through fear.	"That [denial of attention] is actually probably one of the worst things. They [coaches] definitely made you feel like you are not part of the group and no-one wants to be there for that. . . That [ignoring athletes] was a definite tactic some coaches used to get you to want to belong, and if you wanted their attention then you have to conform to the ideal swimmer they want.. " (Stirling & Kerr, 2008, p. 177).
		Promote internal competition	Non-accidental violence is believed to be a legitimate and effective tool to increase competition within a team and between team members (i.e., creating favourites, intentionally creating disharmony).	"He's a very clever man, likes to play mind games and rub one person against another to get his own way. Because he coaches the best people in the country no-one questions him. He's got the run of the [sport] field." (Brackenridge & Fasting, 2005, p. 46).
		Initiation	Non-accidental violence is believed to be a legitimate and effective tool to induct or accept an individual into a group. It is thought to have the potential to increase cohesion or strengthen the bond between group members.	"Luke discussed the importance of hazing as something that "makes a football player a football player. You know, something that no one else has [gone] through". " (Waldron & Kowalski, 2009, p. 298).
		Impair competitor performance	Non-accidental violence is believed to be a legitimate and effective tool used by athletes during competition to reduce, undermine, or impair a rival's performance to increase the likelihood of winning.	"The ability to fight effectively becomes a coveted trait, operating even as a means to indirectly win games through intimidation of the opposition and targeting of key opposing players." (Pappas et al., 2004, p. 300).
	Organisational tolerance		Actual and perceived reactions by members of sport organisations when non-accidental violence takes place.	

Table 2 (Continued)

Dimension	Organisational factor	Organisational sub-factor	Description	Coded text example
Organisational stressors		Ambiguity	Associated with a lack of clarity about expected standards of appropriate behaviour, the risk of reporting abuse for targets or bystanders, and a lack of meaningful sanctions for instigators. Limited or no clarity, about standards of acceptable or unacceptable behaviour (i.e., no visible code of safe sport conduct).	"Certain activities (e.g., public engagements where rookies had to perform embarrassing acts) were perceived by some to be harmless given that they were not physically threatening or degrading, while others felt this same act was emotionally damaging and lasting." (Crow & Macintosh, 2009, p. 441).
		No oversight	Lack of effective monitoring of coaches, athletes and other stakeholders in sport, such as poor selection procedures for coaches or volunteers, or lack of monitoring of the training environment by the organisation.	"In fact, the majority of sports organisations (5/6) did not do criminal background checks to screen applicants for staff positions (e.g. coaches)." (Parent & Demers, 2011, p. 127).
		Not reporting	The belief that instances of non-accidental violence will not be reported, or indications that such instances occurred but were not reported.	"There was little evidence of young people reporting emotionally harmful behaviours to adults" (Stafford et al., 2015, p. 134).
		No consequences	The perception that there are no observable consequences to the instigator for abuse (e.g., penalty, dismissal from position as coach) or the consequences are so negligible as to be perceived as weak or ineffective.	"We have had situations of total control, intimidation, name calling such as: 'fat swine' or 'pig' and yelling and embarrassing these kids'. Although these directors voiced their disapproval of such technologies by coaches, they did little to stop them and rarely fired them for such behaviours." (Jacobs et al., 2017, p. 132).
		Bystander inaction and culture of silence	Targets and bystanders do not speak about non-accidental violence with individuals inside or outside sports. Bystanders do not act (e.g., condemn or challenge or intervene) when observing specific instances of non-accidental violence.	"When we saw that other parents who had been around longer than us weren't concerned about how the girls were being trained, we assumed this was just the way it was." (Kerr & Stirling, 2012, p. 198).
		Not being believed	The belief that reports of non-accidental violence will not be believed or taken seriously, or indications that reports have been ignored.	"To this day I still feel guilty that I can't stop him. . . . I'm sure he's still doing it. It would still be put down as sour grapes." (Brackenridge & Fasting, 2005, p. 46).
		Backlash for reporting	Targets of non-accidental violence, or sports organisations in which non-accidental violence is occurring, fear that harmful consequences will result from reporting non-accidental violence, or have experienced such consequences.	"If parents complain then the next morning at practice their daughter will be told, 'you do not tell your parents those kinds of things. What we do and say, stays here and you do not share that with your mother.' She gets yelled at and is shamed in front of the others and/or is isolated during practice." (Jacobs et al., 2017, p. 132).
		Role ambiguity and conflict	Factors in the sport environment that place demands or expectations on individuals and are perceived as taxing or threatening their personal resources (e.g., self-esteem, skill, status) and well-being. Role ambiguity exists when the demands and expectations of a role are not clearly defined. Role conflict occurs when different responsibilities of a role are in direct competition with each other (e.g., coaches tasked with both training and selecting athletes).	"A coach explained why policies such as ACBI [A Child's Best Interest] might need to be circumvented if the objective of winning is to be attained." (Jacobs et al., 2017, p. 137).
		Depersonalisation	Occurs when a person (e.g., athlete) is denied essential human attributes for example, being likened to a machine, data, an asset or tool, to achieve organisational performance objectives.	"That development of becoming a woman, it's all forbidden, because then you become too heavy. . . ." (Smits et al., 2017, p. 79).
		Intensification	Hard workload (i.e. training harder for longer) as a means of maximising performance and as a response to the pressure for ever increasing quantifiable performance in sport drives coaches (and parents) to train athletes harder and for longer.	Not identified in the text corpus.

The codes for organisational drivers of non-accidental violence were organised hierarchically in three broad categories (i.e.,

Table 2 (Continued)

Dimension	Organisational factor	Organisational sub-factor	Description	Coded text example
	Professional uncertainty		Precarious employment manifested in lack of control over one's job, role or contract. For example, a person has a short-term contract, or does not have a contract.	Not identified in the text corpus.
	Deficient internal communication		Poor information exchange, lack of mutual conversations about tasks and goals, poor communication climate within the team.	Not identified in the text corpus.

structural factors, social factors, and stressors), and then as main factors and sub-factors. Table 2 shows the hierarchy of factors and sub-factors coded, presents definitions and coded text examples for all coding categories.

Third, each study was independently analysed in its entirety by two of the co-authors and allocated to one form of non-accidental violence based on the study's primary focus on psychological, physical or sexual abuse. This process yielded 100% agreement among the two co-authors.

