



Report

Building European Safe Sports Together: a conceptual framework of transgressive behaviour

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Building European Safe Sports Together: a conceptual framework of harassment and abuse

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1. Introduction

Sports participation is a great way for people of all ages, genders and nationalities to stay healthy through physical activity. According to the 2022 Eurobarometer, over half of Europeans (55%, N = 14,619) engage in physical activity or sports at varying frequencies (European Commission, 2022). Among them, 32% participate regularly (1 to 4 times a week), 17% infrequently (3 times a month or less), and 6% very regularly (>5 times a week). Age differences show higher participation rates among those aged 15-24 (54%), decreasing with age: 42% for 25-39, 32% for 40-54, and 21% for 55 and older. Nevertheless, more people participate than not, especially in the 15-24 and 25-39 age groups (19% and 32% non-participation, respectively). Men participate more than women, with 35% of men and 30% of women reporting regular participation. The highest participation rates by country are in Finland (71%), Luxembourg (63%), the Netherlands (60%), Denmark, and Sweden (both 59%). Notably, the proportion of non-participation decreased in 62.9% of EU member states compared to 2017, especially in Malta, Latvia, Estonia, Croatia, and Czechia. Despite differences, more Europeans are engaging in physical activities and sports over the years.

Taking part in sports positively affects physical, mental and social health. It contributes to maintaining or improving physical fitness, mental well-being, and forming social connections (Bailey et al., 2009; Council of Europe, 2022; McKay et al., 2019). This collective impact is known as the value of sports. People engage in sports for various reasons, with health improvement being the primary motivation for over half of Europeans (54%) according to the 2022 Eurobarometer (European Commission, 2022). Those with physical goals aim to enhance fitness (43%), physical performance (27%), control weight (25%), counteract aging effects (17%), or acquire new skills (6%). Sports participation also positively affects mental well-being, providing relaxation (39%), enjoyment (27%), and enhanced self-esteem (13%). Additionally, social reasons include being with friends (19%), competing (6%), meeting new people (5%), connecting with different cultures (3%), or better integrating into society (3%).

1.1. Sports Community

To enable individuals to participate in sports and reap health benefits, various actors at different levels play a crucial role. The micro level involves the group composition formed by athletes and coaches. The meso level includes contributors at the local level providing the opportunity for the micro level to participate in sports, such as sports club board members, facility managers, youth committees, neighbourhood coaches, referees and parents. The macro level comprises sports entities at local and international levels providing frameworks and policies to be implemented by the meso level, like governments, sports federations, policymakers, decision-makers, and educators. Each level has distinct roles influencing the sports community. Due to the complexity of their simultaneous influence, we will delve into the meso and macro levels. Figure 1 provides an overview of influential actors in the (European) sports community at these levels.

1.1.1. Macro level

Internationally, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) oversees the Olympic Games and guides the Olympic movement, collaborating with stakeholders to promote sports, uphold integrity, and support clean athletes and sports organisations (Olympics, 2021). They recognise International Sports Federations (IFs, N = 39), which manage global sports disciplines and athlete development. On a continental level, the European Olympic Committee (EOC) promotes the IOC’s Olympic Values in Europe, encouraging sports and healthy lifestyles. They work with European Sports Federations (EFs) and European National Olympic Committees (NOCs) to achieve their mission. EFs manage sports on a European level and supervise athlete development, while NOCs play a vital role nationally, developing, promoting, and protecting the Olympic movement in their countries. Globally, there are 206 NOCs, with 50 in Europe, all recognised by the IOC, which oversees these organisations.

1.1.2. Meso level

At the national level, National Sports Federations (NFs) promote their respective sports across all performance levels. They oversee and are accountable for managing and monitoring their sport, as well as guiding athletes’ development. NFs act as governing bodies for local sports clubs, influencing sports culture through policies and regulations. Locally, sports clubs and various actors work together to offer opportunities for individuals to participate in sports and stay active during leisure time. These clubs rely on different actors, including voluntary or employed individuals. Boards, consisting of members who make and implement decisions, play a crucial role in sports clubs. Committees, like youth committees formed by young athletes, contribute by evaluating sports practices from their perspective. Governmental institutions,

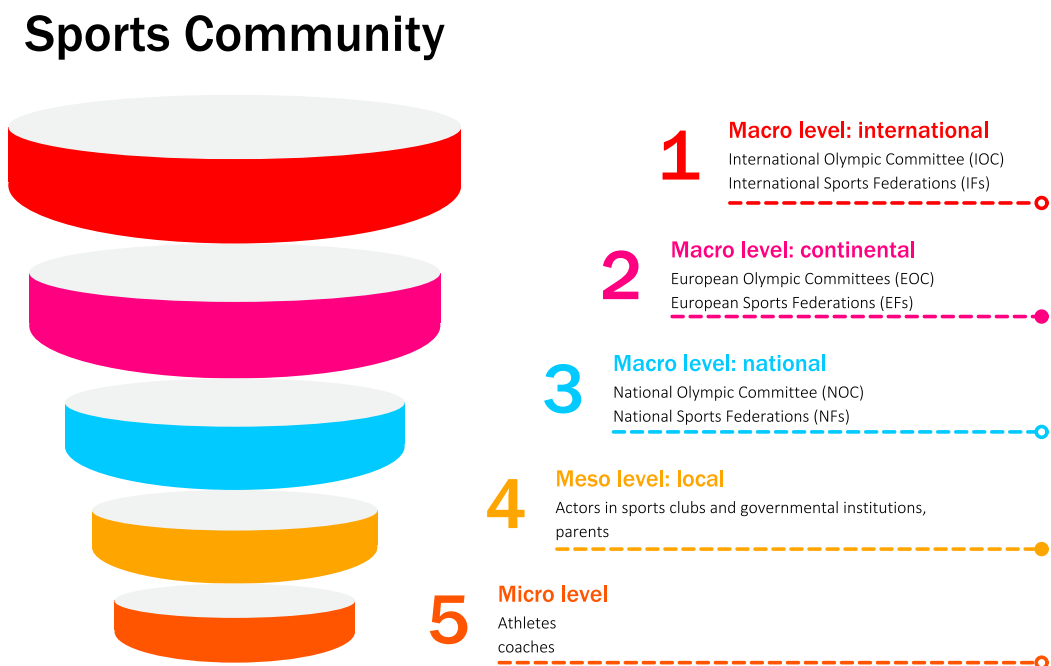


Figure 1. Funnel diagram of actors and organisations per level in the sports community.

such as municipalities, also play a significant role by supporting sports clubs with finances, policies, campaigns, research and innovations, creating opportunities for sports development.

All members across the three levels of the sports community have a common goal: ensuring everyone can access sports activities. Alongside this, safety is a critical factor that must be considered when offering sports opportunities to the community.

1.2. Fundamental rights to safe sports

Article 10 of the Revised European Sports Charter states that everyone has a fundamental right to access sports in a safe environment (Council of Europe, 2022). This right involves physical education and sports providing opportunities for people to develop physical, intellectual and ethical competencies based on their abilities. It includes tailored opportunities for different age groups and individuals with disabilities. Additionally, part of this right involves taking extra measures to help disadvantaged individuals or groups effectively use these opportunities. An essential aspect of practising this fundamental right is safeguarding which can be defined – from a pedagogical perspective – as preventing harm to children’s health and development, ensuring they grow up in a safe and supportive environment (Department of Education and Skills, 2006). In sports, safeguarding is crucial for maintaining a respectful, equitable and violence-free environment (Mountjoy et al., 2016). It helps prevent integrity issues in sports, such as match-fixing, anti-doping, and fraud, by upholding values of honesty, openness, safety, inclusivity, and reliability.

Project BESST acknowledges all forms of integrity issues in sports but focuses on safeguarding to prevent one specific integrity issue: harassment and abuse in sports. To ensure safe sports through safeguarding, all members of the sports community should collaborate, prioritising the well-being of every individual and respecting their beliefs and wishes. This collaboration helps protect individuals from any risks associated with participating in sports.