Fourth, the unit of analysis to identify organisational factors was each paragraph in the findings sections of the primary studies, which yielded a total text corpus of 1325 paragraphs. Each paragraph was read independently by two of the authors and assigned to one organisational sub-factor following the codebook and based on the coders' interpretation of the dominant organisational factor described in the paragraph. When a relationship was not described, the paragraph was coded as *not applicable*. Cohen's Kappa coefficients for inter-rater reliability in each organisational factor (from $\kappa = .85$ to $\kappa = .93$) and sub-factor (from $\kappa = .54$ to $\kappa = 1$) were mostly strong, with most $\kappa > .80$. These Kappa values are in Table S1 in the Supplementary materials.

2.4. Quality appraisal

A quality appraisal of the primary studies was conducted using the latest version of the Mixed Method Appraisal Tool (MMAT; Hong, Gonzalez-Reyes, & Pluye, 2018). The studies were independently evaluated by two of the co-authors (agreement ranged between 83.8% and 97.3% across the five methodological quality criteria in the tool, excluding the six studies used for calibration). Of the 43 studies included in the analysis, 34 obtained the highest possible score of 100.

3. Results

The results are presented in two sections. We first describe the key features of the studies included and present a quantitative analysis of the text corpus. More specifically, for each independent study and for each one of the three types of non-accidental violence analysed, we calculated the percentage of paragraphs that described the relationship between an organisational factor and each type of non-accidental violence. This analysis helped identify patterns of relationships that had emerged from the primary qualitative studies. Second, we present a more contextualised qualitative review of the associations between each organisational factor and subfactors, and non-accidental violence in sport.

3.1. A quantitative integration

Key details for each analysed study are presented in Table 1. In this table, we collapsed into a single line studies that had the same sample of participants to guarantee independence of observations (e.g., Stirling & Kerr, 2013, 2014; Cusimano et al., 2016; Cusimano et al., 2017). We found 43 publications with 37 independent samples. The studies are grouped by the focal form of non-accidental violence they explored, namely psychological ($n = 17$), physical ($n = 9$), and sexual abuse ($n = 11$). Studies were conducted with elite ($n = 20$), non-elite ($n = 10$) or mixed samples ($n = 7$). Athletes were the key informants in most studies ($n = 25$), eight of these studies also included athletes' entourages as informants, labelled as multiple informants in Table 1. Four studies focused on coaches or parents' perspectives.

Around half of the studies ($n = 20$) included samples from multiple sports, comprising contact and non-contact sports. Among studies focused on a specific sport, ice hockey ($n = 4$), football ($n = 4$), gymnastics ($n = 3$) and swimming ($n = 2$) were the most common. Multiple-sport samples were more common in psychological and sexual abuse studies. Six out of the nine studies on physical abuse were in the context of contact sports, with ice hockey being over-represented. Two studies about sexual abuse did not disclose the sport to protect the athletes.

We used Hong et al.'s (2018) classification of qualitative methods; phenomenological ($n = 12$), narrative ($n = 9$), and qualitative descriptive ($n = 8$) were the most common methods.

In Table 1, for each independent study, we present the number of paragraphs in the findings section that had relevant information about the organisational factors-non-accidental violence association, relative to the total number of paragraphs. We also indicate the percentage of these paragraphs within each independent study that were dedicated predominantly to

explain how a specific organisational factor was related to a form of non-accidental violence (presented in parenthesis below). For instance, across [Stirling and Kerr \(2007\)](#) and [Stirling and Kerr \(2008\)](#), which used the same participants, the findings sections had 47 relevant paragraphs (out of a total 78 paragraphs). Of the relevant paragraphs, 29.8% were dedicated to explaining that organisational tolerance was a driver of psychological abuse. Similarly, 57.4% of the paragraphs were dedicated to explaining that perceived instrumental effects of non-accidental violence were related to psychological abuse. This type of analysis allowed us to identify the dominant organisational factors that previous qualitative studies have found to be related to non-accidental violence.

We computed the average across all studies, and separate averages for each type of non-accidental violence, for each organisational factor. Similar results, at the sub-factor level, are reported in Table S2 in the Supplementary materials. Across all studies, organisational tolerance for abuse (31.9%), believing that non-accidental violence in sport has instrumental effects (23.2%), and conformity to dominant values in sports (19%) were predominantly identified as drivers of non-accidental violence. When we only considered psychological abuse, the picture was very similar; Organisational tolerance for abuse (29.5%), believing that non-accidental violence has instrumental effects (27.2%), conformity to dominant values in sport (23%), and power imbalance (10.8%) were identified as the key drivers of psychological abuse.

The results are different for physical abuse. Believing that non-accidental violence in sport has instrumental effects (40.8%) was the dominant social factor identified as a driver of physical abuse, followed by organisational tolerance for abuse (24.1%), and conformity to dominant values in sport (22%). Winner-take-all rewards was also discussed within the text corpus as a driver of physical abuse in sport (9.4%). The results for sexual abuse were also different. Organisational tolerance was the dominant social factor identified as a driver of sexual abuse (41.8%). However, power imbalance emerged as a key dimension associated with sexual abuse in sport (25.2%). Finally, isolation (11.6%) and conformity to dominant values in sport (10.5%) were also discussed as facilitators of sexual abuse in sport.

In the following section, we discuss in more detail the findings in relation to each of the six key organisational factors, their sub-factors, and their association with each type of non-accidental violence.

3.2. A qualitative integration

Table S3 in the Supplementary materials provides a detailed account of the studies that were addressing the intersection of specific organisational factors, subfactors, and each type of non-accidental violence. Below, we present a description of those findings, structured by organisational factor.

3.2.1. Power imbalance

Informal power was related to psychological, physical and sexual abuse. Athletes appeared to heavily depend on informal sources of power possessed by coaches or high-status athletes creating an instigator-target relationship. For example, athletes needed to be seen in a favourable light ([Stirling & Kerr, 2009](#)), be identified as a team member ([Waldron, Lynn, & Krane, 2011](#)), or benefit from the expertise and knowledge of the coach to achieve success ([Smits, Jacobs, & Knoppers, 2017](#)). The threat of losing access to these resources kept athletes from resisting abuse or speaking out.

Informal power played a dominant role in cases of sexual abuse. Informal power was used to take control of, and gain access to, facets of the athlete's life outside of sport, and was supported by large differences in age between coaches and athletes ([Owton & Sparkes, 2017](#); [Johansson, 2018](#)). Coaches fostered a close and trusting relationship with the athletes to facilitate isolation, compliance, and silence ([Fasting & Sand, 2015](#); [Fasting, Brackenridge, & Walseth, 2007](#)). We did not identify any study predominantly focusing on the 'formal power-physical abuse' relationship.

We identified that formal power imbalance was common in cases of psychological and sexual abuse. Formal power appeared to be used by the coaches to control and discipline athletes ([Kelly & Waddington, 2006](#)). Coaches used abusive tactics (e.g., humiliation, verbal threats, shouting) to enforce discipline and control. The imbalance in formal power afforded the coaches the opportunity to abuse athletes with fewer consequences, which appeared to place the athlete and their entourage in a defenceless position ([Jacobs, Smits, & Knoppers, 2017](#); [Kerr & Stirling, 2012](#)). The coaches used their formal power to control the environment (e.g., training schedules and venues), which allowed them to isolate athletes from support networks and subsequently avoid detection of their abuse ([Cense & Brackenridge, 2001](#); [Howard & England-Kennedy, 2006](#)).

3.2.2. Winner-take-all rewards

All facets of winner-take-all rewards were related to both psychological and physical abuse. Only a small number of studies reported a relationship between winner-take all rewards and sexual abuse, and there were no studies that linked the cost of losing to sexual abuse.

The presence of winner-take all rewards was prominent in the findings regarding on-field physical abuse initiated by athletes. The reward structure and a sense of permission to use violence as a strategy to impair a competitor's performance, induced athletes to commit on-field violence. Violence towards competitors was further spurred by unique rewards, such as fan cheering ([Cusimano et al., 2017](#); [Grange & Kerr, 2010](#); [Pappas et al., 2004](#); [Tjønndal, 2016](#)). In terms of psychological abuse, the presence of a winner-take-all reward structure was evident at the elite level. In such cases, coaches were willing to use abusive instrumental tactics to gain access to the type of rewards allocated only to winners ([Gervis & Dunn, 2004](#); [Stirling, 2013](#)). The cost of losing was also implicated ([Smits et al., 2017](#)). Greater investment made by parents and athletes at

the elite level increased the costs of having to leave the sport. Athletes were unwilling to resist or report abusive coaching practices for fear of losing a sense of purpose and self-worth if they had to leave the sport.

3.2.3. Isolation

Psychologically or physically isolating athletes from their social support network, whether they were in a remote location or in habitual sport settings, was frequently associated with sexual abuse. Isolation was rarely associated with psychological abuse and was not linked to physical abuse. Coaches psychologically and physically isolated the athletes in their habitual training environment (e.g., limiting parents' presence during training, alleging potential for distraction; Kerr & Stirling, 2012; Smits et al., 2017). Locker rooms, a venue where athletes are isolated from the rest of the community, were used by coaches (Kelly & Waddington, 2006), and other athletes during hazing rituals (Howard & England-Kennedy, 2006), to abuse athletes with fewer consequences for the instigator.

In the case of sexual abuse of elite child athletes by coaches, isolation was a necessary feature of the environment. The target appeared to be initially chosen by the instigator because they were psychologically isolated from their support network (e.g., poor parental relationships) and were further psychologically isolated by the coach (e.g., setting team members against each other) so that a bond of trust could be established before carrying out the sexual abuse in a completely isolated venue, such as the coach's home (Cense & Brackenridge, 2001; Owton & Sparkes, 2017). Isolation meant that psychological and sexual abuse could occur with less resistance from the target, no intervention from authorities, and fewer consequences for the instigator.

3.2.4. Conformity to dominant values

An uncritical acceptance and commitment to the dominant values of sport (i.e., high performance, expertise, and masculinity) by all members of the sport community was frequently associated with all types of non-accidental violence. In most instances, the coach was considered the sole expert in the sport context and their authority was largely unquestioned by athletes, parents and administrators. Athletes experienced pressure from coaches and other athletes to act in a manner that was consistent with high performance values (e.g., endure pain, train or compete through injury, and make sacrifices) leading to physical abuse, such as age-inappropriate training (Cusimano et al., 2017) and playing with a concussion (Pinheiro et al., 2014). Repercussions for value inconsistent behaviour such as complaining of an injury led to psychological abuse by the coach, such as humiliation (Smits et al., 2017). Athletes learnt to accept discomfort, which in the most extreme case included sexually abusive behaviour by a coach (Owton & Sparkes, 2017).

Athletes playing contact sports used on-field psychologically and physically abusive tactics to demonstrate their commitment to traditional male values. In this case, on-field violence helped athletes establish a tough reputation, demonstrate loyalty to the team, gain the respect of team members, and intimidate opposing athletes (Grange & Kerr, 2010). In Howard & England-Kennedy's (2006, p. 357) case study of an elite secondary school, 'the penis as an index of masculinity' was used to enact sexual abuse in the context of college football hazing rituals. Conformity to high performance and traditional male values were reinforced by the importance placed on deference to expertise (e.g., knowledge, proficiency, prior record of success).

3.2.5. Perceived instrumental effects of non-accidental violence

The belief in the instrumental effect of abuse to improve performance was primarily related to psychological abuse. Coaches purportedly used psychologically abusive tactics to drive performance and deter failure, for example, by intentionally ignoring and removing positive encouragement from athletes who were not performing (Stirling & Kerr, 2008), or throwing objects across the room as a form of intimidation (Stirling & Kerr, 2007). Coaches appeared to believe that the development of mental toughness and resilience was facilitated by enduring verbal and emotional abuse (McDonald & Kawai, 2017; Owusu-Sekyere & Gervis, 2016). Psychological abuse was used by coaches to instil fear and maintain interpersonal control of athletes. Athletes who questioned the authority of the coach were shouted at, threatened with physical violence, denied attention, or withdrawn from the game or team (Kelly & Waddington, 2006). The logic that non-accidental violence could improve performance was accepted by many athletes who believed that abuse could mould them into a superior athlete.

Psychological and sexual abuse were used to initiate rookies onto a team. Initiation rituals (e.g., being placed in revealing clothing, non-penetrative sexual assault) was purportedly used to foster closer bonds between teammates and ensure a stable hierarchy between rookies and veterans (Kowalski & Waldron, 2010; Waldron & Kowalski, 2009; Waldron et al., 2011). Psychological and physical abuse was used by athletes to impair a competitor's performance and increase their own chances of winning. Psychologically abusive tactics included sledging or name calling (Baker-Lewton, Sonn, Vincent, & Curnow, 2017). In some contact sports, physical abuse (e.g., hitting or punching rivals to undermine their performance) was a key feature of the game, encouraged by athletes, coaches, and fans (Cusimano et al., 2016; Pappas et al., 2004; Tjønndal, 2016).

Belief in the instrumental effects of abuse, specially to maintain interpersonal control, was related to sexual abuse. There was a recurring pattern of the coach playing favourites with their athletes and singling out individual athletes for special treatment and praise (Brackenridge & Fasting, 2005; Fasting & Sand, 2015; Johansson, 2018). This tactic isolated the targeted athlete from others and made them increasingly dependent on the coach for affection and support.