1.3. Not-so-safe sports: harassment and abuse

While sports participation is generally beneficial, there is evidence that athletes can also face negative consequences (e.g., Vertommen et al., 2016). In a study by Schipper-van Veldhoven (2022), 72% of Dutch respondents who played organised sports during childhood (N = 3959) reported at least one type of harmful behaviour. Among them, 68% reported psychological events, 24% physical events, and 16% sexual events during childhood sports. 6% experienced all three forms of harmful behaviours. This issue is not limited to the Netherlands; a study by Harthill et al. (2021) in the UK and partner countries found high prevalence rates of child abuse in sports. Of adults aged 18-30 (N = 10,302), 65% reported psychological violence, 44% physical violence, and 37% felt neglected as children. Regarding sexual violence, 20% reported contact forms, and 35% non-contact forms. These harmful behaviours are present across all

performance levels in sports. Hartill et al. (2021) noted that the prevalence of interpersonal violence against children is lower in recreational sports (68%) compared to international sports (84%). Similarly, Schipper-van Veldhoven et al. (2022) found that athletes participating at higher (inter)national levels reported more incidents of harmful behaviour, especially psychological and physical forms. Despite a higher risk at higher levels, harmful behaviours are still prevalent at lower levels.

Experiencing harmful behaviours as an athlete can lead to significant consequences, including difficulties in coping, self-doubt, self-harm, and destructive behaviours (Rulofs et al., 2019). Research by Parent et al. (2022) revealed that teenagers who faced psychological violence, neglect or sexual violence in sports had lower self-esteem. Those who experienced physical or psychological violence, neglect or sexual violence also showed higher psychological distress and symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Importantly, the impact of harmful behaviours in sports can persist into adulthood, affecting mental health and quality of life. Vertommen et al. (2018) found that severe interpersonal violence in sports during childhood was linked to poorer mental health in adulthood, including experiences of depression, anxiety, and reduced quality of life. Experiencing multiple types of interpersonal violence as a child can exacerbate these mental health consequences (polyvictimization). In summary, serious issues arise at the micro level in the sports community.

Current research on harassment and abuse in sports mostly focuses on the athlete's viewpoint, particularly in coach-athlete relationships. However, this limited perspective does not fully capture the extent of harassment and abuse in the sports community, as anyone can be vulnerable to it. Recently, there has been a rise in reports of workplace misconduct at the organisational levels (meso and macro) within sports organisations. Examples include sexual harassment allegations within the management of the Detroit Pistons basketball team (Baldas, 2023) and a longstanding toxic workplace culture within the Washington Commanders, an American football team (Whyno & Maaddi, 2022). Similar issues have been reported in Europe, involving the chief of the French Football Federation (Ripley, 2023) and a director of the Dutch football club Ajax facing accusations of sexual harassment (RTL Nieuws, 2022). Even referees are not immune, as evidenced by verbal harassment after a UEFA Europa League match (The Guardian, 2023) and a tragic incident at the grassroots level where a Dutch sideline referee lost his life due to a physical attack by players and a parent (Nestler, 2019). Thus, harassment and abuse are prevalent at all levels of the sports community, not just at the micro level.

1.4. The scope of project BESST

Safeguarding should be ingrained in the DNA of every level in the sports community, ensuring a safe environment for everyone involved, regardless of their role. This means that everyone, from directors at the macro level to coaches at the micro level, shares the responsibility for maintaining this safe environment. The culture of safeguarding should be consistent throughout the entire sports community, from top organisations like the IOC to local sports clubs and

coaches. The macro level, in particular, plays a crucial role in setting the standard against harassment and abuse and leading by example. To achieve “Building European Safe Sports Together”, all individuals and organisations in sports must collaborate to prioritise safeguarding. Project BESST is working towards this goal, recognising that addressing differences in power dynamics at the meso and macro levels requires a tailored approach. Therefore, a future project using transition theories is needed to bring about organisational change in workplaces within the sports community, safeguarding employees from harassment and abuse.

It is crucial to emphasise that workplace organisations are not excluded from project BESST. These organisations play a vital role in providing sports opportunities and are significant contributors to the sports community. Including them in project BESST is essential for ensuring that sports organisations mature in implementing safeguarding policies. This is particularly important because harassment and abuse cases can involve actors from all three levels, as illustrated by the largest sexual abuse scandal in sports history within the United States women’s gymnastics team (Evans et al., 2016). Over 360 gymnasts experienced sexual abuse, and the organisation, USA Gymnastics, covered up allegations for decades, protecting coaches and officials instead of the athletes (Freeman, 2018). This case underscores the complexity of harassment and abuse in sports, highlighting the need to involve influential actors at various levels.

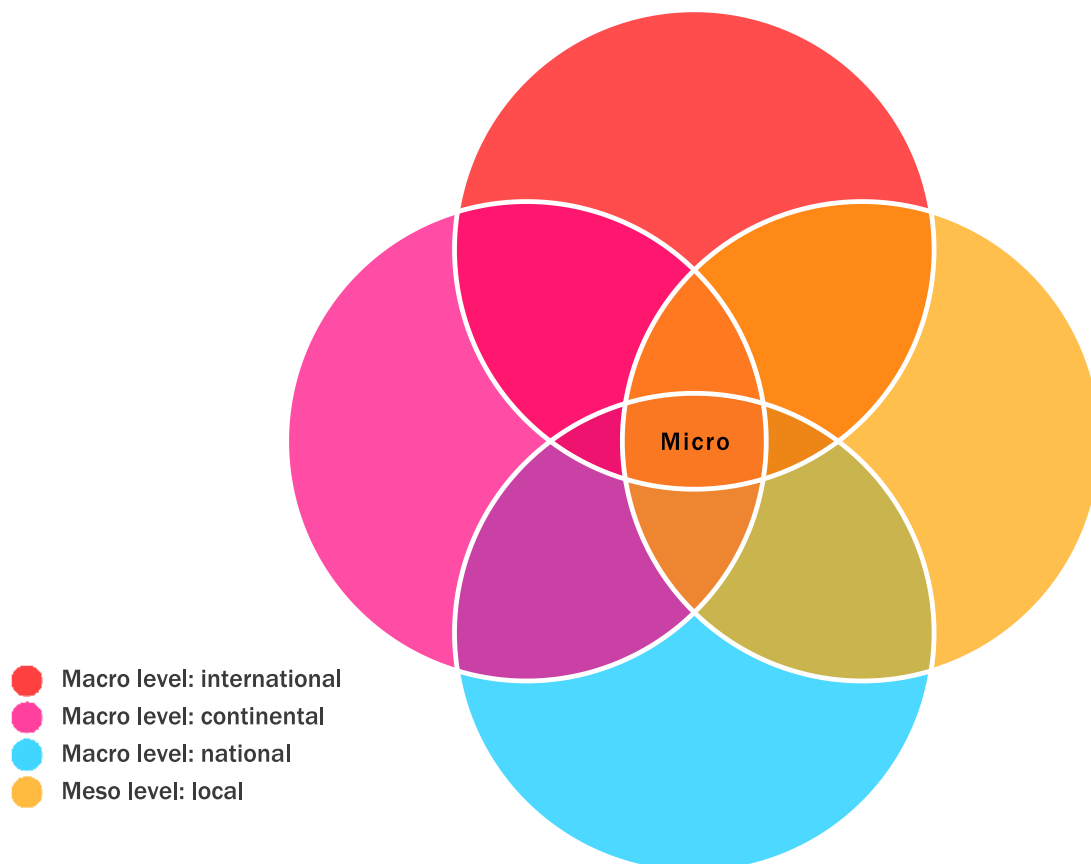


Figure 2. Venn diagram of the scope of the sports community in Project BESST.

Figure 2 illustrates the scope of organisations and actors involved in the sports community within project BESST. The diagram can be understood in two ways. Firstly, it portrays a fan representing layered levels – from international to continental, national and local – similar to Figure 1. The international level should set an example for safeguarding in sports and the workplace. Secondly, the diagram shows collaboration among organisations and actors within these four levels. The shared goal is to ensure safe sports for the micro level, represented at the centre of the fan. Overlapping, coloured, and numbered areas indicate collaborations, while single-coloured areas belong to a specific level, presenting the workplace environment of the respective organisation at that level.

Project BESST has a straightforward vision and mission: foster a shared responsibility among all sports stakeholders to guarantee safe sports for everyone in the community. Even though there has been progress, unsafe sports environments persist as a structural issue. The initial phase of project BESST involves recognising all forms of harassment and abuse in sports. This recognition is crucial in striving for shared responsibility and creating safer sports environments for everyone.