3.2.6. Organisational tolerance of non-accidental violence

Organisational tolerance frequently co-occurred with psychological, physical, and sexual abuse. Most sub-factors of organisational tolerance were studied in relation to all types of non-accidental violence. Of the seven sub-factors we identified, three were studied less, including no oversight, not reported, and not believed. No oversight over organisational practices and the failure to report abuse were not studied in relation to physical abuse. Of all types of non-accidental violence, physical abuse was studied the least in relation to organisational tolerance.

Participants reported a considerable lack of clarity on what was deemed abusive behaviour in the sporting organisations. Ambiguity was present in cases of psychological (Jacobs et al., 2017), physical (Cusimano et al., 2017), and sexual abuse (Howard & England-Kennedy, 2006). Relevant actors within the sport environment typically construed violence as either harmless or harmful, as a problem or not a problem, as existing or not-existing, depending on a variety of definitions and understandings of what constitutes abuse.

Organisations also demonstrated bystander inaction and a culture of silence for psychological (Kerr & Stirling, 2012), physical (Pinheiro et al., 2014) and sexual abuse (Parent, 2011), despite knowledge or suspicions that coaching personnel or other athletes were acting in harmful ways towards athletes. Bystander inaction created an environment of unchecked abuse. In a related way, when there were no consequences placed upon an instigator for carrying out any type of non-accidental violence, abuse was understood as acceptable, and even desirable, behaviour by members of the sport organisation (Pappas et al., 2004; Rodríguez & Gill, 2011; Stirling & Kerr, 2007). Targets and bystanders may have attempted to resist and dismantle abusive organisational practices, however, negative consequences impaired such efforts. Backlash was present in cases of psychological abuse through hazing (Waldron & Kowalski, 2009), the physical abuse of children (McPherson et al., 2017) and sexual abuse by powerful and influential coaches (Brackenridge & Fasting, 2005).

3.2.7. Organisational stressors

Role conflict, role ambiguity and depersonalisation were the only stressors related to non-accidental violence. Role conflict and ambiguity were experienced by coaches who believed safe sport policies, designed to protect athletes, kept them from achieving the interpersonal closeness they saw as necessary to improve an athlete's performance (Bringer, Brackenridge, & Johnston, 2006). Coaches who construed non-accidental violence as a tool, perceived 'positive coaching practices' as inferior strategies, in direct conflict with their role as facilitators of performance (Jacobs et al., 2017). Depersonalisation was experienced by athletes required to become a "perfect machine" through intense weight control measures. Puberty was seen by sport organisations as an obstacle to high performance (Pinheiro et al., 2014).

4. Discussion

Our systematic analysis demonstrates how a range of organisational factors led to non-accidental violence. In this section, we present a model for each form of non-accidental violence, Fig. 2. First, we discuss two key organisational factors at play across all three forms of non-accidental violence, namely, organisational tolerance and conformity to dominant values. Second, we discuss the additional factors associated with each form of non-accidental violence. Third, we discuss limitations and implications of our systematic review for future research and practice, specifically interventions based on the organisational factors identified.

To describe the underlying organisational logic of non-accidental violence in sport we draw on Salin (2003) explanatory model of bullying from a managerial perspective. According to Salin (2003), enabling structural and social factors are necessary but not sufficient explanations for harmful interpersonal experiences in organisational settings. Although these factors in themselves may not lead to non-accidental violence, they act as enabling conditions if additional motivating factors are present (Salin, 2003). Motivating factors make it "rational" or rewarding to instigate abuse given the right antecedent conditions (Salin, 2003). Put simply, when enabling and motivating structural and social factors exist, abuse is not only possible but more likely to occur.

Our analysis demonstrates that organisational tolerance is a necessary antecedent condition for all forms of non-accidental violence. As evidenced in the data, organisational norms that tolerate non-accidental violence comprise four interrelated beliefs: First, instigators of abuse will not be punished. Second, people who report abusive treatment will likely experience backlash. Third, abusive treatment should be endured in silence and bystanders should remain passive. Lastly, and somewhat surprisingly, the experience of abuse is ambiguous. For members of sport organisations, there is a lack of clarity about what behaviour constitutes each form of non-accidental violence. Interestingly, these beliefs result in formal and informal norms that tolerate abuse. As shown in the data, failure to establish formal standards of acceptable conduct and enforce these standards at the highest level of sport organisations, results in de facto informal norms facilitated through social modelling of abusive behaviour and bystander inaction (Aquino & Lamertz, 2004; Bandura, 1973).

Tolerant norms provide fertile ground for non-accidental violence and are necessary to understand how it occurs, yet they are not sufficient to explain the overall logic of non-accidental violence in sport. When abuse is tolerated, our analysis demonstrates that the process of maintaining and reinforcing dominant values motivates all three types of non-accidental violence. Two of the three dominant values identified in the text corpus, namely high performance and traditional male values, have dominance and aggression at their core, while the third, expertise values, has deference to successful others as a central feature. In combination, these values present non-accidental violence as a legitimate way to operate within sport. The

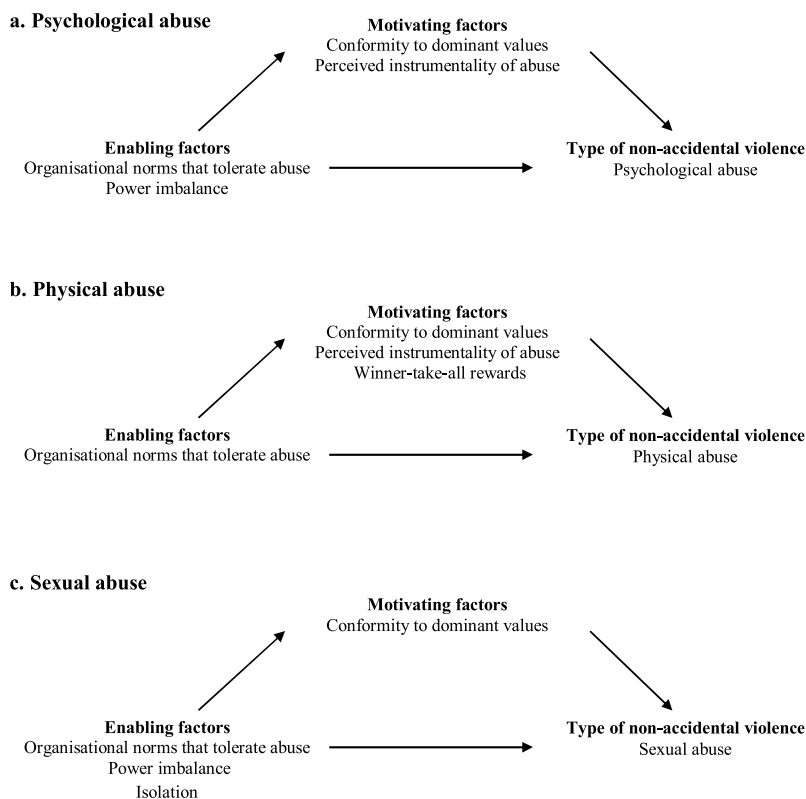


Fig. 2. Models of enabling and motivating organisational factors that contribute to non-accidental violence in sport.

process of reinforcing values at the group and organisational level also motivates non-accidental violence. Abuse is construed as an effective and acceptable way to discipline value-inconsistent behaviour.

The association between norms and values and their effect on organisational behaviour conforms with conventional wisdom. However, the extent to which these values are held across a variety of stakeholders is surprising. Athletes, coaches, managers, and parents appeared to use the values to construct their personal and social identity, amplifying the motivational strength of the values and reinforcing, as well as suppressing resistance against, the norms that license non-accidental violence.

Below, we discuss the unique properties of each form of non-accidental violence as shown in Fig. 2. In addition to tolerant norms, a necessary antecedent of psychological abuse is power imbalance (see Fig. 2a). Axiomatically, those who possess power can abuse their power with fewer consequences and less resistance. Thus, it is unsurprising that the majority of instigators are coaches who possess formal power (e.g., have control over rewards and punishment) and informal power (e.g., possess expert knowledge and skill). Given these antecedent conditions, belief in the instrumental effect of abuse, in concert with value conformity, makes psychological abuse not only possible but more likely to occur. Instrumental beliefs manifest in several specific coaching practices intended to drive performance, deter failure, and maintain interpersonal control over athletes and group dynamics. Peer athletes with high status and informal power also use psychologically abusive tactics during initiation rituals to purportedly induct individuals into a group, forge closer bonds, and maintain stable hierarchies between team members.

In the case of physical abuse (see Fig. 2b), instrumental beliefs and winner-take-all reward structures are additional motivating factors in concert with value conformity when tolerant norms exist. Physical abuse was primarily studied on-field. This explains why most of the instigators of abuse are athletes who use physically abusive tactics to undermine a competitor's performance and increase their own chances of winning. When physical abuse was observed off-field, it was used as a tool to discipline value-inconsistent behaviour, most notably noncompliance with the demands of experts in positions of authority.

For sexual abuse to occur (see Fig. 2c), power imbalance and isolation along with tolerant norms are necessary antecedent conditions. These factors act as a filter which determines whether the pressure to conform to dominant values, in particular, the expectation to comply with the demands of experts, actually gives rise to sexual abuse. Instigators of sexual abuse who possess formal and informal power, for example, an authority figure with high status characteristics such as gender and age, can enact sexual abuse with fewer consequences for the instigator and less resistance from the target. Physical and

psychological isolation helps to establish a relationship of trust and dependence on the instigator, guarantee silence on the part of the target, and prevent others from observing the abuse and intervening. Both factors are exacerbated by norms that tolerate abuse, specifically those that perpetuate silence, discourage bystander intervention and maintain a sense of ambiguity about whether abuse has occurred.

4.1. Limitations and research recommendations

A key limitation of this review is that the data was collected from primary studies, which precludes any direct statements about the underlying organisational factors present in the population beyond the original findings. The primary data was collected using qualitative research. Although the rich descriptions arising from qualitative research help to understand the nuances of complex organisational settings, their role is not to determine causal relationships. Longitudinal, quantitative research needs to be conducted to cross-validate the current findings. Quantitative research in sport should rely on multi-level designs (e.g., athletes nested within teams/sport institutions), to better understand the impact of organisational level factors on non-accidental violence.

The current review identified several gaps in the literature. Future research should examine winner-take-all rewards in relation to psychological and sexual abuse. Our results indicated that physical isolation was also an understudied organisational factor in relation to both physical and psychological abuse in sport, and as such, the role of isolation needs to be better understood. The role of organisational stressors was conspicuously absent from the reviewed studies. Insecure job contracts, depersonalisation, and deficient organisational communication might be drivers of non-accidental violence in sport worth studying (Bowling & Beehr, 2006; Salin, 2003).

The findings pose new research questions rather than offering definitive solutions to reduce prevalence and negative effects of non-accidental violence. Future research will need to consider how scholars and practitioners can collaborate to ensure that solutions are grounded in practical rationality and account for what sport leaders and managers, coaches and athletes within specific sports routinely do on a day-to-day basis, for what purpose, and with what results (Sandberg & Tsoukas, 2011). This approach will ensure that alternative practices are recognisable and reportable to others, and thus establish how accountability can be accomplished (Sandberg & Tsoukas, 2011).

4.2. Practical implications: A whole-of-system approach to non-accidental violence in sport

The results of the current review, as well as the IOC Consensus Statement on harassment and abuse in sport (Mountjoy et al., 2016), indicate that non-accidental violence is a pervasive and protracted issue affecting athletes of all types and ages, though children, elite athletes and those from stigmatised groups (e.g., women, LGBTIQ, and athletes with disabilities) are more vulnerable to non-accidental violence.

The lack of progress in the reduction or elimination of non-accidental violence in sport is in part caused by interventions that take an individual (i.e., “bad apple” or “bad case”) rather than organisational (i.e., “bad barrel” or “bad ecosystem”) approach. Our results demonstrate that organisational norms, power structures, social values, and beliefs are all related to non-accidental violence in sport, even if not all these factors are equal drivers of different forms of abuse. Worryingly, non-accidental violence occurs through routine activities such as developing and motivating athletes. This suggests that current practices do not adequately ensure that athletes will have a safe place to train and compete. This is socially and morally unacceptable organisational behaviour; non-accidental violence harms athletes, damages the integrity of sport, and calls into question the social contract between sport leaders and society.

A whole-of-system approach will be the most effective strategy to promote safe sport, prevent non-accidental violence, and manage non-accidental violence events when they occur. A whole-of-system approach requires multiple agents and agencies to be involved; athletes, their entourage, coaches, sport managers, health practitioners, educators, and criminal justice agencies will have to play an active role. A whole-of-system approach requires interventions that remedy formal and informal structural and social causal factors, simultaneously. Interventions that deal with one structural or cultural factor without addressing the interconnected nature of these factors, can in some cases lead to greater harm, especially when the fear of backlash and the culture of silence around abuse is a real and powerful part of this problem. This approach will build systemic counterpressures to powerful institutional forces that rationalise non-accidental violence.