1.5. The gap: A universal definition and understanding of harassment and abuse

To effectively address all forms of harassment and abuse in sports, it is crucial to establish a universal approach and acknowledgement of these behaviours (Hartill et al., 2021; Schipper-van Veldhoven et al., 2022). Currently, there is a lack of a universal definition (Kerr et al., 2020) and understanding (Mountjoy, 2020) of harassment and abuse in sports, leading to varied terminology in academia (as seen in previous paragraphs). Therefore, the initial step in project BESST is to create a conceptual framework. This framework aims to provide knowledge about harassment and abuse, fostering clarity and consistency for the European sports community. The ultimate goal is to achieve a shared vision for promoting safe sports. The sports community lacks a universal definition and understanding of harassment and abuse, leading to varied approaches to safeguarding against these behaviours. To address this, we need to shift our approach to comprehending harassment and abuse in sports. As humans, we often categorise people based on our perceptions, simplifying social dynamics for better interaction. However, this categorisation can be limiting and hinder us from recognising individuals' uniqueness. Therefore, it is crucial to stay aware of this tendency to avoid unfair stereotyping and treatment.

Definitions for harassment and abuse often concentrate on categorising specific behaviours. However, these definitions may not cover all types of harassment and abuse, limiting the focus when creating safeguarding measures. Categorising behaviours can be challenging, as different forms may interact and overlap (Kerr, 2023). To establish a universal understanding, we should move away from categorisation and adopt a holistic view, identifying all forms through a context-centred approach. Project BESST's conceptual framework, including a universal definition, is built on this approach.

2. Context-centred approach

2.1. Sports ethics

Everyone has the right to access sports in a safe environment, emphasising the importance of respecting human rights in sports settings. Ensuring safety involves examining the context of sports activities. Sports ethics, defined by the Council of Europe, serve as guiding principles for human behaviour in sports. These principles include “integrity, equality, honesty, excellence, commitment, courage, team spirit, respect for rules and laws, environmental consciousness, self-respect, respect for others, and fostering community, tolerance, and solidarity” (European Sports Charter, 2022; p. 18). Ethics, rooted in moral values, help individuals distinguish between right and wrong, influencing decision-making. In sports, ethics, encapsulated in principles and values, guide behaviour to ensure safety. (Inter)national sports federations, through documents like the ‘Code of Conduct’, play a vital role in shaping ethical behaviour for various roles in the sports community, including, coaches, club boards, and volunteers. These ethics are accessible at all levels within the European sports community.

Sports ethics aims to prevent harassment and abuse, commonly referred to as unethical behaviour, in sports. However, defining when behaviour becomes unethical is challenging, as it depends on the context and underlying morality. Two examples illustrate this complexity.

The context, thus, greatly influences whether behaviours in sports are seen as right or wrong, as seen in the discussed ethical dilemmas. Therefore, it is crucial to incorporate sports ethics within the context-centred approach when developing strategies to address harassment and abuse. Furthermore, the societal standards that contribute to these behaviours should also be considered in this approach.

2.2. Distribution of power

This situation illustrates power dynamics in the sports community, prompting the need to explore various forms of power contributing to harassment and abuse. Foucault’s philosophy on the distribution of power will be explored to provide a different perspective on the issue.

Example: Coach-athlete relationships

Coach-athlete sexual relationships involve ethical dilemmas, considering the blurred boundaries between professional roles and personal relationships (Johansson et al., 2016). The power dynamic in such relationships, where coaches have authority over athletes, may raise concerns about the potential for abuse (Kirby et al., 2000). However, what if the coach, as well as the athlete, are both adults? Or what if there is no (too) close personal and/or physical contact between them during any sport-related activity, and thus, not (directly) affecting the sports environment? Or perhaps in hindsight, if the relationship evolves into a long-term relationship captured in a marriage? Would this change the dilemma?

Example: Weight-related controlling behaviours in sports

The second example involves weight-related controlling behaviours in sports (Boudreault et al., 2022). In some sports, weight restrictions exist for fair competition, while high-performance cultures may promote “slim-to-win” ideals. Athletes may face pressure to conform to weight-related behaviours, impacting their integrity (Fortier et al., 2020). However, what if the athlete willingly chooses to adhere to such practices, or the coach navigates weight-related criteria willingly? The ethical dilemma may shift.

Foucault's philosophy emphasises understanding the distribution of power, viewing it as dynamic and constantly evolving through interactions (Foucault, 1991). Power, in this context, is not a fixed entity but is activated through actions in social relationships, guiding individuals' conduct. Foucault argues that power only exists when it is in action, forming relationships with free individuals who have the potential for resistance (Foucault, 1983). He suggests that power operates over free 'subjects' because the possibility of resistance is inherent in such relationships (Foucault, 1987).

According to Foucault, knowledge in society is shaped through communication, forming a 'pool of knowledge', and shaping structures of power in society. The more widely accepted and used this communication is, the more legitimate the knowledge becomes. Society eventually views the communication within this knowledge pool as 'true'. This knowledge is organised through discourses, which are methods of using communication to construct knowledge and truth. For example, the invention of the traffic light became a social system of knowledge through shared communication about its working method. In sports, the discourse revolves around communication like the International Handball Federation regulations on athletes' competitive wear. In this example, this communication is considered the "truth" within the beach handball community due to the federation's position in their social order. Notably, influential actors can influence this pool of knowledge, leading to a changing "truth" over time. Social constructions of subjectivities by individuals with *perceived* power play a role in this change as it "categorises the individual, marks him by his individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognise and which others have to recognise in him" (Foucault, 1983; p. 212). Therefore, identifying power should focus on analysing the forms and techniques of power related to communication, rather than looking at institutions, groups, or classes. The starting point is to examine the discourses.

Example: Regulations for sportswear

The Norwegian women's beach handball team faced a €1500 fine in the Euro 2021 tournament for wearing shorts instead of bikini bottoms. This was against regulations that permit men to wear shorts no more than 4 inches above the knee (European Handball Federation, 2021). The discrepancy raises questions about gender-based distinctions and their potential link to the objectification of athletes, making them susceptible to harassment and abuse.

In the theoretical framework of harassment and abuse in sports, the distribution of power is a key element, serving as the underlying mechanism for these issues. Including this philosophy does not intend to diminish the societal importance of power manifestations at a structural level, like (inter)national federations setting policies and rules for sports clubs (Everley, 2022). These manifestations are vital for providing a framework for sports. But it should be emphasised that actors in the sports community gain influence through their significant contributions, and not merely by having power.

However, Foucault's theory prompts a critical perspective on the normalisation and inclusivity of these discourses. It allows reflection on the 'truth' shaped by these discourses. The proposed link between power, discourse/knowledge, and subjectivity suggests that knowledge about harassment and abuse can influence the creation of roles like harasser/abuser and recipient.

Therefore, sports community actors need to be mindful of their power relationships. Their position or identity does not automatically mean having power over others. It is about *how* these actors are exhibiting power, in *what* contact, over *whom*, and with *what effects*.

2.2.1. The role of sexuality in marginalisation

Over time, societal discussions have formed, leading to the marginalisation of certain groups in sports. The resulting communication from this discussion is accepted as ‘truths’, affecting individuals with specific characteristics related to age, disability, religion, ethnicity, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status, indigenous heritage, and gender (Dutta et al., 2021). This has enriched the ‘pool of knowledge’ in the sports community and shaped the power structure within it. Consequently, individuals with these specific characteristics are viewed as insignificant, leading to their marginalisation in the sports community.

Marginalisation occurs in social spaces that lack external witnesses, where there is a widespread distribution of power influencing people’s behaviour (Stevens, 2023). The focus in these spaces is on controlling and disciplining bodies through disciplinary power, fundamentally executed through surveillance techniques like hierarchical observations and rank systems (Foucault, 1991). Stevens (2023) emphasises this by stating that bodies are “social constructions shaped by the social norms regulating our context” (p. 20). Therefore, if an individual is perceived as a “space invader” due to specific characteristics, they are likely to face marginalisation.