A critical first step for sport organisations to remedy organisational tolerance will be to review their non-accidental violence policies and clearly outline (a) the expected respectful behaviours on- and off-field from athletes, their entourages, coaches, sport managers, and spectators; (b) the practices and processes to support expected behaviour, promote athlete autonomy and remove athlete isolation; (c) the mechanisms for reporting incidents, detailing the steps that will be followed to manage the report; and (d) sanctions for non-compliance and the mechanisms to enforce such penalties. These processes should be transparent and reportable to an independent oversight body with investigatory powers and functions to scrutinise and monitor the progress of investigations and the handling of complaints by sports organisations (Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse, 2018). The robustness of these processes should be tested. Considering that, in some cases, non-accidental violence involves criminal behaviour, it is crucial to review jurisdiction level legislation to make sure that reporting and handling of cases is done in accordance with healing justice principles (Weitekamp & Parmentier, 2016).

Policy and governance initiatives should be supported by informal social and cultural initiatives that promote safe sport. Leaders, from local captains through to IOC executives, can set a good example by role-modelling respectful behaviour, demonstrating proactive bystander action, and promoting a shared sense of responsibility for responding to and preventing non-accidental violence. Leadership can also be distributed and shared with athletes to increase their capacity to withstand and resist against non-accidental violence and to provide peer support for bystander action.

An important piece of this puzzle is to educate athletes, their coaches and entourage, sports managers and the broader community about (a) the harmful impacts of non-accidental violence in sport, and (b) alternative, respectful, and safe practices that build cohesion and camaraderie between athletes, develop athletic skill, motivate performance, and prepare athletes to compete to win. Long term commitment will be required to develop new knowledge and expertise associated with these practices. Successful athletes and coaches who employ these practices can be role models and powerful champions of change. A critical analysis of the discrepancy between espoused values in sport such as fair play and enacted values that drive behaviour, such as stereotypical masculine values, blind deference to experts, and unwarranted sacrifice should be integral parts of training materials about safe sport. Nuanced conversations between members of the sport community will also be required to acknowledge the pressure to publicly espouse a “one-eyed determination to win,” when privately individuals are uncomfortable with the costs and are adopting alternative pathways to achieve success.

4.3. Conclusions

In the current systematic review, we presented an organisational lens to non-accidental violence in sport. We developed and used a classification of structural, social and stress factors to analyse the findings of previous qualitative studies about non-accidental violence in sport. A range of sub-factors of organisational tolerance for abuse and conformity to dominant values within sport consistently enabled and motivated psychological, physical and sexual abuse of athletes. An additional antecedent condition for psychological and sexual abuse was power imbalance. Isolation also enabled sexual abuse. Believing that non-accidental violence had instrumental effects motivated psychological and physical abuse, whereas winner-take-all reward systems motivated physical abuse. We recommend a whole-of-system approach to the prevention and management of non-accidental violence in sport.

Declarations of interest: none.

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank Bill Harley, David Merrett, Robert Macdonald, the editors and two anonymous reviewers for their very helpful comments on earlier drafts of this paper. Faculty of Business and Economics, The University of Melbourne. Grant number: 1757478. The University of Melbourne Grant number: 603783.

Appendix A. Supplementary data

Supplementary material related to this article can be found, in the online version, at doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.smr.2019.03.001>.

References²

- *Anderson, E., McCormack, M., & Lee, H. (2012). Male team sport hazing initiations in a culture of decreasing homophobia. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 27, 427–448. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0743558411412957>.
- Aquino, K., & Lamertz, K. (2004). A relational model of workplace victimization: Social roles and patterns of victimization in dyadic relationships. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, 89, 1023–1034. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.89.6.1023>.
- *Baker-Lewton, A., Sonn, C. C., Vincent, D. N., & Curnow, F. (2017). ‘I haven’t lost hope of reaching out . . .’: Exposing racism in sport by elevating counter narratives. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 21, 1097–1112. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2017.1350316>.
- Bandura, A. (1973). *Aggression: A social learning analysis*. London: UK: Prentice-Hall.
- *Battaglia, A. V., Kerr, G., & Stirling, A. E. (2017). Youth athletes’ interpretations of punitive coaching practices. *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology*, 29, 337–352. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10413200.2016.1271370>.
- Bjørnseth, I., & Szabo, A. (2018). Sexual violence against children in sports and exercise: A systematic literature review. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 27, 365–385. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10538712.2018.1477222>.
- Bowling, N. A., & Beehr, T. A. (2006). Workplace harassment from the victim’s perspective: A theoretical model and meta-analysis. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, 91, 998–1012. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.91.5.998>.
- Boyatzis, R. E. (1998). *Transforming qualitative information: Thematic analysis and code development*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Brackenridge, C., & Fasting, K. (2002). Sexual harassment and abuse in sport: The research context. *The Journal of Sexual Aggression*, 8, 3–15. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13552600208413336>.
- *Brackenridge, C., & Fasting, K. (2005). The grooming process in sport: Narratives of sexual harassment and abuse. *Auto/Biography*, 13, 33–52. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1191/0967550705ab016oa>.
- Brackenridge, C., & Rhind, D. (2014). Child protection in sport: Reflections on thirty years of science and activism. *Social Sciences*, 3, 326–340. <http://dx.doi.org/10.3390/socsci3030326>.
- *Bringer, J. D., Brackenridge, C. H., & Johnston, L. H. (2006). Swimming coaches’ perceptions of sexual exploitation in sport: A preliminary model of role conflict and role ambiguity. *The Sport Psychologist*, 20, 465–479. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1123/tsp.20.4.465>.

² Articles preceded by an asterisk were included in the systematic review.