Sexuality

Marginalisation stems from the historical and cultural construction of a social concept: sexuality. This concept is shaped by societal power dynamics and has become a subject of understanding (Foucault, 1990). This understanding goes beyond the physical aspects of “sex”, encompassing body parts, bodily functions, and physical sensations for pleasure or reproduction. It is not just about physical attraction or a desire

Applying Foucault’s philosophy to a coach-athlete relationship

(Markula-Denisen & Pringle, 2006).

From the coach’s perspective, power is exercised to guide the athlete’s performance, shaping actions like deciding playing time. Despite the coach’s influence, the athlete maintains a degree of freedom, shown in their potential resistance or choice to continue with the coach. Simultaneously, athletes can impact the coach’s actions by expressing concerns or intentions, influencing future coaching decisions. In essence, a power relationship is not an all-encompassing system of control but allows for the presence of freedom (Foucault, 1987).

Applying Foucault’s philosophy to the Norwegian’s women beach handball example

In the case of the Norwegian team, the European Handball Federation gained perceived power through their regulations, which became a form of social construction of subjectivity. Following Foucault’s philosophy, the federation is unfairly enforcing a rule of truth on handball athletes by dictating what they should wear in competitions and penalising them for not adhering to their truth. It is crucial to note that being a sports federation, or having such an identity, does not automatically translate to having power over athletes regarding their competition wear in this example. Power in this context is always a reciprocal relationship. Eventually, the women’s team acted as an influential actor in the beach handball community’s pool of knowledge, leading to a change in the ‘truth’. This change is reflected in an updated version of the discourse: new uniform rules in the International Handball Federation regulations since January 2022.

for sex. Brewis (2001) notes that harassment¹ is more about preserving power imbalances by denigrating and undermining recipients, rather than genuine sexual desire. Knowledge about sexuality is more focused on its meaning in specific contexts, serving as a means of obtaining power through social control in the discourse on sexuality. Modern discourses, rooted in social control, include taboos related to sexuality originating from religious beliefs (e.g., infidelity in marriage or the non-acceptance of same-sex relationships). Another example is society promoting ‘truths’ that stress the preservation of a pure bloodline (e.g., opposing interracial marriages), contributing to racism. Consequently, the knowledge created by society results in discourses on sexuality that contribute to the marginalisation of individuals.

Marginalisation, thus, occurs when individuals do not conform to the expected behaviour in a social setting. It is about one’s ability to fit in or adhere to the perceived standards. If someone struggles to fit in, they may face harassment and abuse in sports (Hartill, 2005). To illustrate, three power discourses, rooted in sexuality, are discussed for their role in the challenge of bridging the gap between conforming and non-conforming individuals in the sports community. It is important to note that these discourses are not exhaustive, and additional discourses can contribute to the structural issue of harassment and abuse in sports.

2.2.1.1. Patriarchy and heteronormativity

Patriarchy

In the initial part of his abusive experience, Stevens highlights a phrase from his trainer and coach condemning the team’s behaviour: “Boys being boys” (p. 12). This phrase reflects patriarchal attitudes still influential in sports and society. The patriarchy dictates that men should be dominant and privileged, requiring them to exhibit traditional masculine behaviours to assert their ‘manhood’. According to Whitehead and Barrett (2004) “masculinities are those behaviours, languages and practices, existing in specific cultural and organisational locations, which are commonly associated with men, thus culturally defined as not feminine” (p. 15-16). Patriarchal standards often discourage men from displaying emotions or seeking help.

However, masculinity is not a fixed identity; it evolves through cultural and organisational contexts over time (Connel & Messerschmidt, 2005). Masculinity is a dynamic cultural communication accepted as ‘truth’ by society, constructed as a discourse that holds perceived power. In sports, the presence of masculine discourses can lead to inclusivity issues for men and women. But, simultaneously, these issues are caused by men, women and, thus, our society. This dynamic contributes to the vertical segregation of the power held by masculinity from society into the realm of sports.

¹ Regarding (sexual) abuse, there might be an additional motive: sexual desire. According to Spector et al. (1996), sexual desire is “primarily a cognitive variable” (p. 178) and “involves thoughts that may motivate an individual to seek out or to be receptive to sexual opportunities” (p. 179). Eventually, this affects someone’s sexual arousal (the physiological state) and eventual sexual activity (the behavioural act) (Mark et al., 2014). It can, therefore, be seen as a goal-directed, motivational force in individuals attempting to achieve sexual outcomes of not yet fulfilled desires (Regan & Bersched, 1996).

The perception of masculine practices holding power is evident in, for example, labelling sports as either ‘masculine’ or ‘feminine’ (Grindstaff & West, 2011). For instance, American football is socially considered a masculine sport, suggesting that traits like strength and aggression are exclusive to ‘real’ men. This construction implies that women should not possess these characteristics. The masculine-feminine distinction also affects sports like cheerleading, where women’s participation is socially acceptable, but it is unacceptable for men. However, this masculine-feminine distinction in sports leads to social ordering, where individuals not conforming to gender standards face decreased social ranking, making them vulnerable to harassment and abuse in sports (Stevens, 2023).

Conversely, individuals adhering to gender standards may experience an increase in social status, contributing to practices of harassment and abuse within sports cultures shaped by masculinity. As stated by Spaaij et al. (2015): “Where men have to highlight their masculinity, women have to emphasise their femininity” (p. 401). As a result, gender-nonconforming individuals can be perceived as “out of place”, increasing the risk of facing marginalisation (Puar, 2004; p. 31).

Until now, male victims of harassment and abuse in sports remain underrepresented in previous prevalence studies. However, this is not equal to them not experiencing these practices. The existing social standards originating from patriarchy could, therefore, influence the disclosure of male victims.

Cisheteronormativity

In addition to the influence of social masculine norms in sports, adherence to cisheteronormativity also contributes to marginalisation. The societal norm of adhering to a binary gender system and heterosexual identity negatively affects various gender identities and expressions (e.g., Menzel et al., 2019). This norm establishes a ‘truth’ accepting only two gender options: male (he/him) and female (she/her) (Kerr, 2023). Consequently, cisgender individuals, whose gender identity aligns with their assigned gender at birth, are favoured over transgender individuals, whose identity differs from their assigned gender. Similarly, society normalises heterosexual identities (Linghede & Larsson, 2017), placing those identifying with the LGBTQIA+ community (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Intersex, Asexual, and other gender/sexual minorities) at a disadvantage due to societal standards. Any deviation from society’s norms related to gender and sexuality carries the risk of marginalisation.

In recent years, there has been an increased awareness of cisheteronormativity in sports. A study by Menzel et al. (2019) revealed that homophobia, especially transphobia, remains a significant issue, with nearly 90% of European LGBTQIA+ respondents reporting these problems.

Example introducing patriarchy and cisheteronormativity

Recently, Stevens (2023) shared insight into the emergence, intensification and solidification of his abuse through an autoethnographic approach. He talks about ‘masculine-validating processes’ among his team members. His team members saw Stevens as not fitting their team due to rumours about his sexual orientation – not fitting to their ‘truth’ – resulting in the start of marginalisation. The masculine culture present in his soccer team resulted in team members seeking validation of their masculinity by showing others their ability to perform harmful behaviours to peers. They conformed to the expected way of behaving.

Research by Vertommen et al. (2016) and Willson et al. (2022) further confirmed higher instances of sexual harm among LGBTQIA+ athletes existed longer before and are still present nowadays. Despite being underrepresented in scientific literature and society, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) has recently addressed this issue in a position statement. The IOC emphasises the need to identify and proactively address barriers to create a safe, supportive, and respectful environment for trans athletes and athletes with sex variations at all levels of sports (Martowicz et al., 2023). This marks a challenge to the sports community to conform to these traditional societal norms.

2.2.1.2. Racialisation

Beyond the impact of patriarchy and cisheteronormativity, an individual's engagement with and experience in sports can be influenced by their 'race' or ethnicity. Certain ethnicities may face marginalisation due to the perception of their physical attributes as different or unfamiliar. This process is known as racialisation, where a person's race is used to categorise them in the social order (van Lienden et al., 2021). Unfortunately, there is still a tendency to reinforce the superiority of the white ethnicity (especially in Western countries), resulting in the exclusion of other ethnicities. It is crucial to view ethnicity as an indicator of sociocultural conditions shaping social interactions, rather than a measure of superiority or inferiority. Achieving racial equality in sports requires acknowledging racialised processes and practices to maintain diversity for individuals from all ethnic groups.

2.3. Broadening our perspective

The context-centred approach seeks to expand the sports community's viewpoint on harassment and abuse in sports, moving beyond the current limited perspective. The existing perspective is confined to a specific set of knowledge, hindering critical reflection on this social issue. The hierarchical categorisation of power contributes to the challenges in addressing harassment and abuse. Hence, a proposed theoretical framework suggests redefining harassment and abuse through the lens of power to encourage critical reflection within the sports community. This approach prompts individuals to break away from the habit of categorisation and think more broadly.

3. The theoretical framework

Project BESST's theoretical framework suggests a universal definition for harassment and abuse in sports by incorporating existing knowledge. Currently, the term "non-accidental violence" is commonly used to describe these issues, stemming from the IOC's 2016 Consensus Statement (Mountjoy et al., 2016). This statement expands on the 2007 version by including various forms of abuse (such as psychological, physical, and neglect). The term "non-accidental" emphasises the intentional nature of the violence, covering acts not necessarily meant to harm young

athletes. For example, coaches providing excessive drills that are physically inappropriate for their athletes intending to contribute to their performance are also considered as non-accidental violence. However, it can be misleading for the sports community to acknowledge and recognise all forms of harassment and abuse. Particularly, since the violent behaviour described in the example is intentionally accidental given the goal of performance enhancement.

The term “violence” itself, as defined by the World Health Organisation (WHO), involves “intentional use of force or power, threatened or actual against oneself, another person or against a group or community, that either result in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation” (Krug et al., 2002; p. 5). They also discuss the complexity of the intentional motive as the intention to commit a forceful act without the intent to cause damage (e.g., youth involved in a physical fight with a risk of serious injury even though this outcome is not intended). Moreover, the understanding of violence is culturally framed and can hinder the universal perspective. In other words, certain violent behaviours can be accepted by some cultures (e.g., hitting a spouse). This results in hindering the inclusion of all forms of harassment and abuse in sports by using the term violence. To address these issues, we propose to universally reframe non-accidental violence in sports by building upon the IOC’s Consensus Statement.

3.1. The proposed definition

To enhance project BESST’s perspective on harassment and abuse, the term “transgression” is introduced, encompassing various ways of crossing boundaries. It evolves overstepping “either in the legal, social, psychological, religious, or geological sense of the word refers in general to the process of an overstepping of a boundary” (Madsen, 2014; p. 2002). The concept does not distinguish based on characteristics like intention or form of transgression. Consequently, we propose to define transgressive behaviour in sports (TB) as “any form of misuse of a relationship of power violating someone’s access to safe sports”.

The impacts of transgressive behaviours in sports can manifest in three ways: sexual, psychological and physical, and these effects may interact, overlap and occur simultaneously (Figure 3). Transgressive behaviours in sports can take various forms, including contact vs. non-contact, verbal vs. non-verbal, and overt (observable) vs. covert (not observable). Appendix A provides an (inexhaustive) overview of possible forms of TB in sports based on the possible effects. With this, we want to emphasise that TB in sports can occur in one-on-one interactions as well as in group interactions.

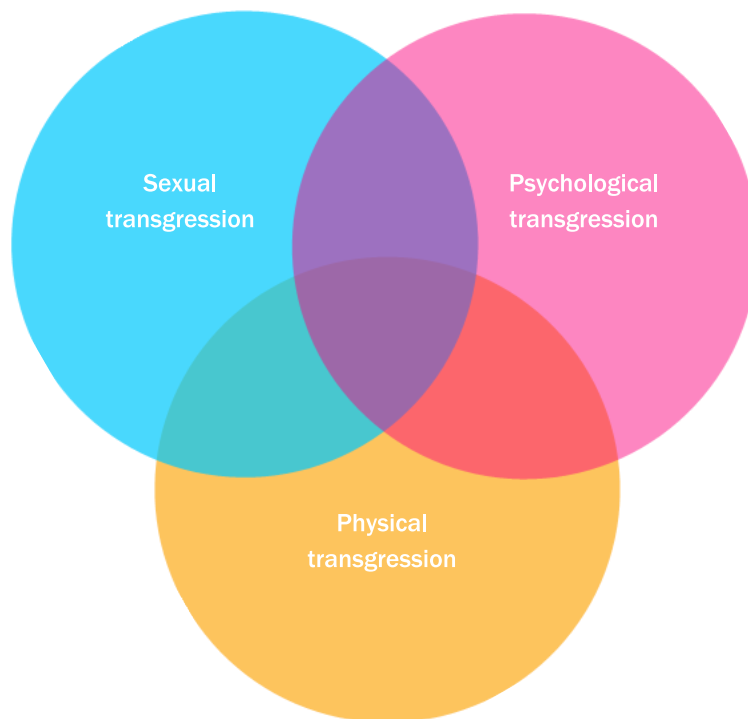


Figure 3. Venn diagram of the effects of transgressive behaviours

The definition of TB includes “safe sports” because project BESST focuses on creating safe sports environments. Instead of concentrating on current issues (i.e., transgressive behaviour), the emphasis is on achieving the goal of ensuring safe sports for everyone: safeguarding.

3.2. Safe sports

Safe sport is defined by the IOC “as an athletic environment that is respectful, equitable and free from any form of harassment and abuse” (Mountjoy & Verhagen, 2022; p. 1). Project BESST uses this definition as an ethical foundation but emphasises taking action to address behaviour within the system. UEFA defines (child) safeguarding as “includes both preventive actions to minimise the chance of harm occurring and responsive actions aimed at ensuring that, if concerns arise, they are handled appropriately. This reflects the need to promote children’s interests and comply with both international standards and domestic legislation, particularly about concerns relating to potentially criminal acts” (2019). To establish safe sports, the sports community needs to be both proactive and responsive, ensuring individuals’ fundamental right to access sports in a secure environment.

To create safe sports, this framework highlights two key dimensions: relationships of power and safeguarding (see Figure 4). The first dimension focuses on how power dynamics in the sports community can be either misused or used productively. Misuse can lead to unsafe sports with transgressive behaviours, while proper use can help establish and maintain safety. The second

dimension, safeguarding, involves ensuring safety and human rights in sports. The presence or absence of safeguarding measures is crucial for safe sports. If implemented across all levels of the sports community, the intersection of these two dimensions results in the creation and maintenance of safe sports.

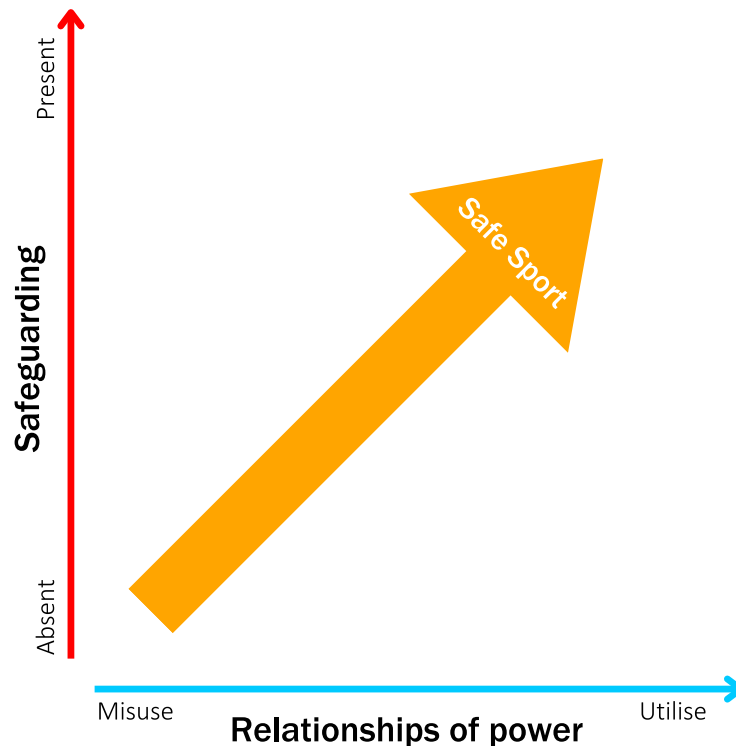


Figure 4. Conceptual framework: relationships of power and safeguarding.