- Brodsky, C. M. (1976). *The harassed worker*. Washington, DC: Heath & Co.
- *Cense, M., & Brackenridge, C. (2001). Temporal and developmental risk factors for sexual harassment and abuse in sport. *European Physical Education Review*, 7, 61–79. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1356336x010071006>.
- *Crow, R. B., & Macintosh, E. W. (2009). Conceptualizing a meaningful definition of hazing in sport. *European Sport Management Quarterly*, 9, 433–451. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/16184740903331937>.
- *Cusimano, M. D., Ilie, G., Mullen, S. J., Pauley, C. R., Stulberg, J. R., Topolovec-Vranic, J., et al. (2016). Aggression, violence and injury in minor league ice hockey: Avenues for prevention of injury. *PLoS One*, 11e0156683. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0156683>.
- *Cusimano, M. D., Topolovec-Vranic, J., Zhang, S., Mullen, S. J., Wong, M., & Ilie, G. (2017). Factors influencing the underreporting of concussion in sports: A qualitative study of minor hockey participants. *Clinical Journal of Sport Medicine*, 27, 375–380. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1097/jsm.0000000000000372>.
- Diamond, A. B., Callahan, S. T., Chain, K. F., & Solomon, G. S. (2015). Qualitative review of hazing in collegiate and school sports: Consequences from a lack of culture, knowledge and responsiveness. *British Journal of Sports Medicine*, 50, 149–153. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1136/bjsports-2015-095603>.
- *Fasting, K., & Sand, T. S. (2015). Narratives of sexual harassment experiences in sport. *Qualitative Research in Sport Exercise and Health*, 7, 573–588. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/2159676x.2015.1008028>.
- *Fasting, K., Brackenridge, C., & Walseth, K. (2002). Consequences of sexual harassment in sport for female athletes. *The Journal of Sexual Aggression*, 8, 37–48. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13552600208413338>.
- *Fasting, K., Brackenridge, C., & Walseth, K. (2007). Women athletes' personal responses to sexual harassment in sport. *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology*, 19, 419–433. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10413200701599165>.
- Frank, R. H., & Cook, P. J. (2013). Winner-take-all markets. *Studies in Microeconomics*, 1, 131–154. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/2321022213501254>.
- French, J. R., & Raven, B. (1959). The bases of social power. In D. Cartwright (Ed.), *Studies in social power* (pp. 259–269). Ann Arbor, Mich: Institute for Social Research.
- *Gervis, M., & Dunn, N. (2004). The emotional abuse of elite child athletes by their coaches. *Child Abuse Review: Journal of the British Association for the Study and Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect*, 13, 215–223. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/car.843>.
- *Grange, P., & Kerr, J. H. (2010). Physical aggression in Australian football: A qualitative study of elite athletes. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise*, 11, 36–43. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.psychsport.2009.04.006>.
- Groves, M., Griggs, G., & Leflay, K. (2012). Hazing and initiation ceremonies in university sport: Setting the scene for further research in the United Kingdom. *Sport in Society*, 15, 117–131. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03031853.2011.625287>.
- Hartill, M. (2005). Sport and the sexually abused male child. *Sport, Education and Society*, 10, 287–304. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13573320500254869>.
- *Hartill, M. (2014). Exploring narratives of boyhood sexual subjection in male-sport. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 31, 23–43. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1123/ssj.2012-0216>.
- Hong, Q. N., Gonzalez-Reyes, A., & Pluye, P. (2018). Improving the usefulness of a tool for appraising the quality of qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods studies, the Mixed Methods Appraisal Tool (MMAT). *Journal of Evaluation in Clinical Practice*, 24, 459–467. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/jep.12884>.
- *Howard, A., & England-Kennedy, E. K. (2006). Breaking the silence: Power, conflict, and contested frames within an affluent high school. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 37, 347–365. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1525/aeq.2006.37.4.347>.
- Hughes, R., & Coakley, J. (1991). Positive deviance among athletes: The implications of overconformity to the sport ethic. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 8, 307–325. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1123/ssj.8.4.307>.
- Ilie, R., Hauserman, N., Schwochau, S., & Stibal, J. (2003). Reported incidence rates of work-related sexual harassment in the United States: Using meta-analysis to explain reported rate disparities. *Personnel Psychology*, 56, 607–631. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1744-6570.2003.tb00752.x>.
- *Jacobs, F., Smits, F., & Knoppers, A. (2017). 'You don't realize what you see!': The institutional context of emotional abuse in elite youth sport. *Sport in Society*, 20, 126–143. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2015.1124567>.
- *Johansson, S. (2018). 'Am I sexually abused?' Consent in a coach-athlete lesbian relationship. *Sport, Education and Society*, 23, 311–323. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13573322.2016.1202819>.
- *Kavanagh, E., Brown, L., & Jones, I. (2017). Elite athletes' experience of coping with emotional abuse in the coach-athlete relationship. *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology*, 29, 402–417. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10413200.2017.1298165>.
- *Kelly, S., & Waddington, I. (2006). Abuse, intimidation and violence as aspects of managerial control in professional soccer in Britain and Ireland. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 41, 147–164. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1012690206075417>.
- *Kerr, J. H. (2017). The motivation behind unsanctioned violence in international rugby: A case study of a former elite player. *International Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology*, 15, 80–91. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1612197x.2015.1055290>.
- *Kerr, G. A., & Stirling, A. E. (2012). Parents' reflections on their child's experiences of emotionally abusive coaching practices. *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology*, 24, 191–206. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10413200.2011.608413>.
- Kirby, S. L., Demers, G., & Parent, S. (2008). Vulnerability/prevention: Considering the needs of disabled and gay athletes in the context of sexual harassment and abuse. *International Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology*, 6, 407–426. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1612197x.2008.9671882>.
- *Kowalski, C., & Waldron, J. (2010). Looking the other way: Athletes' perceptions of coaches' responses to hazing. *International Journal of Sports Science & Coaching*, 5, 87–100. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1260/1747-9541.5.1.87>.
- Lazarus, R. S., & Folkman, S. (1986). *Estres y procesos cognitivos [Stress and cognitive processes]*. Barcelona, Spain: Martinez Roca.
- Leahy, T., Pretty, G., & Tannenbaum, G. (2002). Prevalence of sexual abuse in organized organised competitive sport in Australia. *The Journal of Sexual Aggression*, 8, 16–36. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13552600208413337>.
- Leahy, T., Pretty, G., & Tannenbaum, G. A. (2004). Perpetrator methodology as a predictor of traumatic symptomatology in adult survivors of childhood sexual abuse. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 19, 521–540. doi: 10.1177/2F0886260504262963.
- Leeds, M. A., & Von Allmen, P. (2016). *The economics of sports: International edition*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- MacDonald, C. A. (2014). Masculinity and sport revisited: A review of literature on hegemonic masculinity and men's ice hockey in Canada. *Canadian Graduate Journal of Sociology and Criminology*, 3, 95–112. <http://dx.doi.org/10.15353/cgjsc-rccsc.v3i1.74>.
- *McDonald, B., & Kawai, K. (2017). Punishing coaching: Bukatsudō and the normalisation of coach violence. *Japan Forum*, 29, 196–217. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09555803.2016.1213761>.
- *McPherson, L., Long, M., Nicholson, M., Cameron, N., Atkins, P., & Morris, M. E. (2017). Secrecy surrounding the physical abuse of child athletes in Australia. *Australian Social Work*, 70, 42–53. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0312407x.2016.1142589>.
- Moher, D., Liberati, A., Tetzlaff, J., Altman, D. G., & The, P. G. (2009). Preferred reporting items for systematic reviews and meta-analyses: The PRISMA statement. *PLoS Medicine*, 6e1000097. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1371/journal.pmed.1000097>.
- Mountjoy, M., Brackenridge, C., Arrington, M., Blauwet, C., Carska-Sheppard, A., Fasting, K., et al. (2016). International Olympic Committee consensus statement: Harassment and abuse (non-accidental violence) in sport. *British Journal of Sports Medicine*, 50, 1019–1029. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1136/bjsports-2016-096121>.
- O'Neil, A., Sojo, V., Fileborn, B., Scovelle, A. J., & Milner, A. (2018). The #MeToo movement: an opportunity in public health? *Lancet*, 391, 2587–2589. [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(18\)30991-7](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(18)30991-7).
- Organ, D. W., & Ryan, K. (1995). A meta-analytic review of attitudinal and dispositional predictors of organizational citizenship behavior. *Personnel Psychology*, 48, 775–802. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1744-6570.1995.tb01781.x>.
- *Owton, H., & Sparkes, A. C. (2017). Sexual abuse and the grooming process in sport: Learning from Bella's story. *Sport, Education and Society*, 22, 732–743. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13573322.2015.1063484>.
- *Owusu-Sekyere, F., & Gervis, M. (2016). In the pursuit of mental toughness: Is creating mentally tough players a disguise for emotional abuse? *International Journal of Coaching Science*, 10, 3–23.
- *Pappas, N. T., McKenry, P. C., & Catlett, B. S. (2004). Athlete aggression on the rink and off the ice: Athlete violence and aggression in hockey and interpersonal relationships. *Men and Masculinities*, 6, 291–312. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1097184x03257433>.