4. Conclusion

Building European Safe Sports Together can only be done together. Everyone within the sports community needs to take responsibility for ensuring safe sports and embed safeguarding practices into their daily operations. This shared responsibility should be felt by all actors at every level of the sports community. However, to accomplish this, a shift in the culture and power dynamics of the sports community is essential. We need to focus on empowering (marginalised) individuals at all levels and avoid categorising people and behaviours into boxes. It is time to adopt a holistic approach towards safe sports. Let’s work together to create new “truths” and Build European Safe Sports Together.

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Appendix A

Table 1. Overview of possible forms of transgressive behaviours in sport

1) Sexual forms of transgressive behaviour in sports	
A) Contact forms	Sources
Fondling of genitals	(Brackenridge, 2001; Fortier et al., 2020; Jackson et al., 2002; Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 2012; Palmer & Feldman, 2017; Simons & Mawn, 2010; Stirling, 2009; van Voorthuizen et al., 2022)
Masturbation	(Fortier et al., 2020; Palmer & Feldman, 2017)
Vaginal, oral or anal penetration by a penis, finger or any other object	(Brackenridge & Fasting, 2005; Brackenridge, 2001; Fortier et al., 2020; Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 2012; Palmer & Feldman, 2017; Stirling, 2009; van Voorthuizen et al., 2022)
Fondling of breasts	(Brackenridge, 2001; Fortier et al., 2020; Jackson et al., 2002; Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 2012; Palmer & Feldman, 2017; Simons & Mawn, 2010; Stirling, 2009; van Voorthuizen et al., 2022)
Involving in pornography	(Palmer & Feldman, 2017)
Sexual relations	(Stirling, 2009; Stirling et al., 2011)
Inappropriate sexual contact	(Brackenridge & Fasting, 2005; Brackenridge, 2001; Fortier et al., 2020; Rulofs et al., 2019; Stirling, 2009; Stirling et al., 2011)
Exchange of reward (or privilege) in sports for sexual favours (quid quo pro)	(Brackenridge & Fasting, 2005; Brackenridge, 2001; Jackson et al., 2002; Simons & Mawn, 2010; Stirling, 2009; Stirling et al., 2011)
Sexual allusions about what athletes must do to make the team	(Kirby et al., 2000)
Groping (unwanted touching)	(Brackenridge & Fasting, 2005; Brackenridge, 2001; Fortier et al., 2020; Jackson et al., 2002; Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 2012; Rulofs et al., 2019; Simons & Mawn, 2010; Stirling, 2009; van Voorthuizen et al., 2022; World Health Organization, 2017)
Athletes groping another individual	(Brackenridge & Fasting, 2005; Brackenridge, 2001; Rulofs et al., 2019; Stirling, 2009)
Forced sexual activity	(Brackenridge, 2001; van Voorthuizen et al., 2022)
Sexual assault	(Brackenridge, 2001; Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 2012)
(Attempted) rape	(Brackenridge, 2001; Rulofs et al., 2019; van Voorthuizen et al., 2022; World Health Organization, 2017)
Incest	(Brackenridge, 2001)

Molestation with genital contact with no intrusion	(Brackenridge & Fasting, 2005; Brackenridge, 2001; Stirling, 2009)
Kissing	(Brackenridge & Fasting, 2005; Brackenridge, 2001; Jackson et al., 2002; Rulofs et al., 2019; Simons & Mawn, 2010; Stirling, 2009; van Voorthuizen et al., 2022)
Stealthing (non-consensual condom removal)	University of Ottawa (n.d.)

1) Sexual forms of transgressive behaviour in sports

B) Non-contact forms	Sources
Exposing to pornography	(Brackenridge & Fasting, 2005; Brackenridge, 2001; Fortier et al., 2020; Kirby et al., 2000; Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 2012; Palmer & Feldman, 2017; Rulofs et al., 2019; Stirling, 2009; Stirling et al., 2011; van Voorthuizen et al., 2022)
Voyeurism	(Fortier et al., 2020; Palmer & Feldman, 2017)
Exhibitionism	(Fortier et al., 2020; Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 2012; Palmer & Feldman, 2017; Rulofs et al., 2019)
Inappropriate sexual contact	(Fortier et al., 2020; Rulofs et al., 2019; Stirling et al., 2011)
Encouraging to behave in sexually inappropriate ways	(Brackenridge & Fasting, 2005; Brackenridge, 2001; Stirling, 2009)
Being coerced/forced to have 'phone sex'	(Brackenridge, 2001; Fortier et al., 2020; Rulofs et al., 2019)
Sexually orientated comments, jokes or gestures	(Brackenridge & Fasting, 2005; Brackenridge, 2001; Jackson et al., 2002; Kirby et al., 2000; Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 2012; Rulofs et al., 2019; Simons & Mawn, 2010; Stirling, 2009; Stirling et al., 2011)
Tolerance of vulgar language	(Kirby et al., 2000)
Tolerance of sexist and homophobic attitudes	(Kirby et al., 2000)
Sexual propositions	(Brackenridge, 2001; Jackson et al., 2002; Simons & Mawn, 2010; Stirling, 2009; Stirling et al., 2011)
Indecent exposure (to genitals)	(Brackenridge & Fasting, 2005; Brackenridge, 2001; Stirling, 2009; van Voorthuizen et al., 2022)
Production of sexual images	(Brackenridge & Fasting, 2005; Brackenridge, 2001; Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 2012; Rulofs et al., 2019; Stirling, 2009; van Voorthuizen et al., 2022)

Watching sexual activities	(Brackenridge & Fasting, 2005; Brackenridge, 2001; Stirling, 2009)
Prostitution (for commercial gain)	(Brackenridge & Fasting, 2005; Brackenridge, 2001; Stirling, 2009)
Exploitation (for commercial gain)	(Brackenridge & Fasting, 2005; Brackenridge, 2001; Fortier et al., 2020; Stirling, 2009)
Stalking	(Brackenridge, 2001; Jackson et al., 2002; Rulofs et al., 2019; Simons & Mawn, 2010; Stirling, 2009)
Tolerance of sexual discrimination	(Kirby et al., 2000)
Bullying based on sex	(Brackenridge, 2001; Jackson et al., 2002; Simons & Mawn, 2010; Stirling, 2009; van Voorthuizen et al., 2022)
Ridiculing of performance	(Brackenridge, 2001; Jackson et al., 2002; Simons & Mawn, 2010; Stirling, 2009)
Sexual or homophobic graffiti	(Brackenridge, 2001; Jackson et al., 2002; Simons & Mawn, 2010; Stirling, 2009)

2) Psychological forms of transgressive behaviour in sports

A) Verbal forms	Sources
Name-calling	(Bean et al., 2014; Gervis et al., 2016; Kerr et al., 2014; Lamb et al., 2018; Marshall, 2012; Sabato et al., 2016; Stirling, 2009; Stirling & Kerr, 2008)
Humiliating	(Fortier et al., 2020; Kerr et al., 2014; Marshall, 2012; Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 2012; Poilpot-Rocaboy & Winter, 2007; Stirling, 2009; Stirling & Kerr, 2008)
The use of degrading comments	(Alexander et al., 2011; Johnson et al., 2018; Marshall, 2012; McMahon, 2022; Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 2012; Nery et al., 2019; Poilpot-Rocaboy & Winter, 2007; Stirling, 2009; Stirling & Kerr, 2008; Wilinsky & McCabe, 2021)
Belittling	(Alexander et al., 2011; Glaser, 2002; Johnson et al., 2018; Marshall, 2012; Nery et al., 2019; Stirling, 2009; Stirling & Kerr, 2008; Wilinsky & McCabe, 2021; World Health Organization, 1999)
Denigrating	(World Health Organization, 1999)
Scapegoating	(Bean et al., 2014; Gervis et al., 2016; Lamb et al., 2018; Sabato et al., 2016; Stirling, 2009; Stirling & Kerr, 2008; World Health Organization, 1999)
Threatening (to abandon them; to hurt them or someone or someone he or she likes)	(Alexander et al., 2011; Bean et al., 2014; Fortier et al., 2020; Gervis et al., 2016; Johnson et al., 2018; Kerr et al., 2014; Lamb et al., 2018; Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 2012; Nery et al., 2019; Sabato et al., 2016;

	Stirling, 2009; Stirling & Kerr, 2008; Wilinsky & McCabe, 2021; World Health Organization, 1999)
Scaring	(World Health Organization, 1999)
Discriminating	(Alexander et al., 2011; Johnson et al., 2018; Nery et al., 2019; Stirling, 2009; Wilinsky & McCabe, 2021; World Health Organization, 1999)
Ridiculing	(Fortier et al., 2020; McMahon, 2022; World Health Organization, 1999)
Hostile treatment	(Poilpot-Rocaboy & Winter, 2007; Stirling, 2009; World Health Organization, 1999)
Rejecting treatment	(Fortier et al., 2020; Glaser, 2002; Marshall, 2012; Stirling, 2009; World Health Organization, 1999)
Shouting	(Alexander et al., 2011; Fortier et al., 2020; Johnson et al., 2018; Kerr et al., 2014; Marshall, 2012; McMahon, 2022; Nery et al., 2019; Stirling, 2009; Stirling & Kerr, 2008; Wilinsky & McCabe, 2021)
Abandonment	(Marshall, 2012)
Ostracising	(Marshall, 2012)
Negative comments about the body	(Willson & Kerr, 2021)
Expressing intense anger	(Wilinsky & McCabe, 2021)
Using derogatory language and comments	(Poilpot-Rocaboy & Winter, 2007; Stirling, 2009; Wilinsky & McCabe, 2021)
Terrorising	(Marshall, 2012; Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 2012)
Manipulation behaviours	(Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 2012)
Berating	(Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 2012)
Shaming	(Alexander et al., 2011; Johnson et al., 2018; Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 2012; Nery et al., 2019; Stirling, 2009; Wilinsky & McCabe, 2021)
Blaming	(Bean et al., 2014; Gervis et al., 2016; Lamb et al., 2018; Sabato et al., 2016; Stirling, 2009; Stirling & Kerr, 2008)
Insulting	(Fortier et al., 2020)
Spurning	(Marshall, 2012)
Being extremely critical	(Fortier et al., 2020)
Ridicule and the spreading of gossip or rumours	(Poilpot-Rocaboy & Winter, 2007; Stirling, 2009)

Telling embarrassing or upsetting stories about a person	(Poilpot-Rocaboy & Winter, 2007; Stirling, 2009)
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2) Psychological forms of transgressive behaviour in sports

B) Non-verbal forms	Sources
Throwing equipment towards an athlete (to intimidate)	(Alexander et al., 2011; Johnson et al., 2018; Nery et al., 2019; Stirling, 2009; Stirling & Kerr, 2008; Wilinsky & McCabe, 2021)
Hitting objects in the presence of athletes	(Stirling & Kerr, 2008)
Restricting of movement/Close confinement	(Fortier et al., 2020; Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 2012; World Health Organization, 1999)
Rejecting	(Bean et al., 2014; Gervis et al., 2016; Lamb et al., 2018; Marshall, 2012; Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 2012; Sabato et al., 2016; Stirling, 2009; World Health Organization, 1999)
Isolating	(Bean et al., 2014; Fortier et al., 2020; Gervis et al., 2016; Lamb et al., 2018; Marshall, 2012; Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 2012; Sabato et al., 2016; Stirling, 2009; Stirling & Kerr, 2008)
Denying emotional responsiveness	(Bean et al., 2014; Fortier et al., 2020; Gervis et al., 2016; Glaser, 2002; Lamb et al., 2018; Marshall, 2012; Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 2012; Sabato et al., 2016; Stirling, 2009; Stirling & Kerr, 2008)
Inadequate nurturing or affection	(Glaser, 2002; Marshall, 2012; Stirling, 2009)
Refusal of psychological care	(Fortier et al., 2020; Glaser, 2002; Marshall, 2012; Stirling, 2009)
Detaching or indifferent	(Fortier et al., 2020)
Exclusion or expulsion from an activity	(Alexander et al., 2011; Fortier et al., 2020; Johnson et al., 2018; Marshall, 2012; Nery et al., 2019; Stirling, 2009; Wilinsky & McCabe, 2021)
(Intentional) denial of attention and support	(Alexander et al., 2011; Johnson et al., 2018; Marshall, 2012; Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 2012; Nery et al., 2019; Stirling, 2009; Wilinsky & McCabe, 2021)
Failure to recognise or acknowledge a person's individuality or psychological boundary	(Marshall, 2012)
Damage or destruction of property	(Marshall, 2012)
Psychological punishment	(Marshall, 2012)

Body monitoring	(Willson & Kerr, 2021)
Food and water restrictions	(Willson & Kerr, 2021)
Witnessing the criticism of teammates' bodies	(Willson & Kerr, 2021)
Punishment for non-compliance	(Willson & Kerr, 2021)
Expressing intense anger	(Wilinsky & McCabe, 2021)
Missocialising	(Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 2012)
Exploiting	(Marshall, 2012; Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 2012)
Forcing, asking or letting an athlete behave in a violent manner towards another athlete without intervening	(Fortier et al., 2020)
Letting an athlete endure violent acts from another athlete without intervening	(Fortier et al., 2020)
Forcing, asking or allowing to consume alcohol or drugs during activities related to sport	(Fortier et al., 2020)
Forcing, asking or letting an athlete consume doping product or adopt doping methods without intervening	(Fortier et al., 2020)
Knowing that a child athlete has been physically, sexually or psychologically abused or neglected and not acting	(Fortier et al., 2020)
Stalking	(Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 2012)
Abandoning an athlete during a training assignment, competition or during a trip	(Fortier et al., 2020)
Forcing or obliging athletes to perform extremely intense workouts excessively until exhaustion or until they vomit	(Fortier et al., 2020)
Forcing or asking an athlete to train while injured even though they have received medical advice to not do so	(Fortier et al., 2020)
Forcing or asking an athlete to perform movements or techniques that are too difficult for his/her abilities, putting them at risk of injury	(Fortier et al., 2020)

Forcing or asking an athlete to engage in unhealthy eating behaviours to achieve the ideal weight in their sport	(Fortier et al., 2020)
Forcing or asking an athlete to undertake inappropriate medical treatments	(Fortier et al., 2020)

2) Psychological forms of transgressive behaviour in sports

C) Overt forms	Sources
Criticism	(Bartholomew, 2006; Jackson et al., 2002)
Scapegoating	(Jackson et al., 2002)
Bickering	(Bartholomew, 2006; Jackson et al., 2002)
Name-calling	(Aguilar et al., 2021; Bartholomew, 2006; Jackson et al., 2002; Simons & Mawn, 2010; Stirling, 2009)
Negative connotations	(Vveinhardt et al., 2017)
Faultfinding	(Bartholomew, 2006)
Backstabbing	(Bartholomew, 2006)
Intimidation	(Bartholomew, 2006)
Gossiping	(Bartholomew, 2006; Jackson et al., 2002; Simons & Mawn, 2010; Stirling, 2009; Vveinhardt et al., 2017)
Blaming	(Bartholomew, 2006; Jackson et al., 2002; Simons & Mawn, 2010; Stirling, 2009)
Using put-downs	(Bartholomew, 2006)
Utilising negative facial expressions	(Bartholomew, 2006; Vveinhardt et al., 2017)
Making threats	(Mountjoy et al., 2016)
Spreading rumours or falsehoods	(Jackson et al., 2002; Mountjoy et al., 2016; Simons & Mawn, 2010; Stirling, 2009)
Attacking someone physically or verbally	(Jackson et al., 2002; Simons & Mawn, 2010; Stirling, 2009)
Use of threatening comments or language	(Jackson et al., 2002; Simons & Mawn, 2010; Stirling, 2009)
Interruptions	(Vveinhardt et al., 2017)

Ridiculing	(Jackson et al., 2002; Simons & Mawn, 2010; Stirling, 2009)
Imitation of gait, speech	(Vveinhardt et al., 2017)
Insults	Aguilar et al. (2021)
(Offensive) pranks	(Aguilar et al., 2021)
Teasing	(Jackson et al., 2002; Simons & Mawn, 2010; Stirling, 2009)
Humiliating	(Jackson et al., 2002; Simons & Mawn, 2010; Stirling, 2009)