- *Parent, S. (2011). Disclosure of sexual abuse in sport organizations: A case study. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 20, 322–337. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10538712.2011.573459>.
- Parent, S., & Demers, G. (2011). Sexual abuse in sport: A model to prevent and protect athletes. *Child Abuse Review*, 20, 120–133. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/car.1135>.
- Pfeffer, J. (1981). *Power in organizations*, Vol. 33. Marshfield, MA: Pitman.
- *Pinheiro, M. C., Pimenta, N., Resende, R., & Malcolm, D. (2014). Gymnastics and child abuse: An analysis of former international Portuguese female artistic gymnasts. *Sport, Education and Society*, 19, 435–450. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13573322.2012.679730>.
- *Rodríguez, E. A., & Gill, D. L. (2011). Sexual harassment perceptions among Puerto Rican female former athletes. *International Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology*, 9, 323–337. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1612197x.2011.623461>.
- Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse (2018). *Final report recommendations*. (Accessed 1 December 2018). <https://www.childabuseroyalcommission.gov.au/recommendations>.
- Salin, D. (2003). Ways of explaining workplace bullying: A review of enabling, motivating and precipitating structures and processes in the work environment. *Human Relations*, 56, 1213–1232. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/00187267035610003>.
- Sandberg, J., & Tsoukas, H. (2011). Grasping the logic of practice: Theorizing through practical rationality. *The Academy of Management Review*, 36(2), 338–360. <http://dx.doi.org/10.5465/amr.2009.0183>.
- *Smits, F., Jacobs, F., & Knoppers, A. (2017). 'Everything revolves around gymnastics': Athletes and parents make sense of elite youth sport. *Sport in Society*, 20, 66–83. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2015.1124564>.
- Sojo, V. E., Wood, R. E., & Genat, A. E. (2016). Harmful workplace experiences and women's occupational well-being: A meta-analysis. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 40, 10–40. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0361684315599346>.
- *Stafford, A., Alexander, K., & Fry, D. (2015). There was something that wasn't right because that was the only place I ever got treated like that': Children and young people's experiences of emotional harm in sport. *Childhood*, 22, 121–137. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0907568213505625>.
- Stirling, A. E. (2009). Definition and constituents of maltreatment in sport: Establishing a conceptual framework for research practitioners. *British Journal of Sports Medicine*, 43, 1091–1099. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1136/bjism.2008.051433>.
- *Stirling, A. E. (2013). Understanding the use of emotionally abusive coaching practices. *International Journal of Sports Science & Coaching*, 8, 625–639. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1260/1747-9541.8.4.625>.
- *Stirling, A. E., & Kerr, G. A. (2007). Elite female swimmers' experiences of emotional abuse across time. *Journal of Emotional Abuse*, 7, 89–113. http://dx.doi.org/10.1300/j135v07n04_05.
- *Stirling, A. E., & Kerr, G. A. (2008). Defining and categorizing emotional abuse in sport. *European Journal of Sport Science*, 8, 173–181. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17461390802086281>.
- *Stirling, A. E., & Kerr, G. A. (2009). Abused athletes' perceptions of the coach-athlete relationship. *Sport in Society*, 12, 227–239. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17430430802591019>.
- *Stirling, A. E., & Kerr, G. A. (2013). The perceived effects of elite athletes' experiences of emotional abuse in the coach-athlete relationship. *International Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology*, 11, 87–100. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1612197X.2013.752173>.
- *Stirling, A. E., & Kerr, G. A. (2014). Initiating and sustaining emotional abuse in the coach-Athlete relationship: An ecological transactional model of vulnerability. *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment & Trauma*, 23, 116–135. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10926771.2014.872747>.
- *Tjønnedal, A. (2016). NHL heavyweights: Narratives of violence and masculinity in ice hockey. *Physical Culture and Sport Studies and Research*, 70, 55–68. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1515/pccsr-2016-0013>.
- Vertommen, T., Schipper-van Veldhoven, N., Wouters, K., Kampen, J. K., Brackenridge, C. H., Rhind, D. J., et al. (2016). Interpersonal violence against children in sport in the Netherlands and Belgium. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 51, 223–236. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2015.10.006>.
- *Waldron, J. J., & Kowalski, C. L. (2009). Crossing the line: Rites of passage, team aspects, and ambiguity of hazing. *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport*, 80, 291–302. <http://dx.doi.org/10.5641/027013609x13087704028633>.
- *Waldron, J. J., Lynn, Q., & Krane, V. (2011). Duct tape, icy hot & paddles: Narratives of initiation onto US male sport teams. *Sport, Education and Society*, 16, 111–125. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13573322.2011.531965>.
- Weitekamp, E. G. M., & Parmentier, S. (2016). Restorative justice as healing justice: Looking back to the future of the concept. *Restorative Justice*, 4, 141–147. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/20504721.2016.1197517>.
- Zehntner, C., & McMahon, J. (2018). Power and knowledge in a coach mentoring program. *Sports Coaching Review* 1–21. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/21640629.2018.1480736>.