2) Psychological forms of transgressive behaviour in sports

D) Covert forms	Sources
Sabotage	(Jackson et al., 2002)
Undermining	(Jackson et al., 2002)
Infighting	(Jackson et al., 2002)
Sarcasm	(Bartholomew, 2006)
The use of unfair tasks or assignments in order to cause someone added distress	(Bartholomew, 2006)
Tasks of offensive nature	(Vveinhardt et al., 2017)
Tasks in excess of strength capabilities	(Vveinhardt et al., 2017)
Tasks are continuously changed	(Vveinhardt et al., 2017)
Meaningless and offensive tasks	(Vveinhardt et al., 2017)
Tasks exceeding the capabilities of the athlete	(Vveinhardt et al., 2017)
Tasks that humiliate the victim	(Vveinhardt et al., 2017)
Eye-rolling	(Bartholomew, 2006)
Refusing to work with someone	(Bartholomew, 2006)
Isolation	(Aguilar et al., 2021; Bartholomew, 2006; Jackson et al., 2002; Simons & Mawn, 2010; Stirling, 2009)
Exclusion	(Aguilar et al., 2021; Bartholomew, 2006; Mountjoy et al., 2016)
Fabrication	(Bartholomew, 2006)

Non-acceptance in a peer group	(Jackson et al., 2002; Simons & Mawn, 2010; Stirling, 2009)
Pressure to overconform	(Jackson et al., 2002; Simons & Mawn, 2010; Stirling, 2009)
Hazing (rituals)	(Jackson et al., 2002; Simons & Mawn, 2010; Stirling, 2009)
Initiation (rituals)	(Jackson et al., 2002; Simons & Mawn, 2010; Stirling, 2009)
Restriction to express own opinion	(Vveinhardt et al., 2017)
Avoidance of contact	(Vveinhardt et al., 2017)
Homophobia	(Aguilar et al., 2021)

3) Physical forms of transgressive behaviour in sports

A) Contact forms	Sources
Punching	(Durrant & Ensom, 2004; Fortier et al., 2020; Jackson et al., 2002; Mountjoy et al., 2016; Simons & Mawn, 2010; Stirling, 2009)
Beating	(Durrant & Ensom, 2004; Mountjoy et al., 2016; Stirling, 2009)
Kicking	(Durrant & Ensom, 2004; Jackson et al., 2002; Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 2012; Mountjoy et al., 2016; Simons & Mawn, 2010; Stirling, 2009)
Biting	(Durrant & Ensom, 2004; Jackson et al., 2002; Mountjoy et al., 2016; Simons & Mawn, 2010; Stirling, 2009)
Shoving	(Durrant & Ensom, 2004; Jackson et al., 2002; Simons & Mawn, 2010; Stirling, 2009)
Striking	(Durrant & Ensom, 2004; Stirling, 2009)
Shaking	(Durrant & Ensom, 2004; Fortier et al., 2020; Stirling, 2009)
Throwing	(Durrant & Ensom, 2004; Fortier et al., 2020; Stirling, 2009)
Stabbing	(Durrant & Ensom, 2004; Fortier et al., 2020; Stirling, 2009)
Choking	(Durrant & Ensom, 2004; Fortier et al., 2020; Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 2012; Stirling, 2009)
Bumping	(Durrant & Ensom, 2004; Stirling, 2009)
Spanking	(Durrant & Ensom, 2004; Stirling, 2009)
Slapping	(Durrant & Ensom, 2004; Jackson et al., 2002; Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 2012; Simons & Mawn, 2010; Stirling, 2009)
Whacking	(Durrant & Ensom, 2004; Stirling, 2009)

Hitting (with a physical object)	(Durrant & Ensom, 2004; Fortier et al., 2020; Jackson et al., 2002; Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 2012; Simons & Mawn, 2010; Stirling, 2009)
Pushing	(Durrant & Ensom, 2004; Fortier et al., 2020; Jackson et al., 2002; Simons & Mawn, 2010; Stirling, 2009)
Strangling	(Durrant & Ensom, 2004; Fortier et al., 2020; Stirling & Kerr, 2008)
Burning	(Durrant & Ensom, 2004; Fortier et al., 2020; Stirling & Kerr, 2008)
Striking	(Durrant & Ensom, 2004; Fortier et al., 2020; Stirling & Kerr, 2008)
Poisoning	(Durrant & Ensom, 2004; Fortier et al., 2020; Stirling & Kerr, 2008)
Being confined	(Durrant & Ensom, 2004; Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 2012; Stirling, 2009)
Being restrained	(Durrant & Ensom, 2004; Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 2012; Stirling, 2009)

3) Physical forms of transgressive behaviour in sports

B) Non-contact forms	Sources
Forcing an individual to kneel on a harmful surface	(Durrant & Ensom, 2004; Stirling, 2009)
Isolation in a confined space	(Durrant & Ensom, 2004; Stirling, 2009)
Denying an athlete the use of the toilet	(Durrant & Ensom, 2004; Stirling, 2009)
Denying/Inadequate access for an athlete to necessary food, water and/or sleep	(Çetin & Hacisoftaoğlu, 2020; Durrant & Ensom, 2004; Glaser, 2002; Marshall, 2012; McMahon et al., 2022; Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 2012; Stirling, 2009)
Forcing an athlete to engage in exercise	(David, 2005; Durrant & Ensom, 2004; Stirling, 2009)
Excessive participation in (physically-inappropriate) exercise/training	(Durrant & Ensom, 2004; M. Mountjoy et al., 2016; Stirling, 2009)
Excessive drills	(Çetin & Hacisoftaoğlu, 2020; McMahon et al., 2022)
Forced overtraining leading to a risk of injury	(Alexander et al., 2011; Durrant & Ensom, 2004; Stirling, 2009)
Child athletes being forced or encouraged to train while injured or exhausted	(Alexander et al., 2011; Durrant & Ensom, 2004; Stirling, 2009)
Forced or mandated age-inappropriate training loads	(Durrant & Ensom, 2004; M. Mountjoy et al., 2016; Stirling, 2009)

Forced alcohol consumption	(Durrant & Ensom, 2004; M. Mountjoy et al., 2016; Stirling, 2009)
Systematic doping practices	(Durrant & Ensom, 2004; M. Mountjoy et al., 2016; Stirling, 2009)
(Extreme) weight-controlling behaviours	(Boudreault et al., 2022; Durrant & Ensom, 2004; Stirling, 2009)
Dieting or severe calorie restriction	(Durrant & Ensom, 2004; Fortier et al., 2020; McMahon et al., 2022; Stirling, 2009)
Knowing that an athlete is engaging in problematic eating behaviours to achieve the ideal weight in his or her sport without intervening	(Çetin & Hacisoftaoğlu, 2020; Durrant & Ensom, 2004; Stirling, 2009)
Purging	(Boudreault et al., 2022; Durrant & Ensom, 2004; Stirling, 2009)
Fasting	(Boudreault et al., 2022; Durrant & Ensom, 2004; Stirling, 2009)
Forcing the body into an unnatural position	(Durrant & Ensom, 2004; Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 2012; Stirling, 2009)
Inadequate supervision	(Durrant & Ensom, 2004; Glaser, 2002; Marshall, 2012; Stirling, 2009)
Allowing a child athlete to participate in a training or competition while injured, despite having received medical advice not to do so	(Durrant & Ensom, 2004; Fortier et al., 2020; Stirling & Kerr, 2008)
Failure to ensure the safety of athletic equipment	(Durrant & Ensom, 2004; Fortier et al., 2020; Stirling & Kerr, 2008)
Refusing to provide a child athlete with the necessary medical care specific to a health problem that has been diagnosed by a professional and resulted from the practice of sport	(Durrant & Ensom, 2004; Fortier et al., 2020; Stirling & Kerr, 2008)
Threats of physical violence	(Durrant & Ensom, 2004; Jackson et al., 2002; Poilpot-Rocaboy & Winter, 2007; Simons & Mawn, 2010; Stirling, 2009)
Intimidating physical behaviours	(Durrant & Ensom, 2004; Jackson et al., 2002; Poilpot-Rocaboy & Winter, 2007; Simons & Mawn, 2010; Stirling, 2009)